Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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The Great October Socialist Revolution

A FEATURE of the great, epoch-making turning-points in the progress of society is that vast masses, tens and hundreds of millions of people, take part in them. These changes are an expression of the inexorable laws of historical development: of the general law of progressive development from lower to higher, from a less perfect social system to a more perfect one, of a higher order.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was just such a turning-point in the destiny of mankind. The cause that it initiated—of replacing the decrepit capitalist system by a new, socialist one—is now triumphant over a large part of the world. Nearly one billion people have rallied under the banner of the October Revolution. A world system of socialist states has emerged which, in addition to the Soviet Union, includes China with its population of 600 million and a number of other European and Asian socialist countries. The Soviet Union has become a mighty industrial power. It has reached a new, higher level of technology, has demonstrated unprecedented rates of economic development and has evolved a new, socialist culture. It has trained a new type of man, and established a new, higher form of socialist democracy, which guarantees the ever-increasing participation of the people in running the country and in building communism.

The October Revolution has translated socialism into a living reality, and made it the pivot of the world events of our times. Millions of people are engaged in the practical work of building socialism. And inspired by the ideas of the October Revolution, hundreds of millions in the colonies and dependent countries are rising in struggle against imperialism, casting off the chains of slavery. In the capitalist countries the number of convinced supporters of socialism is multiplying, while the leading, class conscious workers and the best of the intellectuals are uniting around the Communist parties.

The cause of the October Revolution, its ideas, the building of socialism and the influence exerted by the socialist countries, are fiercely resisted by the capitalist world. But the fiercer its onslaughts against socialism, the more obvious does it become that capitalism is impotent before this new, mighty and triumphant force.

The struggle waged by the workers in the capitalist countries in defense of Soviet Russia, during the Civil War and intervention, helped them to go through in record time a great school of proletarian internationalism, gave them renewed confidence in their strength and re-established the class and human dignity of the working man, which had been trampled underfoot in the imperialist slaughter. The example of the workers and peasants in Soviet Russia played a tremendous part in stimulating the revolutionary upsurge which rolled across Europe, America and Asia between 1918-23, and which shook capitalism to its foundations.

The imperialists, by means of trade discrimination, the constant threat of intervention, diplomatic and military provocations and sabotage, sought to frustrate socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. But this time, too, they met with heavy defeat and merely aggravated the economic and political contradictions of the capitalist system. The Soviet five-year plans astonished the world and dealt capitalism a terrific moral and political blow. The building up of socialism in the Soviet Union marked a turning point in the competition between the two systems: a competition which the victory of the October Revolution forced upon capitalism and which it was unable to avoid, however much it wanted to.

For the working people of the capitalist world, the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union has opened up the clear perspective of struggle for liberation from the capitalist yoke. It has shown them that socialism is not "manna from heaven" which can be picked up immediately after the revolution, that it is a process requiring creative effort resulting in man's economic liberation and spiritual re-education, in converting the working people, the makers of history, into its conscious creators. Socialism is a system that ensures an unprecedented growth of the productive forces, of material and cultural values, leading steadily to happiness and well-being for all, irrespective of race or nationality.

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. sharply turned the scales in the competition between the two systems in favor of socialism. And world imperialism resolved to head

off this competition, so fatal to it, by means of war.

But this attempt to reverse the wheel of history culminated in another breach in the imperialist front, with the result that additional hundreds of millions gathered under the socialist banner.

After the Second World War the revolutionary process initiated by the October Revolution developed in the most varied forms. Capitalism was overthrown by people's democratic revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries, and the world system of socialist states arose; the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism evolved into the disintegration of this system and the conversion of a number of former colonies into independent states, many of which broke with the imperialist camp and ceased to be its political appendages; socialist ideas are becoming widespread among the masses now winning emancipation from colonial slavery; the communist movement in the capitalist countries has grown steadily and the prestige of the Communist parties has risen—such, in sum, are the main trends in the revolutionary process touched off by the October Revolution.

The rise of the socialist camp signified a broader base for an unexampled acceleration in the rate of development of society. The experience of the October Revolution and the principles of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. are now being tested and confirmed in the most diverse conditions in the countries of Central and South-East Europe, in China, the Mongolian People's Republic, Vietnam and Korea. Thus the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory and Lenin's conclusions on the general significance of the essential features of the Soviet revolution are being widely subjected to the test of history. Simultaneously, the ideological maturity of the Communist parties in the new socialist countries and their ability to apply the general truth of Marxism-Leninism, enriched by the experience of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union, to the concrete conditions prevailing in their countries underwent a crucial test.

Today, the splendid results of this historic test are to hand. The great Chinese Revolution, the most significant event since October 1917, has taken the Chinese people onto the high-road of socialism which it has been traversing for the past nine years. Big changes have taken place in this vast country, in its economy, in the ideological and intellectual development of its people, in organizing the efforts of millions of people—changes that in other conditions would have required centuries. Bulgaria has built socialism in a much shorter period than was required by the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia has laid the foundations of socialism, and the other People's Democracies are striding ahead.

In an attempt to save face in the eyes of the workers, the reformists at one time gave currency to the puerile idea of the "exceptional character" of the Russian revolution, that its methods and principles were not applicable to other countries. After the people's democratic revolutions had smashed this ridiculous idea to smithereens, it was revived in the false assertions about "revolution being exported via the Soviet Army". Now, in the light of the successful socialist construction in the People's Democracies, this whole concept is beginning to crumble. For who will believe that a regime imposed upon a country by alien armed forces could perform miracles in reconstructing the economy and culture of the peoples, in improving their well-being and enhancing their spiritual growth?

The reformists have endeavored to maintain their influence on the working class by circulating the story that the path to socialism blazed by the October Revolution is fraught with heavy and needless sacrifices. Firstly, the preachers of this "theory" have omitted to count up the enormous sacrifices to which capitalism dooms the working people. Secondly, the hardships and the sacrifices made by the Soviet people in the name of socialism by no means arose from the general principles of Marxism on which their chosen path has been based; but were due solely to the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie who unleashed a civil war, to the intervention and the constant threat of aggression by world imperialism. Thirdly, and this is the main point, now that socialism has emerged beyond the boundaries of one country, and there is a system of socialist countries which, for the first time in history, permits a rational and just division of labor in accordance with their needs and possibilities, the difficulties on the road of socialist construction are being overcome more easily and less painfully, while social changes are taking place at an ever quicker rate.

Socialism has now reached the stage where the contours of the new society are becoming apparent. The idea of this society had long stirred the best minds of the past, a society for Man, a society in which personality will blossom to the full, a society whose immediate

task will be to harness nature's inexhaustible forces for the benefit of man.

The Soviet Union is approaching this goal: atomic power stations; success in mastering intra-nuclear reaction; the final stage of electrifying the national economy; the unprecedented growth in output of the means of production; jet air-liners unrivaled for reliability and speed; intercontinental ballistic missiles; the Sputniks that have fired the imagination of people everywhere and which have firmly established the Soviet Union's priority in penetrating outer space; the leap in agriculture; the vast housing construction; the far-reaching program for the chemical industry as a means of increasing industrial potential and achieving an abundance of consumer goods; the reorganization of industrial management, which permits not only greater scope for the economic possibilities of socialism, but testifies to a new stage in socialist democracy—all are a reality in the Soviet Union. The plan to reform education is also an indication of the swift growth of socialism's vital forces. The enthusiasm (albeit somewhat forced) of the capitalist press for the Soviet educational system, evoked by the launching of the Sputniks, had barely petered out, when it became clear that this was already a back number for Soviet society, that it did not satisfy the needs of this society, and that more thorough training was needed by the young generation which would have to complete the building of communism. The new Seven-Year Development Plan for the Soviet economy (1959-65) will provide the basis for a rise in the well-being and spiritual enrichment of the people of socialist society, for such a shift in the competition of the two systems in favor of socialism, that its fulfilment will be a truly colossal blow to the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the working people in the capitalist countries.

The Soviet people's victories and the tremendous achievements of China and the other socialist countries are bound up with the strenuous creative labors of the Communist parties. In these efforts we can see quite clearly the features of the present stage of the development of Marxism-Leninism, the stage of the supreme synthesis of theory and practice, when the conscious, inspired labor of millions of people is directly expressed in the Party's political formulas, which in their turn render fruitful and extend the creative endeavors of the toilers of socialist society. And this is the outcome of the huge growth of socialism's material possibilities, which permit of rapidly bridging the gap between scientifically-grounded plans and their translation into reality.

Simultaneously with the rapid advance of the socialist camp we see the steady growth of the world communist movement. A cardinal condition for the fulfilment of the historic mission of this movement is its unity. And this is now guaranteed by the ideological maturity of the Communist parties, by their profound understanding of the laws governing the development of modern society, by their conviction, in most instances tested in practice, concerning the objective link between the national and international tasks of the working class, between the national-liberation movement and the cause of socialism.

The Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties from nearly all countries, whose representatives attended the Fortieth Anniversary celebrations of the October Revolution, and the historic Declaration and Peace Manifesto, were a demonstration of the supreme unity achieved by the world communist movement. The responsibility which the Communist and Workers' parties have taken upon themselves to defend peace —the movement that has rallied peoples of all countries—is yet another example of their growing solidarity.

The Declaration is a landmark in the development of Marxism-Leninism. It sums up the experience of building socialism in a system of states, formulates the laws governing its further advance, and analyzes the main social processes of our times. It embodies the collective thinking of the communist movement, and it is not fortuitous that those Communist parties which felt the need to revise their programs have done so on the basis of its ideas.

The supreme principle of the Declaration is proletarian internationalism, at the core of which is defense and support of the socialist camp—the greatest gain of the world communist movement. The solidarity of the Communists of all countries around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a powerful spiritual and material force, the guarantee of the ultimate triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Forty-one years have passed since the October Revolution. Every year this anniversary is celebrated throughout the world by ever larger numbers of people, and for this there is a profound reason.

Capitalist society, too, emerged from revolution; but it refuses to acknowledge this,

for it fears revolution. Socialist society has no need to conceal its origin; it is proud of it. The attitude of the people in the socialist world and of the class-conscious workers in all countries to the October Revolution is an expression of a completely new attitude (incomprehensible to capitalist ideology)—to history and to the role man is called upon to play in society. Therein lies the profound meaning of the ideas of the founders of Marxism: with the socialist revolution the prehistory of society ends and its real history begins.

The breach in the capitalist system made by the Russian people in 1917, in addition to laying the foundations of an entirely new type of society, also summoned to life new laws of social development. The content of the post-October years has been the struggle of the two social systems. And despite the great initial superiority of the old society's material forces, it proved powerless to either destroy or suppress the newly-born state, because it was the vehicle of historical progress with all its objective inevitability.

Having entered its last stage, capitalism plunged mankind into a world war of unprecedented dimensions, proving thereby that it was incapable of continuing as the social form of human progress. Its preservation signifies the constant threat of a new war not only on a local but on a world scale.

It is noteworthy that one of the immediate consequences of the Great October Socialist Revolution was that a vast country with a population of 150 millions dropped out of the imperialist war. The October Revolution indicated the one and only way of liberating mankind from the horrors of war as a means of solving social contradictions. The fact that socialism does not need wars to help in its development is further confirmation of the idea of the founders of Marxism about the socialist revolution being the beginning of the real history of humanity.

The policy of coexistence and peaceful settlement of international disputes, in common with the policy pursued by the socialist states in general, rests upon an objective basis —the laws governing socialist society, to which wars are inherently alien. Socialism's more than 40-year history shows that instigation of wars, and war against the socialist countries, will but hasten the destruction of capitalism. If capitalism did not succeed in crushing socialism between 1917 and 1922, or during the Second World War, any attempt to do so in a third world war is certainly doomed to failure.

The time has come when the forces of socialism are to flourish in all their grandeur. Socialism has proved its invincibility in practice. Its achievements have come to stay, they are indestructible, for they reflect the needs of society as a whole. The objective character of the laws of the development of socialist society imbues Communists with confidence in the final victory of communism. For this very reason contemporary socialism, although it possesses all the means for crushing world imperialism by force of arms, does not need war in order to triumph, for war is contrary to the essence of communism. "We Communists," N. S. Khrushchov said, "have never sought, and never will seek to attain our aims through such frightful means; that is anti-moral and runs counter to our communist world outlook. We proceed from the premise that wars are not needed for the development of socialism . . ." ". . . We are convinced that in the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism, victory will be won by socialism, that capitalism will inevitably depart from the arena of history, just as in its day feudalism gave way to capitalism."

Capitalism still has considerable resources and great strength at its disposal; it is in a position to win individual, partial victories over the democratic movement in one or another country, to slow down the progressive development of society in one or another sector. But the experience of the post-October period proves that these successes are temporary and transient. Capitalism is powerless to halt the march of history which, increasingly, is identified with communism. It cannot do so not even through a world war. And, what is more, its ability to involve mankind in a new world war has greatly lessened. The times when capitalism imposed its will on the world are receding into the past.

By virtue of ineluctable laws of social change, mankind is marching towards socialism. The cause initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution will triumph everywhere. There is no force on earth that can prevent it.

Lenin Documents

WE print below two hitherto unpublished documents written by Lenin: "Letter to Otto Kuusinen and Observations on the Draft 'Theses on the Organizational Structure of the Communist Parties and the Methods and Content of Their Work' ", dated June 10, 1921, and "Letter to Otto Kuusinen and Wilhelm Koenen" on the same subject dated July 9, 1921.

These letters, written during the Third Congress of the Communist International, testify to the interest which Lenin took in strengthening the young fraternal Communist parties organizationally, and to his part in drawing up the Theses on Organization submitted to the Third Congress and unanimously adopted by that body on July 12, 1921.

The documents have been taken from Book XXXVI of the Lenin Miscellany, *which is now being prepared for the press.*

—Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

LETTER TO OTTO KUUSINEN AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE DRAFT "THESES ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE METHODS AND CONTENT OF THEIR WORK"[1]

Translated from the German

TO COMRADE KUUSINEN

URGENT

Address: Either with the Finnish Communists or at the Comintern

10/VI [1921]

Comrade Kuusinen,

It was with great pleasure that I read your article (3 chapters)[2] and the Theses.

I enclose my observations on the Theses.

I suggest that you find at once a German comrade (a real German) to edit the German text (of the article and the Theses). Perhaps this comrade would also, at your request, read the article as a report to the Third Congress (it would be much better for the German delegates to listen to a German).[3]

I suggest that you delete the end (of the Theses).

Much more detail on propaganda and agitation--particularly on the press, but this also applies to oral propaganda.

In my opinion you really must report at the Congress. I shall write to Zinoviev about this today.

Best wishes!

Yours,

Lenin

Theses

(Thesis 6 or) §6, 2 sub-para, the last sentence should read:

..."will to a degree inevitably inherit this tendency from... environment..."

And the next sentence should read:

..."The Comm. Party must overcome this tendency by systematic, persistent organizational work, by making many improvements and rectifications..."[4]

(Thesis 7 or) §7:

It should be stated in greater detail that this is the thing that is wanting in most of the legal parties in the West. There is no day-to-day work (revolutionary work) by e a c h Party member.

That is the fundamental evil.

The greatest difficulty is to change this.

A n d t h a t i s m o s t i m p o r t a n t.[5]

§10.

This should be much fuller.

More details.

Examples are needed.

The role of the newspaper.

"Our" newspaper compared with the usual capitalist newspaper.

Working for "our" newspaper.

Example: Russian newspapers of 1912-1913.

Struggle against the bourgeois newspapers. Exposing their venality, their lies and so on.

Distribution of leaflets.[6]

House-to-house agitation.

Sunday outings, etc.

Should be given in much, much greater detail.

§11--also in far, far greater detail.

§13. Presentation of reports and their d i s c u s s i o n in the branches.

Reports on hostile and particularly on petty-bourgeois organizations (Labor Party, Socialist parties and so on).

Write in greater detail on what must be done among the mass of unorganized workers or those belonging to the yellow unions (including the II and 2½ Internationals) and the non-proletarian sections of the working people.[7]

§§26 and 27.

This is irrelevant.

This is not an "organizational question".

It would be better to develop this subject into a special article for the Communist International, for instance: "Organizational Questions in Revolutionary Periods" or something of the kind.

Or: On the revolution now beginning and our corresponding tasks (based on Russian and Finnish experience).

NOTES

1The Draft Theses on Organization for the Third Congress of the Communist International to which reference is made, were drawn up by Otto Kuusinen and sent to Lenin on June 6, 1921.

After the draft had been amended in conformity with Lenin's observations, and the final editing done—the German Communist Wilhelm Koenen helped with the editing—it was submitted to the Third Congress, discussed by the Commission and, with minor amendments, adopted by the Congress on July 12, 1921.

2Otto Kuusinen's article entitled "Two Problems" was published in the **Communist International** No. 17, 1921.

3The report on Organization was read to the Third Congress of the Communist International on July 10, 1921, by Wilhelm Koenen, member of the United Communist Party of Germany.

4See "Documents of the Communist International. Resolutions, Theses and Appeals of the Congresses of the Communist International and Plenary Meetings of its Executive Committee, 1919-1932." Moscow, 1933, Russian Edition, page 203.

5Ibid., pages 203-204.

6Ibid., pages 216-219.

7Ibid., pages 209-211.

LETTER TO OTTO KUUSINEN AND WILHELM KOENEN

Translated from the German

To Comrades
Kuusinen
and Koenen

9/VII 1921

Dear Comrades,

It was with great pleasure that I read your Draft Theses on Organization. I think you have done a very good job. I would suggest just two additions:

1) that control commissions consisting of the best, tried and experienced workers be set up in all parties[1];

2) spies--this point should be dealt with in a special paragraph in connection with underground activity. It should read something like: The bourgeoisie will inevitably send spies and provocateurs into the underground organizations. This should be combated with the utmost resolution and persistence; what should especially be recommended in conducting this struggle is skilful combination of legal and illegal activity, testing a comrade (whether or not he is fit for illegal activity) through legal work over a long period.[2]

With Comm. greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

1See "Documents of the Communist International. Resolutions, Theses and Appeals of the Congresses of the Communist International and Plenary Meetings of its Executive Committee. 1919-1932." Moscow, 1933, Russian Edition, page 221.

2Ibid., pages 223-224.

Historic Meetings and Documents

Yang Shang-Kun

THE Communist and Workers' parties, which attended the celebrations of the Fortieth Anniversary of the October Revolution last November, took advantage of their stay in Moscow to hold two meetings, convened on the initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which have acquired great historic significance.

These were the most representative gatherings of these parties since the dissolution of the Communist International. They reflected the progress made by the international communist movement; they consolidated and laid a new political and ideological groundwork for the unity of the socialist camp and of the world communist movement. Thanks to the methods of consultation employed, these meetings revealed an identity of views which provided a fine example of the growing unity of the Communist parties on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The parties are unanimous in believing that these meetings opened a new stage in the life of the international communist movement.

I

The Moscow meetings adopted two historic documents, namely, the Declaration of the 12 Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, and the Peace Manifesto of 64 parties.

The Declaration of the Communist parties of the twelve countries, which was also endorsed by the Communist and Workers' parties of the capitalist countries, is, in fact, the program of the international communist movement. It sums up the experience accumulated by this movement over the past hundred years and especially during the past forty years: that of the Communist parties of all countries in their struggle for world peace and human progress; the experience of the Communist parties which have already won power in their struggle for the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and that of the Communist parties which have still to conquer power in their fight for democracy, freedom and national liberation and a socialist future for their countries. The Declaration upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism and clarified many important political and theoretical problems on which the solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is based. For instance, it correctly assessed the present international situation; indicated the main tasks of the revolutionary working-class movement; laid the foundation for a united front in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism; pointed out the possible forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the different countries; substantiated the general laws governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction, as well as the relationship between the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the national peculiarities of each country. The Declaration stressed the importance of the application of dialectics by Communist parties in their practical work, and the need to strengthen ideological work and the fight against contemporary revisionism, which constitutes the main danger in the international communist movement. It explained what should be the relations, in the present conditions, between socialist countries and between Communist parties, on the basis of internationalism; and many other questions. There can be no doubt that the Declaration, as an international document of a programmatic character, has made a great contribution to the further development of the ideology and the practical work of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The Peace Manifesto, which breathes enthusiasm, sets out the clear and unequivocal communist position on peace and war, this most pressing issue of our time. Showing the way to prevent war, it calls on all humanity to fight for peace, and voices the determination of the proletariat and the peoples of the entire world to rally as one in defense of peace.

The Moscow meetings and the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto raised aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and brought clarity into issues on which there had been some ideological confusion in the international communist movement both before and after the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary. In particular, there were the following three questions:

1. On war and peace, the Declaration states clearly: "So long as imperialism exists there

will always be a source of aggressive wars." The Manifesto also points out in a clear manner that the imperialists long for war, "the capitalist monopolies have a vested interest in war and have amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive". At the same time the two documents emphasize that the peace forces have grown substantially and they can prevent war. The most powerful peace force today is represented by the socialist camp with the Soviet Union at its head. The fight for peace is the first and foremost task of the Communist and Workers' parties. Since war derives from imperialism, the question of whether or not mankind can avert the disaster of another world war cannot be resolved by the good-will and unilateral efforts of the peace-loving nations alone. Furthermore, imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, takes advantage, to a certain extent, of the people's dread of atomic war, a dread that is quite understandable, and seeks to intimidate and to disarm them morally in their struggle against war so that it can start aggression at will and impose war on the nations. Consequently those who genuinely desire peace should not capitulate in the face of the imperialist war threat. Their fear should be replaced by a great and indomitable will to fight imperialism. And if, despite world popular protests, the imperialists dare to unleash another world war then, as the communique on Mao Tse-tung's meeting with Nikita Khrushchov on August 3 states, " all the peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples, closely united, will put an end forever to the imperialist aggressors and establish lasting peace throughout the world".

2. Transition from capitalism to socialism. The Declaration indicates two possible ways of accomplishing this transition—the peaceful and the non-peaceful ways. The working class and its vanguard will try to "achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means", but "in the event of the ruling classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind". Which way may possibly be used in carrying through the socialist revolution "will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, and on these circles' using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism". In indicating these two possible ways, the Declaration pointed out that if the working class and its vanguard were to resort to force, they would do so simply as a matter of self-defense. The bourgeoisie will not voluntarily relinquish its power, that is the universal law of class struggle. Hence the working class and its vanguard, while exerting tremendous efforts to achieve peaceful transition to socialism, should ever be on the alert, ready to rebuff, with the backing of the broad masses, any counter-revolutionary attacks and to thwart all reactionary schemes to use military force to crush the people's revolution. So long as the state machine is in the hands of the exploiting classes, there will always be the danger of the reactionary forces resorting to such methods as dissolving parliament, altering the constitution, declaring elections invalid, outlawing the Communist party and even effecting a fascist *coup d'état* and unleashing a civil war with a view to making short work of a people's revolution.

3. Socialist revolution and socialist construction. Dealing with these historic tasks, the Declaration sets forth the general laws of these processes and explains the principle of combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice and socialist construction in each particular country. As Marx and Lenin pointed out, the general laws governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction are of an objective character; and this has been borne out by practice in the U.S.S.R., China and the other socialist countries. A cardinal requirement in building socialism is for the working class, with the Marxist-Leninist party as its core, to guide the working masses in carrying through the proletarian revolution in one form or another, in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, and in using it to effect the socialist revolution in the economic, political and ideological spheres. The general laws operate in every country advancing along the socialist road. But in view of the specific national features of the different countries, the forms of the socialist revolution and socialist construction inevitably vary. This is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle. To deny these general laws, to violate this principle, is to sink into the bog of revisionism. And vice versa, to give insufficient regard to the peculiarities of each country, of each particular nation, means to fall into dogmatic errors.

The Moscow meetings, the Declaration and Peace Manifesto were endorsed by all Marxist-Leninist parties the world over, and met with a warm response and the support of the broad

masses everywhere. It was only the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, self-styled "communists", who placed themselves outside the communist ranks, without any regret for doing so. The Yugoslav leaders stubbornly oppose the Declaration. They have repudiated the Peace Manifesto to which they had appended their signature.

II

International political developments during the past year have fully corroborated the correctness of the Declaration and the Manifesto.

At the time of the Moscow meetings it was evident that the launching of two Soviet Sputniks and the convening of the meetings clearly meant that international development in our times had reached a new turning point. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung expressed it, the east wind is now prevailing over the west wind, which signifies that the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism have already gained superiority over the forces of imperialism. In terms of population, rates of economic development and advance in some important branches of science and technology the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at its head, substantially surpasses the imperialist camp. The socialist camp also attracts the sympathies of the people all over the world.

A feature of international development during the past year is that the "east wind has become stronger", while the "west wind is weakening". As the Declaration points out, "while socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline". Economic construction and the development of culture in the socialist camp are proceeding at an unparalleled rate. The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries are making rapid progress in industrial and agricultural production; and in its drive to surpass the United States the Soviet Union has registered major successes this year. In the first six months of the current year the Soviet Union's industrial output rose by 10.5 per cent compared with the same period for 1957, whereas production in the U.S.A. dropped by 10.8 per cent. In the same period, coal production in the U.S.S.R. exceeded that of the U.S.A., and its steel output equalled 78.9 per cent of that of the U.S.A. In the competition to surpass Britain, China has also made great strides. Her industrial output for the first half of this year rose 34 per cent compared with the same period of 1957, while that of Britain fell by 2.1 per cent. The time-limit set for the U.S.S.R. to surpass the U.S.A. and China to surpass Britain has been substantially reduced. The economy of the socialist camp is steadily expanding, whereas the chief capitalist countries, beginning with the U.S.A., are entering a new economic crisis. Let us take, for example, industrial production. The socialist countries increased their industrial output by an average of 13 per cent during the first half of this year, as compared with the same period of 1957, while in the U.S.A., Britain, France, Western Germany and Japan it dropped by an average of 4.6 per cent. This comparison in the development of peaceful competition is striking evidence of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist. There is no doubt that in peaceful competition the socialist camp will, in the course of time, leave the imperialist states far behind.

The national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America made an unprecedented advance in the past year. This attests to the fact that with the existence of a powerful socialist camp this movement has become an irresistible trend. The triumph of the national revolution in Iraq converted a reactionary fortress of imperialism overnight into an outpost of the national-liberation struggle of the Arab peoples. Latin America, which the U.S. imperialists look on as their "back yard", has now become an arena of struggle against them. Aggressive American imperialism has exposed itself to the whole world as enemy No. 1 of the oppressed nations and the peace-loving peoples. The forces of socialism and of national liberation stand squarely in one joint front of struggle against imperialism. There is no doubt that the peoples fighting for their liberation will emerge victors in their battle for independence, against imperialist oppression and aggression, provided there is unity among the patriotic and democratic forces in each country and close relations between these forces and the socialist countries.

In the main capitalist countries, too, the past year has witnessed an advance in the popular movement for peace, democracy, social reforms and defense of the working people's rights. There is a growing unity in France, Italy and Japan, between the working class and other toilers who are fighting with increasing militancy for their rights and demands, resolutely opposing imperialist policy. In the U.S.A., Britain and Canada the broad masses of workers conduct strike after strike, coming out against the heavy burden of the

economic crisis which monopoly capital has imposed on them. Monopoly capital in France, for instance, is seeking to resort to methods of fascist dictatorship in the search for a way out of the political and economic crisis. It is actively preparing for a fascist attack on the freedom-loving people. The reactionary attacks, however, can have but a still greater reverse effect, rousing against monopoly capital all the social strata oppressed by it.

The world peace movement has grown in depth and scope during the past year. It now embraces people of all nationalities and all walks of life; moreover it has won the support of some bourgeois statesmen. The peoples fighting to win and uphold their independence are also, through their struggle against colonialism, participating in the world peace movement, thus adding substantially to its strength. In Japan, Western Germany, Britain and in many other capitalist countries the demand for banning the tests and the use of nuclear weapons has become a broad mass movement. Throughout the world there resounds the demand for an all-round reduction of armaments, the prohibition of tests and the use of nuclear weapons, for collective security in Europe and Asia, peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and a negotiated solution of international issues.

Although the world forces of peace have won major victories during the past year, it is still essential for the peoples of all countries to keep a vigilant eye on the war danger emanating from the imperialist camp headed by the U.S.A. Defense of world peace and struggle against the threat of a new war still remain the foremost task of the peoples. American imperialism, the main instigator of war, is gathering around it all the reactionary forces. Thus it is the center of international reaction. Whereas the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries jointly with all peace-loving states and nations are exerting tremendous efforts to consolidate peace, American imperialism stubbornly refuses to stop its aggressive and military activities. While the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are engaged in a struggle to win and uphold their independence, the American imperialists are interfering to an increasing extent in their domestic affairs, rattling the sabre and, what is more, openly taking the path of armed aggression. Only recently the United States and Britain invaded Lebanon and Jordan and a short while ago in the Taiwan area the U.S.A. has again threatened China with war and instigated war provocations.

What will be the outcome of the U.S. imperialist aggressive policies Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated in a recent speech: "The Chinese territory of Taiwan, the Lebanon and all U.S. military bases on foreign territories constitute a noose around American imperialism's neck. No one but the Americans themselves have made this noose and put their necks into it. They have given the other end of the rope to the Chinese people, to the Arab peoples, to all the peace-loving peoples of the world who oppose aggression. The longer the American aggressors remain in these places, the tighter will the noose be fastened around their neck." "If the U.S. monopolists persist in their aggressive warlike policies they will, in the long run, be hanged by the peoples of the world." The American imperialists are obdurately creating tension. Will it always pay them to do so? And here Comrade Mao Tse-tung answers this question: ". . . the tension created by the United States has had the opposite effect to what the Americans wanted. Actually it has rallied the peoples of the world to fight the American aggressors."

This attests to the fact that the Moscow meetings, the Declaration and Peace Manifesto rally, inspire and win the support of ever broader masses in all countries by their militant program in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

III

In the year that has passed since the Moscow meetings, all the Communist and Workers' parties have achieved further success in their work and struggle. Wider vistas are opening up before the international communist movement and it is becoming still more powerful.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has recorded impressive achievements in leading the Soviet people in communist construction. It has made an important contribution to increasing the might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and has played the decisive role in rallying the world peace forces in a tireless struggle to strengthen peace and prevent war. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is now actively preparing for its XXIst Congress. It is advancing a magnificent seven-year plan of communist construction, and this has enhanced still more its unshakable prestige among the working people of the world.

The Chinese Communist Party, leading the Chinese people, has in the main won victory in the socialist revolution on the political and

ideological fronts. The Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party held last May laid down the general line of socialist construction on the basis of the eight years' experience of building socialism. This line has inspired a movement among the Chinese people for great ideological emancipation in the spirit of communism. Good conditions have been created for a swift upsurge of industrial and agricultural production, for increasing the number of popular communes.

In the other Asian and European socialist countries under fraternal Party leadership, further advances have also been made in the economic, political and ideological spheres. The Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which were held in June and July, demonstrated the solidarity and unity of Party ranks and the resolve to accelerate socialist construction to the utmost.

The Communist parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America are in the front line of the struggle to win and uphold national independence and, to an increasing extent, are becoming the core inspiring and rallying all the patriotic and democratic forces for this struggle. A united front of national liberation has been formed in many countries, and communist influence in this front is growing daily. The rising national-liberation movement has resulted in the Communist parties of many countries acquiring legal status. Their prestige among the people of Indonesia, India, Algeria, Iraq, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Colombia and Cuba is steadily rising.

The Communist parties in the capitalist countries have made further progress in their struggle against revisionism and the Right-wing traitors, in upholding the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, in reinforcing the solidarity of the parties and raising their militancy, in establishing close contacts with the workers, peasants and other working people, and rallying all the democratic and progressive forces. The French Communist Party is waging a hard battle against de Gaulle's "dictatorial Constitution", rallying all the forces which stand for the republican system; the Italian Communist Party won splendid victories during the May elections, while in Finland the Communist Party and its allies became the largest party in parliament. The Communist Party of the U.S.A., which is fighting under most difficult conditions and is being bitterly persecuted by reaction, has purged its ranks of revisionist elements, of bourgeois agents of the Gates type, and has restored and enhanced its militancy.

For some time before and after the events in Hungary, dark clouds gathered over the international communist movement, waves of anti-communism followed one after the other. The imperialists and reactionary forces in all countries tried to weaken the Communist parties and prevent their growth—through terror, disruptive activities, persecution and slander. The revisionists tried to split the ranks of the Communist parties. Throwing off all restraint, they helped the imperialists and reactionaries in their offensive against the international communist movement. However misfortune was turned into good fortune. This offensive and the splitting activities of the revisionists had the reverse effect. All that they succeeded in doing was to temper the Communist ranks. By expelling the revisionist, defeatist and unstable elements, the Communist parties were not weakened, but further strengthened.

The Declaration states that the main danger at present is revisionism, and this is borne out by facts. The "Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia", adopted at its Seventh Congress last April, constitutes the most extreme expression of contemporary revisionism. This program, revisionist from beginning to end, proves that the L.C.Y. leaders have slumped politically and ideologically, to the position of traitors to the working class. This is the logical outcome of their foreign policy of ingratiating themselves with the U.S.A. and of their anti-Soviet attacks, their policy of renouncing the struggle between the two ways of development within the country, of allowing the free development of capitalist relations and bourgeois ideology, and of spreading the American way of life in Yugoslavia. Revisionism in general is a bourgeois ideological trend, while the Yugoslav brand is a product of the policy of imperialism, American in particular. The Yugoslav leaders hope, in compliance with the needs of U.S. imperialism, to inculcate revisionism in the international communist movement with a view to disrupting its unity and that of the socialist camp. By acting in this way these revisionists, who so eagerly curry favor with the imperialists, have completely thrown off their mask. In combating Yugoslav revisionism the Marxist-Leninist parties have unanimously criticized and condemned the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. And so the efforts of the Yugoslav revisionists were in vain.

Developments during the past year show that, contrary to the hopes entertained by the imperialists and the revisionists, the international communist movement has not regressed, it has gone forward, notwithstanding the many difficulties and shortcomings.

IV

Historic tasks face all the Communist and Workers' parties. To carry them out, monolithic unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is required. This unity forms the basis for broad solidarity of the peoples and guarantees that the common struggle of the working class will triumph in all countries.

The imperialists and all the adversaries of communism are banking on the Communist ranks breaking up and becoming divided. But we are a militant communist detachment. We must be united politically and ideologically. We must co-ordinate our actions. Since Marx's time the call has gone out for the workers of all countries to unite, since otherwise they would not be strong enough to fight the enemy, who would smash them one by one.

Unity requires a center. The unity of the socialist camp must have its center, and this is the Soviet Union. The unity of the international communist movement likewise must have its center, and this is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was in no artificial way that the Soviet Union became the center of unity of the socialist camp, it came about naturally, by virtue of historical conditions.

Our communist solidarity is not a loose unity; it must be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is only on this basis that a common language can be found in our communist ranks. And the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto serve as a criterion for this common language.

The relations between our socialist countries and between the Communist parties are based on the principle of proletarian internationalism. The essence of the mutual relations between our countries and between our parties, in addition to strict observance of the principle of equality, also includes the lofty duty of mutual aid, unity and co-operation in the common cause.

Since the Moscow meetings the unity of our socialist countries and of the Communist parties has grown substantially: both in the joint struggle for peace, socialism, ideological defense of Marxism-Leninism, and in learning from each other and exchanging experience. There is no doubt that in the present situation all genuine Communists cherish their unity more than ever. They are making determined efforts to strengthen international proletarian solidarity and nip in the bud all views and actions that harm unity.

The historic Moscow meetings, the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto illuminate our path of advance. We are certain that unity of the entire socialist camp and the international communist movement, based on these meetings, on the Declaration and Manifesto, will undoubtedly reveal still more powerful and really inexhaustible forces, and will win one victory after another in the common cause of the world proletariat.

Impact of the Chinese Revolution on the National Liberation Struggle

Yevgeni Zhukov

NINE years have passed since the Chinese People's Republic was proclaimed. The victory of the people's revolution in China has greatly changed the world balance of forces in favor of socialism. Moreover, it marked a new stage — that of the final disintegration of colonialism and the resurgence of the nations now achieving liberation in Asia and Africa. The tempestuous growth of the national-liberation struggle in a brief space of time and the steady sapping of the pillars of imperialism are largely determined by the existence and success of the new China, which is a vital factor in present-day international relations.

Only short-sighted politicians and the reckless gamblers in the capitalist world, men who have lost all sense of reality, continue to reiterate that there are "two Chinas", so as to aid and abet the discredited clique of

outcasts and traitors entrenched in Taiwan. The imperialists' non-stop provocations against China betray their fear of the irreversible revolutionary movement for emancipation from the colonial yoke. This movement is the clearest expression of the victory of the Chinese people and has been greatly stimulated by it.

The ruling circles of the U.S.A., the center of imperialist reaction, resort to all kinds of provocative subterfuge in an endeavor to prevent the international influence of the new China from spreading and, above all, to neutralize the effects of the Chinese revolutionary experience on the economically underdeveloped countries. But U.S. machinations against the Chinese People's Republic merely widen the gulf between the imperialist camp and the young Afro-Asian countries which, naturally, are suspicious of the intrigues against Asia's largest and mightiest power which has set an example of victorious national-liberation struggle.

China is still "represented" in the U.N. by an American puppet long since disowned and driven out of the country by the people. The abnormality of this situation is particularly felt in the Afro-Asian countries recently liberated from the imperialist yoke. No matter when this stigma in U.N. history is removed, the real People's China exists and is a participant (albeit an invisible one) in the General Assembly meetings; it takes an active part in the conflict between the forces of peace and war, between progress and reaction, freedom and imperialist violence.

The policy of war provocations and "non-recognition" reveals the inability of the U.S.A. to comprehend the historical processes now taking place in the world, and testifies to the blind hatred of the imperialist colonialists for the new East now winning emancipation.

The logic of the imperialists is exceedingly primitive. They believe that their aggressive actions against People's China can hold back all the colonies and dependent countries, weaken the anti-imperialist movement and restore the dimmed prestige of the colonialists. They also nurture the hope that these provocations may somehow weaken the socialist camp and stop the growth of the peace forces rallied around it.

But developments show that these actions produce the opposite results. The sinister U.S. provocations against China bring into clear relief the question of the general prospects for international development, the nature of the relations between the imperialist states and the countries of the East, and the issue of peace and war.

