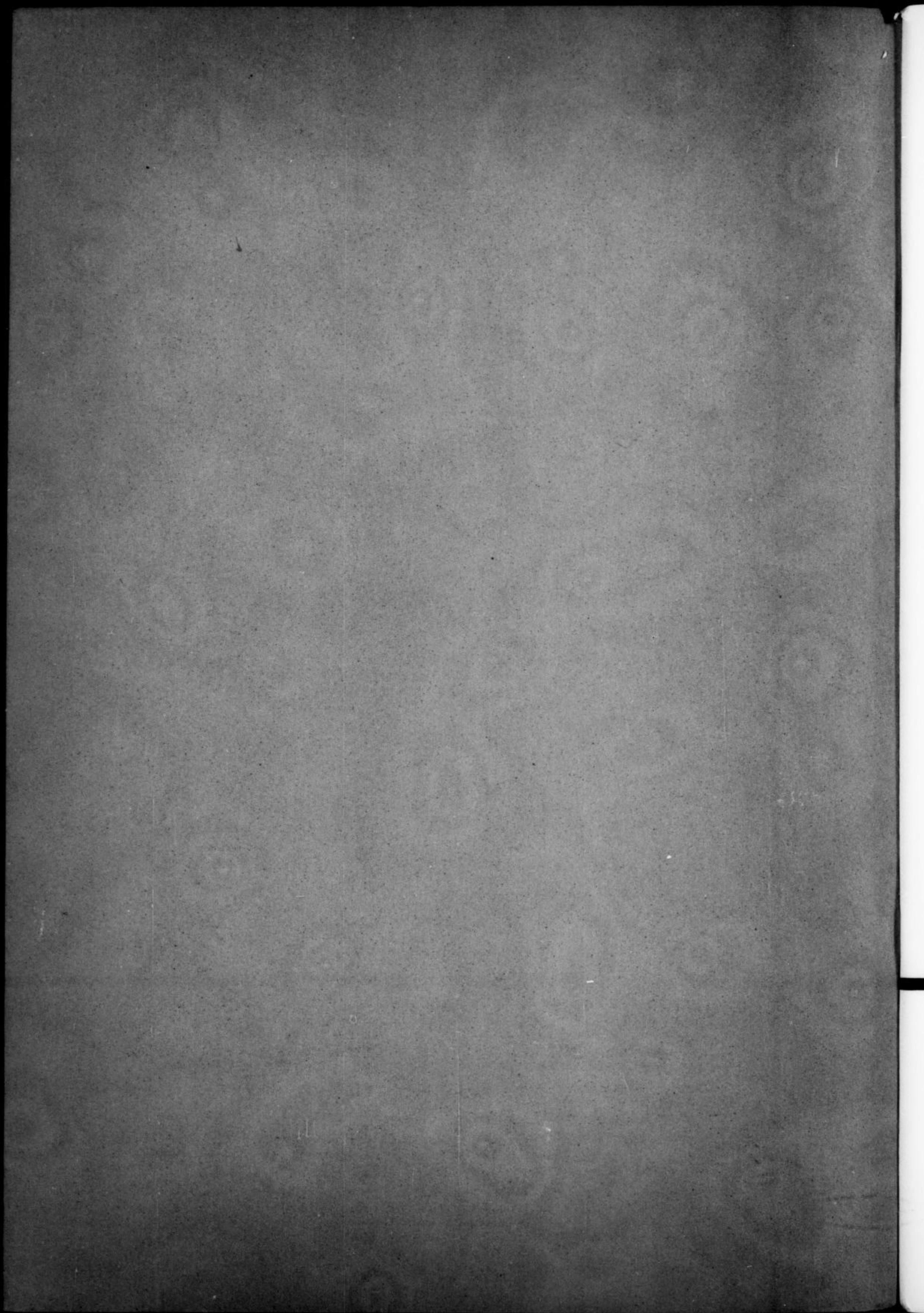


Workers of All Countries, Unite!