The peoples recently liberated from colonial dependence justly see in U.S. actions — both in the Middle East and in the Taiwan area — direct revanchist strivings of the colonialists and the danger of a world conflagration. The link between the Anglo-American armed intervention in the Middle East and the U.S. aggressive actions in the Far East is evident. This is realized by all the peoples of the East, whose sympathies, naturally, are with China. The result is that the U.S. provocative policy, despite the calculations of its inspirers, far from disorganizing the anti-imperialist forces, objectively helps consolidate them. There is no need to prove that the monolithic socialist camp fears no imperialist threats and will regard an attack against China as a challenge to the whole system of the socialist states.

The basic flaw in the calculations of the leaders of the imperialist camp is their inability to understand the international significance of the victorious Chinese people's revolution and the historic role played by the new China in international relations. The disintegration of the colonial system would be a much slower process were it not for this revolution.

China's outstanding role in international relations is growing from year to year and becoming increasingly evident with every change in the world. The example and the experience of the revolution in China are, and will continue to be, of very great significance for the general advance of the national-liberation movement against imperialism, for the progressive development of the Eastern countries which have already won independence.

The break-up of the imperialist colonial system is a many-sided and uneven revolutionary process. Deliverance from the colonial yoke is won by each country in a specific way that may have different features from those in other countries. The Chinese revolution is a classical type of victorious anti-imperialist revolution. The point is not that China has the biggest population and that she is a great Asian and world power, though these factors can by no means be underestimated. The very circumstances and the conditions under which the Chinese revolution triumphed are most important.

For over a century China had been the object of predatory encroachments on the part of the colonial powers (in this respect the Japanese imperialists, too, in defiance of geography, have always tried to prove their "western" nature). During the lifetime of

several generations China in the eyes of Europeans and Americans had been almost synonymous with backwardness and obscurantism. Arrogant and brutal colonizers invaded the country and, like vandals, massacred the people, plundered and wantonly destroyed precious relics and monuments of the past, posing the while as representatives of the highest human culture.

Despite her ancient civilization, the old China really was a backward semi-feudal country with a complex and multi-tiered system of exploitation, a country in which the masses were oppressed and deprived of all rights, whose rulers were notorious for their venality and inability to uphold the national interests. That is why ultimately she became a semi-colony, the prey of avid foreign capital and the arena of acute rivalry between the imperialist plunderers.

In the Second World War China fell victim to the Japanese imperialist aggressors; a large part of her territory was occupied and devastated, industry and transport were paralyzed. When the war ended and Japan lay prostrate, her chief rival — the U.S.A. — decided that the time had come for it to rule over China. The American colonizers had anticipated an easy "victory" over the country bled and weakened by the long struggle against the Japanese invaders. Their confidence was all the greater because governmental power in China was exercised by the corrupt "four family" clique headed by the traitor Chiang Kai-shek and closely linked with American capital. The U.S. rulers had hoped that their lavish aid to the Kuomintang reactionaries would ensure the rapid defeat of the democratic forces rallied around the Chinese Comunist Party and end in establishing American control over this vast country. The American "plans" to adapt the Chinese market to the needs of the overseas monopolies are well known. Nor were strategic considerations overlooked in these plans, for dominion in China would pave the way to U.S. dominion over the entire continent of Asia. As early as 1947 the U.S. militarists hoped, not without reason, that Kuomintang China, not occupied Japan, would be their main strategic base in Asia.

On American orders and with the direct participation of the U.S. military, the Kuomintang chiefs undertook a series of measures designed to secure the quickest possible suppression of the democratic areas and to isolate and defeat the heroic Communist Party of China. Chiang Kai-shek's multi-million-strong army, equipped with American arms, was thrown against the liberated areas. But the hordes of American mercenaries were routed. The Kuomintang overlords fled to Taiwan where they entrenched themselves under U.S. military protection.

Disgraceful failure of the U.S. political and military strategy was the main circumstance which attended the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution in 1949. It was precisely this fact which lent it special international importance. Unlike its allies in the anti-fascist coalition, the U.S. had not by a long way exhausted its rich material resources in the Second World War. Its armed forces took part in relatively few military operations, while home territory had not been touched by the war. Shortly before the surrender of imperialist Japan and the termination of the war, the American monopolies, which had piled up immense wealth, advanced a program for world dominion. In "substantiating" this claim, atomic blackmail played no small part. The criminal use, in the penultimate stage of the war, of the atom bombs against the civil population of two Japanese cities was motivated by one purpose — to intimidate the world with the military "omnipotence" of the U.S.A., to compel all people to bow to the will of the dollar.

In these conditions the catastrophic failure of the U.S. "China" policy and its entire "Asian" strategy had exceptional repercussions in international affairs. The point was that with American imperialism suffering a grave defeat, the very idea of the United States achieving world dominion was now discredited and shattered. What was more, the example of China has shown that in our times armed intervention even of the most powerful imperialist state against another country battling for independence is doomed to failure.

In this sense the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution predetermined a whole series of subsequent defeats for the imperialist aggressors in Korea, Vietnam and Egypt. Developments confirm that both the American-British intervention in the Arab East and the provocations in the Taiwan area are also doomed to failure.

The victory of the Chinese People's Revolution produced significant effects on an international scale.

We should point first of all to the fact that the victorious Chinese Revolution shattered the myth of the omnipotence of U.S. imperialism and thus fortified the belief of all the colonial and dependent peoples in their ultimate victory over imperialism in general.

The defeat of the Axis powers in the Second World War greatly weakened the imperialist positions. The national-liberation movement in the Asian countries, being an important part of the general anti-fascist liberation struggle, received a new and powerful stimulus. The Japanese and Italian colonial empires were destroyed. The colonial positions of Britain, France and Holland were seriously sapped. In the battles against the Japanese invaders the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Indonesian Republic came into existence. The liberation movements in India and Burma grew rapidly. In the new situation the U.S.A., pursuing demagogic aims, made ample use of anti-colonialist slogans, trying to discredit and oust its rivals from their overseas colonies. In the guise of trusteeship the U.S.A. succeeded in seizing new colonies. In 1947, it received the Marshall, Mariana and Caroline Islands in the Pacific, and established a colonial regime there.

The U.S.A. emerged from the war as the strongest imperialist power — the center of the political, economic and military power of world imperialism. Hence all the greater was the significance of the victory won by the Chinese people.

This victory showed that it was not just the "old" colonial powers, such as Britain, France and Holland, that were no longer able to retain their colonies, since the peoples had risen in the struggle for liberation. Even modern American imperialism found itself powerless in face of the rising national-liberation movement in the biggest Asian country where the people were led by the working class and its glorious Communist Party.

The victory of the Chinese Revolution had an immediate and tremendous impact on the national-liberation struggle in the Asian countries. Due to the new relation of forces, the colonial wars waged by the imperialists against the peoples of Vietnam and Indonesia had no chance of success.

Recognition of the Republic of Indonesia after the long and complicated provocative maneuvering by the imperialist powers was a direct consequence of the new international situation brought about by the victory of the Chinese people. The three colonial powers — Holland, the U.S.A. and Britain — which sought to suppress the national movement of the Indonesian people, were unable to continue their armed intervention; they were no longer in a position to wage a large-scale colonial war.

It should be noted that the Chinese people's victory aggravated the antagonisms among the imperialist powers and hindered joint action by them against the national-liberation movement in Asia.

The imperialist powers, naturally, never became reconciled to the successes of the liberation movement, never relinquished their interventionist action. But for the time being they have had to retreat, retaining footholds in Taiwan, South Korea, South Vietnam and West New Guinea (West Irian).

The peoples who had got rid of the colonial yoke gained a respite. This enabled them to consolidate their states and create more favorable conditions for the further struggle not only for political but also for economic independence from imperialism.

The severest trial for the national-liberation movement of the Asian peoples was the war in Korea — a further attempt by American imperialism to dig in on the continent of Asia, and an expression of the U.S. desire to take a partial revenge for its disgraceful defeat in China.

The American aggressors used the blue flag of the United Nations as camouflage for their foul schemes and as a bait to ensure the participation of their allies and satellites in the intervention.

The Korean people fought valiantly in this difficult struggle and overcame a strong enemy thanks, largely, to the solidarity of the entire camp of peace, socialism and democracy and, above all, to the aid of the Chinese volunteers. The socialist countries, it should be said, were not alone in fraternal solidarity with the people of Korea during the American intervention. The aggressors were unequivocally condemned by the Asian peoples who had by that time freed themselves from colonial dependence. The U.S. imperialists could recruit for the "U.N. force" which they sent to Korea only small Philippine and Turkish contingents as token forces of the Asian countries. And even this "representation" was obtained only after crude pressure on the governments of countries heavily dependent on American aid.

The defeat of the interventionists in Korea clearly demonstrated that the Chinese Revolution had opened a new page in Asia's history. The rise and consolidation of the new China radically changed the political climate in Asia and improved the international positions of India, Indonesia and the other young nations. In the circumstances of today the imperialist powers cannot exert pressure on

these states in the high-handed manner of the days that are gone.

The solidarity of the socialist countries forming the camp of peace, democracy and socialism imparts special strength and prestige to the international actions of China. Everyone knows the positive role played by the Chinese People's Republic at the 1954 Geneva Conference, when the agreement on a cease-fire in Indo-China was reached. In her relationships with the Afro-Asian countries and with some European capitalist states, People's China has set an example of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation. China and India jointly drafted the five principles of peaceful coexistence, which have been a most valuable contribution to the cause of peace and co-operation among the nations.

China also played an outstanding role in the 1955 Bandung Conference of the Afro-Asian countries. She was an initiator of important decisions which united all the countries represented at the Conference on the common platform of struggle against colonialism, for peaceful and equal co-operation.

China's friendly relations with the majority of Afro-Asian states including such big countries as India, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic, are yielding exceptionally beneficial results in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Together with the Soviet Union, China emphatically protested against the imperialist attack on Egypt in 1956. More recently China and the U.S.S.R. denounced the American and British intervention in the Lebanon and Jordan. The great Chinese nation has extended the hand of friendship to the young Republic of Iraq and to the Algerian people fighting for their independence. The Arab nations, understandably, value highly the peace-loving policy of the Chinese People's Republic and unanimously express indignation at the U.S. provocations in the Taiwan area.

Of particular significance for the national-liberation movement in the Afro-Asian countries is China's wealth of practical experience in uniting the people and rallying them, first for the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and, later, for the common struggle for socialism. Her heroic working class and its glorious Communist Party have not only led the million-fold Chinese peasantry, they have established correct relationships with the other social strata that are capable of contributing in one way or another to the united anti-imperialist front.

The uprooting of feudal survivals in China, the carrying through of a revolutionary agrarian reform on an unprecedented scale and the rise in the standard of living have demonstrated to the peasant masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America that the militant worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class ensures deliverance from landlord oppression, from famine and want. The abolition of the feudal system and of private ownership of land has had a tremendous impact in those countries where the peasants form the majority of the population, above all in the Asian countries. China's experience acts as a spur to the revolutionary peasant movement in the East for land, political rights and a decent life. It is not fortuitous that agrarian reforms are being carried out or planned in most of the non-socialist countries of the East. In some of them the reform has somewhat restricted large-scale landownership, has done away with the more crying hangovers of feudalism and eased the lot of the peasant toilers.

There can be no doubt that the fruitful experience of the Chinese Revolution in rallying the peasants for building socialism will make itself felt in many other countries of the East. This is determined by the general rate of social development, although it will depend also on the specific conditions in each country.

Of exceptional significance for most Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is the Chinese example of the co-operation between the working masses and the national bourgeoisie.

There is no need to prove that the national bourgeoisie in the colonies and dependent countries is generally able to participate in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. History knows many cases of the national bourgeoisie taking an active part in the national-liberation movement. It has even headed this movement in a number of countries. There are objective contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. This does not mean, however, that the national bourgeoisie does not vacillate, that a certain part of it is not inclined to compromise with imperialism. The Chinese Revolution has shown that leadership by the working class makes possible long-term co-operation between the national bourgeoisie and the working masses, not only at the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage of the revolution but also during the transition to socialism.

Chinese revolutionary experience has strikingly confirmed the Marxist thesis that the working class, after it has won power, pre-

fers a peaceful revolutionary way to socialism and resorts to violence against the bourgeoisie only when the latter provokes this form of struggle. In this respect the peaceful reorganization of private capitalist industry and trade on socialist lines in China is of great international significance. It is a living example of the alliance between the working people and the national bourgeoisie, the alliance which, under the leadership of the proletariat, ensures the gradual elimination of the exploiting tendencies inherent in private ownership and, through the policy of utilization, restriction, re-making and non-violent expropriation, completely changes the social nature of the national bourgeoisie.

The dialectical formula of "alliance and struggle" expresses the essence of the relationship between the Chinese working people and the national bourgeoisie and discloses the latter's dual character. Notwithstanding its vacillations, the national bourgeoisie can be an ally in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. Yet, by virtue of its class nature it cannot but resist development along socialist lines. However, the very form of the alliance determines the conditions and the methods of struggle which pave the way to the gradual re-education of the former exploiters into workers, members of socialist society.

In our era of mankind's revolutionary transition from capitalism to communism, when there are growing possibilities for accelerated political and economic development of the underdeveloped countries, the far-sighted representatives of the national bourgeoisie in the Eastern countries cannot but take an interest in the prospects of their future relations with the working class and the peasantry. In those countries socialist programs are advanced by nationalist parties and organizations, though their class nature may be alien to that of the proletariat or the working masses in general. This is explained not only by socialism's power of attraction among the masses but also by the fact that in the former colonies and semi-colonies the capitalist system has functioned for a long time in the most disgusting forms.

The more alert politicians in the Eastern countries realize that the capitalist system acts as a brake on progress and the rise in well-being of the people.

* * *

The victory of the Chinese people over the combined forces of imperialism and internal reaction and their experience in carrying through revolutionary changes and socialist construction have enriched the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the transition of colonies and dependent countries to socialism.

In the not so distant past bourgeois propagandists used to be most sarcastic about the Russian "experiment" in social revolution; they jubilantly foretold the failure of the plans of the land of Soviets, citing the technological and economic backwardness of the old Russia.

But time has played a nasty trick on these ill-starred prophets. The Soviet Union has grown into a powerful, gigantic force, and the "Russian experiment" has long been the object of the most thorough examination as the classical example of triumphant socialist revolution. The U.S.S.R. no longer stands alone, it is building communism in the united fraternal family of the socialist countries.

In 1949 the "Chinese experiment" started, and once again imperialist propaganda predicted "failure" and the impossibility of implementing communist "doctrines" in a vast peasant country. The Marxist-Leninist teaching is "not applicable" to Asia and the East, declared the ideologists of imperialism and reformism. In saying so they also mentioned that the Eastern countries were economically behind the Western capitalist countries. What they did not say was that the backwardness was the direct result of colonial rule. Other equally false arguments were advanced; it was said, for example, that Marxism was materialist, while the East has always lived and will continue to live in the world of idealistic concepts.

Yet, contrary to the prognostications of the advocates of colonialism, Marxism-Leninism is being translated into life in Asia, too. Proof of this is the experience of China, the biggest Asian power.

The national-liberation movement in the Eastern countries is making steady progress, and the peoples, winning emancipation from the imperialist yoke, are successfully overcoming their economic backwardness, creating thereby the conditions for further progress.

The colonies and dependent countries are insisting not only on political independence, they want complete equality with the West; that is, they want to possess the material benefits and the advantages of civilization which until recently had been the privileges of the colonialists.

The East is the cradle of ancient cultures, the source of many spiritual and material values which have enriched mankind. The East has had not only a great past, it has also an equally bright and great future.

In 1955 and 1956 the Chinese socialist revolution registered a decisive victory on the economic front (in abolishing private ownership of the basic means of production). Thanks to the rectification campaign and the struggle against the Rights, a decisive victory was also won on the political and ideological fronts of the socialist revolution. On the basis of the achievements of the First Five-Year Plan, China is making unprecedented strides on all sectors of socialist construction. In the space of 15 years or possibly less, the goal has been set of catching up with Britain, the oldest capitalist country, or even surpassing her, in the output of basic industrial goods. This task is being carried out.

There is no doubt that, following the example of China, the road of rapid economic and cultural advance will be taken by the other countries which have already won freedom or are now freeing themselves from colonial rule.

All the progressive forces and the entire socialist camp are proud of the Chinese people who are now in the forefront of humanity's onward march to communism.

A Creative Factor in World History

Harry Pollitt

ONE of the deepest and earliest memories of the older generation of British workers is that of the heroic, self-sacrificing struggle carried on by the Russian people against the brutal tyranny and oppression of the Czarist autocracy at the beginning of the present century.

I am sure that this is also characteristic of all the older comrades in the other capitalist countries of Western Europe.

The 1905 Revolution in Russia deeply stirred our people, and it was a great disappointment to the class-conscious workers in particular that this Revolution failed. All the subsequent struggles of the Russian workers and peasants were very keenly followed. In the meantime, the revolutionary activity of the old Russian Social-Democratic Party, and its consistent struggle for a clear Marxist policy in the working-class movement had not passed unnoticed in Britain and elsewhere. It had been seen in the bitter struggle that the Bolsheviks led by Lenin were the only party faithful as a working-class party to the principles of proletarian internationalism, as exemplified in their opposition to the first capitalist world war of 1914-18. But few, despite this fact, ever expected that the Russian workers and peasants would be the ones to strike the first blow at capitalism.

The British workers enthusiastically hailed the news of the March, 1917, Revolution. The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies set up in Russia impressed them greatly. Calls were made at meetings to follow the example of the Russian workers. The British workers considered the Russian Soviets as a model of proletarian democracy. And it was not only among the workers that this demand was heard; it was widespread in the army.

An All-British Labor Convention was held on June 3rd, 1917. Its main purpose was to express solidarity with the first Russian Revolution. Its attention was focused upon the question of Soviets. A resolution adopted almost unanimously called for the setting up of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in all towns, and urban and rural districts of Britain. The ultimate aim of the movement for the Soviets, the resolution stated, was the complete political and economic emancipation of labor on a world scale.

While enthusiasm prevailed at the Leeds Convention, there was a serious over-estimation of the character of the March Revolution and its importance was exaggerated, and the fact that it met with the approval of the capitalist class and the Right-wing Labor leaders dominant in the labor movement should have provided food for thought. It was left to William Gallacher to strike a serious warning note about this phase of the situation.

Replying to the Labor Party members' eulogies of "Russian democracy" which, in actual fact, was bourgeois democracy, William Gallacher drew attention to the fact that the Revolution wasn't finished. The workers and soldiers, he said, weren't making a revolution in order that nice bourgeois gentlemen could step in and take charge. They would hold on to power until they had defeated their own capitalists. Their heaviest battles would have to be fought against the capitalist class of Europe. Our job, if we were to assist the

Russian workers, was to develop revolutionary action in this country and so make it impossible for our capitalists to interfere.

* * *

We had not long to wait to see these prophetic words realized. With the triumphant Great October Revolution, led by Lenin, we soon witnessed a change of tune, not only among the capitalists, but also among the dominant right - wing Social - Democratic leaders.

The capitalists instinctively knew that their dreams of using the March Revolution as a greater means of exploitation of the immense natural resources of Russia for their own profit, had gone. They realized that their hopes of getting Soviet Russia (as it now became), back into the imperialist war had vanished. They realized that a decisive breach had been made in world capitalism, that the Russian workers and peasants were about to embark on the construction of socialism. But at this stage they were terribly afraid of the effects of the October Revolution and Lenin's immediate call for world peace, on the war, on the workers of the world, and what would be their reaction.

The Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders feared that the October Revolution would blow sky-high their theories of class collaboration.

But to the workers of the world the October Revolution gave new hope, inspiration and confidence. This was the basic reason for the world-wide Hands Off Russia movement, which developed when the capitalists started their policy of armed intervention against Soviet Russia, even though on the Western Front their armies were fighting and slaughtering each other in the most costly and bloody battles.

The imperialist governments of Britain, France, Germany and the United States organized civil war and blockade. Britain alone spent £100 millions trying to crush the Soviet Union. These rapacious capitalists reckoned without two vital factors. First, the revolutionary heroism and tenacity of the Russian workers and peasants; and second, the rising mass movement of working class opposition in other countries to the policy of interference in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia. These two factors were to lead to the Soviet Russian workers and peasants defeating the counter-revolution and the armed intervention on eleven fronts, despite their shortage of arms, munitions and food. A Red Army in rags and tatters triumphed over the elite armed forces sent by the big capitalist countries, and over the counter-revolutionary Russian forces lavishly equipped by the capitalist powers.

For their part, the working class in the capitalist countries proved their unprecedented sense of international solidarity. In Britain we saw great demonstrations culminating in the strike of the London dockers, who refused to load munitions for use against the Soviet Union on the steamer "Jolly George", and the official Councils of Action which faced the government with the prospect of a general strike. In France, we know of the mass movement there and particularly of the mutiny in the French Navy in the Black Sea. The German and Italian workers also played their part in the international movement under the slogan of "HANDS OFF RUSSIA".

It all resulted in the victory of the forces of peace and progress over the forces of reaction, war and intervention. The policies of armed intervention, blockade and open sabotage had to be ended. A new phase in trade and diplomatic relations (recognition of the Soviet Union) set in, not because the capitalists had had a genuine change of heart, but because they were forced to do so by the fortitude of the first proletarian republic and by the strength of international working class sympathy and support for the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

It had seemed almost impossible that the Russian workers and peasants should have been the first to conquer political power and take the affairs of their vast country into their own hands. It seemed even more impossible that they should have retained power and proved capable of defeating both the counter-revolutionary forces inside and intervention from outside; and because of this the victory won by the Soviet people had an even greater impact on the working class and the Socialists in all countries. Meanwhile intensive political discussions had been taking place in all working class political parties. The lessons of the First World War and the October Revolution were being studied and assimilated. This was of decisive importance in revealing and uniting the revolutionary forces in the Socialist movement. This process, which is linked up with a new stage of the development of Marxism—begun by the 1905 Revolution in Russia—was accelerated by the war and the collapse of the Second International. Now, under the impact of the October Revolution, and with the help of the Communist International, a genuinely proletarian international organization, it culminated in the

formation of Communist Parties. The October Revolution marked a new stage in the development of Marxist thought. It confronted the Communists with the need for a deeper study of the basic works of Marx and Engels, and of the new enrichment given to these theories and practice by Lenin, who upheld the revolutionary strategy and tactics of the working class in a long and bitter struggle against reformism.

* * *

Delegations from all parts of the world were visiting Soviet Russia to see for themselves what was being done, to learn and study Russian conditions. In this connection it is interesting to recall the world-wide effect of the Report of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, which visited Soviet Russia in 1924. The delegation was composed of the principal leaders of the British Trades Union movement. On its return to Britain it issued a more comprehensive report on the situation in Soviet Russia than had so far appeared in any country. It is useful at this distance of time to recall one of the principal conclusions of this Report:

"We have placed on record in the following reports the truth as we were able to observe and understand it. There are many problems with which we have not been able to deal, many institutions we were not able to investigate. We have placed on record the results of our labors in the hope that what we have to say will be of interest and use to those who desire to understand Russia and who are prepared without bias to examine the consequences which arise from the control of this great country by the workers who reside in it and who have secured this control by facing indescribable dangers and going through suffering unparalleled in the history of world conflicts between race and race, class and class, and one form of civilization and another."

No British working man or woman can read this report without wishing that they had a General Council of the Trades Union Congress at the present time that would take such an attitude. For its present attitude both in relation to the Soviet Union and to international working-class solidarity does no honor to the British trade union movement.

Meanwhile, to the chagrin and amazement of the capitalist class, the restoration of Soviet Russia's economy was going on; new perspectives were opening out, and the workers of the capitalist world saw the contrast between the decline and stagnation in their own countries and the progress and economic advance of Soviet Russia. This was especially marked in the acute economic crisis which began in the capitalist countries, whereas the Soviet Union was carrying out its far-reaching "five-year plans" at an unprecedented rate.

The workers of the world were proud that it was people like themselves who in Soviet Russia were performing such miracles in every field of economic, political and cultural endeavor. A new word began to creep into the vocabulary of the workers; it was the word "planning". Even among bourgeois circles talk of Five-Year Plans became fashionable, but the subject was doomed to remain wishful thinking or demagogy because of the contradictions, rivalries and profit-seeking in the capitalist world. In the eyes of the people the Soviet "five-year plans" meant a further irreparable loss of prestige for the capitalists.

The Soviet Union began to emerge as a new and powerful socialist industrial and agricultural nation. For it became clear that not only could this country defend its revolutionary conquests by force of arms from its enemies externally and internally, but, given peace, would succeed in making such strides that Lenin's dictum about the possibility of building socialism in one country would prove to be a glorious reality.

This is why they hated the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, and why they consistently refused to be parties to such a policy. They took great heart when in 1933 Hitler came to power in Germany. Hitler's aim of "crushing Bolshevism" had been the dream of the capitalist world ever since the October Revolution of 1917. Now, with Hitler's help, they hoped it would come true. The workers fought against this policy, but the split in their own ranks prevented this powerful international force from being exerted to the full.

After invading Poland, Hitler hurled his armies against the rivals of German imperialism on the capitalist world market. Soon he invaded the Soviet Union, and Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union became allies against Hitler. It was clear that forces were working in the newly-formed alliance to weaken it and undermine the position of the Soviet Union. This found expression in the refusal to open the Second Front until 1944, in the hope that the Soviet Union would be exhausted and unable to play its proper part in the post-war settlement.

However, things did not work out like that. All the people of the Soviet Union, civilian and military alike, played an heroic and noble part in the war. They endured unheard-of

hardships and sacrifices. Their Red Army, to use the words of Sir Winston Churchill, "tore the guts out of the Nazi armies". The Soviet Union undoubtedly played the major role in bringing about the crushing defeat of fascism. For this all progressive people are grateful. The Soviet people have won the sincere sympathy and love of all that is best in world humanity and, thanks to their victory, have occupied their rightful place in the post-war international life as a mighty, progressive and peace-loving force.

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As a direct result of the Soviet Union freeing the world from the menace of fascism, far-reaching changes took place throughout Eastern and South Eastern Europe. The peoples of Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia took the affairs of state into their own hands. Having broken with capitalism, the people's democracies are confidently carrying out the great task of constructing socialism. The people of the vast country of China triumphed over all their enemies in 1949 and, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, also took the road to socialism. This meant that literally the face of the world had changed, as well as the relationship of forces in the world. No longer did the Soviet Union stand alone. There was now in very truth a capitalist, and a very, very significant socialist world.

Alongside these truly titanic developments equally significant changes were taking place in countries which for centuries had been held down by the oppression and armed terrorism of imperialism. It is a truism that from the very first days the October Revolution had a special appeal to the toiling workers and peasants of these countries. They instinctively felt that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who before the revolution had, like themselves, been treated as serfs and slaves, had gained freedom and equality. They were anxious to know how it had been done. They were even more anxious to learn whether a free people could manage the country, could plan the economy and develop their industry. They knew that the system of rent, profit and interest had been abolished in Russia; they wanted to see what had taken its place. They eagerly read everything they could lay their hands on about the Soviet Union. Their delegations to the Soviet Union studied conditions there and faithfully reported what they had seen and learned in the new world of socialism. They found no color bar—no racial or religious prejudice which could be used to rouse strife between people; they saw the ideal of equality and fraternity of the peoples translated into reality, a nation-wide determination that poverty, unemployment and war should be no more.

And so powerful national-liberation movements developed. Under their blows, and with the aggravation of the postwar general crisis of capitalism, the colonial system began to disintegrate.

In India, where the struggle for national independence had a long tradition, the people gained their independence in 1947. Other countries like Burma, Ghana, Indonesia, Egypt and the Sudan, have followed suit. Throughout the Middle East the national-liberation movements are growing stronger and stronger.

The peoples of the East know that the Soviet Union does not want to rob them of their oil, cotton and other raw materials or to make profits out of them, that it has no strings to its technical and other aid, and its mutual trade.

For these reasons the liberated peoples of the former colonial countries, and those still fighting for freedom, look upon the Soviet Union as a real friend and helpmate from whom they can learn much, and whose example inspires them with the confidence that the working people, once they take power into their own hands, can overcome all obstacles and perform miracles in transforming their country.

* * *

Since the end of the war in 1945, despite all the efforts of the capitalist-inspired cold war, more delegations from all over the world have visited the Soviet Union than ever before, and more delegations have gone from the Soviet Union to other parts of the world than ever before.

There is now a better understanding among the people of all lands. We believe that the peoples of the capitalist world are better informed about Soviet affairs than they have ever been. They have been given great surprises by the Soviet people's accomplishments not only in industry, agriculture, science, culture and sport; and, increasingly, they are beginning to appreciate that these things have become possible because of the complete change of social structure from capitalism to socialism.

I hope the Soviet people have learnt much from what they have seen in our countries. There are many difficulties and problems to be solved before the working people in the capitalist countries are able to follow the example of their Soviet comrades. But it is already

evident that these broadening interchanges strengthen people's confidence in the forces of progress and elucidate many questions which reactionary propaganda deliberately confuses.

The capitalist governments place every obstacle in the path of such delegations and, unfortunately, they are well supported by the more reactionary Social-Democrats. Both sets of reactionaries fear the people seeing the truth for themselves and do all in their power to fan the flames of prejudice and doubt.

But it is my belief that these people, who no doubt will continue their efforts, have lost the race. The victorious advances made by the Soviet people, in these last years especially, have gripped the imagination of the best of world humanity, and have aroused a great wave of emulation. This is so particularly in the realms of science and technology. The launching of the first Soviet earth satellite did more than arouse the admiration of the whole world—it evoked a heart-searching in the capitalist world on the disparity between the attention and assistance given by the Soviet Union to technical education and scientific activities and those afforded in the capitalist world. The fact that it was the Soviet Union that launched the first Sputnik dealt a telling blow to the bourgeois propaganda machine.

Above all, the Soviet Union has struck a chord in the hearts of all the peace-loving people in the world because of its sustained efforts to preserve world peace, and its oft-repeated desire to live and work in peace regardless of the social system which prevails in each country.

* * *

Forty-one years is a short period in world history but its significance is immense. I know of no event that has aroused such love and hate, such hope and fear, as the October Revolution. Nor do I know of any other event which, while resulting in such vast changes in its own country, has so changed the international situation generally. I know that I never expected to see such changes in my lifetime, and I am equally sure that no other event in the world has had such an impact on historical progress generally.

And yet I think we are now witnessing a new upsurge in the world-wide interest in, and, on the part of some people envy of, what is taking place in the Soviet Union. There the perspective is one of speedy and continued advance. The aim is to go forward and to surpass the highest achievements of the capitalist world. Given world peace, it is my conviction that the people of the Soviet Union will succeed. For what is the perspective in the main countries of the capitalist world? There is no confidence in the future—no planning for seven years ahead with the surety of fulfilment. There is no certainty of full employment—rather the emphasis is on the need to create unemployment as a means of preventing a decline in business activity through reducing the standard of living of the whole working class. There is a distorted economy because of the vast military expenditures.

This contrast between the capitalist and socialist worlds is bound to lead to an increasing questioning as to why socialism is advancing and capitalism lagging behind? Why is socialism so confident and ready to compete with any country in raising its people's standard of living?

In time I am convinced this questioning will lead to an even greater interest in what is taking place in the Soviet Union, and why it is possible to carry out such peaceful progressive policies. More than that, it will lead to a strengthening of the bonds of peace and friendship between the working people of the capitalist and socialist nations of the world.

The desire to know the reasons for the rapid progress of the socialist world means inevitably a greater desire to know more about the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, and thus the Communist Parties in the capitalist world will have new and greater opportunities for advancing their peaceful and constructive policies. The unconquerable strength of the world communist movement lies in this constant exchange between the socialist world and the Communist parties of the other countries. Since the October Revolution it has been the basis for its progress and success, and it is the guarantee for the complete emancipation of mankind from capitalist enslavement.

The Class Struggle and Humanism

Ladislav Shtoll

THE ideological opponents of socialism are renewing their efforts to smear our system and socialist ideals, this time from what they term the "humanist" position. The term is abused by renegades from communism, bourgeois professors and NATO leaders in their attacks on the socialist camp. Take President Eisenhower, for instance. In his speeches he often refers to the "anti-humane" nature of the social system in the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies.

It is a matter for regret that there are even cases of prominent public figures and statesmen — men who hold progressive views on numerous international questions—misrepresenting the relationship between humanism and the theory and practice of scientific communism. In particular, I have in mind an article by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, which appeared in *Economic Review*, official organ of the Indian National Congress.

In this article the author expounds his political standpoint, his views on the evolution of society and his attitude to communism. The communist teaching, he claims, scorns what may be called the ethical and spiritual aspects of life. Not only is the essence of man ignored but, he alleges, human behavior is deprived of its standards and dignity. The link between communism and violence, according to Mr. Nehru, encourages certain evil inclinations in man. While paying tribute to Soviet achievements, in education in particular, Mr. Nehru at the same time declares that communism is the result of disappointment and emptiness caused by the gradual decline of religious influence which, in his view, guarantees a discipline in ethical and spiritual life.

It appears, according to the Indian leader and statesman, that communism ignores some of the basic needs of human nature, runs counter to humanity and will, therefore, despite its successes, end in failure.

There is nothing new in the attempt to counterpose to the theory and practice of scientific communism some sort of "eternal human nature" or "norms of human dignity."

As a rule such attempts are made in the interests of certain classes. Some intellectuals in the West, also, counterpose humanism to proletarian class struggle and its communist ideals. This is done under the influence of anti-communist propaganda. In the latter case we are in duty bound to place the truth before those who have been taken in.

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"Humanity" and "humanism" are not immutable concepts. They have changed and are still changing their content and form with the march of time.

In Europe the concept "humanism" dates back to the Renaissance, when a powerful ideological movement emerged in opposition to medieval feudalism, for human dignity and freedom. It found expression in a trenchant criticism of the sanctimonious morality of the Church and of hypocritical asceticism, and was filled with faith in the triumph of humanism. Petrarch, the great poet of the time and herald of the Renaissance, lauded the dignity of the common man, saying that nobility derived from personal merit alone, not from descent. Blood, according to Petrarch, is always of the same color, and if the shade happens to be lighter or darker the reason is health and not noble descent. A healthy man of real nobility is not born into the world with a great soul, said the poet. He acquires this nobility thanks to his own great labor.

The founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, rated highly this ideological trend, which has left its imprint on the culture of many nations. We Communists hold that in a certain sense the humanism of the Renaissance is one of the sources from which our new, socialist culture draws all that is progressive.

The heritage of the Renaissance is varied; it contains the elements of bourgeois-revolutionary doctrines and even the rudiments of great socialist ideas. Suffice it to recall Sir Thomas More and Tommaso Campanella.

The humanism of the Renaissance, which was the ideological weapon of the rising bourgeoisie, expressed the *personal* dignity of people fighting against all forms of medieval extra-economic compulsion, against feudal privileges, for the "natural right" to private ownership of the means of production, to hire "free" labor, to accumulate capital.

The "natural right" theories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were based

on the Renaissance ideas. Private ownership of the means of production appeared as the "natural" and inalienable attribute of human dignity.

Naturally, the ideologists of that period were unable to see that the "natural right" to private ownership contained the embryo of its own negation, for it tacitly presupposed the exploitation of laborers deprived of property. Hence the personal dignity and individualism of the young bourgeoisie of the day had elements of negation of this dignity—namely, the kernel of the individualistic rule of the rising capitalist exploiter.

In the course of time all that which appeared to be the expression of "natural right" and the "attribute of humanism" turned into its antithesis—an inhuman attitude to people on the part of the proprietor and exploiter. What appeared to be the expression of the struggle for the emancipation of man from the fetters of extra-economic compulsion proved in reality to be nothing else but the expression of the struggle for economic compulsion, for the rule of the capitalist exploiters, for the rule of money.

The illusoriness, inconsistency and narrowness of this humanistic movement of the Renaissance and of the bourgeois revolutions, which are sometimes very pronounced, do not at all lessen its importance. On the contrary, we must emphasize that it would be wrong not to distinguish between this humanism—an expression of the progressive thoughts and feelings of the rising and vigorous European bourgeoisie—and the pseudo-humanism of the bigoted, reactionary bourgeois ideology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I have in mind, above all, the ideology of bourgeois liberals as expressed by Tomas Masaryk and Eduard Benes in Czechoslovakia. Like many other European liberals, these men justified and supported the armed intervention against the young Soviet Republic and at the same time accused the most democratic Soviet government of anti-humane acts.

If the humanism of the Renaissance and the bourgeois revolutions can be characterized as progressive, although on the whole it is inconsistent and historically limited, the pretentious humanism of the modern bourgeois liberals and petty bourgeoisie is definitely consistent . . . in its hypocrisy.

The individualistic humanism of the early period had a *militant and definitely anti-feudal class character*. It virtually served as the arsenal of ideas that prepared the European revolutionary movements of the bourgeoisie under the slogan of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." That is why it cannot be identified with the contemporary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois pseudo-humanism of the liberals which painstakingly slurs over the acute contradictions of a society based on exploitation, preaches universal all-forgiving love for all classes, and represents this love for all—exploited and exploiters alike—as a typical trait of absolute humanism.

The progressive content of the humanism of the Renaissance, which regarded the anti-feudal *struggle* as a means of liberating man from the fetters of serfdom, cannot be raised to a higher plane by any apostles of supra-class humanism. This can be done only by the working class which, not interested in preserving private property, fights for the triumph of communism: the class capable of emancipating man from the cynical rule of capital. Any sincere person who cares to give thought to this will, sooner or later, arrive at the conclusion that the only way to implement the progressive ideas of humanism inscribed on the banners of the great revolutionary movements of the past is to take his stand with the revolutionary working class.

* * *

The progressive heritage should not be confused with the pseudo-humanistic theories of the modern bourgeoisie which give fantastic representations of the allegedly supra-class position of the bourgeois, who is painted as the genuine spokesman of mankind; and theories which describe the Marxist teaching on the irreconcilable nature of bourgeois and proletarian class interests as running counter to humanism.

In this connection I recall the story of Professor Macek, former Social Democratic member of Parliament. At present Macek is preaching "humanism" at an American university. At home in Prague he used to enlarge on the "anti-humanist" nature of the Marxist teaching of class struggle. In 1937 he contributed an article to *Nova Doba*, which characterized Marx's teaching of class struggle and working-class solidarity as a concept of "group egoism." Without blinking an eyelash, he compared this imaginary "group egoism" with the fascist "national solidarity" doctrine as a group egoism of a "different kind". Professor Macek, a Social Democrat, then drew a line between these two kinds of "group egoism", if one may so describe it, and the so-called "genuine", "real", "humane socialism" which, allegedly, cannot be of a class nature. This was said in 1937, when our country was threatened by Nazi aggression, when our people had already begun to understand

that communism was the only force capable of upholding their interests and dignity. That is why Professor Macek's writings evoked indignation even among Social-Democratic workers.