World Marxist Review

April, 1959
Volume 2, No. 4
35 Cents

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE
and
SOCIALISM



World Marxist Review:**Problems of Peace and Socialism**Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties**CONTENTS**

Y. BUGAYEV AND B. LEIBSON: The Guiding Force in the Advance to Communism	3
V. SIROKY: Economic Foundations of the Peaceful Policy of the Socialist Countries	11
OBSERVER: The Bonn-Paris Axis	19
H. MATERN: The Multi-Party System in the German Democratic Republic	26
L. STRINGOS: Attacks on the Democratic Forces in Greece	34
L. CORVALAN: Strengthening the National-Liberation Front (From the Experience of the Communist Party of Cuba)	40
F. NICOLON: The Middle Sections in France	47
Z. HAIRI: The Agrarian Reform Law in the Republic of Iraq	56

PAGES FROM HISTORY

D. NEMES: The Significance of the Hungarian Soviet Republic	61
---	----

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

Cuba Today	69
NJOTO: Party Education in Indonesia	71
E. MALMBERG: Unity is Built from Below	71
N. MORGAN: Work Among Lumberjacks and Construction Workers	73
R. RINALDI: Communists in Local Government Bodies	74
A. SLAW: Work Among National Minorities	76
SHORT NOTICES	77

REVIEWS

N. Z-R: History of the Three Internationals	80
C. RIMAC: The Theoretical Journal of the Argentine Communists	84
REVIEWS IN BRIEF	86

LETTERS AND NOTES

J. TERFVE: The Strike in Borinage	89
J. ROBERTSON: Release American Reaction's Prisoners!	93
W. GALLACHER: The Editor, World Marxist Review	95

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

PROGRESS BOOKS, 924 King St. West, Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

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

Orders from the United States for subscriptions, single copies or bundles should be addressed to the U.S. distributor:

IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS & PRODUCTS, 4 West 16 St., New York 11, N.Y., U.S.A.

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

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Chinese, Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish, Vietnamese (distributors: Press Circulation Agency, Sadova 3, Prague 6, Czechoslovakia). Subscriptions to any of these editions may be obtained through Progress Books, 924 King St. W., Toronto. Yearly Subscription Rates for the edition in the following languages: French—\$6.00. Czech—\$6.50. Russian—\$6.50. Spanish—\$6.50. German—\$3.50.



1870

1871

1872

1873

1874

1875

1876

1877

1878

1879

1880

1881

1882

1883

1884

1885

1886

1887

1888

1889

1890

1891

1892

1893

1894

1895

1896

1897

1898

1899

The Guiding Force in the Advance to Communism

Y. Bugayev and B. Leibson

THE Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, which marked the entry of the Soviet Union into the period of all-round communist construction, opened up new vistas for this country and the international communist movement.

Today there are Marxist-Leninist parties in 83 countries — all of them united by a single world outlook and by common ultimate aims. The countries are at different stages of development and the Parties, naturally, have different tasks. The diversity of conditions, methods of work and tasks, however, only illustrate how the general laws of the development of the Parties are concretized, depending on the situation, and how universal is the character of the Marxist-Leninist principles of Party structure.

It so happened that the CPSU was the first to tackle problems which, in one way or another, confront the other Communist and Workers' parties at successive stages of their development. Addressing the Twenty-First Congress on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, Chou En-lai said that since the time of the October Revolution the USSR has been in step with the times, inspiring the working people of the world by its example. That is why "they see their future in the Soviet Union's present." The other Marxist-Leninist parties, naturally, are anxious to study the CPSU experience, to benefit from it, because it indicates the way forward and helps them in their everyday work.

Supplying answers to many of the urgent problems facing the communist movement, the documents of the Twenty-First Congress show that the Marxist-Leninist Party — the organizer and inspirer of communist construction — is constantly developing, that the nature of its activity changes in line with new social relations and the new tasks confronting society.

The Party of Revolutionary Action

Of all the features that distinguish the genuine Marxist-Leninist party, most important is its revolutionary attitude to reality. Whatever forms the struggle for communism may take — economic or political, peace-

ful or otherwise — the underlying principle of the Communist Party is irreconcilability to all forms of exploitation, the desire to intervene in life and to remake it. The Party always looks ahead, it does not sit in idle contemplation but acts, does not close its eyes to the defects in the social structure but seeks to remedy them.

It is here that the communist ideology differs basically from the reformist which, despite its many shadings, signifies in the long run reconciliation with bourgeois reality, adaptation to it and taking a stand acceptable to the ruling classes.

Before the October Revolution Lenin wrote: "By educating the workers' party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat which is capable of assuming power and of leading the whole people to socialism, of directing and organizing the new order, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the toilers and exploited in the task of building up their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."* The shaping of new social relations, like the struggle against capitalism, is a revolutionary process. Between capitalism and socialism lies the period of far-reaching reconstruction of the economy, social relationships, culture and everyday life.

If the new production relations are to be strengthened and perfected in keeping with the growing productive forces and in order to clear the way for their expansion, the entire social superstructure must be changed. And although this is a gradual process under socialism (Lenin said that after the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie we are for reforms, for evolution) here, too, the same revolutionary boldness and sweep are required from the Party.

It is important to be able to discern in time the pressing need for development, to rise above the numerous local, narrow, personal interests which may run counter to the interests of society as a whole. Stagnation, complacency and conceit should never be tolerated, and there must be the readiness

*V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works* in Two Vols., Vol. II, Part I p. 224.

to break the resistance of the conservative-minded who want to live as of old. Every social-economic change on a national scale, designed in the interests of millions of people, acquires the nature of a truly revolutionary transformation. Such, for instance, were the reorganization of planning and management in industry and building, the reorganization of the machine and tractor stations, the reconstruction of the educational system and other recent reforms in the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary spirit signifies not only the desire to go ahead, but also a sober assessment of the opportunities, both objective and subjective. If everything depended solely on the wishes of the Communists and on their revolutionary zeal then, of course, communist ideals would have been realized long ago. But in addition to wishes there are such objective factors as, say, the inadequate level of the productive forces, of the consciousness of the masses, and the existence of elements who resist the new and progressive. Consequently the Party is merciless toward "revolutionary" phraseology or adventurism, substituted for the genuinely revolutionary spirit, as well as to rushing measures for which the time is not yet ripe. The Twenty-First Congress criticized the view that the time has come to switch from distribution according to work to equal distribution of the social product among all workers. Not long ago the idea that commodity-money relations in the Soviet Union have outlived themselves and that the time has come to go over to the direct exchange of products was, likewise, subjected to severe criticism.

One can imagine the difficulties that would have arisen if the CPSU had followed this wishful thinking, if it had acted rashly and had not taken cognizance of the real state of affairs.

The experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies confirms the foresight of the founders of Marxism who said that, as the conditions of life change, man "becomes the real, conscious master of Nature, because and in so far as he has become master of his own social organization."* The first Soviet five-year plan was ridiculed abroad as a fantastic dream, and not only by those who hated everything associated with communism. Those used to thinking in terms of capitalism also found themselves unable to believe in the feasibility of the plan. Now, with more

than a quarter of a century separating us from those days, it becomes absolutely clear that, with all its great significance, the first five-year plan was but a modest step compared with the subsequent development of socialist society.

The Twenty-First Congress provided a striking demonstration of the extent to which the productive forces and the opportunities for a revolutionary remaking of nature grow when society begins to develop on a socialist basis. Suffice it to say that in the next seven years the USSR's industrial output will equal that of the 41 years of Soviet power.

Only recently the imagination was fired by the fact that in the space of three years the Soviet Union brought 90 million acres of virgin land under the plow, creating another huge granary for the country. And now there are plans for many more developments of this nature, each surpassing in scale that which was done in the virgin lands. All the big plants forming the backbone of socialist industry are being extended and reconstructed. The developments in the chemical industry will change many aspects of production and life. The new program for capital construction, electrification and automation, redistribution of the productive forces and the industrial reorganization of the economic regions is only one component of the changes that will take place in the USSR in the next few years.

The initiative of the people, now that they are masters of their destiny, is boundless. More and more they are bringing nature under their sway, as examples cited at the Twenty-First Party Congress illustrated. There was, for instance, the proposal to extend the Kamchatka experience, utilizing subterranean hot water for heating vast areas and generating cheap electricity. The delegates also referred to the prospects of controlled thermo-nuclear reactions.