One cannot deny that there are now bourgeois intellectuals who tend to counterpose to the humanist teaching of Marx and Lenin, various spiritualist and subjectivist, pseudo-humanist concepts, propagated mainly in the guise of theories of literature and the arts.

These theories insidiously talk about "people in the abstract", not people living in a concrete epoch, in concrete social surroundings and social relations. They deal with "absolute people", abstract human beings with no relation to time or society. It is for these fantastic creatures that the literary critics declare their passionate and unreal spiritual love. All this leaves them uncommitted but serves as a noble-looking mask for banal petty-bourgeois egoism.

"*Real humanism*", wrote Marx, "had no more dangerous enemy in Germany than *spiritualism* or *speculative idealism* which substitutes '*self-consciousness*' or the '*spirit*' for the *real individual man* . . ." (Marx and Engels, *Works*, Vol. 2, p. 7, Russian Edition.)

What this all-embracing love leads to, and what a cynical attitude to the real world lurks beneath it, has been shown to the full by a Paris publisher who put out a collection of works. He included in it *Notes from the Gallows* by Julius Fuhik, and also a story written in jail by an American gangster and murderer, a poem and letter by the Frenchman Brasillac (executed in February 1945 as a collaborator) who during the war contributed to a pro-German journal and, in his writings, hailed the murder of Jews. The preface to this "collection" was written by an anonymous author who says that the publication is dedicated to the experiences of people sentenced to death. The book aroused the indignation of progressive people everywhere. According to the preface, people facing death stand before the same issues and solve them in a similar way irrespective of their class, ideas and moral principles.

And so in the guise of abstract "humanism" which strips people of their social, ideological and historical attributes, we find the base desire to smear the noble fighter for communism, the anti-fascist Julius Fuhik.

* * *

What is the fundamental issue in our controversy with the petty-bourgeois preachers of "absolute love for people" regardless of their social background?

It will not be amiss to recall Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, where it is stressed that the workers can maintain their human dignity, their human countenance, only if their whole life is filled with burning hatred for the exploiting class. In reality, the factory-owner is but the human embodiment of capital, the "human" expression of the heartless, ice-cold relationship between commodities. The worker who is forced to offer his "commodity"—labor power—on the market is only potentially human. Only under other, non-capitalist conditions does he become a human being. The capitalist forces the worker to perform the role of an abstract concept, that of labor power, which he considers only from the viewpoint of market value. The capitalist fails to see, nor does he wish to see, in the worker, a concrete human being with all his cares. The capitalist sees in him only labor power, which is the source of surplus value.

If the worker becomes reconciled to his position of a slave, to the whip of the slave-owner, he loses his human dignity and ceases to be a human being. Lenin wrote: "A man is not to blame for being born a slave; but a slave who not only shuns the striving for freedom but justifies and embellishes his slavery—such a slave is a flunkey and a knave, who inspires anger, contempt and disgust." (*Works*, Vol. 21, p. 86, Russian Ed.)

These thoughts express the only true criterion of genuine humanism, of real love for people which prescribes struggle against all forms of oppression and which is radically different from the hypocritical, non-committal, preaching attitude of the false bourgeois "humanism", reeking of a cheap "nobility" which is powerless to conceal the callousness of class egoism and real hatred for working people.

Democratic and socialist culture in Czechoslovakia was always imbued with the ideas of true humanism—that of the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors. This is seen in the splendid thought of the Czechoslovak poet Jiri Wolker, whose works sincerely and seriously reflect the problem of love for man. He says: "Let us assume that class hatred could disappear in a class society. Nothing could be more harmful to the working class than that. They would be degraded to the position of oxen under an eternal yoke, for it is only hate that helps to maintain the worker's human dignity—class hate which one day will abolish all classes."

The Great October Socialist Revolution made real the dreams of the great human-

ists of the past, translated into reality the scientific predictions of the founders of Marxism. Millions of workers and peasants, exhausted by the war and social oppression, became conscious, through inhuman sufferings and thanks to the Communist Party, of the need to fight for their liberation, for a life worthy of human beings. And they rose in rebellion. The generations to come will always cherish the memory of those few years of history when exploitation of man by man was abolished for the first time. In those few years the age-old backwardness of a multi-million nation was abolished and a great socialist country emerged which, thanks to its prospering economy, high cultural and educational standards, and its new, genuinely humane civilization, now plays a leading role in world affairs.

* * *

Communism as a social system, it is often argued, is established through violence. Many of those who accept socialism with reservations (which virtually emasculate it) often refer to the sharp class struggle—for example, the Civil War following the Russian Revolution—in order to accuse communism of ruthlessness and violence. This approach is based on failure to understand the socialist revolution and communist theory. By carrying through the socialist revolution in alliance with the oppressed masses and winning political power, the Russian working class performed a legitimate historical act, conditioned by the necessity to socialize the means of production and, hence, to abolish exploitation of man by man. Favorable conditions were created for the further development of the productive forces with the purpose of ensuring a life of abundance for all people without exception, in which each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. The progress of society as a whole will be accompanied by the free and all-round development of each individual. Herein lies the essence of the socialist revolution.

It is by no means to the interest of the working class that this historically inevitable step should entail bloodshed and armed collisions.

It should be stressed that the October Socialist Revolution in Russia involved less bloodshed than any previous revolution. It was not the fault of the working people that a handful of expropriated exploiters took to arms in struggle against the vast majority of the people of revolutionary Russia, and committed unprecedented atrocities under the hypocritical pretext of "saving the country, religion and humanism". It is on record that the young Soviet Republic, created by the will of millions of workers and peasants, was also attacked by 14 imperialist states which entered into a criminal and inhuman conspiracy with the internal counter-revolution. Would it be fair to blame communism and the Communists for the violence and the victims of the Civil War? The truth is that had it not been for the foreign imperialist intervention, there might not have been any Civil War in Soviet Russia, or it might have been of short duration and less bitter. Would it be fair to blame communism and the Communists for the monstrous crimes committed by the counter-revolutionaries in Hungary acting on the instigation of the "humanists" from the Voice of America and Free Europe? Of course it wouldn't. To do so would be no different from placing the blame on the party heading a national-liberation movement for the victims of the imperialist oppressors in that struggle.

Only the enemies of communism develop and propagate a concept of socialist revolution accompanied by inevitable bloodshed. In reality the working class and people of all countries would be only too glad to effect revolutionary transformations without resort to armed force. The founders of scientific socialism held that it would be more advantageous and convenient in certain circumstances for the workers to buy themselves out from the bourgeoisie. Where the bourgeoisie does not offer armed resistance, the proletariat effects socialist transformations peacefully. The revolutionary socialist changes in Czechoslovakia were carried out peacefully and in accordance with all the articles of the Constitution.

To resist violence, to fight exploitation and oppression of man by man and nation by nation, is one of the basic principles of communist morality, the highest expression of human dignity. Is not the foreign policy of the socialist camp, its attitude towards war and peace and to the national-liberation movement in the colonies, the tireless effort of socialist diplomacy — proof of the genuine humane motives of these countries both at home and abroad?

The peace policy of the socialist camp logically follows from the humane essence of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. In comparing the old, capitalist society with the future, socialist society and the new international relations that will prevail, Marx wrote: ". . . in contrast to the old society, with its economical miseries and political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international

rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labor!*" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol I. p. 445, English Edition, 1950).

The moment it was established, the Soviet Government adopted this principle as the basic tenet of its foreign policy. The first decree signed by Lenin was the Decree on Peace. This principle of peaceful coexistence is the inviolable foundation of Soviet foreign policy.

It was not fortuitous that such outstanding representatives of world culture and consistent humanists as Lu Sing, Anatole France, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Theodore Dreiser, Martin Andersen-Nexo, Berthold Brecht, Zdenek Nejedly, S. Neumann and M. Markezi, as well as many other sincere intellectuals gave the only correct answer to Maxim Gorky's question: "With whom are you, men of culture?" They sided with the Soviet Union and defended it faithfully, for they understood that the idea of humanism had found its embodiment in communism. And they were right. Subsequent developments—the Second World War—proved that real humanism was embodied not only in the ideas of communism but also in its deeds, and that the bestial nature of fascism was inseparable from imperialism.

* * *

Human freedom as socialist humanism understands it has nothing in common with the bourgeois liberal concept.

Lenin said that freedom is a fraud unless it serves the interests of emancipating labor from the oppression of capital. Petty-bourgeois concepts of freedom, he emphasized, are a reflection of the conditions of commodity production, and turn into a prejudice unless freedom and equality are understood in terms of the abolition of antagonistic classes.

Speaking of human freedom Marx always had in mind the conditions of life of the millions of workers. That is why he said: "In fact, the realm of freedom really begins only at the point where labor ceases to be dictated by necessity." (*Capital*, Vol.3, p. 833, Russian; cf. Kerr Edition, p. 954). This realm of freedom said Marx, could be achieved only under conditions of conscious materialization of necessity, i.e., of the natural necessity for material production.

Hence it is clear why the socialist state devotes such close attention to raising labor productivity through automation, by adding to the means of production, and by less, but more productive, expenditure of labor. This helps to conserve strength and saves time so that people can use it to enhance their educational level, cultivate the arts, etc.

Representatives of the so-called "free world" criticize the efforts of the socialist states to develop the productive forces by labelling them "sheer pragmatism" and "vulgar practicism".

The revolutionary working class opposes its scientific concept to the hypocritical concept of freedom and humanity expounded by the opportunists and liberals. It sees the main criterion of social progress in the growth of productive forces, realizing that a rich spiritual and cultural life for hundreds of millions of people is impossible without maximum development of material production based on socialist relations in society, without providing every member of that society with all the essential material benefits.

It goes without saying that this concept of freedom and development of the individual is in sharp contrast to the concept of the imperialist "liberals". Their ideal is the bourgeois system, in fact, capitalist dictatorship, which they, to deceive the masses, have dubbed the "free world".

Strange things are happening in this so-called "free world". Money and capital are its yardsticks of freedom. In other words, there is freedom for the rich, for the moneybags, but not for the people. The bourgeois concept of freedom seeks to destroy the unity of the working people, to preserve the capitalist system, political disunity, rivalry of competitors, chauvinism. It is "freedom" for fraud and extortion.

We Communists are adherents of another kind of freedom and democracy for the working people united by common economic and political interests. And for this reason we reject the cheap bourgeois standard concept of political freedom as complete freedom for bourgeois parties and restrictions on and persecution of Communist parties as working-class parties. The moral and political unity of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, the community of purpose of all the political parties based on the National Front platform under the leadership of the Communist Party, the common program of socialist construction and the struggle for world peace—these are the conditions for the real political freedom of the masses and for each individual.

It is true that we Communists have never boasted of our humanism in contrast to the bourgeoisie who constantly abuse this word. We have not paid sufficient attention to the fact that our class enemies have misused

the term in order to cover up their anti-democratic, anti-humane activity. Very often we fail to pay due attention to their charges that we deny democracy and humanism.

This has its explanation. The working class, fighting for liberation, to create the conditions for a full, happy and free life for the people, has never veiled its class interests nor has it any need to. Briefly, these interests are: the building of communist society, or, in other words, the abolition of the division of society into classes, elimination of all forms of exploitation, racial, national, religious or any other discrimination, abolition of the antithesis between manual and mental labor, satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of all members of society, requiring in exchange from each labor according to his ability, creation of the conditions for the free development and flowering of society as a whole, and of each individual member. It is clear that the interests of the working class harmonize with the requirements of true humanism and for this reason it has no need to cover them up with loud protestations of humanity and humanism. Therein lies the strength of the working class. The bourgeoisie, on the contrary, is not in a position to express such frankness in defending its class interests, for these are the interests of the exploiters, whose life of luxury is the result of the appropriation of the fruits of labor of the workers and peasants. The bourgeoisie is forced to disguise its interests, to cloak them in sermons about absolute love for man, about the "inhuman nature" of class struggle and the like. That is why bourgeois ideologists constantly harp on humanism.

In reality only communist ideology is humane. We Communists should always stress this feature of our ideology.

* * *

In an atmosphere of declining capitalism, the imprint of capitalist relations is deep in the psychology of people. How is this expressed? It is expressed above all in bourgeois individualism—it is the brand of Cain in the minds of people under capitalism.

Bourgeois individualism is the most typical of the moral, psychological and ideological survivals of the past. It, more than any other, runs counter to socialist consciousness. Individualism, having been cultivated down the centuries, is very hard to overcome.

The individualist does not feel free in socialist society, where relations are based on human friendship, in the spirit of democratic centralism. The individualist likes to prattle about his so-called "personal" rights.

Of course, this "personality" is not a large wave in a river in full flood. It is a bump which tries to hold back the turbulent current of social life.

All the embellished principles of individualist ideology are merely a decoration of the banal interests of the philistine egoist who wants a free ride at the expense of the community.

In exposing this banal egoism the Communists do not deny the right to individuality. On the contrary, they are working for the real development of every concrete (not imaginary) personality, for the development of human individuality.

Communism does not at all mean a levelling of people—which is what the bourgeois philosophers and economists tell the philistine. Let us turn to the facts. Socialism is no longer a mere theory, it is the practice of nearly one billion people. The socialist nations devote the utmost attention to educating *all* the people. Even avowed enemies of communism now admit the superiority of the socialist system of education. Is there a more effective means for bringing out individuality than providing such *material conditions* as enable each individual to enjoy the highest achievements of culture? The effectiveness of this method is proved by the flowering of millions of gifted people in the socialist countries.

The adoption of the working class standpoint by sincere representatives of the non-proletarian classes is not simply the result of intellectual knowledge of the objective development of society. Taking the standpoint of the working class does not simply mean accepting the Party program, its policy and the communist outlook. There is also a psychological and moral side to the problem, and it is this side that bears not only on knowledge but also on re-education — a process which lasts many years. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung aptly put it, the re-education of intellectuals who have adopted the standpoint of the revolutionary working class is a prolonged process requiring more than a decade.

The views expressed by some intellectuals during the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary were the outcome of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence, feelings and individualistic psychology that have not been overcome and which our enemies sometimes skilfully use against us. These intellectuals started by explaining the principles of freedom from the point of view of liberalism; they spoke of the intellectuals as the driving force of the people, expressed contempt for the leading role of the revolutionary working-

class parties and finally ended by revising the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is why the struggle against this individualist psychology which, generally speaking, feeds revisionist and hostile ideas, should be regarded as one of the principal tasks of all Communists, especially those working on the ideological and cultural front.

In its struggle to build communism the revolutionary proletariat seeks to establish in the relations between people and nations the clear principles of humanism, justice and mutual respect. That is why the lofty ideas of proletarian internationalism are the most consistent expression of present-day socialist humanism.

In summing up, I will quote a saying which is as old as the hills: People should be judged not by what they say, but by what they do. And deeds show that in the capitalist countries indignation and wrath against the existing order are seething, whereas in the socialist countries the peoples are not at all disappointed with their lives. Rallied under the leadership of the Communist parties, they are giving of their best in building communism, that is, the social system with the motto: "In the name of man!"

Deeds show that socialism alone ensures unprecedented progress for society as a whole and a happy life for each of its members.

Forty Years After

Ferenc Munnich

ONLY two years ago international imperialism and the internal counter-revolution in Hungary, confident of victory, were burying the proletarian dictatorship and the Communist Party. But this time too, as so many times in the past forty years, their joy proved to be short-lived. The Party of Communists—the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — is as vital and vigorous as ever. The revolutionary forces of the people aided by the Soviet Union defeated the counter-revolution and reinforced the dictatorship of the proletariat. The last two years have been a period of socialist consolidation in the political and ideological spheres and also in economic construction. The progress has amazed our enemies and won the admiration of our friends.

An objective analysis of the situation in the country shows that the Party of Communists, which in 1956 international and Hungarian reaction tried, with revisionist support, to destroy, has grown stronger, become more united and exerts a greater influence over the masses. What is the explanation for the rapid resurgence? The reason is that *the Party has deep roots among the working class and the people.*

Over the past forty years—the most turbulent years in Hungary's history — the Communist Party, in bitter struggles accompanied by heavy sacrifice, and despite temporary setbacks, victoriously headed the fight waged by the people. Under Communist leadership, the working class defeated the exploiters who were skilled in political intrigue, in deceiving the masses and in the use of terror. The Party won over the majority of the working people and is now directing the building of socialism.

The Revolution and Socialist Construction

The founding of the Party of Hungarian Communists was not an accidental or unexpected event. It was the inevitable result of the struggle waged by the Hungarian working class from its inception. A big role was played by the Great October Socialist Revolution, which demonstrated that tyranny could be vanquished and war ruled out. The news of this revolution gave a mighty impetus to the Hungarian working-class movement.

On October 31, 1918, as a result of the successful insurrection of the workers and soldiers in Budapest, a bourgeois-democratic revolution took place. The class of big landowners was deprived of political power and the working people won bourgeois-democratic freedoms, an armistice was signed and a republic proclaimed. The fetters which shackled the country to the Hapsburg Empire were broken.

The proletariat, however, could not be satisfied with these results, for power fell into the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie in alliance with the Social Democrats. The latter, holding that their major task was to crush the revolution and disarm the people, were ready to join with the reactionary forces. Only two ways were open in this situation—either proletarian dictatorship or bourgeois dictator-

ship. Either the revolution would be carried forward and the people freed from all forms of oppression, or it would recede and the old slavery would be retained in a new form.

The objective conditions for the further development of the revolution were at hand. One vital subjective factor was lacking. There was no revolutionary working class party which could lead the labor movement to the attainment of proletarian dictatorship. On November 20, 1918, this party—the Communist Party of Hungary—was formed.

The Communist Party united in its ranks former prisoners of war who had returned from Soviet Russia where they had developed into Communists, Left-wing Social Democrats who realized the necessity for a break with opportunism, and revolutionary Socialists. An outstanding role in establishing the Party and later in leading the Hungarian Soviet Republic was played by Bela Kun, by the advanced industrial workers—Ede Klepko, Ferenc Jancsik—and many others.

The founding of the Communist Party marked a turning point in the history of the Hungarian people. From the very first day of its existence the Party became the militant leader of the working people in their struggle for freedom, independence and a better life. In Hungary as in other countries the bankruptcy of opportunism became increasingly clear. The Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party had openly betrayed the anti-war decisions of the International and had supported the predatory war of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the House of Hapsburg. While the Socialists *en masse* took the road of revolution, the Right-wing leaders jointly with the bourgeoisie did their utmost to crush the revolution. The further development of the revolution was impossible without a break with opportunism.

The Communist Party, guided by Lenin's ideas, set revolutionary tasks before the people: establishment of a socialist republic, socialist transformation of society, alliance with the international revolutionary movement, and defense of the proletarian homeland from the Entente imperialists.

The correct policy of the Communist Party and the bankruptcy of the Social Democratic line made it possible to isolate the reformist leadership. The mounting revolutionary mass struggle dislodged the Social Democrats and forced the government to resign. Power passed into the hands of the proletariat. On March 21, 1919, the unification of the two working-class parties took place on the basis of recognition of the proletarian dictatorship. Both parties agreed to proclaim a Soviet Republic. Thus, the Hungarian Soviet Republic triumphed without armed struggle, for the bourgeoisie was no longer capable of opposing the combined forces of the working class.

After the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the greater part of the instruments and means of production was socialized. The government, despite the adverse economic situation, improved the conditions of the working people. Wages were raised by 25 per cent, the eight-hour day was introduced and far-reaching cultural measures implemented.

But the military intervention of the Entente prevented the working class from accomplishing its revolutionary aims. After 133 days' heroic struggle the Hungarian Soviet Republic fell. But its struggle had not been in vain, for, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it, struggle, setback, struggle again, another setback and finally victory—such is the logic of the people. The history of our working-class movement confirms this statement in every respect. The Hungarian Soviet Republic fell, but the hope that there would be another triumphant proletarian dictatorship never waned.

The Hungarian Soviet Republic, its achievements and setbacks, enriched both the Hungarian and international working-class movement with considerable militant experience. It proved that proletarian dictatorship was not simply a Russian phenomenon, that it was the general law governing the struggle of the workers. Of great importance was the experience which showed that under favorable conditions the proletariat can take power into its hands without armed struggle, and that the revolutionary transition to proletarian dictatorship is accompanied by bloodshed and civil war only when the bourgeoisie resorts to armed resistance. The Hungarian Soviet Republic confirmed the thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the bourgeoisie cannot be vanquished unless opportunism is overcome.

Our Party learnt important lessons from the mistakes it made during the Soviet Republic. An adverse effect was exerted by the erroneous principle on which the merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties took place, which virtually deprived the working class of its vanguard. Another grave error was the failure to enact a land reform and to enforce with due strength and consistency the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The victory of the counter-revolution brought incredible suffering to the Hungarian people. A period of unbridled White terror

set in. But nothing could break the revolutionary will of the Hungarian Communists. The disintegration of the United Workers' Party was followed by the re-emergence of the underground Communist Party which became the leading force in the struggle against fascism and war. The Party sustained heavy losses in this struggle. The working class and the people will always remember the names of Imre Sallai, Sandor Furst, Ferenc Rozsa, Zoltan Schonhertz, Endre Sagvari and many other victims of fascism.

The Party's strength lay in its correct political line which corresponded to the new conditions, and in its combining of legal and illegal work. After its re-establishment, the Party sought to extend its ties with the masses and co-operated with many sincere Social Democrats.

The Communists managed to win important positions in the trade unions. They were in the forefront during the strikes and the movement for higher wages. Taking into account the importance of the worker-peasant alliance, the Communist Party included in its program the vital demand of the peasants for the redistribution of land. Making use of their legal opportunities, the Communists won greater influence among the rural population.

In the pre-war period the Party headed the movement for an anti-fascist Popular Front. In this respect no small contribution was made by the Hungarian Communist emigrés residing in the Soviet Union who, particularly during the war, conducted explanatory work among the Hungarian people through the Kossuth Radio Station.

Indicative of the Party's influence in this period was the mass demonstration of several hundred thousand workers on September 1, 1930, and also the impressive anti-fascist wartime demonstrations.

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party both in the inter-war period and during the Second World War, the selfless struggle of the Communists for the national interests, made our Party the recognized leader of the nation. This is why immediately after the liberation it developed into a mass political party of the working class.

Our working class, which had never abandoned the sacred cause of the Soviet Republic of 1919, finally took the road of socialist construction. The Party headed the struggle for the establishment of a new, democratic state, for economic rehabilitation, transfer of land to the peasants and restriction of capitalist exploitation in town and countryside alike.

In the course of this struggle the Communist Party persistently worked to strengthen proletarian unity. The formation of the Hungarian Working People's Party in 1948 was a major achievement, for it united the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party (in whose leadership the Left held sway).

The Working People's Party, a Marxist-Leninist party, became the leader of the people in their struggle to implement the proletarian dictatorship and build socialism. Notwithstanding the mistakes made in the period between 1949 and 1956, which created difficulties in socialist construction and provided favorable conditions for the revisionist elements who prepared the counter-revolutionary putsch, the main objective, governing the entire activity of the Party, was the building of socialism. Comrade Janos Kadar was absolutely right when he said in his report at the national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in June last year that "since 1918, ever since the Hungarian working class has had a revolutionary party, the aims and objectives of the vanguard party have been straightforward and correct and it has made great advances along this road."

The proletarian dictatorship, established under the Party's leadership, and the launching of socialist construction, brought radical changes into the life of our people. Prior to the liberation Hungary was a backward country. Our heritage was a backward agriculture fettered with feudal survivals and a relatively underdeveloped industry characterized by structural disproportions. The country had been devastated and plundered by the German fascists during the war. And in one decade, obviously, it was impossible to completely overcome the difference in economic development that had existed before the war between our country and the more advanced capitalist countries. However, the path traversed by us under adverse conditions testifies to the great superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Before the liberation Hungary was known as the country of "three million paupers" — one-third of the population. Now, as a result of the progress in socialist construction, Hungary has ceased to be "a country of paupers" and a paradise for the exploiters, for exploitation, poverty and unemployment have been abolished.

We now have a highly developed heavy industry with an output three times that of

1938. The rate of development of industrial output is six times higher than it was under capitalism. The working peasants, who have chosen the socialist road, have launched a producer-cooperative movement. The vitality of this movement is confirmed by the fact that even the counter-revolutionary tempest was unable to uproot it. A network of machine and tractor stations is functioning, which facilitates, in large measure, the mechanization of farm labor.

Simultaneously with the economic expansion the material welfare of the people has improved. Compared with 1949, real wages and peasant incomes have gone up by one-third. The socialist revolution is being successfully carried through in the field of culture too.

Tens and hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals are taking an active part in state and public administration.

The results show that the Hungarian Communists throughout the forty years' history of their Party have pursued a policy in keeping with the interests of the people and have led the struggle of the working people for the triumph of the proletarian revolution and the building of socialism.

The Fight for Working-Class Unity, for Winning the Masses

The history of our Party, like that of other parties, teaches that it can gain victory only *together with the masses, when it is integrated with the masses.* In winning over the masses, working-class unity is one of the main prerequisites, for only a united working class is able to rally the other sections of the working people and lead the entire nation. Our own experience confirms this. That is why the fight for working-class unity, consolidation of the masses around the Party and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, has always been a major task of our Party since its inception.

Several factors have influenced the struggle for working-class unity in Hungary. The Social-Democratic Party in the early period of its development had played a positive role in disseminating Marxist ideas and in organizing trade unions. However, at a later stage its leaders betrayed the cause of the working class. Its policy brought disappointment to the rank and file. The Social-Democratic Party attracted more and more petty-bourgeois elements, while the Communist Party soon after its foundation managed to win over the more progressive, revolutionary sections of the working class. In principle, the Social-Democratic Party had ceased to be a working-class party, its policy was decisively influenced by leaders who collaborated with the bourgeoisie.

Under the counter-revolutionary Horthy regime, the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party was in the hands of Karoly Payer, Anna Kethly and other traitors who did everything to prevent working-class unity. Because of this the Communists in their fight for unity, turned for support to the Social-Democratic rank and file and the Left-wing leaders and overcame the opposition of the Right-wing Social-Democrats. The solidarity of the Communists and the Left-wing Social-Democrats resulted in a series of brilliant successes which stand out in the working-class movement—the joint struggle of the Communist and Social-Democratic rank and file in 1919, the fight against the Horthy regime, the joint struggle to protect the trade unions, etc.

Of particular importance was the strengthening of unity from below, when the Party, proceeding from the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, set itself the task of organizing an anti-fascist Popular Front. "Today we are confronted with the task of uniting the entire working class," wrote *Dolgozok Lapja,* central organ of the Party in April 1937, "in order to repel the fascist onslaught, break its strength and unite all sections of the Hungarian people into a mighty democratic front . . ." The policy aimed at creating an anti-fascist Popular Front was a strategic task, effective for a whole historic period: it was the general line of the Party.

The Party instructed its members to enter the workers' legal organizations and strengthen their ties with the Social-Democratic rank and file. The joint struggle to legalize the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party, in defense of the immediate interests of the working class, the joint propaganda and press distribution campaigns—all played an important part in cementing working-class unity.

This joint struggle made it possible gradually to isolate the opportunist policy of collusion with the counter-revolutionary regime. It stimulated unity tendencies also among some of the Social-Democratic leaders who supported the idea of a democratic and independent Hungary. An important part in rallying the working-class movement was played by the Unity Agreement which was signed by representatives of the Communist and the Social-Democratic Party (the Left prevailed in its leadership at the time) on October 10,

1944, shortly before the advent to power of the Nyilasists.* This document stated that the war could be ended quickly and a new, democratic Hungary created only by establishing militant revolutionary working-class unity. To this end, the document read, the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party would "co-operate politically and organizationally in winning peace and establishing an independent, free and democratic Hungary". The idea was entertained of uniting the two parties, but the matter was postponed until the end of the war.

A vital prerequisite for the creation of the anti-fascist Popular Front was consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. The Communist Party paid close attention to work with the peasant masses. For this purpose it made use of the National Peasant Party's weekly *Szabad Szo*, representing the interests of the poor peasants and the laborers' section of the Peasant League.

The concentrated efforts made by the Party to win over the masses were not fruitless. In March 1944, after the Germans openly announced the occupation of Hungary, an anti-fascist league comprising the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party and the Smallholders' Party — the Hungarian Front — was formed. The Front was also joined by the National-Peasant Party. This struggle bore fruit also at a later period, after the war.

After the liberation the Party, jointly with the Left-wing Social-Democrats, fighting to isolate the Right-wing, organized a movement for united action of the Communists and Social-Democrats from below—in the enterprises and in the trade unions. This policy, together with the joint struggle of the Communists and Social-Democrats to carry through the people's democratic revolution and to ensure its further development into a socialist revolution, made a deep impression on the Socialist leaders and rank and file who co-operated with the Communists. The experience of the day-to-day struggle convinced them of the importance of working-class unity and of creating a united revolutionary party of the working class, of the correctness of Lenin's theory and Communist policy.

By the time of the parliamentary elections of 1947, the Communist Party had won the majority of the working class and had become the largest party in the country. Left-wing Socialist workers joined it in increasing numbers or worked for the formation of a united workers' party while remaining in the Social-Democratic Party. The idea of a united workers' party was fostered by the Communists.

The merger of the two parties and the formation of a united revolutionary Marxist-Leninist workers' party (the Hungarian Working People's Party), which took place in 1948, put an end to the split which had divided the working-class movement for years. An important prerequisite for the proletarian dictatorship—political, ideological and organizational unity of the working class—was thus secured. The formation of a united revolutionary workers' party signified the ideological victory of Marxism-Leninism over reformism and revisionism in the Hungarian working-class movement.

In this period the Party, pursuing the consistent policy of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, took into account the mistakes it had made under the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and carried out the land reform. And when the defeated big landowners and clerical reaction attempted to regain the confiscated lands, the Party called upon the masses to repel their machinations and upheld the interests of the peasants. This further consolidated the worker-peasant alliance.

Our struggle to consolidate working-class unity and the worker-peasant alliance did not always follow a direct path. Difficulties were encountered, mistakes were committed. One of the errors made by the former leadership was the differentiated approach towards the members of the united workers' party. There was a certain sectarian reserve in respect to former Social Democrats, while the necessity of combating Social-Democratic revisionism and conciliationist tendencies was forgotten. The policy in respect to the peasants was characterized by impatience. But these shortcomings by no means disprove the fact that in the course of forty years the struggle of the Party for working-class unity and consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance *was in the main carried through correctly and yielded outstanding results*. This fact stood out during the counter-revolutionary putsch.

The fact that the peasant masses condemned the counter-revolution and defended people's democracy proves that they endorse the Party's policies. It is also indisputable that the *unity* displayed by the Hungarian working-class greatly contributed to the speedy defeat of the counter-revolution.

In the course of the selfless struggle against the counter-revolution the last vestiges of mistrust between the Communists and former Social Democrats disappeared. The struggle

*Hungarian fascists.

against the common enemy in the hour of danger molded them into a single body. The Party as a whole regards with the respect due to comrades-in-arms, with genuine comradely feelings, the thousands of former Social Democrats who did not fail in the struggle against the counter-revolution and who have become Communists. Some of them occupy high posts in the leadership of the Party and the administration.

The peasants have again been convinced of the fact that the Communist Party is the only true defender of their interests. They greatly appreciated the steps taken by the Party to improve methods of work in agriculture. This helped to rally the working peasants closely round the Party and the working class led by it. As a result, *the worker-peasant alliance is stronger than before the counter-revolutionary putsch.*

All this speaks for the effective results of the Party's policy. Experience has confirmed that the strengthening of the Party's ties with the masses is by no means an act of surrender to spontaneity. By no means does it signify that the Party should trail in the wake of the backward sections, as the revisionists assert. The Party wins over the masses by a *principled* policy, by representing their *objective class interests,* bearing in mind the dialectical interconnection between the historic, long-range interests of the masses and their immediate daily requirements and needs. Winning over the masses calls for a policy free from dogmatism and for a style of work devoid of sectarianism, that is, a policy pursuing aims that are understood by the working class and the masses. It requires patient work in convincing the masses, studying their views and enhancing their activity. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, having learnt the lessons from the past mistakes, is now pursuing precisely this kind of policy. It addresses itself to the masses who support socialism and rallies around them the sections that are still neutral. The untenable position held by the revisionists and compromisers has also been shown up; they had proposed to the Party that, for the sake of "winning over the masses", it should enter into a compromise with the traitors and nationalists and abandon its ideological and political principles. The Party has gained the confidence and support of the masses *precisely* because it rejected the policy of vile compromise with the counter-revolutionary forces, because it called on the people to combat them and resolutely waged this struggle.

For Party Unity and Purity of Marxist-Leninist Principles

Throughout its history the Party has been able to overcome its mistakes and difficulties through struggle for the ideological unity of its ranks, for the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, against all deviations. This is one of the major lessons drawn by the Party from its forty-year struggle.

The Communist movement in Hungary has convincingly proved that the Party always achieves success when it preserves and develops the ideological, political and organizational unity of its ranks on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. The setbacks and temporary defeats which it encountered were connected with deviations from Marxism-Leninism, with the weakening of Party unity and with failing to fight on two fronts. Especially harmful were the deviations in the period between 1949 and 1956. A detailed analysis of its mistakes has enabled our Party to draw important conclusions which it fruitfully applies in its work.

It is common knowledge that both the Right and "Left" deviations are a reflection of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology penetrating into the Party ranks. One reason why these deviations manifested themselves with such force was the excessive numerical growth of the Party ranks, particularly the influx of non-proletarian elements encumbered by petty-bourgeois ideas. It was not fortuitous that vacillations and deviations emanated from these sections.

The history of our Party also shows that the deviations mutually contribute to and complement one another. The struggle against them can be successful only if it is waged from Marxist positions. The experience of the 'twenties and especially of the 1949-56 period prove that it is impossible to overcome revisionism from positions of dogmatism, that the "Left" deviation, far from being an antidote to the Right trend, favors its growth.

The mistakes of the Party leadership in the 1949-53 period were in the main Left mistakes, but at times Right mistakes were also made. The fact that the Party leadership headed by Matias Rakosi persisted in its sectarian errors made it impossible to wage an effective struggle against the mounting wave of revisionism.

Beginning in 1953, Imre Nagy formed a group of Right elements who in 1955 turned into a revisionist, anti-party faction whose activities were directed against the people's-democratic system. However, the Party leadership launched a struggle against the Right, revisionist tendency not from the standpoint

of creative Marxism, but from one of defending its mistakes and preserving and justifying its sectarianism. This did not help the Party's contact with the masses, in fact it weakened the contact. The subjectivist, sectarian mistakes both in general policy as well as in the economic field, the Rakosi personality cult, the violations of legality—all this the former leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party was either unable or unwilling to rectify effectively even after 1953, i.e. after the Central Committee had made a self-critical analysis of the mistakes. Thus, the sectarian policy of the former leadership of our Party served to undermine the confidence of the people and furthered the spread of revisionist views.

At the same time (and past experience confirms this) Rightist views cannot serve as a "platform" for the rectification of "Left" mistakes. Revisionism cannot cure the ills of dogmatism, it leads to disintegration of the Party and the downfall of the proletarian dictatorship. Imre Nagy and his supporters—the Hungarian revisionists who styled themselves "creative Marxists", and who claimed that they were applying the ideas of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., fighting for "socialist democracy" — in reality replaced the principle of proletarian dictatorship by the liberal slogans of "pure democracy" and "complete freedom", nationalism instead of proletarian internationalism and, ultimately, joined the counter-revolutionaries as their allies.

The revisionists exaggerated the errors in every way. By no means did they try to rectify them with a view to restoring and enhancing the prestige of the Party. On the contrary, they did their best to undermine it and to weaken the people's government.

From what has been said it clearly follows (and the first Party conference held after the defeat of the counter-revolution formulated the task precisely on these lines) that the struggle should be waged against both the Right and the "Left" deviations. *The Party should wage a struggle from Marxist-Leninist positions on two fronts—against all kinds of deviations.* The fire, it should be added, must be directed against revisionism as the main danger at present.

The hypocrisy of the latter-day revisionists in the Communist movement, the true content of their views and strivings were fully exposed during the 1956 counter-revolutionary putsch. The stand taken by people and the class interests they defend are always revealed clearly at moments of acute class struggle. The Hungarian revisionists—so-called "national Communists" — deserted to the counter-revolution and international imperialism, betraying the proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism. Not only did they play a leading part in preparing the onslaught against the proletarian dictatorship but also in the conduct of the putsch. They were also the leaders during the rear-guard action of the counter-revolution. It was the imperialists who actually organized the counter - revolutionary putsch. It was they who started the campaign of slander and launched subversive activities against the Hungarian People's Republic a few years ago. The revisionists were merely their auxiliaries. But the counter-revolution exposed not only the internal revisionists but also their accessories—the representatives of present-day international revisionism. The Hungarian revisionists were backed by international revisionism politically, ideologically and morally. A prominent role in this respect was played by the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionists who wanted to take advantage of the situation to weaken the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

On the matter of the deviations in the Hungarian Communist movement it should be noted that they manifested themselves forcefully the moment the working class seized power. This fact was connected with the erroneous view, widespread at the time, that day-to-day explanatory work among the masses was less important after the conquest of power by the working class. Learning from its experience the Party, after the suppression of the counter-revolution, unanimously proclaimed the principle that the *best way to win the masses is to convince them.* And that is what it is now successfully doing.

This applies in equal measure to the situation in the Party. Experience has shown that administrative methods are far from being the best way of working for Party unity. They can be justified only in extreme circumstances. The Party intends to cement its ranks on the basis of ideological unity, which first and foremost can be attained by overcoming erroneous views. In keeping with this the Party press has criticized some philosophers and economists who, before the counter-revolutionary putsch and during it, maintained erroneous revisionist views and enjoyed prestige at the time; it also criticized the fallacious concepts of the so-called "nepies irok" ("people's writers"). In this connection the press has published Party directives on policy in

the cultural sphere. Those criticized were given the opportunity to express their views both before and after the criticism. This has played an important role in consolidating Party unity both ideologically and politically.

Loyalty to Proletarian Internationalism

The forty-year experience of our Party has proved that *loyalty to proletarian internationalism* is a source of strength for the Party, and one of its characteristic features. The Hungarian Communist Party has adhered to this principle ever since its foundation when it greeted the young Soviet Republic as "an elder brother" and acquainted the workers with the achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Party has always educated its members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Striking examples are the participation of 100,000 Hungarian internationalists in the Civil War in Russia, and the 600 Hungarian International Brigaders—heroes who sacrificed their lives in Spain for the freedom of the Spanish and Hungarian people, for the international cause of socialism.

Our Party is a party of internationalists. That is why it is also the true spokesman of the national interests.

The revisionists and the other spokesmen of opportunism have always tried artificially to oppose the national interests to proletarian internationalism, to prove that national forms have priority over class content. In reality the essence of our national development consists in doing away with exploitation of man by man, in building socialism, and this is an internationalist duty. The forty years' history of our Party provides numerous examples which prove convincingly that the working class headed by its revolutionary party is the most consistent fighter for national independence and against imperialism, and that national independence cannot be divorced from social progress.

The counter-revolutionary putsch of 1956 was a serious test for our Party, a test of loyalty to proletarian internationalism.

In preparing the putsch, the Nagy-Losonczy revisionist group utilized the remnants of nationalism — the result of twenty-five years' education in the spirit of fascism—and the notorious idea of "national communism", in an effort to counterpose the national interests to socialist internationalism, Hungary to the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

The Hungarian Party of Communists remained true to its internationalist principles. It declared that the Communist Party, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory which is international in character, solves problems of national development, both in theory and in practice, on the basis of the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. Our Party, the party of proletarian internationalism and true patriotism, starts from the premise that the national interests do not run counter to the international interests of the working class. We know from experience that the unity of the Communist parties, the unity of the socialist camp, the leading role of the C.P.S.U. in the international communist movement, correspond to the best interests of the Hungarian people, of the socialist nations and of the entire revolutionary working-class movement. That is why our Party denounced the chauvinistic, anti-Soviet "national communism" as an anti-national policy and, despite the slander and attacks launched by reaction, demonstrated its loyalty to the socialist camp.

The aid rendered by the Soviet Union to our Party and people at the request of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government in smashing the counter-revolution was a manifestation of genuine proletarian internationalism. The Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty came to our aid and shed their blood in order to suppress the counter-revolutionary armed forces, backed by international imperialism, as quickly as possible, so that we could avoid the horrors of a prolonged civil war and prevent our country from being turned into a hotbed of a new world war. The family of socialist countries and the entire communist movement rendered the Hungarian Communists and the forces of our people's democracy invaluable service both morally and materially. Proletarian internationalism brillantly withstood the test in the "Hungarian question".

The enemy badly miscalculated in his plans to use the counter-revolution for a blow against proletarian solidarity.

The resolute, principled policy of the Party and the disinterested aid of the socialist camp have left a deep imprint in the minds of our people and have yielded fruits. Relations between our people and the other fraternal nations have become more solid and closer. This strengthens our confidence in the fact that we are advancing along the right path.

* * *

The Hungarian Communists headed by Comrade Janos Kadar reorganized their Party,

establishing in November 1956 the Socialist Workers' Party; and, by taking decisive action against the counter-revolution, they showed how to save the proletarian dictatorship and socialism. The Party was formed under very difficult conditions, when a life and death struggle was being waged. Its core consists of the most stable and selfless elements of the Working Peoples' Party. The reorganization of the Party was a vital condition of the revolutionary counter-offensive and defense of the proletarian dictatorship.

The successes gained by our people since then in consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and in economic and cultural development have proved the soundness of the Party's policy. They are indicative of its closer contact with the masses, and of the growing socialist creative initiative of the working people.

The counter-revolutionary putsch caused grave damage. The direct material loss amounts approximately to twenty-two billion forints, to say nothing of the losses that cannot be estimated in terms of money. Under the Party's leadership and with the help of the fraternal socialist countries, our people have healed the wounds caused by the counter-revolution. In 1957 we exceeded the targets of the economic plan—overall output exceeded the 1955 level by six per cent. The national economy was rehabilitated.

The three-year plan (1958-60) provides for an increase in industrial and agricultural output and for a further rise in wages. The figures for the first six months of the current year show considerable overfulfilment of the plan. The producer-cooperative movement in the villages is making headway.

The successes in the economic and cultural spheres are inseparable from the work carried out by the Socialist Workers' Party, whose prestige is high. It has the wholehearted support of the nation in everything that it undertakes. This proves that in the forty years of its history our Party has struck deep roots among the people. As a result of its activities great changes have taken place in the country. This also speaks for the fact that the Party knows how to apply the experience gained during the forty years of grim struggle.

The Hungarian communist movement, now entering its fifth decade, is the leading force in the country, which is building socialism, the leading force of the triumphant proletarian dictatorship .

Results of the VII Congress of the Japanese Communist Party

Sanzo Nozaka (Okano)

THE Seventh Congress of the Japanese Communist Party which opened in Tokyo on July 23 and ended on August 1 was the first Congress in eleven years. What is the explanation for the long interval?

The explanation is, first, that after the repression launched against the Central Committee and its national newspaper in June 1950, on the orders of the American occupation authorities, our Party lived a semi-legal existence.

And second, the situation which developed at that time revealed the weak sides of the Communist Party. The split which took place in the Central Committee split the entire Party. The leadership pursued an incorrect, sectarian political line. All this sapped the unity of the Party and greatly weakened its contact with the masses.

A National Conference, the Sixth, was convened in 1955, that is at a time when big changes were taking place in the domestic and international situation in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. The conference was the first serious step in the direction of restoring unity and rectifying the political line, in ending the abnormal situation which had prevailed in the Party for a number of years. Getting rid of the heavy burden of the past, however, was not an easy matter and so three years were spent in preparing for the Seventh Congress.

In view of the conditions in which the Party had worked for a number of years, the

Central Committee decided to submit the draft documents for the Congress to an extensive preliminary discussion by the entire Party.

For the best part of a year the members discussed the Draft Program and Rules and also the political line. The discussion whetted the interest of members in matters of theory and contributed in no small measure to the success of the Congress.

The Congress agenda was as follows:

1. Political Report of the Central Committee;
2. The Party program;
3. Amendments to Rules;
4. Election of central bodies.

This was the first time that a Congress of the Japanese Party was attended by a delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which conveyed warm fraternal greetings from the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. A message of greetings was read from the Chinese Communist Party; altogether 33 fraternal Parties sent greetings.

This shows that the Japanese Communists, the working class and the masses, fighting in difficult conditions, are not isolated from the international movement and the world-wide struggle for socialism, national liberation and peace has made great progress. It shows, moreover, that the designs of the U.S. imperialists and reactionary forces to disrupt international proletarian solidarity have failed.

Greetings were also conveyed by representatives of the General Council of Trade Unions, the National Federation of Peasant Associations and many democratic organizations in the country. A message of greetings was received from the Socialist Party. All this bears witness to the fact that, despite the pressure exerted by internal and external enemies, the unity of the democratic forces in Japan is gradually becoming a mighty factor. It also indicates that our Party is not isolated from the people, that the people place great hopes in it.

The significance of the Congress lies above all in the fact that the political report of the Central Committee was, after thorough discussion, approved almost unanimously. This means that from now on our Party is unanimous in its assessment of the internal and external situation and in the formulation of its political line. In this we see the guarantee of its future growth.

The Congress examined the main features of the international situation and pointed to the advances made by the international communist movement. It endorsed the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto and unanimously decided that in all its work the Party should be guided by these documents.

So that the tasks facing the Party and the working class may be better understood I shall dwell briefly on the changes that have taken place in the political and economic life of the country over the past ten years.

After the San-Francisco Treaty, the system of total and direct occupation by the U.S. imperialists was juridically abolished. But Japan still remains a semi-occupied country and, in fact, is dependent on American imperialism. Under U.S. imperialist tutelage, Japanese monopoly capital has recovered and gained strength. At the moment the monopolists, linked to American imperialism, having begun to restore militarism, are themselves pursuing imperialist aims. Parallel with this, however, the democratic forces headed by the working class have grown considerably.

The antagonisms between American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital are growing. On the other hand the imperialists, trying hard to reconcile their differences, are strengthening their connections in opposition to the camp of socialism and the countries which have won independence. At the same time they are attacking the working class and all the people. There are, then, two opposed forces on the home arena—the democratic forces and the forces of reaction. And the conflict between the two forces is growing in intensity. The economic crisis now making itself felt, will pour fuel on the flame.

The U.S. is doing its utmost to turn our country into a stronghold of reaction and aggression in Asia. Okinawa has been converted into an American guided-missile base. The U.S. is anxious to arm Japan's Self-Defense Forces with nuclear weapons and guided missiles; it nurtures plans for a "North-East Asia Treaty Organization" which would combine the reactionary forces of Japan and the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek cliques.

Beginning with the Korean war Japan's economy developed rapidly; her industrial output is now 2.5 times greater than prewar. At the moment the degree of centralization of production and capital surpasses the prewar level. The monopolies have intensified the exploitation of the working people and have swallowed the medium-sized and small enterprises. They control the government bodies and the key positions in industry and finance. Thus, monopoly capital is laying the economic foundation for the resurgence of imperialism.

The economy, however, is already in the throes of a crisis. Last year output of the

mining industry fell by ten per cent, wholesale prices declined 11 per cent and imports 37 per cent. The contradiction between rising output and a shrinking market has become insoluble. The monopolies are seeking a way out in intensified exploitation and foreign expansion. They are now competing for markets and are planning a "development fund for South-East Asia" with a view to establishing their economic dominion in that area.

The Japanese monopolists, however, are still unable to pursue this policy on their own. This explains why they are in no hurry to get rid of their dependence on the U.S. On the contrary, while striving to realize their expansionist aims, they simultaneously seek the support of the U.S. This is typical of Japanese monopoly capital, which barters and betrays the interests of the nation.

Following in the wake of the U.S. adventurist policy, the Japanese monopolists are banking on American aid in their hopes to revive militarism and resume their imperialist expansion in the Asian countries. What awaits them, however, is isolation both from the Asian nations and from ever broader sections of the Japanese people.

The Kishi Government, formed in February last year, zealously pursues the policy of American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. It is the most reactionary government seen in Japan since the war.

The main features of this Government are:

First, actively collaborating with the U.S. imperialists in their war preparations and in arming Japan with nuclear weapons, it hopes that in return the U.S. will back its expansionist policy in South-East Asia. But since it cannot disregard the nation-wide movement for peace and independence, and also in order to disguise itself before the Afro-Asian countries that pursue a policy of independence and active neutrality, the Kishi Government conceals its real aims and pretends that it has a policy of "its own". But its activity in the United Nations has exposed the Kishi Government as a stooge of American imperialism, now mankind's worst enemy.

Not only has this Government scorned the demands of the people, who urge that Okinawa and Bonin be returned, that the Japanese-American "security pact" and "administrative agreement" be repudiated and national independence ensured: it pursues a policy aimed at increasing the dependence on the U.S.

Second. The Kishi Government has adopted a hostile attitude towards the Chinese People's Republic, with the result that trade relations between the two countries have been broken off. The fact that the Government hinders normalization of diplomatic relations with China is clear evidence of its dependence on the U.S. It is common knowledge, however, that this is more detrimental to Japan than to China. The hostile policy towards the latter has already evoked vigorous protests among the Japanese people.

Third. The Kishi Government seeks to deprive the people of the democratic rights won in the postwar period. It seeks to establish an anti-democratic regime in order to restore militarism, suppress the movement for peace, independence and social progress and find an outlet from the economic crisis in robbery of the people and foreign expansion.

Despite the obstacles, the democratic forces have grown considerably during the past ten years. These forces have developed on the basis of the popular struggle for peace, independence, democracy and better conditions. The working class is the driving force of the struggle for unity of action, against monopoly exploitation and oppression. The 6,000,000-strong trade unions have become the force behind the people's struggle. The more than thirty million signatures to the demand to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons testify to the success of the Japanese people in their struggle for peace. The democratic popular movement also played an important role in normalizing diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. The movement for normal diplomatic relations with China is assuming a mass character. More and more people are joining in the campaign against the U.S. military bases. The workers, supported by other sections of the population, are demanding that shipping of nuclear weapons to the country be prohibited. The movement among the youth, including students, and among women, is spreading.

Against the background of this ceaseless struggle, the Socialist and Communist Parties have in recent years won one-third of the seats in Parliament and have frustrated the plans of the Government and the Liberal-Democratic Party to amend the Constitution. The Communist Party has played a big part in consolidating the democratic forces. Despite the repressions initiated by the American occupation authorities and internal reactionaries, our Party has headed the struggle for peace, independence and social progress and has worked tirelessly to develop and unite the democratic forces of the country.

However, the Japanese democratic forces still suffer from serious shortcomings, chief of which are the relative weakness of our

Party and the absence of proper unity of action between the Communist and Socialist parties.

With the aim of further developing the popular struggle, rallying the democratic forces and continuing the advance, the Congress put the following immediate tasks before the Party and the working class:

1. We must combat the policy of the Kishi Government and the Liberal Democratic Party aimed at arming Japan with nuclear weapons, collaborating with the U.S. in preparing an atomic war and reviving Japanese militarism. We must work harder so that the policy of our country becomes the policy of upholding peace in Asia and elsewhere, of establishing relations of peace and friendship with all countries.

The peace movement in Japan has developed in a big way. It has, of course, its weaknesses, one of which is that it does not wage a proper struggle against the enemies of peace in our country. It should, therefore, launch a struggle against the Government and reactionary forces associated with the adventurist policy of American imperialism, who aid and abet the resurgence of militarism.

2. We must wage a struggle against the policy of the Kishi Government and the Liberal Democratic Party, which have adopted a hostile attitude towards People's China and collaborate with American imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in preparing a war against it. It is necessary to work for economic and cultural ties and normal diplomatic relations between Japan and China.

The movement for friendship with China had its weak points in that we relied only on the good will of the Chinese Government and people and failed to insist sufficiently strongly that our Government observe agreements concluded with China. Japan's relations with China cannot be restored to normal unless we eliminate these shortcomings and force the Government to renounce its hostile policy in relation to China. The bulk of the people sincerely want an extension of trade and normal diplomatic relations with China.

3. In order to win freedom from American dependence and prevent the revival of militarism, we must demand more urgently the annulment of the "security pact" and the "administrative agreement", revision of the San-Francisco Peace Treaty, withdrawal of U.S. troops, and unconditional return of Okinawa and Bonin.

4. We must step up our struggle against the policy of the Kishi Government and the Liberal Democratic Party, which is aimed at installing a reactionary regime, and against revision of the Constitution. We must uphold the democratic rights of the people and work for the consistent democratization of political life. Combating the repressions against the Party and the working class, we must, together with the defenders of democratic liberties, frustrate the plans for changing the electoral system, prevent revision of the Constitution and insist on strict implementation of its democratic articles.

5. In the conditions of the economic crisis the Kishi Government and the Liberal Democratic Party, with a view to ensuring huge profits for the monopolies, are embarking on foreign expansion and pursuing a policy of shifting the burden of the crisis onto the population. The working people either suffer from or are threatened with unemployment, intensification of labor, wage reductions and bankruptcy of factories. It is most important, therefore, to defend the standard of living of the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers, medium and small employers and to demand full employment. This struggle is the basis of the nation-wide movement for peace, independence and democracy, against militarism and reactionary policy.

In this struggle the workers demand full employment with shorter working hours, wage increases and a guaranteed minimum wage.

For the peasants, it is a struggle for land and jobs, for a system of fixed prices for their produce.

For the handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and medium and small employers the purpose of this struggle is to secure loans, raw materials and markets.

All working people must demand radical changes in the tax system which would envisage lower taxes for the masses and a high progressive tax with the emphasis on income derived from profits. Moreover, we must combat the state budget which in its present form serves the aims of preparing war and plundering the people, and demand the abolition of subsidies and state investments for monopolies, extension of social insurance at the expense of the budget and the capitalists, increased allocations for improvements, rehabilitation after natural calamities, for housing, education, science and culture.

We are convinced that these demands coincide with the interests of the people who are longing for peace, independence, democracy, a better life and social progress, and

that they will receive the backing of the people.

The Congress adopted a resolution pledging all Party members to work among all strata of the population for the realization of these demands and, by developing a mass movement, to achieve the unity of the entire people, strengthen the Party's contact with the mass organizations, reinforce above all the unity of the working class and cement the worker-peasant alliance, and build a powerful united national democratic front.

Furthermore, in recognition of the important role which Parliament and local government bodies can play in the political life of the country, the Congress called on Communists to do their best to increase the Party's representation in Parliament. The Congress decided to start immediate preparations for the elections to the House of Councillors and local councils to be held next spring.

In order to carry out these tasks the Party must be strengthened ideologically and organizationally.

Even in the difficult years of semi-legal and underground activities, the Japanese Communists managed to organize the struggle against the aggression of American imperialism in Korea, for peace, independence and democracy. At that time, however, our Party made serious mistakes. And so the Congress thoroughly discussed its activities in that period in order to draw lessons for strengthening and further developing the Party. As a result of the discussion it reached the following conclusions:

1. The immediate reason for the split in the Party was the dissolution of and the division in the Central Committee. The split in the Party led to mutual distrust between its members and facilitated the activities of spies and provocateurs. This not only complicated the task of correcting the mistakes, it led to fresh mistakes. Hence, defense of the Leninist unity of the Central Committee is, in all circumstances, the primary duty of every Party member.

2. The basic principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership were ignored, and one-man leadership was practiced, as a result of which inner-Party democracy was not observed and criticism and self-criticism were suppressed. Those who criticized were persecuted and expelled from the Party. Congresses were not held regularly. To preserve the unity of the Party, it is necessary to convene Congresses and Party meetings strictly in conformity with the Rules, and constantly observe the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership.

3. The unity of the Party is ensured by unity in the Central Committee and its close contact with the branches. The Central Committee must persistently strengthen its contact with the prefectural and district Party committees, while the local committees and all the Party members, rallied around the Central Committee and upholding Marxism-Leninism, must constantly and actively consolidate the unity and solidarity of the Party.

4. The inner-Party differences were transferred to the mass non-Party organizations, with the result that these organizations were split. This was a grave error which had its source in confusing the Party with the mass organizations. All this hampered the normal activities of these organizations and gravely injured them. Hence, it follows that inner-Party matters should not be discussed outside the Party, that in all circumstances we must try to solve them inside the Party.

5. The split which took place in the Party in 1950 became possible because the political and ideological level of the membership was low; theory was neglected and ideological work not given close attention. The key to unity lies in the Party's contact with the masses, first of all with the working class, in close unity with them on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and correct strategy and tactics deriving from this theory. The most important task facing the Party, above all the Central Committee, is to arrange for a profound study of Marxism-Leninism and to raise the political and theoretical level of the members.

Such are the principal lessons drawn by the Congress from the bitter experience of the past. In Japan we say: "Turn misfortune into good fortune". While preparing for an during the Congress we turned the past misfortune of the Party into good fortune by largely restoring unity. But the theoretical and ideological weakness of the Party membership cannot be abolished overnight. After the Sixth National Conference in July 1955, which played its part in strengthening the Party, revisionist tendencies set in among some of the members, arising partly from the activization of revisionism in a number of countries. In Japan, the revisionists denied the leading role of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party, extolled social democracy and pragmatism. They asserted that the classical concepts of Marxism-Leninism were now outdated, and ignored the basic feature of American imperialism, which

suppresses other nations, and the reactionary nature of Japanese monopoly capital. The exponents of those tendencies also claimed that socialism can be achieved gradually, through reform. They denied democratic centralism from bourgeois individualist positions, sought to turn our Party into a debating society, underestimated the splendid achievements of the socialist camp and its role in the movement for peace, democracy and socialism, belittled the importance of international solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and, lastly, alleged that the general principles of Marxism-Leninism were inapplicable to our country.

On the other hand, some members tend to be dogmatic in their approach to reality. In assessing anti-Marxist ideology from abstract positions they regard all its exponents as enemy agents, thus, in fact, ruling out any co-operation with the intellectuals.

The Central Committee had denounced these tendencies, and the Congress approved its measures to raise the ideological and theoretical level of the Party.

In keeping with the tasks arising from the new situation, with the lessons of the past and the experience of the international movement, the Congress made amendments to the Party Rules.

We are sure that the new Rules will promote the further growth of the Party and will be a powerful means of strengthening it.

As regards the Program, the Congress did not adopt the Draft which had been placed before it, holding that it was necessary to continue the discussion. It did, however, adopt a Program of Action.

The delegates were unanimously of the opinion that in the main the "inner-Party questions had been resolved. The past mistakes cannot occur again. We shall go forward, defending the solidarity and unity of the Party".

United around its new Central Committee, our Party is fully determined to translate the Congress decisions into action.

Reformism Faces a New Crisis

Friedl Fuernberg

"IS THIS Man Our Comrade?" queried a *Tribune* headline on January 4th, 1957. The man in question was Guy Mollet, Socialist Party leader, then Prime Minister of France. Mollet, the *Tribune* continued, let down the rank-and-file of his Party and the electorate, who had hoped he would stop the colonial war in Algeria. "Were it not for the political label he puts in front of his name," wrote the Labor weekly, "what would there be to show us that Mollet has remained a Socialist?" The *Tribune* described Mollet as "a disgrace to France and to Socialism".

On June 1, 1958, this same Mollet entered de Gaulle's Government. This was the outcome of his persistent efforts to facilitate the formation of a government to the liking of the monopolies, adventurist generals and fascists.

Had it not been for the active aid of the Right-wing Socialist leaders and half the Socialist deputies in the National Assembly, de Gaulle would never have come to power. Like a flash of lightning, the events in France illuminated the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the political degradation of certain Socialist leaders.

What was it that impelled Mollet and some of the Socialist deputies to espouse the cause of general de Gaulle, nominee of the extreme Right and advocate of one-man dictatorship? The answer is: anti-communism. In their eyes the enemy is not capitalism or imperialism, not reaction or fascism, but communism. And so gradually they sank to the depths, to assume the role of accessories and henchmen of people like de Gaulle, the apostle of one-man rule.

It would be wrong, however, to examine only one side of the developments in the Socialist Party. About half the Socialist deputies voted for de Gaulle. The other half, defying the pressure, voted against—with the Communists. The Right-wing leaders believed that their rabid anti-communism had shackled the entire Party membership—rank-and-file and functionaries alike—to the point where they would perforce collaborate in the plot which brought de Gaulle to power. But they miscalculated: the class struggle eventually breaks through all barriers.

Marxism-Leninism long ago revealed the contradictions inherent in the Social-Demo-

cratic Parties. First, there is the contradiction between the politically dominant petty-bourgeois elements and the rank-and-file, recruited from the workers; the former bring bourgeois influence into the working class. Second, there is the contradiction between the broad masses of the working class and the numerically small section of the labor aristocracy, particularly the one-time workers who have risen to relatively privileged positions in capitalist society; it is this aristocracy that forms the social basis of opportunism and reformism. At times when class antagonisms are less acute, when there is a lull in the class struggle, the Right-wing leaders succeed in covering up these contradictions. But the moment the class antagonisms become sharper and the class struggle flares up, the hitherto concealed contradictions grow into conflicts between leaders and rank-and-file, between the men at the top and the local leaders, and among the top leaders themselves.

We Communists have said more than once that the day would come when large numbers of Social Democrats—rank-and-file and functionaries—would refuse to render unreserved support to the anti-socialist policies of their leaders. The developments in the French Socialist Party, the mounting pressure by the rank-and-file fighting for peace, disarmament, the prohibition of atomic weapons, and against the resurgence of West German militarism; and, finally, the policy discussions in the Austrian Socialist Party and other Social Democratic parties—all mark a new stage, a change for the better in the Socialist parties. It should be said right away that it will not all be plain sailing in this development. Relapses and setbacks are to be expected, although it is in the interests of the workers that these should be of a minor nature and be overcome at an early stage. It would be a gain for the working class if the main mass of the Socialists became increasingly conscious of the need to break with reformism. To achieve this, patient explanatory work is required on the part of the Communists, as well as decisive action by those Socialists who want to resist fascism, imperialist war and exploitation.

What has caused this shift among large sections of the Social Democrats? Is it the outcome of the explanatory work of the Communists who have always called for united action against war, reaction and capital? This, no doubt, is one of the reasons. But the main reason for the fresh breeze now blowing in the Socialist parties is that every time the theories of reformism come up against reality they are found wanting: that the working class in the capitalist countries is now adding new and instructive experience to that of the past decades.

Illusion and Reality

After the Second World War the opportunists refurbished the old reformism. Although there was nothing new in its ideas, which were just a rehash of the old tunes, they were in a way, modernized.

The post-war boom in the capitalist countries gave rise to hopes that at last a panacea had been found for economic crises, one which would ensure full employment and higher living standards for a long time. Not only the petty bourgeoisie, but even some of the workers fell for these illusions. After the years of distress and suffering, people cherished the dream that at long last they would enjoy peace and prosperity.

But the reformist castles in the air began to crumble before the eyes of those for whom they had been built. The period of high business activity, when part of the workers won certain concessions, came to an end. Confronted with an economic slump in the United States, the European capitalists and statesmen became more and more worried. How to avert an economic crisis at home—that was the question. It is now becoming more difficult for the Right-wing Socialist leaders to preach class conciliation and "co-partnership". In the past "co-partnership" meant that one of the partners pocketed the profits, while the other toiled. Today one of them simply throws the other onto the street. Hence, it is much harder to get the unemployed worker to believe he is still the "co-partner" of his former boss, who has never had it better. In other words, there is a world of difference between the promises made by the reformist leaders when they called upon their supporters to fight communism and what has actually taken place, or is about to happen.

So, naturally, the workers pay more and more heed to the Communists who expose the myth of "co-partnership", who say that it is the capitalist "partners" who should be removed from the factories, not the tens of thousands of workmen, since it is the former who fail to provide the workers with jobs and means of subsistence. The Socialist workers increasingly realize that the abolition of capitalist exploitation is the only way out for the working class. The working class, including Socialist workers, has developed a very

keen sense, and the first signs of the crisis have already greatly undermined its belief in the reformist "theories" of class conciliation. In this there is nothing fortuitous. The change is the outcome of the experience gained by the working class; of the shift in balance of capitalist and socialist forces on the world arena; and of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It is not only these reformist theories that are on the verge of bankruptcy. Year in and year out the reformists have been harping on a united Europe, the common market, the free trade zone and heaven knows what else, all of which were supposed to replace Great Power imperialism and ensure selfless co-operation. But the longer we live the more we see that there can be no cooperation of capitalist powers for the common good, that the imperialist sharks are still driving for maximum profits.

The other side to reformist ideological propaganda consisted in exaggerating the economic difficulties connected with socialist construction in the People's Democracies and the postwar economic rehabilitation program in the Soviet Union, in belittling the economic achievements of the socialist camp. While lauding the capitalist system as the embodiment of freedom and democracy, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders circulated foul slanders about violence and lawlessness in the socialist countries. It would be wrong to think that these reformist fabrications had no effect on people for a time.

Now, however, the steady economic advance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is so marked and so convincing that it can neither be ignored nor disputed. The bourgeois press is already discussing what will happen when the Soviet Union overtakes and surpasses the big capitalist countries in production per head of the population. In this connection the people are warned against feeling envy at the rising standard of living in the socialist countries: after all, they say, Man does not live by bread alone. That is true, of course. But the point is, that it is bread in abundance that is the basis of human life. And, what is most important is that the socialist nations have long surpassed the capitalist countries as regards their political, moral and spiritual level; and soon they will outstrip the most developed capitalist countries in respect to material welfare as well. Hard times indeed have set in for capitalism!

While the capitalist states are engaged in bitter inter-economic rivalry, the socialist countries are cementing cooperation for their common good. The *equal* nations of the socialist camp have implemented an international division of labor and are aiding each other. No wonder the socialist road, which differs radically from the capitalist one, has such a strong appeal to the Social-Democratic workers.

But that is not all. Peace is just as important to the masses as their immediate economic demands. For many years now the responsibility for the international tension has been laid at the door of the Communists, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. However, the Soviet Union's consistent policy of peace has refuted this evil propaganda. Little credence is given to this deception today, for people are beginning to distinguish between those who really want to ease tensions and ensure peace, and those who are obstructing it.

With the imperialists resisting every disarmament proposal, accelerating the arms drive and the atomic rearmament of West German militarism, the Socialist workers are displaying a growing will to fight for peace. The British Labor Party, the German Social-Democratic Party, the Japanese Socialist Party and the Socialist parties of the Scandinavian countries have recently called for disarmament and relaxation of tension. Their statements are the result of the growing discontent in these parties; confronted with the danger of an atomic war, the rank and file and some of the functionaries are pressing for action.

The Right-wing Socialist leaders have always posed as champions of freedom and democracy. They have hailed the capitalist world as the "free world" — which in itself is a fraud. In lauding it they usually referred to the so-called old democracies of the West, as bastions of freedom. Then came the reactionary coup in France, the military putsch and de Gaulle's advent to power. Many Social Democrats feel that these blows have shattered the edifice, so painfully built, of the "new", "democratic" capitalism. Together with their supporters they are listening with alarm: after the distant rumbles of the threatening economic crisis, the recent thunderclap in France has ushered in another reactionary dictatorship in the very heart of Europe, in the country which had always been regarded as a classical model of democracy.

It should be borne in mind that many Social-Democratic functionaries really believed that a new era would begin after the Second World War, that Social-Democracy would be able to ensure freedom and social progress for the peoples under capitalism. At

the same time they have not forgotten the lessons of the years of fascism and of the Second World War. The split in the ranks of Social-Democracy, so strikingly expressed in France, is logical and inevitable and, sooner or later, it will affect other countries too. It is paving the way to another sharp crisis of the Socialist parties.

The Two Crises of Opportunism

In order to assess correctly the developments in the Socialist parties and the further sharpening of contradictions inside them, it is important to bear in mind the way in which these parties evolved, and their present position under capitalism.

Many of the Socialist parties are offshoots of the Social-Democratic parties that were formed in the previous century. Some of them, for instance the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the Socialist Party of Austria which carried on under the banner of Marxism, became mass parties, the leading force of the working class in their countries. Gradually, however, opportunism began to prevail. When the First World War broke out, the opportunists were practically in control in all these parties, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party of Russia and a few others.

During the First World War the Socialist leaders deserted to the bourgeoisie. Their revisionist theories were for the first time put to a severe test. They replaced uncompromising class struggle with "unanimous co-operation for the common good". It was in the interests of the working class and the whole of the people, declared the opportunists and reformists, to support their own bourgeoisie in the predatory war. However, the war brought nothing but privation, misery, suffering and bloodshed to the masses of both the victorious and vanquished countries. The march of events led to the first international failure of opportunism.

After the war, the Marxists dissociated themselves from the opportunists organizationally on a world scale. In Russia this process, under Lenin's influence, took place much earlier—at the turn of the century. It was the Bolshevik Party that led the ideological struggle against international opportunism. "The war of 1914-15 marks such a tremendous turn in history that the attitude towards opportunism *cannot* remain as of old," wrote Lenin in his "Collapse of the Second International" in 1915. "The past cannot be wiped out, and it is impossible to obliterate from the minds of the workers, or from the experience of the bourgeoisie, or from the political lessons of our epoch, the fact that at the moment of crisis, the opportunists proved to be the nucleus of those elements within the labor parties that deserted to the bourgeoisie. Opportunism — to speak on a general European scale — was in its adolescent stage, as it were, before the war. It grew up to manhood with the outbreak of the war, and its 'innocence' and youth cannot be restored. A whole social stratum consisting of parliamentarians, journalists, labor officials, privileged employees, and certain sections of the proletariat, has sprung up and has become *merged* with its national bourgeoisie, which was able to appreciate and 'adapt' it." (*Works*, 4th Russian edition, Vol. 21, page 223). The wheel of history cannot be reversed, Lenin said, we can and must fearlessly go forward, to the forming of revolutionary Marxist parties that have shaken off opportunism and are capable of "making themselves immune to opportunist treachery".

Throughout Europe the victorious Socialist Revolution in Russia greatly accelerated the organizational separation of revolutionary Marxism from opportunism. After the First World War, in view of the obvious bankruptcy of the revisionist theories, the opportunists endeavored to pose as genuine Marxist socialists. Some opportunists even tried to worm their way into the newly-organized Third International, but Lenin rebuffed this attempt at the Second Congress of the Communist International. The Communist parties forged a revolutionary working-class vanguard, standing foursquare on the Marxist-Leninist platform. The opportunists of all hues, however, remained in the Social-Democratic parties. At that time they still exerted considerable influence over the workers and often led the majority of them.

A number of reasons explain why the Social-Democrats commanded such mass influence after the First World War, but we cannot go into them now. The main one was that the opportunists promised the workers an "easier way" to socialism than the path of revolutionary struggle taken by the workers of Russia. Furthermore, the opportunists made the most of the concessions wrested from the capitalists under fear of the proletarian revolution.

Nowhere has reformism led to socialism. But certain factors enabled the opportunists to maintain the illusion in the working class that their way would eventually lead to socialism. These factors were, that the bourgeoisie, still holding power and with the war

damage largely overcome, was cautious in encroaching upon the economic and political gains of the European workers; and furthermore, the Socialist parties were represented in the governments of a number of countries. When the economic upheavals of the twenties gave way to a period of temporary stability and higher business activity, a rehashed revisionism was served up once more. The Social-Democratic compromisers proclaimed the advent of an era free from crises and war; this era, they said, would gradually lead the nations to socialism along the democratic road. In essentials this was the same old theory—the same reformist gramophone record of pre-World War I vintage. In the eyes of the masses the struggle between opportunism and revolutionary Marxism now took the form of an ideological issue between two parties—Social Democrats and Communists.

The Right-wing Socialist leaders could not entirely forswear the Marxist past of their parties. Yet they sided with the bourgeoisie much more openly than in the past. betrayed, more consistently than hitherto, the fundamental class interests of the workers and preached an illusory identity of interests of capitalist and worker. They made it their aim to fight communism, to prevent the socialist revolution and to isolate the Communist parties. The opportunists wholeheartedly supported world capitalism in its struggle again the Soviet Union, the first country of workers' rule.

But the second blossoming of reformism and opportunism, which made every attempt to penetrate into the Communist parties, was as brief as the sham prosperity of capitalism. The onset of the world economic crisis, fascism and the Second World War brought reformism again to fiasco. Instead of economic stability a severe crisis — the worst in the history of capitalism—set in. Instead of democracy growing stronger, fascism held sway over a large part of Europe, and instead of the slogan "No More War" being translated into reality, capitalism plunged the nations into another slaughter.

The Socialist parties experienced another crisis both ideologically and organizationally. Many of their supporters and rank-and-file members, and also a number of leaders — who for years had advocated reformism and opportunism, and fought communism — finally realized the fatal consequences of their former position and adopted Marxism-Leninism, seeing that time had corroborated its correctness. The urge for working-class unity grew much stronger. A major factor in this shift was the heroism displayed by the Soviet people — the main force in the fight against fascism and reaction — who in the long run defeated Hitler Germany. It was at this period that the Communist parties began to become mass parties. In many countries they had already won the confidence of the majority of the working class, in others their influence was growing. United trade unions came into existence. For the first time a World Federation of Trade Unions united nearly all the influential trade union bodies in many countries and of diverse trends. In the People's Democracies a merger of Communist and Socialist parties took place on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. And in a number of capitalist countries—in Italy, France, and Japan, for instance—a more or less stable unity of action was achieved by the working-class parties.

While the capitalist system was in a state of acute crisis, the Right-wing reformist leaders again adopted the pose of revolutionaries. At the same time they opposed every step that could contribute to the abolition of capitalist exploitation. No sooner had the capitalists recovered and launched the "cold war", than the Right-wing Socialists resumed their despicable role as salesmen of anti-communism. And when the postwar "boom" reached its peak, they again tried to counterpose their reformist-opportunist ideology to Marxism-Leninism. They sought theoretically to justify the gulf separating them from the Communists — a gulf which they had dug and widened by their policies.

Towards a New Crisis

After the Second World War big changes took place in the Socialist parties, affecting their social composition, which now included greater numbers of petty bourgeoisie. The party "officials" now played a much bigger role. While some of their working-class supporters now took the path of consistent class struggle and joined the Communist parties, the Socialist parties reinforced their ranks largely with artisans, self-employed, civil servants, professional workers and so on. The point was that the dissolution of the fascist parties in Europe and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism led to a situation in which large sections of the petty bourgeoisie regarded the Socialist parties as havens from the storms of class struggle. The influx of petty bourgeoisie made it easier for the Social-Democratic leadership to switch to anti-communism and to retain their hold on

those workers who remained in the Social-Democratic ranks. At first the Right-wing leaders maintained that they only wanted to reform Marxism, but then, while admitting that Marxism had played an important positive role in the past, they announced that it was not the answer to the requirements of the modern era of atomic energy and automation. They saw in anti-communism, open repudiation of Marxism and the adoption of slightly modernized versions of the class "conciliation" theories, a means of bolstering the capitalist system and supporting the imperialist forces in their fight against the socialist camp, against the national-liberation and revolutionary working-class movements.

Imperialism is in dire need of this support. The forces of socialism are growing by leaps and bounds. In a decade or two the Soviet Union plans to take over world leadership in per capita consumption of basic goods and to surpass the standard of living in the most advanced capitalist countries. The Chinese People's Republic and the other People's Democracies have rebuffed all the imperialist attempts and intrigues and are making steady progress. A Seven-Year Plan for 1959-65, to be discussed by the XXI Congress of the C.P.S.U., provides for an unprecedented rise in living standards. So the reformist promises pale into insignificance, while the concessions of the capitalists cease to be attractive even to the highly-paid workers in the more developed capitalist countries and to the politically backward sections of the working people. In 1961 per capita consumption in the German Democratic Republic will be greater than in the Federal Republic even in the period of the so-called "economic miracle." Austrian tourists visiting Czechoslovakia see for themselves that the standard of living of their people's-democratic neighbor compares favorably with that of Austria during its period of great prosperity.

It will not be amiss to add that the growing disintegration of the colonial system is narrowing the possibilities for the imperialist bourgeoisie to bribe some sections of the working class. Despite bitter imperialist counteraction, the liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America are gaining in scale and momentum. The imperialists are in desperate need of Right-wing Socialist support. It would be no exaggeration to say that were it not for this support the capitalist system in Europe would be in grave danger.

The European Social-Democratic leaders tried but failed to influence the Socialist parties in Asia and Africa in the interests of monopoly capital. In some countries the Socialist parties remained weak and failed to make any progress. In others they substantially strengthened their positions, but not because they followed the policies of the Right Social Democrats. Just the reverse. At their gatherings and conferences many of the Asian Socialist parties have called for the recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, for national independence for the colonial peoples, for Egypt's right to the Suez Canal, against U.S. and British intervention in Lebanon and Jordan and for the abolition of foreign military bases. The Asian and African Socialist parties are profoundly influenced by the rapidly developing national-liberation movements on their respective continents.