Lenin said that whereas under capitalism the economy is run by capitalists, after the victory of the revolution "economic development is our common cause. For us this is the most interesting branch of politics."* Lenin dreamed of the day when engineers and agricultural experts and not only politicians and administrators would speak at Party congresses, when the congresses would summarize the experience gained and elaborate economic programs. And this day has come. The last congress afforded striking

*Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duehring*, London, p. 311.

*V. I. Lenin, *Speech in Reply to the Debate on the Report on the Food Tax at the All-Russian Conference of the RCP(B)*, May 27, 1921.

confirmation of this. It was addressed by a miner, by mechanics, a tractor-driver, steel-founders, collective farmers, scientists, engineers, designers and economists — men of profound knowledge and skill. The documents of the Congress contain a theoretical summation of the experience of millions of people.

Less than fifty years ago our Party concentrated on a political revolution; the revolution accomplished, it directed the building of the new society and now, heading communist construction, it is clearing the way for revolutionary changes in the productive forces, perfecting the socialist production relations.

Lenin once said with pride that the Russian words "Soviet" and "Bolshevik" were known everywhere and everywhere pronounced in the same way. Later, the concept "five-year plan" became known to the world, and today the word "spùtnik," symbolizing the scientific and technical achievements of socialism, has found its way into all languages; it shows that the revolutionary energy of the Communists is now concentrated on conquering nature, on expanding the economy, science and technology, and all for a noble purpose — all-round satisfaction of man's needs.

When society consciously, under the leadership of the Party, engages in reconstruction on such a vast scale, the role of theory, which is called upon to illumine the path to the future, grows immeasurably. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory enables the Party to respond to the needs of social development, to formulate a correct program of practical activity. This theory scientifically substantiates the practical measures taken by the Party and is a guide to action; it is revolutionary by nature. "Theory," Lenin wrote, "is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement."*

No theory can foresee in minute detail all that life and practice yield. With all his respect for what is contained in books, Lenin was always delighted whenever the old stereotyped text-book presentation of problems was replaced by a practical presentation drawn from the experience of the revolutionary movement. The founders of Marxism demonstrated the historical inevitability of communism and discovered the general laws of building communism. But they never tried

to anticipate in all detail the forms and methods of the transition to communism. It was only after the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia that Lenin, basing himself on the revolutionary experience, charted a program for building socialism and communism. But this program could not define the transition to communism in detail, because scientific foresight, for which the past provides the necessary material, has nothing in common with wild guessing, with attempts to visualize the future in all its aspects. In carrying out the Leninist general line and ensuring the complete and final victory of socialism, the CPSU has gained much experience. And today the Soviet seven-year plan not only determines the general conditions of the transition to communism, it provides, in addition, a concrete scientific program of communist construction. The theoretical conclusions and propositions contained in Khrushchov's report to the Congress derive from the new experience and are an important step in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

In all, we have in the seven-year plan, in the outlines of the long-term plan which will follow, and in the new theoretical contribution made by the Twenty-First Congress, the ideological and political basis for a new Party program — a program foreshadowing the victory of communism.

Glancing back at the history of Marxist thought and the revolutionary struggle, one cannot but notice the constantly growing role of theory. Marxism is omnipotent because it correctly reflects the requirements of social development. Only under socialism can society directly materialize its theoretical conclusions and constantly draw from its experience new material for theoretical generalizations. Socialist society comes to know itself chiefly through the Party which elaborates a Marxist-Leninist program — a program carried out under the guidance of the Party.

The Leading Role of the Party is Growing

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians are expending considerable effort to prove that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries means restriction of democracy. They extol the so-called "free elections" in bourgeois countries, which, as we know, are usually accompanied by shameful machinations detrimental to the people. But genuine democracy, in addition to holding elections, presupposes the opportunity to influence and control the government, and to have a say in the conduct of

*V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 345-346.

state affairs. Under capitalism the working people do not enjoy such democracy, they acquire it only in socialist society. It is not without reason that the bourgeois propagandists try so hard to discredit the new, socialist democracy; their purpose in doing so is to whitewash the restricted bourgeois democracy.