To succeed in aiding capitalism the Right-wing Socialist leaders must have a definite and solid base in the shape of essential concessions on the part of the bourgeoisie. When this base is not adequate or when it becomes weaker, they find it increasingly difficult to carry through their disastrous line. This is true of Europe also.

Everything on which the Right-wing Socialists speculated when they announced the dawn of "new capitalism" — which, they say, is no longer capitalism, permeated as it is with "socialist elements" — is now tottering. At the German Social-Democratic Congress held in Stuttgart last May, Heinrich Deist, a rabid anti-Marxist, reporting on economic questions, said: "Without steady economic progress, all our other demands are nothing but soap-bubbles."

And what can one say when there is no "steady economic progress" in the capitalist countries? With the economic crisis breaking out, Social-Democratic "demands" inevitably become soap-bubbles, and all the social gains, which have helped them to create the "Welfare State" myth prove to be built on quicksands. In these conditions, despite their anti-communist witch-hunt, ever-increasing numbers of the rank-and-file are beginning to vacillate. For they are faced with the alternative: either loss of most of the social gains won in hard-fought class struggle at the cost of tremendous sacrifice by the proletariat, or else wage a fight against capitalism and to this end, effect working-class unity.

The matter is not confined to the economic conditions of the working people. Once again capitalism is seeking to resolve its contradictions through fascism and war. Now, however, the working people have far greater opportunities for blocking this "way out."

Recent international developments provide further confirmation of this. In France, the struggle against de Gaulle's anti-democratic constitution, designed to pave the way to fascism, has brought about a split in the Socialist and other republican parties between the opponents of one-man dictatorship and fascism and de Gaulle's collaborators. True, Guy Mollet managed to get a majority for the constitution at the last congress. But the price he paid was the split in the Socialist Party. The future will show that the "NON" of hundreds of thousands of Socialists will outweigh on the scales of history the "OUI" of Guy Mollet and his crowd. For September 28 has not ended the struggle of the French working class and the whole people against the fascists and their henchmen. The struggle is entering upon a new phase. The Anglo-American imperialists, who were about to unleash a war in the Middle East against Iraq and the U.A.R., were again forced to abandon their intention. Although the danger of aggressive war has not yet been eliminated in the Middle East, the imperialists will be curbed, provided the unity of the peace forces remains solid. The war ventures of U.S. imperialism in the Far East have resulted only in still greater isolation of the U.S.A. Even its partners in the aggressive blocs display no desire whatever to join in Dulles' arrogant and dangerous adventure.

The Soviet Union, the entire socialist camp and the Communist Parties are working unflaggingly to maintain peace, advancing concrete proposals for disarmament, mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence. The forces of the socialist camp and the world peace movement are now so strong that war can be averted. The correlation of forces between socialism and capitalism, between the supporters of peace and its opponents has radically changed in favor of socialism and peace, and this is making itself felt in the Socialist parties. There is another important circumstance: the experience of the past few decades is still fresh in the minds of the people. The very first signs that the horrors of the past may be repeated would immediately arouse the opposition forces which exist within the Socialist parties, even among their functionaries.

After the Second World War and particularly during the boom, the Right-wing Socialist leaders endeavored to create the impression that they were convinced of their cause, that it was their mission to chart the only true road to peace, progress and freedom. Whether they themselves believe this or not is questionable, but many of their supporters and functionaries have had grave doubts from the outset. The point is that reformism has long since grown out of the adolescent stage; it has even passed the age of maturity; it has, in fact, reached old age. Reformism has lost faith in itself; and its unnatural relationship with fascism (in France, for instance) can but hasten its final collapse. For this relationship will prove an eye-opener for those who still expected good to come of reformism.

With the decline of capitalism, on the one hand, and the rapid progress of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp on the other, the Socialist parties are on the highroad to their third acute crisis, to another crash of reformist theories. *It is most important that this time the deception of the working class by the reformists should not result, as was the case in the past, in fascism and war.* We Communists are making every effort to prevent this. It should be said, however, that the Social-Democratic rank-and-file and functionaries also bear a grave responsibility, and much depends on their attitude. This is shown in the world-wide fight for peace, and in the fight waged against reaction in France, Western Germany, Italy and other countries.

As Marxists we know that a definite section of the Socialist party leaders will follow monopoly capitalism to the end and share with it the vicissitudes of fortune of this doomed system. But we must do everything to reduce their numbers and to weaken as far as possible their influence on the workers. We know, too, that as events take their course, many Socialist party functionaries will also vacillate. The will still try to find an "easier way" as an alternative to uncompromising class struggle, and will use the old discredited means to save capitalism.

The Right-wing leaders will seize upon each and every opportunity to revive anti-communism, although many of the rank-and-file and the functionaries now appreciate that this is harming their own cause and helping the reactionaries. Regardless of attacks, we shall unfailingly lay emphasis on the need for working-class unity, to break with those who have forever cast in their lot with monopoly capital. And we say to the Socialists, whether of the rank and file or the leadership: Do not let anti-communism blind you, do not close your eyes to the real danger.

In the struggle against it, we must act together.

On the international plane the main issue is the fight against the war danger, for ending tests of nuclear weapons and banning these weapons, for disarmament and relaxation of international tension through negotiation. These aims are endorsed by the Socialist majority just as they are by every Communist.. If the Communists and Socialists united their efforts in this struggle, its success would be assured.

All peoples long to get rid of the danger of an atomic war. There is all the more reason then to prevent this danger from being aggravated by supplying the West German militarists with atomic weapons. The Socialist parties have declared that they too are opposed to arming Western Germany with atomic weapons; they say that they want an end to tests and prohibition of nuclear weapons. If we can achieve these immediate demands through joint effort it would mean a victory for everyone, Socialists included—for all peoples; it would signify the triumph of peace and a heavy defeat for the reactionaries and warmongers.

The sharpening class struggle on a national and international scale once again confronts the Socialist parties with a severe test. And to an even lesser degree than in the past are those parties capable of passing this test, which are guided by class-conciliation theories, and which combat the revolutionary-minded workers.

We are sure, however, that a new betrayal by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders will not, as in the past, lead to disastrous consequences for the working class and all working people. On the contrary, the failure of reformism internationally — and in our view the signs of this are already evident — will culminate in the unity of the working-class movement.

Real Security for the Nations

Marian Nasowski

A CHARACTERISTIC feature of the present period is the growth and sharpening of contradictions between the imperialist powers and the countries that have just won independence, and also between the United States, the dominant power in the imperialist camp, and her weaker partners. There are also other kinds of contradictions; for instance, two tendencies are becoming apparent: one striving to exacerbate international tensions, while the other, motivated by the necessity for peaceful coexistence, wants co-operation and negotiated settlement of disputes.

It should be noted that peaceful co-operation is supported in the capitalist countries not only by the working people and their revolutionary parties, and not only by progressive democrats. Some sections of the bourgeoisie and government circles in the countries pursuing a neutral policy also insist that war be ruled out as a means of resolving conflicts. The movement for easing tension is winning support among ever-widening circles of the bourgeoisie, liberals and Christians. This trend is especially pronounced in the Scandinavian countries, in Belgium and Canada. The same can be observed—although to a smaller degree— in the big capitalist countries, including the United States.

The American manufacturer Mr. Cyrus Eaton, in a contribution to *Pravda*, said that the USSR and the United States should reach agreement. He also favored peaceful coexistence. Not even the most rabid anti-Communist would suspect an American millionaire of being a supporter of socialism. In his article Mr. Cyrus Eaton made no secret of the fact that, in his view, capitalism was the best system for America. This opinion is quite natural for a man belonging to big business circles.

Why does a representative of big business express himself in favor of peace, agreement and co-operation between countries with such diametrically opposed systems as the United States and the USSR?

There is no doubt that the capitalist class —a class on the decline, doomed to extinction in the process of social development—is losing its sense of political reality. This does not mean, however, that individuals or even groups belonging to that class are incapable of making a sober estimate of the social and political processes taking place in the world today.

The circles supporting peaceful coexistence are motivated by different, often contradictory reasons. The main ones, however, are:

First, the tremendous growth of the peace forces and, particularly, the consolidation of the socialist camp; the unprecedented impact of the scientific and technological achievements of the Soviet Union, the world's first and most powerful socialist state, on world public opinion; the convincing, consistent and flexible peace policy pursued by the socialist camp.

Second, the implications of the invention of nuclear weapons. The development of long range rocket missiles means that virtually no part of the world is immune to these destructive weapons.

The struggle between the two tendencies in the capitalist world is growing, thus widening the gulf between the positions taken by their adherents. This means that side by side with the growth of the forces demanding a peaceful settlement of urgent international issues, the imperialist elements, too, are becoming more active. They do not want a mutually acceptable agreement with the socialist camp and are impelling the nations towards war.

The point is that the rulers of the big capitalist countries ignore reality and are reluctant to recognize the new world balance of forces. They seek to reverse history by resorting to armed force. A striking example of this is the obdurate refusal of the United States to recognize the Chinese People's Republic, the most highly-populated country in the world. Not only does the United States Government refuse to recognize China but, as the latest developments show, it resorts to aggressive action in an endeavor, irrespective of the cost, to perpetuate the occupation of Taiwan. The U.S. sustains the discredited Chiang Kai-shek clique and gives it armed support in its acts of sabotage against the Chinese People's Republic from Taiwan and the off-shore islands. So pronounced is the lack of political realism on the part of the United States that other capitalist states, including her close associates, as well as American politicians, oppose this reckless policy.

To a greater or lesser degree the political course of the imperialist states, and first and foremost of the United States and Britain, is characterized by a refusal to understand the situation as it is, by attempts to pursue the old colonialist aims in a new guise. Heedless of the severe setbacks suffered by this policy, the rulers of these countries are unwilling to acknowledge the objective changes that have taken place in the world.

The victory of socialism on a considerable part of the earth's surface and the rise of the world socialist system have radically changed international relations. In the past, might was the decisive factor in these relations—weaker nations were forced to submit to the stronger. But with the emergence of the grand family of socialist nations a new and powerful factor has appeared. This is the fraternal co-operation, mutual assistance and solidarity of the socialist nations, united by a common goal in the struggle for common ideals of social justice and world peace. This new factor is gaining in importance year by year, exerting a growing and more decisive influence on world affairs. The stand taken by the socialist states has facilitated the appearance and strengthening of the "five principles" or Pancha Shila policy, to which more and more countries are adhering.

The socialist states base their relations with the capitalist world on the principle of peaceful coexistence, and they do not need to resort to war to ensure their economic and political development.

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A striking illustration of the foregoing is to hand in the events associated with the rise of the two opposed groupings—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. In 1949, on the initiative of the United States and under its leadership, a military and political bloc of Western powers—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—was set up.

Imperialist propaganda attempted to palm this off as a defensive measure against an imaginary "communist danger" and "threat of aggression" emanating from the USSR. However, the sponsors of NATO, according to George Kennan (see his *Russia, the Atom, and the West*), never believed in this "danger". The real reason for the setting up of NATO was the desire of the American and British monopolies to consolidate the world reactionary forces and turn Western Europe into a military base for aggressive action. Behind all the talk of peace which surrounded the creation of the pact, it was clear to every sober-minded person that this was an alliance of states spearheaded against the socialist countries. Subsequently, other military blocs (such as SEATO and the ill-starred Baghdad Pact) were set up to further the colonialist interests of the imperialist powers in the struggle against the nations fighting for their independence. These pacts, formed in violation of the United Nations Charter, are an expres-

sion of the claims of the U.S. imperialists to world domination.

NATO's true nature became increasingly manifest as one of its principal goals came to the fore, i.e., the revival of German militarism. The incorporation of the German Federal Republic into NATO, and the rebuilding of the Wehrmacht could not but cause anxiety among the European nations, and in the socialist countries in the first place. In these conditions they were forced to create a unified defensive alliance. The Warsaw Treaty, signed on May 14, 1955, was precisely such a defensive alliance aimed at safeguarding the peaceful constructive labor of the socialist countries. Thus, the Warsaw Treaty was signed six years after the formation of NATO. This fact is, in itself, eloquent proof of its nature.

In keeping with Lenin's teaching on the possibility of lengthy peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems, the Marxist parties leading the socialist states had no desire to give the socialist camp, united by a common ideology, the attributes of a military grouping. But they could not sit back and ignore the steps taken by the NATO powers which openly threatened the security of the socialist countries. For is not the security of its own people the primary duty of a government?

The signing of the 1954 Paris agreements and their ratification, sanctioning the remilitarization of Western Germany, marked a turning point for Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty became an absolute necessity. It arose as a defensive organization of states threatened by a common danger. All its articles are imbued with the spirit of peace and co-operation. According to Article 1, for instance, the parties undertake to settle all disputes by peaceful means and "to refrain from the threat of force in their international relations". In contrast to NATO, which is founded on the policy of aggression, on the arms race, and which imposes on its participants commitments arising from this, the Warsaw Treaty, in accordance with Article 2, obliges the parties to "strive for the adoption, through agreement with other states desirous of co-operating in this matter, of effective measures for a general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other lethal weapons". In the same article the signatories affirm their readiness "to participate in the spirit of sincere co-operation in all international actions aimed at safeguarding international peace and security".

The spirit of the Treaty is characterized by the statement to the effect that it will lose validity in the event of "a system of collective security being established in Europe and a General European Collective Security Treaty signed" (Article 11). Thus there is affirmed the alternative nature of the Treaty and the fact that it will become superfluous the moment the causes that engendered it disappear. This is indicative of the unshakable confidence of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the countries belonging to the Treaty, that war is not inevitable and that a firm peaceful settlement between the socialist and capitalist world is feasible.

The Warsaw Treaty-members have no aim other than peaceful coexistence and genuine collective security. It is not they who are to blame for the formation of two blocs, opposed one to the other. The fact that there are two social systems in the world is not a reason for establishing military blocs.

Two systems, two camps, are by no means the same as two military and political groupings. Whereas the existence of the two systems is the result of the objective laws of historical development, military blocs are the result of the policy pursued by the most reactionary imperialist circles. It is clear, therefore, that the opposing military alliances can be eliminated only with the consolidation of the peace forces, when the idea of peaceful coexistence gains the upper hand over the aggressive tendencies in the capitalist world.

* * *

The Warsaw Treaty is of the utmost importance to the Polish People's Republic.

As a result of the victory won by the anti-fascist coalition over Nazism, a victory in which the Soviet Union played the decisive role, the people of Poland were reunited within just boundaries running along the Oder and the Neisse.

The attitude of the West German militarists to these frontiers is well known. They nurture the idea of a military revenge and are constantly poisoning the German public with their militarist propaganda.

One cannot fail to see the obvious fact that West German revanchism draws its strength from the NATO policies of accelerated remilitarization of Western Germany. The revenge-seekers are encouraged also by the fact that the Western powers still refrain from unequivocally recognizing our Oder-Neisse frontier, although its permanence is obvious to all sober-minded politicians.

For the Polish people, the Warsaw Treaty and their fraternal alliance with the mighty

Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the first German worker-peasant state—the German Democratic Republic—and all the other socialist countries, are the guarantee of the inviolability of their frontiers and security.

At the same time, like the other socialist countries, peace-loving Poland is sparing no effort to find ways and means of easing international tension, reaching agreement and firm peaceful co-operation between countries irrespective of their political systems. We believe that any workable steps towards this end, no matter how modest or small in the early stages, are worthy of encouragement. Our country, at one with the other socialist states, favors co-operation with all forces which, irrespective of ideological or political differences, stand for coexistence and against the perilous arms race. That is why we distinguish between the different political circles now operating inside NATO, and support all elements resisting the course imposed on the NATO members by the U.S. State Department.

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The diametrically opposed principles and purposes of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are revealed in the different policies pursued by the two organizations, particularly if we compare the last few sessions of the NATO Council and the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty signatories.

In May 1957, a session of the NATO Council was held in Bonn to demonstrate support for Adenauer's policy, particularly in connection with the elections then in the offing. At the same time the session was used for the purpose of getting through a decision which would make it easier to give a legal semblance to the equipping of the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. The final communique issued on May 3 said that none of the powers could consider it just to refuse an ally the modern equipment needed for its defense. Coming barely a year after the elections in the Federal Republic, this ambiguous statement was interpreted as direct permission for the Bundeswehr to have atomic weapons.

The next session of the NATO Council, with the heads of government present, took place in Paris last December. The decisions adopted by it were of an extremely dangerous nature. Despite the objections voiced by the smaller members, particularly Norway and Denmark, the Council decided upon building in West European countries, a network of missile launching sites which threaten the security of the peoples.

Then came the session in Copenhagen in May this year, that is, after the March debates in the Bundestag when the government majority decided to equip the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons. The Chancellor and his patrons tried might and main to justify this decision, but all their arguments boiled down to the fact that to refuse to do so would be treachery to NATO.

After the two decisions most dangerous to European security (the missile launching sites for Europe and nuclear arms for the Bundeswehr) had been adopted, the Copenhagen session was used to attack the Soviet proposals for a summit meeting. At the same time the session tried to soften the contradictions which had come to the fore within NATO in connection with the growing mass resistance to turning Western Europe into a powder magazine.

Against the gloomy background of the Atlantic war fever the peaceful proposals made and measures taken by the Warsaw Treaty members stand out in clear contrast. The first meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (January 1956), taking into consideration the difficulties in the way of a settlement of the major international issues, proposed *partial solutions* which, if accepted, could have eased international tension and facilitated a settlement of the major issues.

The second Committee meeting, held in Moscow last May, approved the well-known peaceful decisions on unilateral reduction of armed forces and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Rumanian People's Republic. Thus the Warsaw Treaty countries reduced their armed forces in 1958 by 419,000 men. This meeting also put forward a proposal for a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty powers.

In the present situation a stable European peace could be ensured by taking a series of partial steps.

Poland's proposal for *an atom-free zone in central Europe* was prompted by the desire to save the peoples of Europe from the threat of war which is growing as a result of the piling up of nuclear weapons along the line between the two opposed military groupings.

This proposal, which became known as the Rapacki plan, corresponds to the interests of peace and security of the nations. It met with complete understanding and support not only on the part of the governments of the Warsaw Treaty countries but also on the part of millions of people, political figures and statesmen in the capitalist countries, including Social-Democratic leaders in Western Ger-

many, prominent Labor people in Britain, numerous government officials in the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Canada and other countries.

Rabidly opposed to this plan is the Federal German Government, for which an atomic-equipped Bundeswehr is a means of strengthening its position in NATO, of reaffirming the policy of strength—the basis of the West German political concept. The United States Administration also flatly rejected the Polish proposal. It officially declined the proposal on the eve of the Copenhagen NATO Council meeting, with a view to preventing those members favorably disposed towards the Polish plan from discussing it. However, the adversaries of the Rapacki plan were unable to discredit it. The idea of partial solutions for easing the tension in the heart of Europe is spreading, and the Polish initiative is winning more and more supporters in various political circles.

* * *

A concerted effort to arm the NATO countries, and Western Germany in the first place, with nuclear and rocket weapons, is the main element at the moment in the policy of the Atlantic bloc. At the same time this policy is the main threat to European security.

The policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries is indissolubly linked with their main objective—socialist construction. This policy is the very opposite of that pursued by the imperialists who stand at the head of NATO. The spirit of aggression and conquest is alien to us. For the building of socialism, peace is the supreme necessity. We are ready to compete not in armaments but in raising living standards. We want to base our relations with the capitalist countries on the principle of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, and mutual benefit in conditions of security.

Such is the aim of the Polish United Workers' Party—the leading force of the Polish people—which is guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and the true interests of the people.

The defensive alliance of the socialist countries, their fraternal solidarity and unity, are seen by us as the guarantee of our independence and peaceful development.

CORRECTION

In our September issue, page 12, second column, the sentence beginning on line 25 read, in error: "Peace is inevitable . . ." This sentence should read: "Peace is indivisible, and therefore it must be fought for by all peoples . . ."

FOR PEACE AND CIVILIZATION IN THE ATOMIC AGE

THE popular movement for peace and against the danger of nuclear war is spreading in all continents. The World Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation, held in Stockholm last July, convincingly showed that in the matter of peace and international co-operation, people of diverse political views feel an imperative need to unite and search for more effective forms of action to avert the danger of a new war.

Our Editorial Board approached a number of prominent public figures — political leaders, trade union leaders and scientists — for their views on the present stage of the peace movement and the forms of struggle needed for an immediate and world-wide cessation of tests and prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Below we publish contributions by LOUIS SAILLANT, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Trade Unions and winner of the Lenin Peace Prize; Mr. KAORU YASUI, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the Hoei University, Tokyo, Chairman of the National Council for Banning Nuclear Weapons, and Lenin Peace Prize winner; OTTO BAUMANN, member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party; Mme. MARTHA ONANDIE, prominent in public life in the Cameroons; Dr. M. G. NOOH, a scientist of the United Arab Republic; Y. FEDOROV, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; and also reports by our correspondents in Britain, Italy and Latin America.

The Editorial Board expresses appreciation to the authors who responded to its request.

The Struggle for Peace, and Problems of Unity in the World Trade Union Movement

Louis Saillant

IN RECENT years trade union membership has risen to the figure of 160 million. Of this number, 95 million are united in the World Federation of Trade Unions. The trade unions of all countries publish altogether over 10,000 journals, newspapers and bulletins. These publications feature trade union and economic problems, matters of social legislation, and so forth. They also contain political items, and materials dealing with the struggle for peace. These publications help maintain close contact between the unions and their members. Printed in large editions, they reach workers' families, mills and factories. They are also read by non-unionists.

The trade unions have about ten million active members. Forming a vast army, they do all kinds of trade union work, from collecting dues in factories to running the branches and the national organizations. These activists serve as a link between the unions and the working people at the point of production and at home; they also maintain contact with those who do not belong to trade unions.

We could cite other facts so as to give a more complete picture of the level of trade union organization. Such additional information would, undoubtedly, confirm the political conclusion that the working class is becoming more and more organized, and that this is assuming a permanent character. This process directly influences the changes taking place in the relation of forces between the antagonistic classes.

Now that the international trade union movement is forging ahead, as a consequence of the growing activity of the masses, the role and responsibility of the trade unions in the fight for peace, against the threat of atomic war and imperialist provocations, stand out more clearly.

This thought needs elaboration. Can it be said that the great 160-million-strong army of working people, with its powerful organizational means — union officers and press — is taking an all-round, full and effective part in the fight for peace? We cannot affirm this absolutely. In most cases the role and responsibility of the trade union rank and file need to be clearly defined. The obstacles standing in the way of the effective, all-round participation of all unions in the struggle for lasting peace and security of nations can be overcome.

The world trade union movement is not a uniform one. Therefore the struggle for peace — the primary international duty of every organization—

should of necessity be linked with a struggle in the unions to clarify their role and draw them into useful and effective activity.

The WFTU is now pressing for strong action by the trade unions against the danger of atomic war, for an immediate cessation of nuclear weapon tests and an international agreement banning the manufacture of such weapons. The heavy burden of military expenditure and its effect on social welfare policy and the living standards of the working people provide a basis for concrete action by the trade unions in this vital matter of the fight for peace.

The WFTU is opposed to any isolation of the trade unions from the broad front of action in defense of peace, and encourages them to take part in the national and international peace movement which, broader than the trade union movement, is a real, all-embracing front of struggle for peace.

The working class is the decisive force in the world peace movement. Although the trade unions do not embrace the entire working class, they nevertheless represent vast masses of organized working people and greatly influence others. Given sound organization and correct guidance, trade union action can demonstrate the decisive strength of the working class. It follows that the trade union contribution to the fight for peace should not be regarded as something supplementary. The unions are part and parcel of the main forces combating the policy of war and aggression. It would, of course, be wrong to think that the world trade union movement alone could constitute a front sufficiently strong to resist war provocations. Such a tendency still exists in the trade union ranks. But it would be equally wrong to disregard the contribution made by the trade unions to the common struggle for peace and the security of nations. Yet, instances of this are not wanting.

An analysis of trade union activities in recent months will show that many unions are exerting a noticeable influence on the working people in solving problems relating to peace and war, and may afford a better understanding of the weak sides of their work.

The growth in the number of trade unions and of their membership helps the cause of peace. This is particularly felt in the underdeveloped countries and the colonies. But this growth is not occurring everywhere. Moreover, it is uneven, depending on the political and economic conditions in one or another country. Rapid growth of the trade unions, both in numbers and in activity, is seen most clearly in the socialist countries. This strengthens the international trade union movement, adds to its prestige and influence, and extends the participation of trade unions of all countries in the peace struggle. The trade unions of the socialist camp are a force which attracts, inspires and spurs on the unions in other countries to greater activity in the struggle for peace. It is to be expected that the trade unions of the socialist countries will have future important successes in this respect. The logical growth of their influence in solving economic and social problems, arising from the consolidation of socialist society — an incontestable factor for peace — is likely to have a big impact on the world trade union movement.

The trade unions in the socialist countries are buttressed by the prestige enjoyed by their countries among the working population of the non-socialist countries. The prestige derives from the stand taken by these countries in the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. At present the movement for world peace is in the main an anti-imperialist struggle.

The trade unions of the non-socialist countries cannot wage the struggle against the imperialist aggressive policy at this level; they function in different conditions, being that part of the world trade-union movement which is subjected to all kinds of bourgeois pressure. Their ranks are penetrated by splitting and disruptive elements. Whenever these unions take a firm class standpoint and begin to achieve successes in the struggle against reaction and the war policy, they are subjected to repression. Nevertheless, the trade unions in the capitalist countries and in the colonies are, increasingly, coping with their tasks: *to prevent world war and ensure peace, security and independence for the nations.*

In some of the older trade unions in the Western countries, views are changing on the questions: war or peace, atomic madness or collective security. In those cases where hesitant leaders try to prevent the unions from defining their attitude towards these vital problems, the members compel them to take a more active and correct position.

The unity of action of the working people and their attitude towards the alarming events which threatened world peace (the aggression against Egypt, the American intervention in Lebanon and the British intervention in Jordan, U.S. provocation in the Taiwan area) definitely improved the situation in some of the unions. They began to pursue a policy more in keeping with the desires of the masses for peace.

The numerical growth of the trade unions and the active participation of the working people in the peace movement have led to:

1) a general strengthening of the world trade union movement, enhancing its role in establishing friendship among the nations and, consequently, in the struggle for world peace;

2) the creation of more favorable conditions in which union activities correspond more closely to the demands of the working people, while the decisions adopted by union meetings and the leading bodies express more precisely the strivings of the working people for peace and security.

It would be wrong to say that the second conclusion is new for all the trade unions of the non-socialist countries. As a rule, the trade unions in Western Europe, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, South-East Asia, in the countries of the Far East and in the Pacific, which are affiliated to the WFTU or maintain fraternal contacts with it are, vigorously and freely, introducing similar changes in their activities.

The new views on the tasks in the peace struggle now expressed in the organizations affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (formed after the split which took place in the international trade union movement in 1949) derive also from the rapid economic and social progress in the socialist countries. The achievements of Soviet science, in adding to the might of the socialist countries, have greatly influenced the attitude to international affairs of many union leaders who have preferred to fight against communism and the USSR rather than to seek reasonable international co-operation in the interests of peace. It will be recalled that the WFTU and its national bodies were the only trade union organizations to sign the historic Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons in March, 1950.

Now it is quite evident that many trade unions not affiliated to the WFTU, which in the past took an irresponsible attitude towards the danger of atomic war have, as a result of the lengthy struggle in their ranks, substantially altered their views. Their new attitude became pronounced after the U.S.A. lost its monopoly of the atomic weapon. And a year later, when Soviet science demonstrated its superiority to the world, the views of these trade unions changed still more. It will suffice, for example, to trace the change in attitude of the British trade union leaders during the past eight years, in order to see that despite their super-sensitive hostility towards the WFTU they have been influenced by what is taking place and are gradually drawing closer to the stand taken by this world organization on the question of banning nuclear weapons.

The arms race is piling up weapons of wholesale annihilation, and in the event of a world conflict these weapons will bring untold sufferings to the peoples. The woman in the Manchester cotton mill, the Scottish miner and the London busman are conscious of this. Is it worth while for us to reproach those British union leaders who have come to realize this later than the rank and file whom they lead? They need not be offended at the fact that the leaders of the French and Italian General Confederations of Labor realized this sooner than they did.

If the AFL-CIO leaders in Washington cannot understand the simple truth which the Council of the Japanese Trade Unions in Tokyo explains to them with a conviction based on bitter experience, then this signifies that Washington still continues to be more a breeder of falsehood than a temple of truth.

In writing this I have no desire to indulge in an idle and abstract polemic. But healthy discussion helps to clarify the truth. The point at issue is the vital one of *peace*, the future of mankind, the life or death of millions of people. For this reason it is necessary to take a correct position, to support the good and sweep aside the bad. By all means let us have a polemic that will help to disclose the weak points in the activities of some trade unions and eliminate them. If this is done, the trade union movement as a whole will serve the cause of peace loyally and fruitfully, without any organizational discrimination.

To be silent for tactical considerations of unity about mistakes which may prove fatal in the struggle for that which is most precious—peace—would be a disservice to the cause whose success one wishes for. There can be no doubt but that the 160 million trade unionists could greatly influence the settlement of international issues, were not the division in the trade union movement supported by those who refuse to work to strengthen world peace. The WFTU would have made a terrible mistake if, while seeking international trade union solidarity, it had failed in its duty of rallying the workers to fight for a just peace and security, of propagating these ideas, and of organizing the working people to take action in order to dampen the ardor of the warmongers.

On February 11 this year, the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO—the only national trade union organization in the world which has not taken a definite stand on the prohibition of nuclear weapons—adopted a resolution calling on the peoples of the "free world" to step up their economic and political war preparations.

This appeal is utterly alien to the working people of the world, it has nothing in common with their vital needs.

The interests of peace require that we explain to the masses the difference between the peace aims of the working people and of all peoples, and the aims of the AFL-CIO leaders who preach extreme militarization.

The American trade union leaders have but to profess other ideas and pursue other aims and they will be welcomed. Were these leaders not so shortsighted, they would realize that their prestige in the

international trade union movement is about as low as that of Mr. Dulles in the diplomatic circles of the five continents. Do the leaders of the American unions think that the working people of Iraq and the other countries of the Middle East know nothing about their role in creating that imperialist instrument, the Baghdad Pact? For more than ten years we had been trying to bring home to the American union leaders that their policy in the international trade union movement is doomed to failure. Then on July 14, these leaders saw for themselves that in Baghdad there took place the very opposite of that which they sought.

A defeat for the imperialists is also a defeat for those who support them.

If the AFL-CIO leaders really wish to serve the cause of peace, they should give thought to their failures on the international arena and draw the necessary conclusions.

It can be said without exaggeration that when the American troops were sent to the Lebanon and British troops to Jordan, the vast majority of the trade unions in all countries emphatically denounced this imperialist gamble. Yet just at this time the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions issued a statement in which, on the pretext of condemning the rebellion of the Lebanese and the foreign aid accorded the rebels, it called for intervention in the internal affairs of the Lebanon and urged condemnation of the United Arab Republic. This statement resembled the resolution adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Committee on November 30, 1956, which said that if the invasion of Egypt infringed on the UN Charter, it was only because the invasion was the direct consequence of years of provocations on the part of Egypt.

In both cases the sovereign rights of the Egyptian and Lebanese peoples are completely ignored and, in essence, imperialist aggression in the Middle East is endorsed.

We feel certain that this attitude runs counter to the will and aspirations of the working people and the majority of trade unions affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. We can never, despite our desire to find the way to restore international trade union unity, approve or remain silent about a policy which denies the right of the Arab peoples to their own way of life, and impels mankind to the brink of world war.

The message of the WFTU to the Arab working people and their trade unions, adopted at the meeting of the Executive Committee held during the events in the Middle East, is one more expression of the solidarity of the working people of the world. This solidarity is a contribution to universal peace. Its aim is neither that of maintaining tension in the Arab East nor of aggravating the situation there. The WFTU attitude furthers unity of action of the Arab working people and those of other countries.

Justice impels us to say that the ICFTU leaders have different aims. They are against this unity. Thwarting their actions against the Arab peoples, and explaining the difference between the will of the overwhelming majority of trade unions and the policy of the leaders of the ICTFU will help clarify the genuine tasks in the fight for peace and create the necessary conditions for international trade union unity.

As a rule, joint action by the working people precedes trade union unity. This takes place both at international and national levels. Restoration of international trade union unity will, likewise, be preceded by various and numerous joint actions of the working people and their trade unions in the movement for peace and for their general economic and social demands.

Indeed, it is clear that the more the working people develop the peace movement, against the atomic danger, the quicker will be the growth in the number of unions taking part in this struggle and the greater the advance towards international trade union unity.

By their participation in the Week of Solidarity and Struggle of the Working People and Trade Unions against the Danger of Atomic War and for Peace and Disarmament, held between October 15 and 22, the trade unions in all countries have made a major contribution to unity and the cause of peace.

In these conditions it is not important who acts as initiator of the peace actions. The Conference of Trade Unions and Working People of the European Countries,* which took this initiative, set forth two basic points:

First, there is still time to remove the danger of an atomic conflict;

Second, the time has come to realize unity of action and bar the way to war.

The main thing is: do these two points correspond to the peace aspirations of the working people?

Where is the trade union organization, national or local, that would be rash enough to say that the danger of an atomic conflict cannot be removed?

In our view, such an organization does not exist. On this issue not even the American trade union leaders would be so bold as to adhere to the views which they defended a few years ago.

Does the danger of atomic war exist? Yes, it does. No one denies it. That being so, what should we do? Nothing? Wait? But wait for what?

We do not expect the trade unions not affiliated to the WFTU to join it. Nor do we insist on this. We are not waiting until such time as the ICFTU

*Held in Berlin on June 20-22.

will have the same program of action as the WFTU, before suggesting joint action against the danger of war. The ICFTU, on the other hand, must understand that neither can it make such a demand on us. Is it necessary to wait until all the differences between the WFTU and the ICFTU are ironed out? To do so when the danger of atomic war exists is tantamount to saying that a settlement of controversial issues is impossible without subjecting the peoples to the threat of wholesale annihilation. Surely this is not necessary for unity of action between the working people of all countries and their trade unions.

We are aware of the sources and the substance of the differences between the WFTU and the ICFTU. But the common danger, the common threat hanging over humanity, this, more than anything else, demands that we draw closer to one another. What do the leaders of the ICFTU propose in order to avert the danger? Nothing at all.

We live on one and the same planet, at one and the same time, and take part in the same events. Nothing can justify a "wait and see" policy. Millions of working people of all races and nationalities are deeply convinced of this. And that is the meaning of the changes now taking place in the international trade union movement in one single direction—that of unity.

The 160 million trade unionists are becoming more and more aware of their strength and of what they can do right now to resolve the No. 1 problem of our times—to ensure peace and happiness for mankind.

This, in our opinion, is how we should approach the problems of international trade union unity and the tasks of the unions in the fight for peace.

A Supreme and Imperative Duty

Kaoru Yasui

NEVER has any patriotic action in Japan developed on such a scale and with such momentum as the anti-nuclear war movement now under way. It is a truly nation-wide movement.

Thirteen years ago the U.S. atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki took a toll of hundreds of thousands of lives. Most of the victims, who included many children and women, had nothing whatever to do with military operations.

At first the terrible weapon evoked deep fear, which, however, soon gave way to indignation and the desire to do something about it. This was the first manifestation of the Japanese people's struggle against the threat of atomic war in the exceptionally difficult conditions created by the U.S. occupation. The series of "Atomic Explosion" pictures painted by the husband-and-wife team, Iri Maruki and Tosiko Akamatsu, was a striking example of one of the forms of this struggle.

When in March 1954 the U.S. tested its hydrogen bomb at Bikini, lethal ashes fell upon the Japanese fishing vessel "Fukuryu-Maru No. 5", in the Pacific. Twenty-three members of the crew contracted radiation disease, and not even treatment by eminent specialists was of any help to Aikiti Kuboyama, who died six months later.

After Hiroshima and Nagasaki this was the third tragedy, but now a peace-time one, in which a hydrogen-bomb destroyed human life.

The outbreak of popular wrath resembled a mighty torrent breaking through a dam. Mass protests grew into a movement for the collection of signatures for the immediate cessation of A-and-H-bomb tests and the prohibition of these weapons. In all some 40 million people signed the appeal.

This impressive figure shows that even in the initial stage the movement against nuclear weapons embraced broad sections of the people, among whom were the country's biggest trade union body with three million members, the Japanese Women's League with seven million members, and the largest student organization. Japanese mothers who had never before taken any part in public movements, now joined the workers, office employees, peasants, students, teachers, scientists and representatives of the arts. And the mutilated survivors of the Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Bikini bombings were also active participants.

For this movement, which arose out of popular wrath, to take the right direction, it was necessary that its participants should be deeply conscious of their aims. The law governing the transition from feeling to awareness is fully applicable here. We deeply respect the feelings of our people and are doing our best to make a proper analysis of the situation in which the peace struggle is taking place. The movement against nuclear rearmament, which takes cognizance of the specific conditions in the country, is becoming increasingly powerful, and in one form or another embraces practically the whole population.

Last year it advanced as its primary task the immediate and unconditional cessation of nuclear weapon tests, and this is still its task. The harm caused by radioactive debris is such that further explosions must be stopped. Scientists have issued a grave warning to this effect. But that is not all,

the nuclear weapon tests are an expression of the dangerous policy of atomic war preparations.

The Soviet Union's unilateral decision to stop nuclear weapon tests provided favorable conditions for concluding an international agreement on the prohibition of these tests.

The conference of experts in Geneva has removed one of the serious obstacles in the way of achieving agreement. Thus, the way was opened to success. But the U.S.A. and Britain continued their tests. Furthermore, France also intends to start experimental explosions.

On August 22 the U.S.A. and Britain approached the Soviet Union with the proposal to convene a conference on October 31 to discuss banning the tests. This proposal, however, limited the term of suspending tests to one year and, besides, contained conditions which are hard to realize. Moreover, the U.S.A. and Britain went ahead with nuclear tests even after this proposal was made.

Their actions are a betrayal of world public opinion and have added to the public indignation.

In these conditions, as we now know, the Soviet Union, in conformity with the interests of its security, was compelled to resume the tests.