Social Democratic theorists and the revisionists actively assist the bourgeoisie in this respect. Lenin pointed out that defamation of the vanguard had always been the favorite method of the bourgeoisie. Recent developments show that the stronger the mass revolutionary movement, the more fierce will be the attacks on the Marxist-Leninist parties—the leaders of this movement. By opposing the leading role of the Party and denying the need for an organized working-class vanguard in building socialism, the revisionists perform a great service for the bourgeoisie.

It goes without saying that, like everything on earth, revisionism changes with the passage of time. It differs now from what it was in Bernstein's day. The revisionists are often compelled to embellish and advertise their every word as though it were something of a revelation, a sensation. But it is not difficult to see that this is an imaginary, seeming "novelty," and that its purpose is to cover up the basic element of the ideology of the reformists: worship of spontaneity. Numerous adherents of the Kautsky theory of the gradual evolution of capitalism into socialism, renegades of the Gates type in the United States, who wanted to turn the Party into an educational association, the Yugoslav ideologists for whom any centralized leadership is bureaucracy — all are variations of one and the same thing: worship of spontaneity.

The Yugoslav program, advocating spontaneous development in a predominantly small-scale economy, reduces the political party, which is called upon to head the onward march of society, to the role of just another public organization. The program assigns to the League of Communists the same part in public life as it does to the Socialist League of Working People, the trade unions and the other mass organizations designated as "conscious political forces." As we know, the revisionists in all countries attack first of all the leading role of the Party. The counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary showed how the enemies of the working class utilized the ideological weapon presented to them by the revisionists in order to take to

arms at the opportune moment. Poland experienced not a few supplementary difficulties because of the revisionists who tried to weaken the leading role of the Party.

Marxism-Leninism long ago exposed the social roots of the revisionist concepts. Only people with the outlook of the small shopkeepers, who idealize the fictitious independence of the small owner, could say that the development towards socialism is the result of a mechanical, chaotic combination of the efforts of individuals or groups. Socialism is a highly organized society created by the efforts of millions of people united by a common goal, people who plan their efforts in order to produce the maximum effect. The Communist Party points precisely to this goal of the movement. It organizes the social forces and marches in the van. This is the essence of its leading role.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the revisionist attack on the leading role of the parties was regarded by the world communist movement as an attack against socialism in general, as an attempt to sap the revolutionary forces.

Among the general laws of socialist construction common to all countries taking the socialist road, the Declaration of the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties gives foremost place to "leadership of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party." Krushchov's report to the Twenty-First Congress and the resolutions of the Congress are a new contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist views on the role of the Party. These documents substantiate the growing role of the Party in socialist society. "All the experience gained in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism shows that the role of the Party, as the tried and tested vanguard of the people and the highest form of social organization, increases in the course of the building of communist society," says the Congress resolution.

Now that communism has ceased to be the goal of a distant future but is increasingly becoming a practical reality in the USSR, we see all the more clearly the tremendous work that remains to be done. The unprecedented scale of communist construction alone testifies to the growing role of the guidance of this work, i.e., the role of the Communist Party.

But the Party's place in the new society is determined not only by this factor.

The transition to communism is possible provided all the people consciously partici-

pate in building communism. That is why it is accompanied by the development of democracy, by the involvement of the masses in the management of all national affairs, by all citizens taking part in supervising the economy and culture. In this way the socialist state administration is gradually developing into communist self-government by the people. This can be seen in the extended rights and duties of the public organizations.

In recent times the Soviet trade unions (uniting 52 million factory, office and professional workers) have taken a much bigger part in drawing up economic plans and in the work of the economic and state bodies. Every shop in every factory and every union branch now participates in charting the plans and in tapping new resources in the national economy. About seven million factory and office workers have been elected to the permanent production conferences. These conferences enjoy wide powers and perform many managerial functions in the enterprises. All the obstacles that stood in the way of increasing production on the collective farms have been removed. The Young Communist League (uniting over 18 million young people) now has a bigger say in educating and training the rising generation and in all spheres of state and economic life.