An exceptionally grave situation has arisen. If the U.S.A., Britain and the Soviet Union again begin rivalry in nuclear weapon tests the result may be that the radiation hazard, which has achieved menacing proportions, will become ruinous for mankind and that the danger of nuclear war will be intensified. In view of the critical situation in the Taiwan Straits as well, the Japanese people cannot disregard this tension. Nuclear weapons tests seriously threaten mankind, defy the laws of humanity and contradict international law.

We demand that all countries, conducting nuclear weapon tests or intending to do so, stop them immediately and unconditionally. We demand that all the countries concerned reach an early agreement on the cessation of these tests for all time. We believe that this will be a first step towards *the complete prohibition of manufacturing, stockpiling and using nuclear weapons*, and a step towards universal disarmament.

We demand that the United Nations recognize the importance of banning these weapons. It should discuss this question and facilitate its solution.

The world situation is fraught with many dangers, one of which is the war preparations carried out in the form of nuclear armament. Atom bombs and rockets are being supplied to the armed forces of certain European and Asian states. West Germany's nuclear armament has been followed by Switzerland, a country which has proclaimed permanent neutrality. Her decision obviously runs counter to the very idea of such neutrality. This is not the way to security—quite the contrary, it may lead to the country finding herself in the nuclear bombardment zone, which would greatly imperil her people.

The process of nuclear rearming is closely linked with the strengthening of military blocs, extending atomic bases and supplying nuclear weapons to those countries which do not possess them. Such is the case in Japan. Plans are being nurtured covertly in the Far East for the creation of a NEATO bloc (North-East Asia Treaty Organization) which would include Japan, Taiwan and South Korea, and nuclear weapons and guided missiles are being shipped to these countries. This greatly aggravates the tension in the area.

There are people who, despite the ominous specter of the atomic danger, still think that a war of extermination is highly improbable. The recent Middle East developments, however, are a serious warning against illusions of this sort. A critical situation has been created in the Far East, too. Trampling upon all standards and principles of international law, the U.S. is resorting to military provocations in the Taiwan Straits in an attempt to prevent China from liberating her territory. This cannot but alarm the people of Japan and all who cherish peace. The reckless U.S. policy gives rise to dangerous local conflicts which at any moment may grow over into a world conflagration with the use of weapons of wholesale annihilation.

* * *

The movement for the prohibition of nuclear weapons assumes various forms in Japan. It has become traditional to call international conferences for the banning of these weapons. Four such conferences have been held between 1955 and 1958. These widely-representative gatherings of people of good will from many countries are held early in August, on the anniversary of the barbaric bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

This year's Fourth World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament, held in Tokyo, was attended by some 5,000 delegates from all over the world, and from all parts of Japan. Despite different social systems, ideology and religious beliefs, serious discussion revealed an identity of views on important current issues which found expression in the "Declaration", the "Appeal" and "Recommendations to the Peace-Loving Forces of the world" adopted at the conference. The delegates solemly declared that it was the supreme and imperative duty of all peoples living in the atomic age to prevent an atomic war and promote peaceful co-existence—this to be achieved through the immediate and unconditional cessation by all countries of A- and H-bomb tests and the

prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Recommendations indicate concrete ways for joint action. We hope that our friends throughout the world, and especially those whose governments are pursuing a policy of nuclear armament, will help to implement the conference decisions.

Not only the conference itself but the preparations for it were most important in stimulating the movement in Japan. This year's preparations were conducted on a particularly large scale. The conference was preceded by a thousand-kilometre march from Hiroshima to Tokyo, which developed into an unforgettable demonstration of the people's will for peace. This march really stirred the country. The marchers, carrying posters with the slogans "Ban Nuclear Weapons!" "Down with Atomic War!", held meetings and rallies in the towns and villages en route to Tokyo, which were attended by workers, office employees, peasants, intellectuals and clergy. In one way or another about a million people took part in the march which was headed by Atsushi Nishimoto, a Buddhist monk and member of the national council for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons. The marchers left Hiroshima on June 20 and arrived in Tokyo on August 12, the opening day of the Japanese National Conference for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons. This conference was the first stage of the work of the Fourth World Conference.

On behalf of the marchers, Nishimoto declared from the rostrum: "The peace march is over, but we must continue the peace movement more actively than before, until we succeed in ruling out atomic weapons."

Peace marches are a mass form of struggle which in present conditions enables broad sections of the people to express their will and their protests against the atomic war threat.

At the request of the peace fighters, forty municipal councils have declared their towns atom-free zones. This, too, is an effective form of struggle.

The people are taking vigorous action against American military bases and the importation of rocket weapons. In August, the dockers of Yokohama refused to unload a ship with guided missiles from Sweden for the Japanese Self-Defense Forces.

"Send the missiles back to Sweden!" was the demand of the Yokohama trade unions, political and public organizations. They had nation-wide support from meetings and demonstrations in many towns. The ship remained unloaded for a week, and it was only secretly, in the dead of night and with the help of Self-Defense soldiers, that the authorities managed to get the ship unloaded in the military port of Yokosuka. But the government was unable to conceal its dangerous armament policy from the people, a policy which exacerbates international tension and increases the danger of atomic war.

As a representative of the Japanese people, I cannot but express my deep regret that in the past Japanese imperialism engaged in aggressive action against countries and brought untold suffering to their people. And now imperialism and militarism are again being revived in Japan, as can be seen from the increasing number of U.S. atomic rocket bases on our territory and the re-emergence of the Japanese army in the guise of Self-Defense Forces.

Our anti-nuclear weapon movement is linked with the struggle to prevent a rebirth of imperialism and militarism. At present Japan's peace fighters are endeavoring to compel the government to change its dangerous foreign policy for one of peace, for one of practical measures towards prohibition of mass annihilation weapons. If our people succeed in preventing the nuclear arming of the country, this will save her from the dangerous consequences implicit in atomic war, and will consolidate Asian security.

Speaking at the Fourth World Conference, a young girl, a victim of the Nagasaki bombing, stirringly declared: "We won't allow Japan to be armed with atomic weapons! We won't allow Japan, the victim-country of the atom bomb, to become an atomic aggressor!" These words fully express the sentiment of all our people.

We foresee grave difficulties for our movement. But I have faith in the strength of the people. I have faith in the power of science. And we are, therefore, firmly convinced that by closely combining the energy of the people and scientific analysis we will overcome all difficulties and win a brilliant victory.

History will certainly relate that the twentieth century was the century of the triumph of the people and of science!

A People's Movement Against Atomic Death

Otto Baumann

AFTER the Adenauer Government openly embarked upon its policy of arming the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons and rockets, the popular movement against atomic death in Western Germany gained in scope and momentum and was enriched by new forms of action. People belonging to different parties and of different convictions, clergymen and scientists, began to unite against Western Germany being turned into a hotbed of atomic war. In April 1957, eighteen professors of Goettingen University published an appeal in which they opposed the nuclear arming of the Federal Republic and pledged not to take any part in the manufacture of these weapons.

The appeal met with a wide response. In support of it, trade unions and production councils in the big enterprises stopped work for several hours, while the production councils in all the Munich iron and steel works called, on behalf of 80,000 workers, for brief token strikes.

These actions impelled the Board of the Amalgamated Trade Unions to declare their opposition to Bonn's atomic war plans and for "an anti-atomic weapon movement in the country". The Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party and the Free Democratic and other West German parties hailed the appeal of the Eighteen.

On behalf of the government and the people, Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, declared full support for the Goettingen professors' appeal. He called upon all Germans to urge the governments of the two German states to solemnly pledge not to permit the installation or the manufacture of atomic weapons on their territories.

The protests voiced by the organized working people against atomic armaments and militarism, and the atomic scientists' appeal, which was so warmly supported by the peace forces throughout Germany, show that the struggle for disarmament and security is being taken up by all the people.

Fearing that the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union would suffer defeat in the Bundestag elections, the Adenauer Government endeavoured to lull popular vigilance and, evading a reply to the G.D.R. Government's proposal, announced that it had no intention of equipping the West German army with atomic weapons.

The Communist Party exposed these maneuvers and told the people that they could win victory over Adenauer only by developing a militant movement against atomic war preparations, by joint action of the peace forces in the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

Immediately after the Bundestag elections the need for resolute action became greater. Poland, supported by the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, put forward its proposal for an atom-free zone in Central Europe. This idea was warmly approved by broad sections of the people in Western Germany who regarded it as one of the first steps towards European security. The Adenauer Government, however, rejected the Rapacki plan.

In a leaflet distributed illegally throughout the Federal Republic, the Central Committee of the Communist Party called upon the people to organize protest meetings against atomic armaments and to support the idea of an atom-free zone. The Board of the Social-Democratic Party also condemned all attempts to resolve controversial issues by military means and demanded an undertaking from the government that atomic and other weapons of wholesale annihilation would not be manufactured in Germany. Similar statements were made by many political, trade union, youth and women's organizations.

The appeal made by the deans of the theological faculties in the German Democratic Republic for all men and women to oppose atomic armament met with a keen response throughout the country. Church brotherhoods who do not believe in acting against conscience ("bekennende Kirche") backed it and urged all German Christians not to take any part in manufacturing, installing or using atomic weapons.

During the January debates in the Bundestag the opposition parties condemned the Adenauer policy of atomic armament. Dr. Heinemann (S.D.P.G.) and Dr. Dehler (F.D.P.), former ministers in the Adenauer Government, were particularly sharp in their criticism, branding Bonn's atomic policy as one of "national betrayal". The Government majority, however, ignored the criticism levelled at it by the opposition, and it became clear that success could not be achieved by parliamentary action alone. An appeal had to be made to the people.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party put forward this idea in an appeal adopted at its VIIIth plenary meeting which reads in part:

"Let us consult the people, let us get the factories and the trade unions to adopt resolutions against atomic armament! Let us talk with the

public at meetings and demonstrations against the atomic war danger!"

An appeal for joint struggle was also made by the All-German Workers' Conference in Leipzig "so that the working people can independently solve their own vital problems!". The district conference of the S.D.P.G. in Hessen-Sud, the conference of Trade Unionists of the Municipal Services, Carrier and Urban Transport Workers in Dortmund and iron and steel workers in Gladbeck called for a *political strike* in protest against atomic armament. This awakening of the workers is due in large measure to the realization that the success of the fight for higher wages and against shifting the increasingly heavy military burden on to their shoulders also depends on the political struggle against the agressive monopoly bourgeoisie and the Adenauer Government — the organizers of atomic death. It is typical that the Rhine and Ruhr iron and steel workers' movement for higher wages and the agricultural workers' strikes often took place around the slogan of "Higher wages not rockets".

The peasants, handicraftsmen and other sections are also becoming conscious of the need for joint action. The small community of Miltenberg in the River Main Valley set an example of successful opposition to the plans for setting up rocket bases. Their example was followed by 17 towns and communities in the outlying districts of the Teutoburger Wald, in which tradesmen, handicraftsmen, associations of countrymen and peasant organizations joined in a common struggle against the area being used for military purposes.

Of tremendous importance were the appeals by 69 leading scientists for joint struggle by the organized workers, in which they urged exploring all possibilities of trade union action. Shortly thereafter, Frau Riemeck, one of the sponsors of the appeal, received over 12,000 resolutions and statements from production councils, trade unions and authorized representatives, expressing approval of the initiative displayed by the scientists. This action also had the support of the West German trade union leaders.

Pressured by the workers, the leaders of the S.D.P.G. and the Amalgamated Trade Unions, together with representatives of the F.D.P. and scientists, cultural workers and clergymen, decided to form a Workers' Committee of Struggle against Atomic Death, while another group of personalities representative of the political parties and public organizations in the Federal Republic formed a Committee for Action against Atomic Armament. The committee urged the people to set up local committees everywhere and to demand, in various ways, the right to decide for themselves the question of either atomic armament or an atom-free zone.

On March 25, contrary to the popular will, Adenauer secured a Bundestag majority in favor of arming the West German forces with atomic weapons. Thus the Bonn Government, discarding the mask, made plain its aggressive designs.

The working people retaliated by organizing mass demonstrations and political strikes. During the Bundestag debate the workers in the Henschel plant in Kassel downed tools and marched to the center of the town. The students and professors of the Braunschweig Technological Institute called a demonstration at the same time. The next few days saw strikes of iron and steel workers in Molln (Schleswig-Holstein) and the Kloeckner-Humboldt Deutz-Werke in Cologne. They were joined by more than 10,000 Volkswagen-Werke auto workers and motor and construction workers from Braunschweig. Numerous work stoppages took place in Hamburg. Nine hundred and thirty-six Hamburg doctors pressed for the immediate cessation of nuclear tests and rejection of atomic armament for Western Germany.

More and more people began to realize that the national calamity necessitated resolute nationwide resistance. Public meetings and demonstrations were organized in April and May, often accompanied by token and protest strikes. In many towns shops were closed and transport came to a standstill.

On April 9 the whistles at the Bremerhaven shipyards sounded the signal for a protest strike in which some 65,000 members of the Amalgamated Trade Unions participated. The demonstrators marched to the center of the town where a meeting was held. A week later strikes took place in Bremen, Mannheim, Hamburg and Bielefeld.

The May-Day meetings and marches were imbued with a militant spirit. Trade union resolutions and the slogans of the meetings and demonstrations were more and more insistent in their demand for a *national referendum*. This demand was upheld by the Social-Democratic groups at meetings of deputies in Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfurt, Darmstadt and elsewhere. They adopted resolutions demanding for the people the right to say "for" or "against" the atomic arming of the West German forces and the installation of atomic weapons and rockets. The results of a poll carried out in industrial enterprises and in some of the smaller communities, and a study of public opinion through the corresponding state establishments, showed an 80-90 per cent opposition to atomic armament.

And so once again the Bonn Government and the monopolies behind it have revealed themselves as perfidious and brutal enemies of the people.

They are ready to use all the instruments of authority — propaganda machine, courts and the police — to prevent the people from freely expressing their will against their criminal designs.

The parliamentary majority of the Christian Democratic Union rejected the proposal for a national referendum, while the government appealed to the Federal Constitutional Court with a view to preventing this referendum. The Karlsruhe judges, most of whom are closely associated with the C. D.U. leaders, ruled against the national referendum.

Guided by common interests in continuing and stepping up extra-parliamentary struggle, the workers in factories, trade unions and other organizations decided to hold a referendum at the point of production and in suitable forms. At the enterprises in Mainz 77 per cent of the workers with the right to vote signed a protest statement against equipping the Bonn army in the NATO force with atomic weapons, while 1,700 miners from the Moller pit in Gladbach empowered their production council to carry through an independent referendum. Iron and steel workers in Stuttgart called on the Amalgamated Trade Union leadership immediately to organize a referendum among all trade unionists and their families.

At a time when the contradiction between the masses of peace-loving German people and the militarist-revanchist ruling group had sharpened, it was important to overcome the lack of cohesion still to be found in the peace movement.

The Committee for Action against Atomic Armament showed valuable initiative in convening a congress at which people of different views and convictions could exchange opinions and strengthen their co-operation. The congress held in Gelsenkirchen, attended by more than 1,000 delegates, elected a permanent presidium with the function of uniting and coordinating the efforts of all opponents of atomic armament in Western Germany. The setting up of this body is an important step towards strengthening the popular movement both politically and organizationally.

This event acquires an even greater significance in view of the fact that the Social-Democratic leaders have obviously yielded to government pressure; in their stand they are now drawing closer to the ruling party. Some of them have even begun to talk of the need for a "respite" in the struggle against atomic armament, and are endeavoring to confine it solely to parliament.

Their attitude runs counter to the resolutions adopted, under pressure from the branches, by the S.D.P.G. Congress in Stuttgart. The Congress decisions contained the undertaking to fight against atomic death "with all constitutional means in Parliament and outside Parliament".

The resolve of the workers to continue the struggle can be seen in no small measure from the proposals submitted to the Fifth Congress of the Iron-and-Steel Workers' Trade Union. These call "for the use of all the means of struggle tested in the working-class movement to prevent the armed forces of the Federal Republic being equipped with atomic weapons and the establishment of rocket bases". This necessitates unity of action by all German workers, and the sooner it is achieved, the more resolutely will the working class act as the leading force in the popular movement against atomic death, and the sooner will the peace fighters achieve victory.

In the difficult conditions of illegality, the Communist Party is consistently and selflessly working toward this goal. Jointly with all politically conscious Germans the Communists believe that the growing movement of the patriotic forces against turning Western Germany into a hotbed of nuclear war is a vital component of the common struggle of the peoples for peace and collective security in Europe.

In the Front Line

Alberto Cellini

MORE and more Italians, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are entering the struggle against aggressive imperialist designs and for a change in the country's political course. In May this year, at the time of the election campaign, the Communists advanced as their primary task the broadening of the struggle for peace and for a new foreign policy — a policy of peace and friendship — and re-establishment of cultural and trade relations with all countries, especially with the socialist countries.

The Communists have always exposed and will continue to expose the danger of aggressive acts, since these could ignite a world conflagration. An example of this was their campaign during the American intervention in the Lebanon, and the British in Jordan.

The news that American troops had landed in the Lebanon aroused anxiety and indignation

among the public in Italy. Every evening groups of people gathered in front of news-stands to learn the latest news. The roar of U.S. military planes in their night flights over Rome and Naples towards Capodichino awakened people and evoked memories of the last war. The Italian Government assumed a heavy responsibility in allowing the U.S. aggressors to use the country's airfields and ports for their military operations in the Lebanon.

The popular protest movement, which has been joined by all the democratic forces, has gathered momentum. For years past this broad front has actively championed peace, and when the war danger grew acute the action of the peace fighters became particularly effective.

The Left press called upon the Government to pursue a policy of peace; it unmasked the aggressors and, pointing to the gravity of the situation, summoned the people to action. This was of great significance as a mobilizing factor, for the bourgeois press tried to minimize the danger. The clerical and Social-Democratic leaders covered themselves with shame by supporting the aggressors' policy. Some reactionary and pro-NATO circles openly welcomed the Anglo-American intervention in the Middle East. They regarded it not only as a means of crushing the Arab nations' independence but also as a means to a possible imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. Here is what *Il Tempo* wrote on July 17: "Nobody remembered that medium-range rockets launched from the Middle East can reach any part of the Soviet Union."

Expressing the Communist Party's view on the situation, Palmiro Togliatti, addressing a meeting of young electors in Rome, said: "We have reached a point in international relations beyond which a collision may be inevitable."

Christian-Democratic leaders, fascists, monarchists, many Social-Democratic leaders, renegades and revisionists accused the Communists of creating a false alarm solely with a view to winning new voters. Some of them even declared that there was no danger of war, and that if there was such a danger, it emanated only from the Soviet Union and Nasser.

The Communist attitude towards the country's foreign policy was supported (if not quite directly and at times even evasively) by the Socialist Party. Some Social-Democratic groups, Republicans, Radicals and even Christian-Democratic officials criticized the dangerous course taken by NATO.

The grave political crisis caused by the Anglo-American intervention in the Middle East complicated matters for government circles, making it difficult for them openly to continue the old policy of subordination to Dulles. On the other hand, the Communist Party was not taken unawares, nor was it isolated or disorientated, which was what the hostile parties wanted to happen. With the political courage characteristic of it and in good time the Party conducted both in Parliament and outside a wide campaign to expose the aggressors and express solidarity with the Arab peoples. It plainly declared in Parliament: "From this hour we Communists entrust the cause of peace to the people."

In response to the Central Committee's appeal of July 16 and to Palmiro Togliatti's speech in Parliament on July 18 the working class and the people held many demonstrations all over the country. In the cities of Rome and Bologna large numbers took part, and the demonstration in Naples was particularly impressive. The demonstrators were dispersed by the police and many were arrested.

Brief protest strikes took place in many provinces. In Iolanda and Portomaggiore, Ferrara Province, the strikes lasted twelve hours. Communal and provincial councils in Cremona, Grosseto and Turin protested against the aggression in various forms. In Livorno, Tuscany Province, 300 local councillors called upon the government to pursue a foreign policy of peace. The fact that similar decisions were adopted not only by the Left forces but also by the Christian-Democrats and Social Democrats is indicative of the alarm evoked by the Anglo-American intervention and shows how insistent was the public demand that the government pursue a foreign policy which would not be subservient to aggression.

This new stage of the fight for peace was accompanied by a deepening of the political consciousness of Communist and Socialist workers. During the anti-communist campaign and when the revisionists became more active in some sectors of the working-class movement and the Left organizations, anti-scientific, anti-Leninist arguments were voiced to the effect that in any case, "the lessening of tension and peaceful coexistence are inevitable, 'so why fight for them?' " It was also alleged that a "neo-capitalism" had set in and that it could get rid of the contradictions of the capitalist system and abolish crises. Unfortunately, this disorientation, against which the Communist Party has constantly fought politically and ideologically, resulted in the Socialist Party breaking with the peace movement.

But confronted with the aggression in the Middle East, the Communists and Socialists resumed their political unity of action, and this time the attempts by the bourgeoisie to split it suffered a setback.

A vital condition for changing the situation is the growing political unity of the working class, a Communist and Socialist unity based on new principles.

The victimization of those who openly express their desire for peace has laid bare the reactionary class aims of Fanfani's policy, which seriously threatens a return to Scelba's* anti-democratic course. The police used truncheons against the demonstrators and arrested many peace supporters. In Rome alone, 60 people were detained and 38 arrested during one demonstration. In Naples 19 were arrested. In Bologna the police prevented Enrico Bonazzi, member of the Communist Party's Secretariat, from addressing a meeting. Bonazzi was arrested on false charges and given a six-month sentence. Carla Capponi, ex-Deputy, who had been awarded the Gold Medal for military services and participation in the Resistance Movement, was also taken into custody and convicted.

The experience gained by the people in recent times can be summed up as follows: when the war danger becomes real and the fight for peace becomes sharper, attacks on democratic liberties become more frequent and the peace movement merges with the defense of democratic liberties. In these conditions the front of struggle broadens.

For instance, the Socialists joined with the Communists in the protest movement against the police repressions in some parts of the country. Students and teachers in most of the colleges in the country protested vigorously against the unlawful detention of Professor Cosenza of Naples University during the demonstration in that city. In Bologna the people were unanimous in demanding the release of Bonazzi; factory workers went on strike. In many towns the courts acquitted citizens, including Communists, charged with taking part in the peace demonstrations.

The Communists have always been in the front line of the fight for peace, national and democratic interests. The peace campaign, vigorously conducted by our Party, was stepped up during the Communist Press Month of which the *l'Unita* festival was the crowning event. Those taking part in it insisted that the government pursue a policy of peace and friendship among nations.

The peace movement also influenced the parliamentary debates. The Communist deputies, voicing the Central Committee's stand on peace, denounced imperialist aggression and declared the Italian working people's solidarity with the colonial and dependent nations, with all those battling for national liberation. The speeches by Pajetta (for the Communist Party) and Basso (for the Socialist Party) on the government program once again exposed the government's foreign policy and were a genuine manifestation of Communist and Socialist unity of action. Denouncing the lawlessness of the authorities Deputy Ingrao said: "In the course of the election campaign we discussed with Socialist comrades the internal problems of our movement and will continue to do so in future; during these days we united in the streets in defense of peace."

The Communist and Socialist speeches in Parliament were warmly applauded.

The Communist Party is conscious of its responsibility to the working class and the country, which is threatened with the danger of a return to an anti-democratic, reactionary regime. Its aim is to bring vast masses of the people into active political struggle in defense of democratic liberties, for a policy of peace in international relations.

*Scelba, Christian-Democrat, ex-Minister of the Interior and later Prime Minister. He became notorious for his measures of police-repression.

Peace Marches in Britain

W. K.

PEOPLE of all walks of life in Britain are campaigning for the immediate cessation of nuclear tests, against the flights of American bombers loaded with hydrogen bombs and the establishment of rocket sites. Some of the activities are the well-tried and traditional ones—public meetings and demonstrations, petitions to the Prime Minister, to the leader of the Opposition, or to M.P.s; deputations to Members of Parliament, letters in the press and poster parades. But newer forms of activity have also been adopted and have proved effective. A number of peace marches, for instance, were organized to U.S. bases in Britain.

The largest of these was to Ruislip, the Headquarters of the U.S. Air Force in Britain. Over 5,000 people from London and the Home Counties marched and formed a deputation to present petitions to the U.S. authorities demanding the withdrawal of American troops from the country and the stopping of the flights of American planes carrying H-bombs over Britain.

Peace supporters organized a 50-mile four-day march to the Atomic Weapons Research Establish-

ment at Aldermaston to protest against the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons by Britain. The press, radio and television gave full reports of the march.

A number of national demonstrations have also been organized, the largest of which took place in London. Special trains were chartered to bring the demonstrators from as far afield as Scotland and Wales, Yorkshire and Lancashire, and an impressive mass meeting took place in Trafalgar Square. This proved to be one of the most representative and impressive demonstrations against the war danger seen in London for some years.

Alongside demonstrations of a national character, there have also been thousands of smaller indoor, outdoor and factory gate meetings at which the danger of the arms race has been brought out and peaceful coexistence explained.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament committees set up all over the country are demanding that the Government reject nuclear weapons and give up preparations for a nuclear war.

The dangerous situation caused by the U.S. and British intervention in the Middle Eastern countries and the U.S. provocations in the Far East made clear to millions of Britons how close was the world not only to a "limited" war but also to a "full scale" world war. A special "Stop the War" Campaign Committee was set up to oppose the Government's sending of troops to Jordan.

The British Government's decision to continue nuclear tests has deeply alarmed broad sections of the public. During the preparations for the British Trades Union Congress, dozens of resolutions were adopted demanding that the Government stop tests at once and implement measures for a real reduction of arms. In a unanimous resolution at Bournemouth the Trade Union Congress deplored the fact that the General Council and the Labor Party leaders had not launched a nationwide campaign against nuclear arms and for disarmament.

Later the T.U.C. leaders joined in the mounting outcry against the war danger in the Far East. They declared that the country's 8,300,000 organized workers would never back the U.S. in a fight for the off-shore islands in the Taiwan area. The General Council's statement said: "It should be made abundantly clear that even if America became involved Britain would not join in."

The Voice of Black Africa

Martha Onandie

ALTHOUGH Africa is a vast continent with inexhaustible natural resources, its indigeonus population ekes out a miserable existence. The main cause of this glaring poverty and backwardness is to be found in the disgrace of colonialism. But the Black Continent is no longer silent. It is in ferment and its peoples have announced to the world their inflexible will to throw off the colonialist yoke and stop the plunder of their natural resources.

My native land, the Cameroons, a U.N. Trusteeship in West Africa, is torn asunder: the larger part, with a population of some three millions (the capital, Yaounde), is under French rule; the smaller, under British rule.

There are today many such artificially-created dependencies in Africa, but their struggle for freedom and independence and their peace movements are features thy have in common with the whole of Black Africa. These two powerful forces, like twin children of Africa, our beautiful mother, are growing and gaining in strength with every passing day.

The people of the Cameroons have no wish, nor are they able, to remain indifferent to the great problem that is now agitating mankind. In 1950 they set up a Peace Committee, and the peace movement now embraces people from all walks of life.

This committee is working in close contact with the population, organizing meetings, rallies, collecting signatures to appeals for prohibition of nuclear weapons, and publishing pamphlets and posters.

It supports the national progressive forces in their courageous struggle against the colonialists, and has made repeated protests to the French Government against the bloody slaughters and reprisals in the Cameroons. Several petitions have been sent to the U.N. demanding that this world organization compel France and Britain to observe the provisions of the Charter in the trust territories.

The Algerian people's struggle for freedom and independence is our struggle. When in 1954 the Peace Committee advanced the slogan: "The people of the Cameroons will not fight against the Algerian people now battling for their independence," it had public support; and, indeed, not a single man from the Cameroons is fighting in Algeria.

The peace fighters have sent many resolutions and telegrams to the President of France demanding independence for Algeria, and messages of solidarity have been addressed to the Algerian National-Liberation Front.

We have always supported the Algerians, and not only the Algerians, but all peoples fighting against colonialism and for national independence.

The French Government's decision to carry out a series of nuclear tests in the Sahara has aroused intense indignation among Africans. Dozens of meetings were held — many of them secretry — and telegrams with the demand to stop these dangerous tests, which are a threat to hundreds of thousands of lives, were sent out. Representatives of our people protested over the Cairo radio, for we are still not permitted to speak over the air in our own country. The Bureau of the National-Liberation Movement Committee published a pamphlet entitled "Sahara, the African Hiroshima." In its telegrams to the Chairman of the International League of Human Rights and the President of France, the Bureau of the Cameroon Women's League also voiced the angry protest of all African women.

Many minerals have been discovered in the Northern Sahara, among them uranium, which the West needs for the manufacture of new stocks of A-bombs. NATO intends, therefore, to subsidize the prospecting and mining of uranium in this area where it is proposed to set up a large center of war industry. There are also plans to build a network of NATO war bases in the Sahara.

In these circumstances it is highly improbable that Africans will believe General de Gaulle's demagogic speech of August 24 in Abijan, capital of the Ivory Coast. He told us that Africa was threatened from the East. That is absurd. We know only too well that what threatens us is atomic danger from the West. By setting up military bases in the heart of our Continent, the Western powers hope to intimidate the African peoples, to break their will to achieve freedom and independence.

In the present strained situation the African peace fighters urge public organizations throughout the world, all people, irrespective of class status, political convictions or religious beliefs, to demand that the U.S., British and French governments unconditionally cease nuclear tests so that the threat of atomic war may be removed. That is the voice of Black Africa.

"Make Latin America a Zone of Peace!"

Juan Gomez

NUCLEAR war is the man danger in the atomic age. The Latin American public is well aware of the consequences of such war. This is clearly seen, for example, from the statement made by the Mexican National Committee in support of the Stockholm Congress for disarmament and international co-operation. The statement reads in part:

"The destructive power of modern weapons has reached well-nigh incredible proportions. In contrast to previous wars when military blows pursued the aim of defeating armies and destroying the stores of the enemy, modern nuclear warfare will inevitably result in the instantaneous destruction of entire cities and areas irrespective of frontiers, in wholesale contamination or annihilation of people. The vital question, therefore: Will there be war or peace in the world?—directly concerns all Mexicans without exception. Our people cannot remain indifferent to this most acute world problem which today so threateningly faces mankind."

Latin American peace supporters gather at congresses and conferences to discuss the contribution their peoples can make to the common cause of maintaining peace. They are taking an active part in international rallies of peace fighters and denounce the military provocations of American imperialism in the different parts of the world.

In July this year the Latin American Conference of Democratic Solidarity adopted a resolution denouncing atomic weapon tests. In Chile, the National Peace Council, jointly with the United Trade Union Center and its 36 federations, called on the people to protest against the atom and hydrogen bomb tests. On the initiative of the Communists the popular convention for the nomination of a Presidential candidate unanimously demanded the stopping of atomic tests. This demand was supported by Chilean Socialists, Radicals and prominent public figures. The Chamber of Deputies addressed the United Nations with an appeal for the suspension of H-bomb tests.

Argentine physicians initiated a mass campaign against nuclear weapon tests. They organized an exhibition "The Way of the Atom"; some 60,000 people signed the visitors' book at the exhibition as a mark of protest. The Argentine Peace Council arranged a series of lectures by prominent

scientists on the prohibition of atomic weapon tests.

The Congress for International Co-operation, Universal Disarmament and National Sovereignty, held in Buenos Aires in May this year, called on the people to press for the immediate cessation of the tests. The Congress was attended by deputies, senators, municipal councillors, scientists, people prominent in the fields of culture and the arts, physicians, trade unionists, representatives of youth, sports and other organizations — in all over 500 persons.

An indication of the striving to turn Latin America into a vast peace zone can be seen in the spread of neutralist sentiments. The view that neutrality can ensure prosperity for Latin America is gaining wide support. For countries economically and politically dependent on American imperialism, neutrality means an independent foreign policy, renunciation of military agreements, repudiation of the arms race and, lastly, refusal to accept U.S. military "aid" under the guise of which the United States meddles in the domestic affairs of the states.

Polls held in the capitals of several countries revealed that 68 per cent of those questioned in Caracas, 66 per cent in Mexico City, 62 per cent in Buenos Aires and 51 per cent in Montevideo favoured neutrality.

The peace supporters are combining their activities with struggle against the bilateral military agreements which the U.S.A. has imposed on the 12 countries of Latin America (Brazil, Peru, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala). Large sections of the population are joining the struggle against these agreements which directly threaten the independence and sovereignty of the Latin American countries.

The peace movement on our continent is closely linked with the national-liberation struggle and the movement against imperialist plundering of its natural resources. In Brazil, the people wholeheartedly support the state monopoly for the extraction of oil and oppose the plunder of the uranium deposits by the U.S. Many Argentine trade unions and democratic parties (Communists, Left-wing Socialists, some Radicals) are pressing for nationalization of the oil and of foreign-owned meat-packing plants and power stations. A special assembly held in Buenos Aires in August and attended by noted scientists, engineers, trade union leaders and other public figures, adopted a resolution urging all public organizations, parties, political associations, trade unions and all citizens to start a nationwide movement in defence of Argentina's oil resources. In Chile the people are fighting to secure the annulment of the extortionate U.S. agreements on copper and niter.

Preparations are under way for a Latin American Congress for International Co-operation, Universal Disarmament and National Sovereignty. The idea of this congress is meeting with support among the population in the 20 countries of the continent. The rally of peace supporters from Asia, Africa and Latin America is likely to be even more impressive. The idea of joint action is cherished by the peoples of these continents, for they are united by the common tasks of the struggle for national independence, against colonialism.

Recently the idea of a rally of representatives from the three continents was brought up at a meeting of solidarity with the Arab countries in Buenos Aires. Doctor Horhe Greko, a participant, expressed confidence that representatives of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries would meet in the near future in Delhi or Cairo, in Buenos Aires or Rio de Janeiro to discuss international problems.

The movement for peace and friendship among the nations is growing on the continent around the slogan "Make Latin America a Peace Zone".

The Danger of Nuclear Tests

M. G. Nooh

AS WE know, the effects of nuclear tests include among other things the effects of residual nuclear radiation which can continue for several years. Even if measures were taken during the nuclear tests to eliminate effects such as radiological or heat flash effects, it would nevertheless be impossible to get rid of all the effects of residual nuclear radiation. These arise from the fission products which, due to the terrific force and heat of the explosion, are dispersed into extremely fine particles or vapors and then carried into the atmosphere where they remain for months or years, or even decades, gradually returning to the earth as fall-out. During this process they are widely scattered by the winds and settle down more or less uniformly over the entire surface of the globe; hence they are known as global fall-out.

Nuclear explosions also bring about semi-global fall-out or annular fall-out which extends round the earth in the latitude of the explosion site. Its du-

ration is of the order of a few weeks. We cannot ignore the harmful results of the reaction of neutrons with various elements of the earth crust and with the air, which lead to formation of new radioactive materials.

It has always been agreed that the test explosions have rather acute somatic ill-effects. This may be due to the internal hazard resulting from ingestion of radioactive substances contained in the fall-out, of which the most dangerous component is radio-strontium, or the genetic hazard from exposure of the entire world population to ionizing radiation from global fall-out. Since global fall-out is uniform all over the world, it is most likely that the first manifestation of the somatic ill-effects of radiation as well as of the genetic hazards will occur in densely populated areas.

The public should be made aware of the dangers of nuclear weapon tests, and I hope that we are coming nearer and nearer to the day when explosion tests will be abolished for ever, and nuclear war, as well as every kind of war prohibited, since it is fraught with the most dangerous consequences for mankind.

If the efforts and the money spent on nuclear weapons were used for peace purposes, we could soon hope to lead a quiet and happy life. International scientific conferences on atomic energy for peace are a step forward towards concentrating on the peaceful application of this colosal energy.

Control Is Possible and Feasible

Y. Fedorov

LAST March the Soviet Union unilaterally discontinued nuclear weapon tests. But the Western powers have refused to follow this example. To justify their attitude they have advanced numerous arguments. In particular, they have tied up the ending of tests with examining the technical possibilities for detecting test explosions and with elaborating an adequate system of control. Contrary to scientific experience, they often referred to the difficulty, or even the impossibility, of exercising effective control over the observation of an agreement on the termination of tests.

Taking into account the standpoint of the U.S.A. and Britain, the Soviet Government displayed good will and agreed that a conference of scientific experts be held, which would study the question of identifying nuclear explosions and establish a control system to detect violations of a possible international agreement on the cessation of tests.

Such a conference was held in Geneva. It was attended by prominent scientists from the United States, Great Britain, France, Canada, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.*

The experts surveyed the physical principles of detecting nuclear explosions which release vast energy in a brief space of time. Depending on conditions, this energy is released in a number of forms. But explosions are invariably accompanied by specific phenomena in the atmosphere, the earth's crust and the ocean. For example, an underground explosion immediately releases a considerable quantity of hot gases causing tremors, which in turn lead to seismic oscillations that spread over great distances even in the case of relatively small explosions. Seismic oscillations also occur in the earth's crust when explosions are touched off at a low altitude.

An underwater explosion in the ocean generates hydro-acoustic waves which are propagated over vast distances, being detected as far off as about six thousand miles. Explosions touched off in the atmosphere generate powerful air waves which are propagated over several thousand miles. Such explosions emit a special impulse of radio-waves which can be detected by special instruments. Explosions occurring beyond the atmosphere or in outer space can be recorded through gamma radiation and neutron streams which spread over large distances.

Nuclear explosions invariably produce large quantities of radioactive debris. In the atmosphere the radioactive substances mix with the air, get caught in its currents and are dispersed over vast areas. In the ocean, under water or in the earth's crust, the radioactive products concentrate close to the center of the explosion for a considerable time. This makes it quite possible to establish that an explosion has taken place.

Due to the natural exchange of substances the radioactive products accumulate in living organisms. Dispersal of these substances, while a most harmful consequence of nuclear explosion, is at the same time a factor providing opportunities for detecting explosions. Radio-metric and radio-chemical methods of analysis enable us to detect insignificant doses of radioactive additions in the air and in the ocean. In most cases it is possible to determine the time when these additions appeared, i.e., the time of the explosion.

* The author headed the U.S.S.R. delegation.

The accompanying phenomena reveal explosions at great distances. To date experimental explosions have been registered in the most distant parts of the world. Most of the tests in the Pacific were not announced by the United States. Yet all of them were detected by Soviet control posts situated thousands of miles away from the explosion sites.

And so, strictly speaking, at Geneva the experts examined the question of detecting lesser explosions, those which could be deliberately concealed in violation of an agreement on ending the tests. The main difficulty in detecting lesser explosions arises from the fact that certain natural phenomena, such as earthquakes and lightning, emit signals which are similar to those produced by nuclear explosions and which interfere with detecting signals generated by these explosions. Hence, measures should be taken to identify the signals generated by an explosion against the background of natural phenomena.

Here are some considerations of the specific ways of detecting explosions touched off under various conditions.

A deep underground explosion can be registered by the seismic method alone. Seismographs are now so sensitive that they can record signals generated by an explosion of about one kiloton* yield at distances of up to 2,000 miles, but the difficulty arises from the numerous signals produced by natural seismic phenomena. Is it possible to identify these signals? In most, if not in all cases, this can be done, for the first oscillation of the so-called longitudinal seismic wave caused by an explosion (as revealed by long-time registration of seismic waves form TNT explosions) produces a uniform compression of the ground in all directions from the explosion center. And ordinary earthquakes produce varying signals spreading in different directions. This simple but fairly precise regularity enables us to identify up to ninety per cent of the earthquake signals. The remainder can be identified through other factors (for example, the systematic functioning of the same epicenters, duration of such phenomena, and so on).

To ensure greater reliability in recording underground explosions and in identifying signals emanating from earthquakes, it was decided to establish more control posts in the seismic areas (about ten per cent of the overall area of the continents) than in the non-seismic areas.

It should be noted that underground explosions produce very stable and durable changes in the epicenter due to high temperatures and large quantities of radioactive substances. This circumstance ensures subsequent verification of an underground explosion.

Underwater nuclear explosions can be detected through the seismic and hydro-acoustic oscillations which spread over vast areas. A few control posts on islands and on the mainland could cover the entire ocean (this holds for explosions of about one kiloton yield). Natural phenomena capable of producing similar hydro-acoustic (and seismic) signals are extremely rare.

The mixing and dispersal of radioactive debris in water are somewhat slow processes. This provides favorable conditions for subsequent identification of an underwater explosion in the suspected area by a ship equipped with radio-metric instruments.

Nuclear explosions, whether on the earth's surface or in the ocean, can be identified by different independent methods. Together with seismic (and hydro-acoustic) oscillations they generate powerful hydro-acoustic waves and radio signals, while the radioactive substances polluting the atmosphere are dispersed over vast distances.

Detection of remote acoustic oscillations is hindered by gusts of wind and other atmospheric phenomena occurring in the proximity of a control station. The interference can be eliminated, however, if a multi-receiver system (of the microphone type) is used. The total effect would block out the local background characteristics and bring in the signal in question. Natural phenomena producing acoustic signals similar to those of the explosions occur very rarely, if at all.

The radio signal produced by an explosion is of great interest. The conference examined the process of its generation. It is caused by the rapidly spreading ionization, which can be described as an electric current impulse. When an ionized zone develops asymmetrically (in space), which is nearly always the case, there is a characteristic radiation in the long-wave range. During an explosion radiation also occurs in the short-wave range. It can be said that radio signals are produced beyond the atmosphere as well. A radio signal of this order can be detected at a distance of several thousand miles.

Lightning seriously interferes with radio signals. At a distance of about 600 miles the radio signals produced by an explosion and by lightning differ substantially and can be easily distinguished. However, at greater distances these distinctions begin to blur. But the Soviet experts stated that reliable identification of these signals is also possible and, what is more, that automatic apparatuses can be used for this purpose.

Radioactive debris caused by nuclear reaction is very important both for detection and subsequent confirmation of an explosion. The debate revealed that the modern methods of radio-chemical and radio-metric analyses enable us to detect fresh

* The power of a nuclear explosion, as a rule, is determined by the quantity (in tons) of TNT which, if exploded, would produce the same effect. The power of the first A-bombs exploded in Japan was about 20,000 tons, while the biggest H-bombs tested recently had a power of over ten million tons.

radioactive residue and to analyze it by taking a tiny quantity of the substance as a sample.

It is more difficult to determine the size and shape of the radioactive cloud at the various stages of its development. The experts examined this question in detail and arrived at the conclusion that between the fifth and the twentieth day after the explosion the cloud will have spread so far that samples can be taken by stations situated at 1,250 to 2,000 miles from one another—the concentration of the debris being sufficient for analysis. Between the second and fifth days samples can be taken by aircraft to confirm evidence of an explosion detected by other methods.

The experts discussed the theoretical possibilities for detecting explosions at extremely high altitudes and in the lower layers of outer space. It was established that Sputniks could be equipped with apparatus for detecting one-kiloton explosions at a distance of several hundred thousand miles from the earth. Such explosions will be detected by the instantaneous and subsequent gamma-radiation and the stream of neutrons. Explosions at altitudes of several hundred miles can be detected also by their effects on the upper layers of the atmosphere as well as by optical effects—the flash and the subsequent luminescence in the upper layers.

The discussion was conducted at a high scientific level. Many of the reports are of considerable scientific interest, regardless of the questions examined.

Having arrived at conclusions on the methods of detection, the Conference proceeded to discuss the system of observing the terms of a possible agreement on a general cessation of nuclear tests, which could be recommended by the experts to their respective governments. It first considered the question of detection equipment and the apparatus required for a control post. It was agreed that each control post should have instruments capable of detecting explosions by various methods.

It was pointed out that control posts should be located in specially selected places, the geographic location of which would make them suitable for the operation of sensitive instruments—especially for recording seismic oscillations caused by underground explosions.

The number of control posts needed to cover the world and to establish a reliable detection system was the subject of lively debate. After a thorough discussion of the proposals advanced, the experts decided that a network of 160 to 170 control posts situated on the mainland and islands and about ten control posts on ships for ocean areas remote from land would adequately ensure detection of low-power explosions. In addition, aircraft on routine weather flights over the oceans will be required to take air samples.

The report on the establishment of a control system says that the conference of experts, having considered a control system for registering infringements of a possible agreement on ending nuclear tests, has arrived at the conclusion that the methods of detecting nuclear explosions available at the present time, viz., the methods of collecting samples of radioactive products, the methods of recording seismic, acoustic and hydro-acoustic waves, and the radio-signal method, together with on-the-spot inspection of unindentified phenomena which might be suspected of being nuclear explosions, make it possible to detect and identify nuclear explosions, including those of low yield.

The conference agreed that technically it was feasible to set up a workable and effective control system to record violations of a possible agreement on world-wide cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

An International Control Organ would co-ordinate the functions of the control posts and ensure the functioning of the control system as a whole. When a control post suspects that a nuclear explosion may have occurred somewhere, the Internnational Control Organ should be in a position to send an inspection group to the suspected site to determine whether a nuclear explosion has taken place.

Thus, a careful and objective examination of the possibility of detecting nuclear explosions has revealed that all explosions, including those of low yield, can be completely identified with the aid of present-day instruments. The experts pointed out that in future their identification would be simplified accordingly as measuring techniques and methods are improved and more becomes known about the natural phenomena (earthquakes, lightning, etc.) producing spurious signals.

The Geneva conference drew up a report for the governments represented, setting forth the results achieved. The Soviet Government examined this report and agreed to all the proposals and recommendations of the conference concerning control in a world-wide cessation of nuclear tests.

Any doubt as to the possibilities of detecting every kind of nuclear explosion has been completely dispelled. Control is possible and feasible.

* * *

The United States and Britain made the most of the cessation of nuclear weapon tests by the Soviet Union last March in order to gain unilateral military advantage. After the Geneva Conference confirmed the real possibility and feasibility of effective control over nuclear explosions, it might have been expected that the U.S.A. and Britain would cease their nuclear tests and conclude an appropriate agreement with the Soviet Union. This, however, did not occur. In the past few months the U.S. has exploded about 40 hydrogen bombs, and

no sooner had it completed a series in the Pacific than it started a series in Nevada.

The Soviet Government, in view of the cynical attitude with which the Western powers reacted to its good will, was forced to take cognizance of the legitimate interests of the country's defence. This was clearly stated by Khrushchov in an interview with a Pravda correspondent and in his letter to President Eisenhower.

The Soviet Union had no choice but to resume tests since the U.S. and Britain were conducting atomic and hydrogen tests on an unprecedented scale. It is, nevertheless, persisting in its demand for immediate cessation of nuclear tests for ever.

Massive Retaliation

(Concerning the theoretical "foundation" of imperialist propaganda on war and peace)

N. Stranger

IF WE examine the question of what constitutes the bedrock "theoretical foundation" of imperialist propaganda on war and peace, we shall see that it is based on three closely connected concepts: 1) strategic atomic and hydrogen weapons as a means of "massive retaliation" — the threat of which is supposed to be capable of averting a world war; 2) tactical atomic weapons as a "deterrent", with the alleged purpose of localizing possible military conflicts; 3) a constant atomic alert which, it is claimed, is a guarantee of international security.

How do the imperialist ideologists and propagandists explain these concepts?

The first of them is designed to convince public opinion that the decisions of the U.S. and British governments and legislative bodies to manufacture and improve thermonuclear weapons are aimed, not at preparing and unleashing an aggressive war but, they say, at serving the interests of peace. Stockpiling nuclear weapons, they argue, ensures the United States the "position of strength" which will enable it to realize the so-called "massive retaliation" doctrine. If a "potential aggressor" — by whom the American strategists and politicians openly imply the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries—knows in advance that any move on his part against the U.S. will entail grave consequences in the form of "massive retaliation", this, they aver, will frighten and induce him to refrain from such action.

Thus, the threat of nuclear war is palmed off as a "deterrent", as a means of preventing a new world war.

Hence the practical conclusion: the U.S. and its allies must continue an unrestrained arms race, above all the nuclear weapons race, and oppose prohibition of this weapon.

It was precisely the desire to put the policy of "position of strength" that gave birth to the race on a "sound basis" that gave birth to the Jesuitical concept of "massive retaliation". It is propagated in the speeches of Dulles, Nixon and the U.S. top brass, military theoreticians, in some of President Eisenhower's messages and in Congress Resolutions, not to mention the propaganda literature churned out in vast quantities. This concept has been taken up by influential political circles and by the advocates of the "Atlantic community" in Britain and other European countries which are linked with the United States through NATO.

The concept of nuclear weapons as a means of averting war rests upon utterly false foundations. Its authors know perfectly well—as does the world public—that nobody intends to attack the U.S. or its allies, that the socialist states firmly reject war as an instrument of policy. The socialist countries have always pressed for an end to the arms race, for reducing conventional armaments, immediate cessation of the tests and the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons—all the way to universal and complete disarmament. So the talk about a "retaliatory blow" and the "defensive aims" of U.S. military and political strategy is nothing but camouflage.

In point of fact the "atomic strategy" of American imperialism has always been a means of realizing its aggressive designs; and it constitutes a grave peril to mankind, for it leads to nuclear war.

"Atomic diplomacy" was the cornerstone of U.S. "tough policy" in the early postwar years and of the subsequent "policy of containment", which aimed at arresting the growth of socialism, the national-liberation movement and progressive forces all over the world.

Later, this short-sighted "nuclear diplomacy" was replaced by the still more adventurist "policy of liberation" proclaimed by the Eisenhower Administration. The crazy idea behind this policy is to destroy the socialist states, restore the colonial regimes in the East and establish U.S. supremacy all over the world.

"Atomic strategy" in all its forms was based on illusions about both a supposed United States "superiority" over the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in industry, science and technology, particularly in the latest types of arms, and its "better" strategic positions.

Time, however, has rendered these calculations utterly untenable. Contrary to the predictions of the U.S. militarists and politicians, the Soviet Union not only developed nuclear weapons in a brief space of time, it quickly achieved "atomic abundance", to use an American term, and this has radically changed the relation of forces.

Early in 1958 the Rockefeller Foundation issued a paper saying that the United States was apparently losing its military superiority over the USSR. For the sake of truth this document needs to be amended: the U,S.A. is not "losing", it has already lost this superiority in everything related to thermonuclear weapons (its superiority is missing in other branches too).

The Soviet Sputniks, discharged by intercontinental ballistic missiles, were launched for peaceful, scientific aims. At the same time they testify to the military advantages that missiles afford. The launching of the Sputniks has fundamentally changed the concept of space and has posed the problems of security and strategy in a new way. Today there is no place on the globe that cannot be covered by modern means of destruction. This means that the time is gone forever when the aggressive circles of any power, and of the U.S. in the first place, separated as it is by the oceans, could think in terms of aggression while counting on their own invulnerability.

This shows that the United States has no strategic superiority, that the world balance of forces is not at all in favor of American imperialism. And this makes nonsense of the "positions of strength" policy, which has no chance of success, but is impotent.

The world balance of forces now favors peace. It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the dangerous consequences of the nuclear arms race, and of U.S. refusal to agree to a ban on atomic weapons.

It is clear to all that stockpiling means of wholesale annihilation by one side—the group of imperialist powers—inevitably compels the other side—the socialist states (contrary to their wishes and plans for peaceful construction)—to take additional measures to safeguard their security. The result is that stocks of the most dangerous "combustibles" are piling up, tension is aggravated, and the threat of war looms larger. History tells us that an armaments race always ends in war, not peace. Thermonuclear weapons are an instrument of war, a most devastating atomic war, and not a means of averting war as we are told by imperialist propaganda.

The concept of tactical atomic weapons as a means of "localizing" wars, formulated in the United States and taken up by some of its West European allies, is equally groundless. The main point of this concept is that, whereas strategic nuclear weapons, big H-bombs, are allegedly a "deterrent" conducive to averting global war, tactical atomic weapons in possession of the U.S.A. and its allies, are, it is said, designed to maintain peace in some parts of the world, in "limited", "local" areas. Should a "small" war break out, tactical atomic weapons would be used, and this, we are told, would prevent it from growing into a world war.

This concept has gained wide currency in recent years, especially after the success of the Soviet Union in science and technology blew sky-high the myth of U.S. atomic strategic superiority. In his book, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, the American military writer, Henry A. Kissinger noted that a global war was risky in the extreme. He admitted that it could lead to the disintegration of the social system, i.e. abolition of capitalism.

The advocates of this concept want the public to believe that perfected nuclear weapons and, particularly, the manufacture of "clean" bombs, would change the effects of these weapons, limit their destructive power and diminish the risk of a global nuclear war.

First, who can deny that not only strategic but also tactical nuclear weapons possess terrific destructive force? Suffice it to say that an atomic gun shell—the classical example of tactical weapons according to the American press—is equivalent to 5,000 tons of TNT i.e. thousands of big conventional demolition bombs. As to "clean" bombs, Doctor Willard F. Libby, member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, admitted that even a 96 per cent "clean" H-bomb would produce twice as much contamination as the "dirty" Hiroshima bomb, to say nothing of its much greater destructive power.

Second, how is it possible to distinguish between strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, what criteria should be used, and who is to determine them?

Third, what guarantee is there that a "local" war, unleashed by the imperialists for attaining notorious "intermediate aims", say, for suppressing the national-liberation movement in some part of Asia or Africa, will not grow into a global war? There is no such guarantee, especially if one considers that the Western military intend to use atomic weapons in these "local" wars.

Even a local conflict can develop into a world conflagration. History has confirmed this more than once. Suffice it to recall the danger of the imperialist aggression in Korea extending to continental China and engendering the threat of a new world war; the menace to world peace caused by the imperialist aggression against Egypt; the Anglo-American intervention in the Middle East and, lastly, the blatant American provocations in the area of the Taiwan Strait.

Bearing this in mind, how can one talk about any "localization" of war "by virtue" of using tac-

tical atomic weapons? The nature of these weapons, the prospect of massive atomic retaliation, the rapidity of operations with the employment of nuclear weapons—all this reduces the difference between a local and a world war to the minimum. The danger of the former developing quickly, and

This juggling with "local" wars and the use of atomic weapons in doses, far from preventing an atomic world war, will open the way for it. The surest guarantee that such a war will never break out is to ban thermonuclear weapons, withdraw them from the armaments of states and see to it that no weapon of this type, including the tactical, is ever used.

We have already mentioned that fabrications such as "a constant atomic alert" have been alloted a definite place in the arsenal of imperialist propaganda on matters of war and peace. It is claimed that the higher the degree of mobility and combat readiness of the U.S. and its allies, and the more the U.S.A. is prepared to repulse the first atomic attack by a probable enemy and to answer it with massive retaliation, the better will Western security be guaranteed.

Using this kind of reasoning as a cover, the U.S. ruling circles are conducting regular round-the-clock patrol flights by American aircraft carrying A- and H-bombs; building a network of rocket launching sites on the territory of its allies; and carrying out other measures designed to let loose an instantaneous "nuclear blitzkrieg". It is quite evident that these steps and the ideological concepts put forward to justify them gravely imperil peace and the security of nations.

What may be the consequences of, say, patrol flights by American A-bomb carriers? War hysteria is whipped up, and a situation created in which peace depends on the rule of chance. As Professor Blackett, the prominent British atomic physicist, eloquently put it, in such conditions the survival of states and nations is "at the mercy of any one of the many fanatics of many countries, whose fingers are poised on hundreds of nuclear triggers."

To avert this danger it is necessary to eliminate the very possibility of such incidents, and relieve mankind of the atomic nightmare, of the war of nerves, and not provoke fatal atomic collisions in the guise of "constant alertness".

The arguments and concepts advanced by the imperialist politicians, ideologists and propagandists with a view to justifying the "policy of strength" and the "cold war" contradict common sense. Supporters of peace and national security cannot agree with these false arguments; they emphatically reject concepts which, based on a nuclear weapon race, lead, in the final analysis, to total atomic war. The objective laws and specific features of our times, the vital interests of mankind, urgently require that the great scientific discoveries of our age be placed entirely in the service of peace and progress; that the danger of atomic war be removed and the peaceful coexistence of all states be ensured.

For this it is necessary, above all, that the ruling circles of the imperialist powers recognize the historic changes that have taken place in the world. Whether the imperialists like it or not, whether or not it corresponds with their interests, the pivot of inernational life today is the coexistence of the capitalist and socialist systems, the steady growth of the might of the socialist camp and the irresistible movement of the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples for independence. Any attempt to change this situation by force will be fraught with disastrous consequences and, in the first instance, for imperialism.

In the present situation the way to ensure peace is not through a policy of "positions of strength", but through a sensible, reasonable policy based on the well-known five principles of peaceful co-existence.

A rational, sober discussion and solution of urgent issues, based on observing mutual interests and the requirements of general security, would open up new and good prospects for all nations. It would exert a most beneficial effect on the development of the world economy, help improve well-being, advance science and culture and relieve mankind of fear for the fate of the present and future generations. This is the goal of all progressive, peace-loving forces, the end for which they are working.

Activities of Communist and Workers' Parties

POPULARIZING DOCUMENTS OF MOSCOW MEETINGS

THE meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow in November 1957, summed up the experience of the international communist movement and adopted the Declaration and Peace Manifesto. These documents equipped the parties with a program of action on the most urgent problems affecting the future of nations and the destiny of socialism.

Now they are at the heart of the activity of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Speaking at its Fifth Congress, Walter Ulbricht said: "The Declaration and Peace Manifesto embody in the form of a program the wisdom and experience accumulated by the international communist movement. We, too, are constantly guided by these documents, and strive creatively to apply the Marxist-Leninist teaching and carry it forward in everyday practical work."

In view of the conditions prevailing in the German Democratic Republic, the Party warns the people about the danger of atomic war, which arises from the policy of U.S. and West German imperialism. It points out that the G.D.R. — the first worker-peasant state in German history — plays a special role in upholding peace and that the participants in the Moscow meetings fully support it.

Much attention is devoted to the point in the Declaration that revisionism, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology, is now the main danger in the labor movement. It should be said that the Party had already had experience in combating revisionism before the Moscow meetings. In 1956 and 1957 it opposed revisionist views on the state, political economy and philosophy. In view of the open frontier our Party has to be particularly vigilant with regard to all manifestations of bourgeois ideology and resolutely combat them.

Wide use is made of factual material showing the significance of the point in the Declaration concerning the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Much is done to elucidate the general laws common to all countries building socialism, and to educate the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Central Committee's decision on the results of the Moscow meetings points out that "proletarian internationalism requires close political, economic and cultural co-operation, exchange of opinion and co-ordinated action . . ."

In articles, lectures and talks it is pointed out that the G.D.R. owes its existence and successful development to the fact that it belongs to the socialist camp where relations are based on equality and fraternal mutual aid.

The achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are also popularized. Many booklets and visual materials have been put out in Berlin and other parts of the country, showing the relation of forces in the world, the superiority of the socialist economy, and so on. These points are featured in radio broadcasts and in the national and provincial newspapers. A series of pamphlets on the Communist and Workers' parties has been prepared for publication. The Party and youth organizations have formed classes for studying the documents of the Moscow meetings. The Socialist Unity Party now exchanges lecturers with the other fraternal parties to a greater extent. Speakers from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, France and Spain have lectured on the vital problems facing their parties.

The following examples can be cited to show how the Moscow documents are being popularized.

Communists in the Stalinstadt Metallurgical Plant held several Party meetings to discuss the theoretical points in the documents. The preparatory work for the meetings had been done by Party groups which studied these documents. Prior to the meetings the Party organizers and activists attended three-day seminars. The documents were also studied in the classes and in the Party schools. Lectures on the general laws and specific features of building socialism, on the fight for peace and German unification, the progress in socialist construction in the G.D.R. and other topics were delivered in the plant's educational center and in all the shops. Party members also popularized the Moscow documents among the people.

The Party organization at the Algeschdorf Machine and Tractor Station in the Frankfurt Region, having discussed the results of the Moscow meetings, drew up a plan to popularize the Declaration and Peace Manifesto. A report on the subject was given to the personnel. A series of lectures was arranged and talks held on internationalism and patriotism, the unity of the socialist camp, problems of peace and German unification, the possibility of preventing war in our times, what can be done to avert war, and other subjects.

The Moscow Declaration stresses the importance of dialectical materialism in practical work; all Party members should master it and be guided by it, its inculcation occupies an important place in the ideological work of the Party organizations.

The Central Committee circulated the letter "Concerning the Study of Dialectical Materialism in the Party Branches". It recalls that only a profound knowledge of dialectical materialism can help the Party accomplish the tasks confronting it in the national economy and culture, to avoid mistakes of a revisionist or dogmatic character, subjectivism and conservatism and successfully combat them.

The letter emphasizes the necessity to step up ideological work and improve it. It also explains the scientific and atheistic nature of the Marxist outlook and the dialectical development of socialist construction in the G.D.R.

This letter was discussed at meetings of the activists. Seminars and courses for propagandists were arranged in all regions and districts. Most branches held from three to five meetings devoted to theoretical problems. Broad discussions took place on some of them, for instance: the attitude of contradictions in socialist construction in the G.D.R., socialist morality.

The Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee arranged a theoretical conference on "Dialectical Materialism — Theoretical Foundation of the S.U.P.G.'s Policy". The speakers and those who took part in the discussion devoted attention mainly to the dialectical development of socialist construction in the G.D.R. The conference materials were published in a separate booklet.

Lectures and talks on dialectical materialism are held for workers, peasants, intellectuals and separately for the youth. As a form of work among young people the "*jugendforum*" has proved useful. This method provides for short statements by speakers followed by questions. The trade unions enrol many non-Party workers and office employees for the classes studying dialectical materialism. Of great significance are the talks arranged between intellectuals, groups or individuals, with Party and government leaders—members of the Political Bureau and Central Committee, ministers and members of regional and district Party committees.

About two million popular-scientific booklets on philosophical subjects have been sold during the past year. The journals and newspapers regularly feature articles on these questions; the popular science film studio also helps in this work. The Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee has put out a collection of articles on experiences in studying dialectical materialism. It includes study plans and topics drawn up by Party organizations, articles and excerpts from the short-hand reports made at discussions on philosophy. The extensive study of dialectical materialism has greatly improved the entire propaganda work and has whetted the interest of Communists and non-Party people in mattters of theory. In the conditions of a divided Germany, the point in the Declaration on the socialist revolution in ideology and culture acquires special significance. The Party pays close attention to the development of ideological work.

Its explanatory activity will help the working people to get a better understanding of building socialism and the reasons for the contradictions and difficulties. It will also help them to realize how important it is from the standpoint of the victory of socialism and defense of peace to consolidate their republic and its fraternal ties with all the socialist countries.

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MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark held at the end of August resolved to convene the next, Twentieth, Party Congress between October 31 and November 2. The meeting decided to launch a pre-Congress discussion the main points of which would be: Unity of the working-class movement, the Party's relationship to the international communist movement, its attitude towards national defense, and amendments to the Rules.

As can be seen from reports in the Danish Communist press the tasks facing the working class and the Party's internal difficulties lend especial importance to the forthcoming Congress.

The main document discussed at the meeting was the resolution on the policy, ideological principles and work of the Party. It was approved by 27 to seven, with one abstention. The Party Chairman, Axel Larsen, who made a statement of a revisionist nature, found himself in the minority.

Larsen had previously expounded his views in the August 28 issue of *Land og Folk*. In the guise of concern for the Party's independence and a "critical attitude" towards the activities of other parties, his statement contained, in essence, the demand that the Party should abandon the principles of proletarian internationalism and break with the international communist movement. In contrast to the other fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, which denounced the Yugoslav program as revisionist and harmful to the cause of socialism, Larsen claims that this program correctly treats some fundamental problems of Marxist-Leninist theory (the teaching on the role of the state in socialist society, the assessment of the role and

activities of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, and so on). He also interprets, in the spirit of the revisionists exposed by other Communist Parties, the important question of the organizational principles of a Marxist-Leninist party; the revision of the Rules on which he insists would mean in essence renunciation of democratic centralism, toleration of factional struggles by the minority and conversion of the Party from a working-class militant detachment into a debating society.

Criticizing the revisionist attempts to revise the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, the plenum resolution points out that the decisions of the Nineteenth Congress of the Danish Communist Party remain valid and form the basis of the Party's activities. This is the fight for peace, freedom and independence, defense of the economic and democratic rights of the working class.

Defense of peace is the task of the entire international communist movement, on whose unity and solidarity depends the success of the struggle. The Danish Communist Party fully recognizes the international fraternity and solidarity of the working class and the Communist parties, and the general principles of Marxist-Leninist theory which found expression in the Moscow Declaration (November 1957).

The underlying element in the resolution is concern for the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. "Our Party," it reads, "opposes and fights any tendencies and efforts which could undermine or weaken the unity and strength of the international communist movement; hence we express our complete disagreement with the draft program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the main theses of which are wrong and, by their vagueness and confusion, can only harm the international communist movement.

"These revisionist views, encroaching upon the very basis of the class struggle and proletarian internationalism, denying the role of the socialist camp in the fight for peace and disputing the tasks of the Communist parties as the leading force in the building of socialism and the struggle against capitalism, were manifest in the course of our own discussions, too."

Calling for a rebuff to revisionist views, the resolution also declares that it is necessary to overcome dogmatism, particularly in the struggle for working-class unity. "We must safeguard the unity of the Party so that it can solve the tasks facing it," the resolution points out. "This can be done only by observing the principles of democratic centralism, which presuppose both participation of all members in drawing up the policy and determining forms of Party work and subordination of the minority to the majority and to the decisions adopted . . .

"Only in this way can our Party achieve the unity of will needed to ensure its efficiency."

In conclusion, the resolution urges the Communists to refute the fabrications of all kinds directed against the Party and its leadership. These fabrications have increased with the publication (as a result of a treacherous attitude towards Party decisions and gross violation of Party discipline) of Larsen's statement in the bourgeois press, before it became known to the members, which touched off a new anti-communist campaign.

The meeting unanimously approved the policy statement which says that now as never before the Danish working class must display its unity, class consciousness and tried and tested will for struggle. Pointing out that the Party expresses the national interests and fights for independence and democratic rights, for better economic conditions and all-round utilization of the natural resources, the statement advances a number of concrete demands: to change the policy of military blocs to one of peace and co-operation with all countries, to improve the economic position of the working people and so on.

The duty of the Communists, the statement goes on, is to strengthen the unity of the Party and multiply its forces, and thwart all designs to weaken it. The Central Committee is confident that all members will rally to the defence of their Party and see to it that after the discussion on its role and policy it becomes stronger and better equipped to fight for the cause of all the people and the working class.

In connection with the pre-Congress discussion the Party paper *Land og Folk* has published the materials of the Political Bureau on the fundamental questions of the communist movement.

The statement on internationalism exposes the anti-communist fabrications from revisionist sources about the "anti-national" and "dependent" character of the Party. It emphasizes that strengthening international solidarity does not contradict but furthers the independence of each Communist Party in formulating a policy in keeping with the specific conditions in the given country and which looks ahead to socialism. "Our unity with the other Communist parties," the statement reads, "has its source in the identity of views and interests in the international class struggle. This does not mean that different views on particular questions may not arise. But the main thing is that we try to settle differences in such a way as not to benefit our enemies. This must find expression in public statements by the leadership as a whole and by leaders individually and in the Party press."

A pre-Congress discussion is now going on in the branches, district and regional organizations

of the Party. In the course of this discussion members are expressing anxiety over the situation in the Party and the fact that a small group of Right-wing opportunist elements has openly carried out splitting tactics and formed a self-styled "center" headed by Larsen. The Danish Communists declare their readiness to combat the factionalists and to strengthen the ideological and political unity of their Party. Their attitude will, undoubtedly, meet with unanimous support in the international communist movement.

FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE Communist Party of Uruguay held its XVIIth Congress in Montevideo over August 15-17. The previous Congress took place in September 1956. In the ensuing 12 months the membership rose by 32 per cent, while in the next ten months over 1,300 members, mostly workers, farm laborers and poor peasants, joined the Party. A feature of the Congress was that of the 269 delegates 170 were workers.

The report on the work carried out by the National Committee was delivered by Comrade Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary. He drew attention to the important contribution to the international communist movement made by the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties. Speaking on the international situation, Comrade Arismendi denounced the United States aggressive policy and its provocative role in instigating war. He called for intensified struggle for peace and against American imperialism. To uphold the country's independence and achieve economic and social progress, it was essential, he said, to strengthen the united front, isolate and defeat the agents of American imperialism, and paralyze the activities of the vacillating big bourgeoisie. Trade union solidarity and united action of the Communist and Socialist parties was imperative, as well as more extensive work among the peasants. The report resolutely turned down the revisionist views of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and affirmed the Party's unshakable fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Jose Luis Massera, Party secretary, reported on the Declaration and the Political Program of Action for the immediate future. Uruguay's climatic conditions and natural resources, the Declaration states, are conducive to the building of an independent, developed economy and securing a happy life, material well-being and a high cultural level for a far bigger population. But foreign monopolies, particularly those of North America, are annually "pumping out millions of dollars in profits from exploitation of enterprises, from depreciation costs, interests on loans, freight charges, etc. They systematically reduce prices for our agricultural exports and just as regularly raise those for our imports of fuel, machinery and manufactured goods. These methods of economic plunder . . . are depriving the country of huge sums of money which could be used for developing our industry."

Another cause of our people's backwardness and poverty, the Declaration continues, is the latifundia monopoly of land. Six hundred families own more than one-third of the land and 50 per cent of the livestock, while hundreds of thousands of toilers have no land at all. The interests of the handful of big capitalists, who have become an anti-national force, are bound up with foreign capital and the landlords. Uruguay's foreign policy and its stand in the UN are determined by instructions from the State Department, not by the interests and the will of its people.

A consistent policy of national liberation and far-reaching agrarian and democratic changes, the Declaration stresses, can be carried out only under an entirely new government in which the working class will play the leading role. This government should include peasants, the middle urban sections and those among the national bourgeoisie who are ready to work for national independence and progress.

The new government would repudiate the extortionate economic, political and military treaties and agreements, nationalize the factories, banks, plantations, etc., belonging to foreign monopolies, North American in particular. It would carry out a radical agrarian reform, expropriate land from the big landowners and transfer it, gratis or for a moderate charge, to poor peasants and to anyone desirous of tilling it; it would abolish share cropping and other pre-capitalist survivals.

Given this new economic base, the democratic government of national liberation would provide a powerful stimulus to industrial development, both state-owned and private, and to agriculture. It would also substantially expand home and foreign trade. The principal aims of the foreign policy would be: defense of world peace, sovereignty and the national interests; development of friendly relations, trade and cultural exchange with all countries, particularly with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states and also with the fraternal peoples of Latin America; resolute support for the Latin Amrican peoples in their national-liberation struggle.

Among the immediate tasks projected in the program are: prohibition of atomic weapons; temporary prohibition—for the duration of the economic crisis—of imperialist monopoly profits being taken

out of the country; discontinuance of arms purchases, retrenchment in police upkeep; lower rents and cuts in prices for agricultural machines and implements, fuel and seeds; stable prices for essential goods; tax reductions for working people and imposition of progressive taxes on foreign and jointly-owned enterprises; all-round wage increases; equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex and age; higher pensions for all.

The people must win power through a Democratic Front of National Liberation which would be a broad and powerful coalition of the popular forces headed by the working class and its Communist Party. The ideological and organizational growth of the Party is, therefore, an indispensable condition for the victory of the national-liberation movement.

The Declaration points out that in the present favorable international situation, political power can be won peacefully and Parliament turned into the executor of the real will of the people. The working class and the Communist Party favor precisely this peaceful way. But to safeguard their unjust privileges the ruling class may resort to violence, and the working class and other sections of the people should, therefore, be ready to repulse any such action by the reactionary forces.

The report on the Party Rules was delivered by Comrade Alberto Suarez, Party Secretary. The new Rules derive from the need for consistent implementation of the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, to encourage criticism and self-criticism, heighten the responsibility of each member for strengthening the Party's unity and its contact with the masses.

Dozens of delegates from the capital and departments took part in the discussion. The Congress was also addressed by fraternal delegates from Bulgaria, France, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico and Paraguay.

It replied to greetings from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, the Communist and Workers' parties of Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Italy and other countries.

A resolution was adopted on the report by Comrade Enrique Rodriguez, member of the Executive Committee, endorsing the the Election Program and calling on the working people to support the Party at the coming elections to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

The delegates sent a cable to the UN calling for the immediate withdrawal of American and British troops from the Lebanon and Jordan. Decisions were taken to support the struggle of the workers in the various industries for their demands, against the rising cost of living and for a solution of the housing problem; calls were made for the release of the Spanish, Paraguayan and Cuban patriots whose lives are imperiled by the dictatorial regimes of Franco, Stresner and Batista.

The Congress, which adopted decisions on the most pressing and vital issues confronting the Party and the people, will, said the newspaper *El Popular*, "go down as one of the outstanding events in the history of the working-class movement of Uruguay".

EXTENDING PARTY STUDY

A RECENT decision of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party on the new academic year in the Party education network gives pride of place to Marxist-Leninist self-study. Self-study is now to be the main form of the ideological work conducted inside the Party. Now that the rights and powers of the local government bodies and the socialist enterprises have been considerably extended, a deeper Marxist grounding is essential for the successful activities of Party members. Activists are keenly conscious of the need to broaden their political knowledge in order more effectively to combine ideological and practical work.

Eagerness to master theory is revealed in the increased enrolment at the Marxist-Leninist evening universities of which there are now 29 (including 12 branches). The enrolment at the Warsaw University, for instance, is four times greater than last year. The universities have made changes in their curriculum — the range of theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction having been extended, and additional general education subjects introduced.

Greater prominence is given to self-study in political economy, philosophy and the history of the working-class movement. There will be more conferences and seminars on theory for activists at national and regional levels. The subjects here will be international and home policy. The district Party committees are extending the network of evening schools for their activists. Last year 119 such schools were functioning.

Important changes are being made in elementary Party education. The Central Committee has criticized the practice of focusing attention on classes on current policy. Taking into account the requests and suggestions made by the Party organizations, it has posed the task of forming classes to study the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. Here prominence is given to such subjects as the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist, the Marxist teaching on classes and the class struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Other subjects include proletarian internationalism and nationalism; the Party and religion; the Leninist

teaching on the party, the main stages in the history of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Classes for the study of economic policy and the economics of industry are designed to help the active members in the factories in enhancing the leading role of the Party organizations and consolidating self-management.

The economics classes set up in the villages will, in the main, study the Party's agricultural policy and questions pertaining to socialist reorganization of agriculture. These will also be subjects in the curricula for other Party schools, in particular the evening schools for activists.

The political struggle in Poland calls for broader scientific enlightenment on the origins of religion. Reports from the districts indicate great interest in the classes studying problems of scientific atheism.

The C.C. decision points out that ideological work should constantly be in the spotlight of all Party bodies. They must assist propagandists and agitators. Only members well-grounded and able to hold their own with all non-Marxist, revisionist theories and dogmatism should be sent to lecture.

In addition to extending the Party education network, the decisions taken this year by the Central Committee and the regional Party committees envisage measures for improving the training of Party functionaries.

The Higher School of Social Sciences of the Central Committee has two main faculties—Economics, and History and Sociology. It has an Extramural Studies Department with over 1,500 students. One-year preparatory courses have been arranged for members who have distinguished themselves in Party work but have not had the benefit of secondary education.

The School holds seminars and arranges short-term courses, of which the most common are three-month courses for regional and district Party members. They cater for 150 students who study, among other subjects, the socio-economic structure of the Polish countryside and its socialist reorganization, the economics and organization of the agricultural enterprises, and the agricultural experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Two- and three-year Party inter-regional schools will be opened in Katowice and Bydgoszcz this year. Their syllabus will include the basic subjects of Marxist philosophy, political economy and the history of the international working-class movement. Students who have not had a secondary education will simultaneously prepare to take their examinations under a full secondary school syllabus.

Regional Party committees are devoting close attention to work among the activists. Seminars are being organized for district committee secretaries and propagandists and secretaries of factory and rural Party branches.

A big part in the training of Party cadres is played by the so-called "internal days" in the Party committees. Once a week the personnel meet to examine current problems of Party work, exchange experience, determine the immediate tasks, and to discuss subjects of ideology. Some Party committees have neglected this type of work, replacing it by the usual production meetings, Of late, however, it is increasingly taking the form of seminars.

In addition to those already studying in Party schools, some 30 per cent of all Party functionaries are taking extra-mural courses in higher, secondary technical and general education schools.

HISTORY OF SOVIET FACTORIES

IN RECENT years the writing of the history of factories has been resumed in Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals and the Ukraine. Some of the books are already on sale, among them *Glorious Traditions*, published for the centenary of the Krasny Proletary Plant in Moscow, *Bastions of the Revolution*, a symposium on the history of Leningrad factories, *A Factory on Obvodny Canal Embankment*, about the Krasny Treugolnik Plant, and the *Kreenholm Cotton Mills*, put out by the State Publishing House of Estonia.