With the advance to communism more and more of the functions now performed by the state agencies will gradually pass to the public organizations. For instance, right now they are taking upon themselves many of the rights and functions (hitherto performed by the state agencies) in the sphere of public health, physical culture and recreation, in maintaining public order, etc. Simultaneously the process of democratization of the state bodies is being accelerated. Some 350,000 (20 per cent) more deputies were elected to the local Soviets during the elections this year. The Soviets are now drawing larger numbers of people into their everyday work. But the more the role of administrative action in the conduct of public affairs declines, the greater is the part played by the people, the greater the democracy and the popular initiative, and, consequently, the more urgent the need properly to combine and direct this activity of tens of millions in the interests of society as a whole. And only a Marxist-Leninist party can give this direction.

The various public organizations unite people according to age, trade, industry and other principles. The Party has no narrow or craft interests. It is the vanguard of the working people as a whole and is guided by their

vital interests, by the requirements of social development. The Party is the supreme form of the revolutionary organization of the working people, strong because of its cohesion, ideology, unity of will and action. For this reason it alone can be the leading core of all the state and public organizations and direct their work towards a single goal.

More than fifty years ago Lenin wrote that the greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses and the broader the movement becomes, the incomparably quicker grows the need for consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work of the Party. And though the conditions now obtaining in the socialist countries cannot be compared with those of which Lenin wrote, the relationship between spontaneity and consciousness disclosed by him, between the extending mass movement and the growing role of leadership, is still valid and is confirmed by everyday practice.

Completely new forms of the mass movement arise under socialism; and these forms acquire added strength thanks to the leadership of the Party. The "spontaneous" initiative of the people searches for and always finds a speedier way of solving the tasks set by the Party and helps to tap the new resources which accelerate the movement. Such "spontaneity" is an expression of the growing consciousness of the people.

The Party relies on the mass initiative; it sees to it that all its organizations are alert to the pulse of life, that they keep sight of the initiative, clear a way for it, propagate it among the masses and work for a general advance. Who "invented" the first communist Saturdays and the socialist emulation? Who "planned" the movement of communist labor teams that has developed in the USSR? This mass initiative, a manifestation of the tremendous revolutionary activity of which the people are capable, is sprouting and spreading because the Party's policy is what can be described as the scientific expression of the interests of the people.

The Communist Party has trained millions of new people, conscious builders of communism. The steady growth of the consciousness and activity of the people is an essential condition for successful communist construction. The fact that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people are activated and are nurtured by the penetration of bourgeois ideology from the capitalist world should not be ignored. These survivals will not die of themselves, and all-out communist construction signifies, therefore, that

the extended scale of economic construction should be accompanied by better communist education of people. Revolutionary practice, the participation of all working people in social production and in the conduct of public affairs, is the best school for educating new people and molding the new character. In this school of life the Party acts as the collective teacher, embodying lofty moral principles and actively overcoming the false concepts and habits inherited from the old society. Persuasion has always been the chief method of Party leadership, and with socialist society growing over into communism, persuasion and education acquire a truly decisive significance.

Khrushchov's report and the Congress resolutions charted the general strategic line, the basic tasks for a definite period. The Party transmits communist ideas to the masses in the shape of the concrete plans for building communism. Fulfilment of these plans depends largely on the political and organizational work of the Party branches in the factories, on construction sites, on the collective and state farms and in the scientific institutions. Now, with the leadership of the economy transferred to the economic regions, the Party organizations have new opportunities for displaying their initiative. The role and responsibility of the local Party committees and branches are greater. Matters formerly decided only by the central bodies are now decided on the spot. Valuable suggestions, which previously "ascended" from one office to another, are now taken up without delay.

Delegates were able to tell the Congress that many local organizations had reconstructed their enterprises, extended housing construction and improved urban utilities by using local resources and relying on local initiative. Instructive in this respect is the experience of the Party branches in factories in the Chelyabinsk Economic Region. During the discussion of the draft seven-year plan at the enterprises the workers made suggestions not only of local but also of national importance. On the basis of these suggestions the Economic Council worked out measures aimed at increasing the output of pig iron, steel and rolled metal by more than 50 per cent by extending, reconstructing and modernizing the existing plants, without building new ones. These measures were approved by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Government, and are now being put into practice. After the Twenty-First Congress the Party branch in the Ordjonikidze plant in

Moscow (assembling automatic lines) tapped internal resources which enabled the branch to say that it is possible to fulfil the 1959 plan by December 22, assemble one automatic line in excess of plan, raise labor productivity by 5.7 per cent compared with the previous year and save an extra million rubles by lowering costs of production. Never before have the Party branches displayed such initiative and taken so many bold measures as now.