The symposiums, essays and monographs on the history of factories are designed to show how the working class grew and matured, how it fought against its oppressors, built a worker-peasant state and upheld the gains of the proletarian revolution, how it is building the new, Communist society. The books vividly illustrate the development of the old and the springing up of new plants and industrial centers. They disclose the essence of the new production relations born of the October Revolution, the changes that have taken place in the working class, the growth of its culture and material well-being, its constructive labor, the power of socialist emulation and innovation; they also acquaint the reader with the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party.

Considerable experience in writing the stories of industrial enterprises has been accumulated in the Soviet Union. As early as the thirties a number of interesting books appeared. Among them were *History of the Putilov Plant, History of the Izhora Plant, True Stories of Mount Vysokaya* (stories told by workers of the Vysokaya iron-ore mine in the Urals), *Lena Gold-Fields, Volga Weavers* (about the Krasny Perekop Factory).

The idea of factory histories belongs to Maxim Gorky. On September 7, 1931, *Pravda* carried Gorky's article, "History of Factories", in which he wrote: "We must study our life at full length, we must know well all our factories and mills, all enterprises, all the work done in building the country."

Gorky's initiative was immediately supported by the Central Committee of the Party which on October 10, 1931, adopted a decision endorsing his proposal and suggesting that work be started right away on a series of books on the "History of Factories". And thus an important social undertaking was begun. Groups of authors appeared at many enterprises, reminiscences of veteran workers were recorded, and factory archives, documents, books, journals and newspapers studied. Workers, factory correspondents and engineers took a hand in the job. Historians, economists and writers came to their aid. *Pravda, Komsomolskaya Pravda, Trud* and other newspapers and journals took patronage over editorial boards set up locally for writing the histories. Party organizations discussed the reports of these boards, held meetings of authors, arranged lectures and consultations for authors, organized classes and seminars and helped in every way.

The work done by Gorky himself during those years will never be forgotten. He always encouraged worker-authors and professional writers both by personal counsel and by articles in the press; he carefully looked through and edited dozens of manuscripts, talked with many authors, gave them advice and hints and wrote introductions to their books.

The writing of factory histories began at the time when Soviet people were working strenuously to fulfil their first five-year plans. The war interrupted the work. And now it has been resumed under more favorable conditions.

The socialist economy, science and culture have made great strides. Under the leadership of the Party, the Soviet people have added many vivid pages to the history of world civilization. This is what the new books will tell the readers. At present there are more people capable of writing the history of their enterprises. And there are now more historians and professional writers ready to help the worker-authors.

The Party attaches great importance to educating young people in the spirit of the glorious traditions of the Soviet working class.

Recently the Central Committee discussed the question of work on the history of plants and factories. Local Party bodies are rendering consistent aid to the authors' groups. Primary attention is given to histories of those enterprises that typify best the characteristic features, revolutionary traditions and experiences of the Soviet working class. These are the factories which occupied a prominent place in the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution and the triumph of socialism. Authors' groups include veterans of the Revolution, old workers, engineers and technicians, as well as scientists and writers.

The work as a whole is linked with the preparations now under way for writing the history of the Soviet working class. Thus, the publication of books on individual factories and mills is raised to a higher level. Each will be a contribution to the voluminous history of the working-class struggle against capital, for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the transformation of society along communist lines.

GROWING ACTIVITY OF WORKS PERSONNEL

DURING the past ten years Czechoslovakia's industrial output has risen by an average of 12 per cent annually. The XIth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set the task of achieving by 1965 a 90-95 per cent rise in production compared with 1957, and a 45 per cent growth in personal consumption.

This decision has met with a warm response among the population. Led by Party organizations, the Communists, together with the non-Party people, are tapping new sources for increasing output. These questions are discussed at meetings of Party, trade union and youth organizations. The role of production meetings has of late acquired greater significance and socialist emulation is spreading.

Thanks to emulation, the enterprises of the heavy machine-building industry produced goods to the value of 309 million crowns in excess of plan during the first half of this year, and saved 108 million crowns by reducing production costs. The pledges made in honor of the 41st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to fulfil the year's plan ahead of schedule, are being widely implemented.

New forms of emulation are being developed, such as, for instance, the drive to mechanize and automatize labor-consuming processes and simultaneously to improve quality of output, to produce goods in excess of plan without additional allocations, and so on.

Changes in industrial organization and management have brought to light new possibilities of accelerating rates of production, while extension of the rights granted to the enterprises has contributed to more initiative being displayed by managers and workers. Many problems of planning, raw material supplies, provision of equipment, and determining the range of goods were in the past mostly decided by ministries and departments,

whereas they are now solved directly by the factories.

The role of the works personnel in drawing up plans has been enhanced. Party and trade unions are now able to exert greater influence on production and to draw more workers into its management. Party organizations see to it that trade unions pay more attention to collective agreements, to technological development, introducing new methods of production and improving amenities.

These conditions have engendered new forms and methods of Party work.

When the Wilhelm Pieck Works in Prague received the draft plan for 1959, the Party committee called together Party shop secretaries and section organizers. It was decided to examine the draft in the shops and then hold a works technical-economic conference. The plan was discussed in the shops, first in the Party groups and then at production meetings called by the trade union organizations. More than 1,500 people took part in the discussion at which many proposals were put forward. The technical and organizational measures proposed in the foundry, for instance, reduced spoilage by one third, cut down waste, etc. The foundrymen pledged to produce 6,500 instead of 6,100 tons of castings this year and to increase this figure to 6,800 tons next year. The machine shop made important proposals for improving technological processes. The same was observed in all the shops; all in all 150 proposals affected the operation of the plant as a whole. They were discussed at a works conference, and its decisions formed the basis for the collective pledges to fulfil this year's plan by December 15 and increase the 1959 draft plan figure by five per cent.

The Party committee, the Party branches in the shops, Party groups and trade union organizations see that these measures are introduced. This control is carried out by the personnel of the plant. It is typical that during the public discussion of the draft plan it was comparatively easy to overcome the doubts expressed by some workers as to whether or not it could be fulfilled. The influence exerted by the collective helps to eliminate the narrow shop approach and helps workers to approach matters from the standpoint of the state.

The technical and economic conferences (with preliminary discussion of the questions) have become one of the most effective forms of mass work. They are not only called to discuss plans and pledges but are convened for the purpose of examining such production problems as the struggle against rejects, reducing cost of production, economizing on raw materials, introducing new equipment, and so on.

The number of complex teams, which include engineers, technicians and leading workers, is growing. These teams study the state of affairs in shops and sections, work out measures to improve production and see that they are carried out. The results of their work are, as a rule, discussed by the Party and trade union organizations.

The steel foundry shop at the CKD Works in Prague had lagged behind for a long time and had many rejects. Implementation of measures proposed by the complex team resulted in spoilage being reduced by one-third. That was already a step forward, but labor productivity and quality continued to remain unsatisfactory and overhead expenses were high. On the initiative of the Party committee a new team was formed which included both foundrymen and workers from other shops. It arrived at the conclusion that partial measures would not eliminate the lag and that a new method of molding was called for. The Party group then had talks with each worker. The Party group then went into the matter which was later thoroughly discussed with all the workers. The first test in the shop failed, but Party members discovered what was at fault and at the next workers' meeting managed to convince those who were still doubtful. The outcome was that productivity rose by ten per cent, the cost of molding materials dropped by 20 per cent and quality of output improved.

The complex teams are formed when there is need to discover untapped resources, expedite fulfilment of orders, and so on. When the electrical motor shop of the CKD Works, which had in hand a generator for the Chinese People's Republic, was asked to expedite fulfilment, three teams were set up. One dealt with technological questions, the second with labor organization and the third with raw material supply. New possibilities, which the shop management had failed to take into account, were revealed with the result that the order was executed ahead of schedule.

Thirty such teams were formed at the ZKL Lisen Works this year. Adoption of the proposals submitted by one team only—on elementary mechanization—resulted in an economy during the first six months of 374,000 crowns, while those of other teams will make it possible to reduce the time needed for the manufacture of tractors by 600,000 man-hours, economize 220 tons of material and lower cost of production by 6 per cent. The Party organization in the Tesla Pardubice Works has formed 51 teams consisting of 369 workers and technicians.

Altogether tens of thousands are participating in complex teams and technical and economic conferences. A still greater number attend the production meetings now held regularly by the trade union branches.

Now that Party organizations are devoting more attention to specific economic problems, Party members and non-Party people display keener interest in these questions. This has resulted in

more schools and classes for the study of economics being opened. At the Stalingrad Works in Prague, for instance, there were two evening schools of political economy functioning in 1957, whereas this year there are already six with more than 600 students. At the Works' evening Party schools 119 Party members are studying economics as well as other subjects. Specific economic problems are also being studied at the school for agitators. A growing interest in economics is to be observed in all works and factories.

Party organizations utilize the experience of the leading enterprises in drawing the masses into the solution of production problems. This experience is studied at Party committee meetings and broadly popularized in the central and local press.

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FIGHTING FASCISM IN PORTUGAL

DURING May and June, at the time of the presidential election campaign in Portugal, mass demonstrations took place, the keynote of which was struggle for democratic liberties, for a new regime and government and for better conditions.

The first demonstrations, involving over 600,000 people, took place on May 14 and 16 in Oporto and Lisbon. Although peaceful, they were brutally broken up by the government. But this did not stop the growing movement. The demonstrations spread to all parts of the country.

A feature of the election campaign was the emergence of an Opposition acting within the framework of the Constitution. The masses demanded that the government observe the constitutional rights of the citizens. But this demand was rejected and the authorities resorted to violence and lawlessness.

Another feature was that the people saw the prospect of liberation from the fascist regime of oppression and terror. This was the reason for the mass activity and the militant spirit which prevailed in the country.

Everybody knew that this time the situation would be different from what it was before when the Opposition withdrew its candidates. It was also known that the Salazar clique was torn by internal strife. In view of this relation of forces the Opposition could count on success.

Despite the bloody repressions, the masses gained rights during the campaign which they had not enjoyed for the 32 years of the fascist regime, such as, for example, the possibility of engaging in legal propaganda, using public halls and the radio, and verifying voters' lists.

The broad movement for unity which developed during the campaign could have resulted in the formation of a united electoral bloc and in one Opposition candidate being nominated. Such at any rate was the aim of the Communist Party and the democratic forces of the Left. But the democratic and anti-Salazar forces found themselves disunited at the beginning of the campaign: two candidates and two programs were proposed. The democratic forces supported Dr. Arlindo Vicente, a lawyer from Lisbon, while the Right-wing democrats, who also represented the anti-Salazar Opposition, nominated General Humberto Delgado, although until recently he had been collaborating with the government.

The Communist Party told the masses that the division among the opposition forces would benefit none but the fascists. It also pointed to the positive points in the two opposition programs and urged the nomination of one candidate. This appeal met with support.

The election campaign developed into a struggle for united action on the basis of the common principles contained in the two programs. As a result, the candidate of the Right-wing Democrats had to take a more progessive stand. In a joint statement by the two nominees, Dr. Arlindo Vicente announced his withdrawal in favour of General Humberto Delgado, while the latter undertook to carry out the democratic program on the basis of the common principles enunciated by the two nominees.

The poll was a large one, but the results were falsified. The government alleged that the Opposition had received but one-fourth of the valid votes. This aroused the indignation of the people who were unanimous in saying that the "situation was intolerable".

In this atmosphere of popular indignation and rising militancy of the working class, the Communist Party called for a strike on June 25 and other forms of protest against the juggling with the election results and demanded that a new election be held.

Over 60,000 people responded to the call for political strikes of protest. From the 1st to the 3rd of July, transport, newspapers and journals and places of entertainment were boycotted. Many wore black bands. Shopkeepers closed their shops and street demonstrations took place.

People were killed and wounded during these actions, while hundreds were thrown into prison. The government enacted a law which made every striker liable to an 8-year prison sentence. It should

be borne in mind that strikes have always been banned under Salazar.

The broad national movement compelled Salazar to reshuffle his cabinet and to withdraw Defense Minister Santoz Costa, hated by the people for his brutalities.

The lessons of the election campaign and the events accompanying it confirm the correctness of the political line drawn up by the Communist Party's Fifth Congress, which was held last October under the difficult conditions of illegality.

The Central Committee recently adopted the following decision in elaboration of the Congress line:

1. Safeguard the unity achieved, resist all attempts to sow discord.

2. Broaden and consolidate the unity of the working class and all people opposed to the regime.

3. Fight against Salazar's wage freeze and for better conditions.

4. Support the national bourgeoisie in defending interests which coincide with the national interests.

5. Continue the struggle for peace, for prohibition of nuclear weapon tests and reduction of armed forces and armaments.

The Central Committee noted that recent events testify to a growth of political consciousness and militancy among the people, which are a guarantee of the new and more powerful struggle which will take the people to victory.

EDUARDO ALEJO
Member of Central Committee, Communist Party of Portugal.

A PRACTICAL STEP TOWARDS UNITY

THE parliamentary elections held on June 1, 1958, were a setback for the workers' parties in Belgium. A Christian Social Party government was formed under somewhat dubious circumstances. Although this Party has most of the seats in the Senate, it is in the minority in the Chamber of Representatives. People closely associated with big business have been returned to power.

The unexpected defeat of June 1, the mistakes made by the Socialist ministers and the Socialist Party's lack of political perspective have somewhat bewildered the labor movement, and the Socialist workers in particular. Moreover, the economic situation is the source of concern to many people. Last year the Communist Party drew attention to the vital problems confronting the country and pointed to the need for working-class unity to repel the offensive launched by the capitalist monopolies. The Communists also advanced a number of proposals with the aim of getting the government to change its foreign policy to one of general disarmament and peace.

The ministers and Right Socialist leaders, however, by-passed these problems, ignored the Communist proposals and preferred to continue a policy that ran counter to working-class interests. The Socialists and the labor movement paid for this in the elections. The Christian Social Party launched a demagogic campaign, the success of which in a way was ensured by the anti-communism of the Right-wing Socialist leaders.

The country now has a budget deficit of six billion francs. By the end of summer, unemployment had reached a figure of 150,000 (about 10 per cent of all workers). The crisis has assumed an unprecedented scale in the coal industry: stocks are running at six million tons, despite the fact that many pits have closed and fewer miners are employed. About 20,000 have been laid off in the textile industry. And even in the iron and steel industry, where Soviet and Chinese orders have helped to maintain production, stocks are accumulating at an alarming rate.

In agriculture, too, the prospects are far from bright. A series of measures have been announced envisaging curtailment of meat, butter and cheese output. Exports, which account for 40 per cent of Belgian output, have dropped considerably in recent times.

There is also the fear that the decline in United States production will aggravate the economic difficulties, and that the "common market" will worsen the situation. Even before the setting up of the common market, Belgian employers, on the pretext of the demands it would make, sought to persuade the workers to renounce, or at least to agree to a restriction of, some of their rights. Against the machinations of big business and the government's support for the adventurous policy of Anglo-American imperialism, the Belgian working class needs a program of action setting out its immediate demands.

These demands were set forth in the appeal published by the Communist Party on September 2, and circulated in hundreds of thousands of copies. The appeal especially emphasized the need for the working class to unite on the basis of a concrete program, mainly in the struggle against unemployment and its consequences, for measures towards disarmament and relaxation of international tension.

First and foremost the Communists have addressed themselves to their comrades in the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). They believe their proposals could be a basis for unity between the Confederation and all other unions. As members of the CGT, the Communists consider it would be expedient to call a Confederation congress. This would

help rally the working-class forces and prevent the government and employers from carrying out their designs.

The appeal, having formulated the urgent working-class demands and outlined a program of struggle for the immediate future, posed the question to all working people: "Comrades, the Communist Party asks you, can you possibly disagree with this?"

Literally within a few hours of its publication the Bureau of the CGT examined the points raised in the appeal and announced that it would convene a congress, though on a restricted basis.

Everything now depends on the working class, on its ability to carry out this program, which is the condition for its militant unity. The Communist Party will fight resolutely for the implementation of its program. A labor movement with definite aims can defeat the designs of the capitalist monopolies and deal them a telling blow.

Reviews

Humanism—Real and Illusory

Roger Garaudy, *Humanisme marxiste. (Marxist Humanism).* Paris, Edition sociales, 1957, 311 pp.

IN a country such as France, with its rich heritage of philosophical tradition, the ideological struggle cannot but touch upon the fundamental problems of philosophy. And no matter how abstract some of these problems may appear at times, their solution, whatever it is, directly bears upon burning social and political questions. This explains why in recent years the reactionary ideologists have launched repeated campaigns against Marxist philosophy.

As a rule, bourgeois ideologists attack Marxism in the name of liberalism, individual freedom and humanism. This is understandable, for under present conditions the champions of capitalism and the advocates of idealistic philosophy can hope—if they have any hope left—to win the sympathy of the masses only by fighting under somebody else's banner. The adversaries of Marxism in the capitalist countries, and notably in France, pretend that they have no objection to taking over a thing or two from Marxism, hoping thereby to inspire confidence and render their "criticism" of socialism more convincing.

The French Communist Party devotes close attention to exposing these anti-Marxist and revisionist efforts. And Roger Garaudy in his *Marxist Humanism* has delivered a stinging rebuff to these "critics".

Garaudy is well known both in France and abroad as a writer of interesting works on problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. His books and articles, which have been translated into other languages, popularize dialectical and historical materialism, and acquaint readers with the ideological struggle waged by the French Communist Party. Garaudy's excellently written works are marked by a strongly pronounced Party spirit, and invoke the revolutionary tradition and the progressive cultural heritage of the French people. Although he writes on a variety of philosophical subjects, one main theme stands out in his works—the substantiation and defense of Marxism-Leninism as the most consistent, humanistic outlook of our times. Beginning with his first books, *Communism and the Revival of French Culture* and *French Sources of Scientific Socialism*, and ending with his works of the past few years, Garaudy has always emphasized the principle that Marxist philosophy is the scientific foundation of proletarian humanism, while socialism and communism are its embodiment in real life.

This concept is substantiated and further elaborated in his *Marxist Humanism*.

* * *

The five essays in this book—"On Alienation", "Dialectics of Nature and Materialism", "Dialectics and Freedom", "The Intellectuals" and "What is a Workers' Revolutionary Party?"—are not merely united by a general title. They are logically connected by one and the same idea. In them the Marxist concept of humanism is upheld and the bourgeois ideologists' falsification of the problem of human freedom is exposed.

In a brief introduction expressively headed "Why I Am a Marxist", the author describes how his own experience in the struggle of the working class revealed to him the great emancipating role of Marxist philosophy. The problems of humanism, Garaudy stresses, are, in the final analysis, reduced to the need for a just organization of society. Man strives for freedom in the real, earthly world, and not, as the idealist philosophers affirm, in the realms of pure thought or in some other

world. "Philosophy and the social revolution", he observes, "have one common objective: to put an end to the alienation that dehumanizes man and renders his thinking illusory." The fundamental problem of humanism is that of the social conditions for man's freedom, the conditions essential for an all-round, harmonious development of his personality; and it is not in speculative arguments that the solution lies. It is to be found in the active struggle of the proletariat for emancipation.

Analyzing (in the first essay) man's real position in capitalist society, Garaudy uses the Marxist concept of "alienation", which means the transference of some of man's qualities to the products of his activity, both material and spiritual, which then confront him as an alien and hostile social force—for instance, religion, capital, bourgeois law, etc. The young Marx, it will be recalled, borrowed this concept from Hegel and Feuerbach, a circumstance which has led some Marxist philosophers to argue whether it was wise to use it, along with the theoretical problems arising from it, in dialectical and historical materialism. In point of fact, as Garaudy justly notes, these doubts are unfounded. Marx deliberately uses the term "alienation", not only in his earlier works, but also in *Capital*. Moreover. according to the author, the entire problem of the so-called fetishism of commodities, the materialization of human relationships under capitalism, cannot be correctly understood without reference to the concept of "alienation". It should be emphasized, however, that this concept, stripped by Marx of its idealistic interpretation, has acquired a new, materialist content.

In Garaudy's book the problem of "alienation" is expounded comprehensively.* The author shows that the concept of "alienation" in Marxism is not a "survival of Hegelianism", that it is not exhausted in the concept of commodity fetishism. "A pure and simple identification of 'alienation' and 'commodity fetishism' ", Garaudy writes, "cannot satisfy us. The first term is broader than the second; there is religious, political, ideological and other alienation, whereas 'commodity fetishism' corresponds to one form of alienation only: economic alienation . . . In this sphere, so far scarcely explored and in which many questions are still 'open', it would be interesting to examine other problems, as, for instance: the forms and sources of alienation, does alienation in the true sense of the word exist in a classless primitive society?" (pp. 30-31.)

Marx used the concept of alienation in his critique of Hegel's philosophy of law and of bourgeois political economy. He at the same time rid the problem of alienation of its mystical husk and disclosed the socio-economic nature of the transposing of human qualities and properties to various social institutions, as well as the replacing of relations between people by relations between things. Human activity is, above all, practice: the practice of production. Therefore, according to Marxism, alienation exists not only in the sphere of the bourgeois state and religion, as Feuerbach and the Hegelians believed, but also in the production activity of people. "As a consequence of alienation," writes Garaudy, "labor, this supreme attribute of man as an active and creative species, is now no longer his aim, it has become an undependable and dismal means of satisfying the individual needs in which his biological life is expressed (food, drink, clothing, shelter)." (pp. 43-44). By working for the capitalist and producing commodities, the worker reproduces the social conditions of inhuman exploitation of which he himself is the victim. A materialized human nature is counterposed to the working man in the shape of the world of private property, commodities, money and capital, as an alien force governing his destiny by virtue of the laws of commodity production.

Emphasizing the methodological importance of the concept of "alienation", Garaudy at the same time rebuffs the bourgeois ideologists who try to reduce Marxist philosophy to the "pure motion" of this concept. In their writings of the past few years some bourgeois "critics" of Marx have repeatedly attempted to do this, exaggerating the problem of "alienation" in Marxism, seeking thereby to overshadow the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the basis and superstructure, class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The interest displayed by the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists in this problem is but another form of their traditional attempts to distort Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

The book by Bigo, a Jesuit, entitled *Marxism and Humanism*, lauded by the French ideological opponents of Marxism and still widely publicized in the reactionary press, is trenchantly criticized by Garaudy. At the same time he reveals the theoretical groundlessness of the entire philosophical trend in postwar France which, advocating a "return to Hegel", has for the past ten years been vainly attempting to refute Marxism. The neo-Hegelians (J. Hippolyte, Kojève and others) subjectively interpret Hegel and re-interpret his dialectics arbitrarily. They do the same with Marx's earlier works. Counterposing the "young Marx" as a real philosopher to the "mature Marx", the neo-Hegelians seek to wipe out the Marxist stage in the history of philosophy and to present their

*An historico-philosophical exposition of alienation is to be found in O. Kornu's book **Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Life and Works**, Vol. 1, Berlin 1954.

puerile effort as the continuation of the classical philosophical traditions.

Refuting Bigo's assertions regarding the imaginary. Hegelianism of Marx, the author makes a detailed analysis of Marx's criticism of Hegelianism. In his earlier works, he writes, Marx had already revealed his true historicism, and this radically distinguished his treatment of the alienation problem from Hegel's and Feuerbach's abstract way of posing it. To Hegel's abstract concept of man as some kind of emanation of the absolute idea, and to Feuerbach's anthropological concept of man as a biological creature Marx counterposed the materialist concept of man as the sum total of the social relationships, as the active creator of his own material and spiritual environment.

Among French ideologists Bigo is far from being alone in his effort to distort Marxism. A far from complete list of the falsifiers of Marxism would include another Jesuit, P. R. Calvez, the phenomenologist M. Merleau-Ponty, and M. Roubel, who, like Bigo, speculate on the French public's growing interest in dialectical and historical materialism. They are only too eager to do what the bourgeois reactionaries require of them: to palm off pseudo-Marxist elucubrations on the reader by speculating on his interest. This is exactly what Calvez has done with zeal in his *The Thinking of Marx*.

In tune with the neo-Hegelians, Calvez, as Garaudy shows in his second essay, denies objective dialectics and the dialectical character of the laws of nature. And, like the neo-Hegelians, he refers to quotations, which he has distorted, from Marx's earlier works, chiefly, the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. According to Calvez, dialectics is merely the relation of the object to the subject and, therefore, exists only where nature comes into contact with man, where it is humanized. Nature, according to Calvez, is but an inert, amorphous mass; on these grounds, he rather clumsily tries to smuggle in the idea that God should be recognized as the active beginning in nature. Garaudy cleverly and convincingly ridicules these priestly arguments and points out that in his desire to "surpass Marx", Calvez actually pushes philosophy back, departing not only from Hegel but even from Aristotle, who held that active form was a property of matter.

Refuting this falsification of dialectics, Garaudy advances strong arguments in support of the objective character of dialectics as expounded in the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism in the course of their polemics with Duhring, the neo-Kantians and the Positivists. The substantiation of materialist dialectics in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as Garaudy justly points out, is an important aid in combating the wretched arguments of the modern critics of Marxism. Materialist dialectics is by no means confined merely to the dialectics of thought. This would be a parody of Marxist philosophy, which teaches that dialectics is inherent in nature, society and thought, that the dialectics of thought, as a creative and active force, reflects in the final analysis the objective dialectics of things; dialectics divorced from its real base becomes merely banal sophistry.

Sophistry of this kind is typical of existentialism, a philosophical trend widespread in France, and criticized by Garaudy in his third essay. The stumbling-block of the existentialists is that they do not understand the objective character of dialectics, and this leads to a metaphysical, anarchistic concept of freedom, to a bourgeois individualism that is incompatible with conscious discipline, with the subordination of personal interests to those of the masses in the struggle for social emancipation.

Garaudy refutes the existentialist concept, of Jean-Paul Sartre in particular, to the effect that recognition of the objective dialectics of things deprives man of freedom of action. In reality, it is the existentialist interpretation of freedom, an interpretation isolated from the social conditions of people's activity and thought, that dooms man to be the slave of circumstances. Ignoring these circumstances, the author points out, does not free man from their influence. Inasmuch as the material life of society determines its spiritual life, and the objective dialectics of things determines the subjective dialectics of the mind, the arbitrariness of people's actions, as propagated by the existentialists, can lead to nothing but an illusory freedom. Their arguments about freedom are like the "freedom" of the convict serving a life sentence, who is free to think as much as he likes about what he will do in the beyond.

Not confining himself to a philosophical criticism of the logical inconsistency and contradictoriness of existentialism, Garaudy reveals the dependence of the existentialist concepts of freedom, humanism and personality on social conditions. He dwells in detail on those conditions which determined the content of the bourgeois liberalism of the past century; and explains why it was restricted and why, with the decay of the capitalist system, it subsequently degenerated, becoming increasingly reactionary and anti-popular, as the historical reason for its existence gradually disappeared.

According to Garaudy, the logical contradiction of existentialism is in many ways the reflection of the dual position of intellectuals in capitalist society. The fourth essay, devoted to the intellectuals, deals mainly with the Communist Party's attitude towards them.

"The role of the Party for the creative mental worker is a stimulus, not an obstacle," the author writes. "Acceptance of the Party's principles equips him in his thinking and creative activity, gives depth and integrity to his creative work . . ." (p.

277.) The mass influx of intellectuals into the Communist Party, as noted by its XIV Congress, is a perfectly natural and logical process. Progressive intellectuals, the exponents of the spiritual culture of society and of progressive traditions, Garaudy writes, cannot stand aloof from the working people's emancipation movement. Their desire to promote social progress in all spheres of life, their noble striving towards humanism and freedom, to serve the people, he concludes, will all be futile unless accompanied by active participation in the fight for social justice together with the proletariat and all working people.

The final essay, "What is a Workers' Revolutionary Party?", sets out the principles of the organization, strategy and tactics of the Communist parties, which are *objectively* determined by the need for the conscious transformation of society along socialist lines and the concrete historical conditions of the working people's struggle for emancipation. The Communist Party, Garaudy emphasizes, embodies the organic unity of the theory of *scientific* communism and the mass *revolutionary* working-class movement. Upholding the principles of democratic centralism upon which the party is built, the author reveals their mutual inter-connection and objective dependence on the tasks of the working people's struggle for socialism. The experience of the working-class movement and the persistent attacks by open and covert opponents of socialism on the principles of democratic centralism confirm, in Garaudy's opinion, the fact that these principles are the most important gain of the working class, an essential weapon for uniting it in a monolithic and militant organization, an organization that will not tolerate splitters and factionalists. The organizational unity of the Communists is not imposed upon them from "above"; it is the natural outcome of the community of interests of the working class in all countries, of the uniform scientific outlook and the historic mission of the proletariat.

Garaudy's book is an organic whole. Marxist humanism is the keynote of the five essays, and although the author calls them polemical, they are not confined merely to criticism of the modern pseudo-humanism which is often used as a mask by the ideologists of the reactionary bourgeoisie. In polemizing against the bourgeois ideologists, Garaudy poses a number of important theoretical questions of Marxist philosophy, creatively linking them with the urgent tasks of the Communist Party's ideological struggle.

INDRICH SROVNAL

Reviews in Brief

Bruhat J. et Piolot M. *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la CGT*. (J. Bruhat and M. Piolot. *Essay on the History of the General Confederation of Labor)*. Paris, 1958, 238 pp.

THIS is one of the first Marxist studies of the history of the trade union movement in France and, what is more, of one of the biggest national bodies—the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT: General Confederation of Labor).

On the basis of facts and statistics the authors show the role of the CGT in organizing the working people's struggle for their rights against monopoly encroachment, and in educating them in the spirit of unity and proletarian solidarity. A feature of the work carried out by the CGT is the fruitful combination of the every-day struggle for better conditions of labor with the fight for emancipation from capitalist rule. An independent mass organization of the working people, the CGT plays a vanguard role in the trade union movement. It is working actively for peace, democracy and independence for the colonial peoples.

The authors describe in detail the main stages of the internal struggle in the Confederation against the disruptive activities of the Right-wing leaders, against the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists. This struggle ended in defeat for the opportunist elements.

The book sums up the wealth of experience accumulated by the CGT in its successful fight for working-class unity. It shows how the trade unions combine their economic and political struggle, and how, in the specific conditions of the country, the Marxist-Leninist theses on the role of trade unions in the contemporary capitalist world find confirmation.

Великая Октябрьская революция и мировое освободительное движение. Москва, 1958, т. 1, 570 стр., т. 2, 644 стр.

The Great October Revolution and the World Liberation Movement. Moscow, 1958, Vol. 1, 570 pp. Vol. 2, 644 pp.

THIS is a two-volume collection of articles by 72 Communist leaders from 41 countries. Most of them give a theoretical analysis of the working-class and national-liberation movements in the new era ushered in by the October Revolution. The reader learns of the contribution which the Communist parties have made to the practice of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction, and of the specific ways of applying Marxist-Leninist principles. The collection is a treasure-house of the experience accumulated by the international communist movement during the past forty years.

A number of important theoretical questions are treated—the transition to socialism in the different countries; the role of the mass peace movement in the general progress of mankind; the socialist system as the product of the world communist movement; the essence of proletarian internationalism. Many of the authors draw attention to the fact that the concept of proletarian internationalism has acquired a broader meaning. It signifies, among other things, the need to support and defend the socialist camp, to cement in every way the ties between the socialist states.

Much space is given to the point that socialism as a science is being used not only by the working-class movement but by the national-liberation movement as well. This is reflected not only in the growing role of the Communist parties and the adoption of socialist ideas by the nations winning emancipation, but also in the influence which the socialist camp exerts on the disintegration of the colonial system.

Some of the articles examine the reasons for the temporary difficulties experienced in the development of individual Communist parties. These are caused by incorrect application of the general principles of Marxism to the concrete situation, and often by an insufficient struggle against revisionism which seeks to sap the parties. However, in view of the overall advance of the world communist movement and the achievements of the socialist camp, these difficulties are transient. In overcoming them, the parties gain strength.

The collection, which summarizes the militant experience of the Communist parties, is striking testimony to the steady development of Marxism.

김 한 주 · 홍 달선 저

우리 나라에서의 농업 협동화 운동의 발전

조선 민주주의 인민 공화국 과학원 출판사 **1957**

Kim Han Du and Hon Dar Sen. *Agricultural Co-operation in the Korean People's Democratic Republic*. Pyongyang, 1957, 180 pp.

THE authors examine the prerequisites, conditions, main stages and specific features of agricultural co-operation in the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

From 1953 to 1957 the area farmed by the co-operatives grew from 1.2 to 98.6 per cent of the total. One of the main reasons for this rapid growth was the Party's carefully prepared program of agricultural reconstruction. The authors emphasize the importance of the preparatory measures taken to restrict the capitalist elements: the setting up of an agricultural bank, the development of consumer co-operatives, support for the model state farms, and popularizing the experience of the associations for joint cultivation. At the same time the Party combated the harmful views according to which agricultural co-operation could not be carried through until Korea had been unified and a powerful technical base built.

The growing revolutionary spirit of the peasants, arising from their participation in the war of liberation and also from the persistent implementation by the Party of the agrarian reform and other democratic transformations were important factors favoring the rapid growth of co-operation.

A feature of the co-operative movement, the authors point out, was that the abolition of the kulaks as a class was effected by peaceful means, for mass co-operation began after the war, which considerably weakened the kulak elements.

The book shows how the Leninist teaching on socialist changes in the countryside is creatively applied to the specific conditions of Korea, and how the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is utilized. The experience of the Korean Party of Labor, as shown in the book, is of interest for fraternal Parties from the standpoint of both theory and practice.

Matern H. *Aus dem Leben und Kampf der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. (The Life and Struggle of the German Working Class).* Berlin 1958, 368 pp.

THIS collection of articles dealing with the history of the German working-class movement contains valuable factual material which was little known up till now. It also deals with important theoretical questions. Of particular interest is the treatment of the struggle waged by the German Communists at the time of the Weimar Republic and the fight against fascism. The author analyzes the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the German working-class movement.

The article on the role of Marx and Engels stresses the significance of their works for the struggle against revisionism. Citing the founders of Marxism, the author criticizes the non-Marxist views of G. Lukacs. Especially interesting and topical are the facts showing how Marx and Engels combated the early revisionist concepts of "true" socialism, "specific" socialism and also the idea of the "special German national road".

Matern thoroughly examines the question of proletarian internationalism, analyzes the content of this concept and concludes that it is essential for any national working-class movement to combine the struggle for the national interests with its international tasks. Citing historical examples, the author shows how loyalty to proletarian internationalism has always been at one with the interests of the German people, while its renunciation has been detrimental to the national interests.

The book contains interesting data on the history of the German working-class movement and helps to clarify the present tasks of the German working class.

Dezvoltarea economiei RPR pe drumul socialismului. 1948-1957. (Socialist Economic Development in the R.P.R. 1948-57.) Bucharest, 1958, 429 pp.

THIS volume, a collection of articles by Rumanian economists, provides a comprehensive survey of the socialist changes that have taken place in the economy of Rumania.

The authors show how the Rumanian Workers' Party, applying the general laws of socialist development to the specific conditions of their country, is going ahead with industrialization, giving priority to heavy industry. Rumania's advance from economic backwardness to the position of an industrial-agrarian state, the rapid growth of the national income and the improvement in the well-being of the people—these are the results of the Party's general line in the sphere of economy.

Agriculture now has a strong socialist sector, which is being increasingly mechanized.

The authors dwell on the role played by the Party's economic policy in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, the foundation of the people's-democratic system.

Their conclusion is that the establishment and all-round development of the socialist sector of the national economy is the one and only way to replace capitalist production relations with socialist relations, which provide unparalleled scope for the development of productive forces.

This interesting book is a valuable contribution to a study of the experience gained in laying the economic foundations of socialism in a once backward agrarian country.

Truong Chinh. *La revolution d'aout. (The August Revolution.)* Hanoi, 1958, 77 p.

IN this work, Truong Chinh, a member of the Political Bureau of the Vietnam Working People's Party, examines a number of points concerning the revolution which began in Vietnam in August 1945. He defines the character of this revolution, the methods of solving democratic and socialist tasks, and deals with the specific forms of rallying the masses. The author clearly delineates the two sets of factors — objective and subjective—which contributed to the victory of the people of Vietnam over the Japanese militarists and the French colonialists. Among the objective factors were the general weakening of fascism and colonialism in the course of the Second World War, and particularly the role played by the Soviet Union in defeating Japanese militarism. The subjective factors included the rallying of the revolutionary forces around the Communist Party and the heroism of the people in the fight for independence. The success of the revolution owed much to the tactics of the Party, which in its relations with all anti-fascist and anti-colonialist elements was consistently guided by the principle "the more friends, the fewer enemies". This facilitated the creation of a United Popular Front.

The author discusses the distinctive features of the revolution in Vietnam. It was a democratic revolution of a new type carried through by the working class headed by the Communist Party. One feature is that, as a result of the onward march of the revolution, the basic democratic tasks (winning and consolidating national independence, agrarian reform, etc.) are being solved now at the socialist stage.

This work, which sums up the experience of the revolution in Vietnam, is a creative contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the democratic revolution growing over into the socialist revolution in conditions of the contemporary national-liberation struggle.

Holotik L. *Oktobrova revolucia a narodnooslobodzovacie hnutie na Slovensku v rokoch 1917-1918. (The October Revolution and the National-Liberation Movement in Slovakia in 1917-1918.)* Bratislava, 1958, 165 pp.

THIS book, based on hitherto unknown or poorly known archive materials, shows the influence exerted by the October Revolution in Russia on the revolutionary and national-liberation movement of the Slovak people towards the end of 1917 and in 1918. It examines the role played by the working class of Slovakia in the struggle for national liberation and the creation of an independent state of Czechs and Slovaks.

The October Revolution, with its decrees on peace and land, its slogans of the right of nations to self-determination and the abolition of social oppression, gave the Slovak people a clear perspective of struggle and suggested concrete forms for their demands. The author has brought together the details of the strikes fought by the working class, the peasant discontent and the mutinies in army units against the war and against the Hapsburg monarchy which ruthlessly oppressed and exploited the people of Slovakia.

The revolutionary upsurge in Slovakia is analyzed and the conclusion drawn that the working class, not the bourgeoisie, was the driving force of the national-liberation movement. During the First World War the bulk of the bourgeoisie supported the policy of the monarchy. In their desire to suppress the growing revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie monopolized the leadership of the national-liberation movement. This was facilitated by the fact that the working class was headed not by a proletarian party but by the opportunist Social-Democratic Party. With the aid of the latter the bourgeoisie succeeded in suppressing revolutionary action and restricting it to the struggle for the bourgeois republic.

Holotik analyzes from a Marxist standpoint new and valuable materials dealing with the international significance of the October Revolution and its impact on the revolutionary struggle of the working class in Slovakia.

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