The increased role of the Party as a whole and of each branch in particular does not imply restriction of the functions of the other public bodies. On the contrary, these functions are becoming more varied. The Party has resolutely denounced the practice of needless patronage and tutelage of Party committees in the work of the Soviets, and also the practice of issuing orders to the trade unions and the other mass organizations. The decisions of the Central Committee concerning the Party's leadership of the Soviets and the trade unions, adopted after the Twentieth Congress, outlined the duty of the Party committees to render daily help to the public and state organizations in performing their functions, to encourage and develop in every way their independent action and initiative and to reinforce them with cadres. Practice shows that the Party's leadership is being carried out precisely in this direction.

Tutelage and taking over the functions of other organizations are alien to Party leadership, which can be compared to a conductor who merges the tunes of the various instruments into a harmonious sound. What does the increasing role of the Party as leader imply? It presupposes deeper consciousness, better organization in all aspects of the life of socialist society, large-scale educational work, constant perfecting of methods of Party leadership, making it more skilled, more effective and strengthening the Party's contact with the masses.

The Party and the People Are United

The Twenty-First Congress was a manifestation of the unity of the Party and the people; it showed how this unity is growing in the process of communist construction. With every justification the delegates declared that they considered themselves representatives not only of the Party organizations but also of the entire people. And in reality, being the vanguard of the working class and the consistent exponent of its vital interests, the CPSU is the party of the entire people.

The fact that there are no longer any exploiting classes in the Soviet Union and that the moral and political unity of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia has grown tremendously, cannot but influence inner-Party life as well as the methods of work and the ties of the Party with the masses.

The composition of the CPSU fully reflects the structure of socialist society and the far-reaching changes taking place in it. The Party numbers 8.2 million members and candidate members — workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. Among the people admitted to the Party about two-thirds are directly engaged in production; these are advanced workers from the factories, collective farms and construction sites. The delegates to the Twenty-First Congress included 399 industrial workers and collective farmers. Their speeches showed how they have developed, how under socialism workers and collective farmers become state figures and how their outlook broadens. The increase in the number of Party members with higher and secondary education reflects the cultural strides made by the country. The CPSU has in its ranks over 2.3 million experts: men and women working in the various branches of the national economy. It is interesting to recall that in 1922 the Party had less than 4,000 members with a higher education. The multinational character of the Soviet Union is also reflected in the composition of the Party. Communists are to be found in every nationality in the country. The delegates to the Twenty-First Congress represented 52 nationalities.

The Party assimilates the best representatives of the people, and though it is most careful in admitting new members — rejecting those who do not as yet comply with the requirements made on Communists — its ranks are growing steadily. In the three years since the Twentieth Congress membership has increased by more than one million.

It is easy to understand that with the growth of communist consciousness among the entire people, with the mass labor exploits, the demands made on the Communists, especially on the leading Party functionaries, become greater and the role that every Party member must play broadens considerably. The resolution of the Twenty-First Congress points out that everything should be done to promote young people to responsible posts, young men and women who are well-trained and principled, who have a feeling for the new, who will give all their strength and

knowledge for the benefit of the people, impart Bolshevik zeal and be implacable in respect to shortcomings. The speeches made at the Congress strikingly testified to the development in recent years of such important qualities in leading cadres as a concrete approach to every issue, deeper knowledge of life and close contact with the masses.

The promotion of new people and the growth of the activity of all Communists are furthered by the big changes that have taken place in the Party organizations since the Twentieth Congress. The return to the Leninist standards of Party life has created an atmosphere in which high demands are made on all members, an atmosphere of principled criticism and greater activity by the Party organizations. Many new forms of work have appeared, reflecting the democratization of inner-Party life and the further strengthening of the Party's contacts with the masses. The number of functionaries at all levels has been greatly reduced; the political departments in railway transport and in some other industries and the system of the Party Central Committee representatives at the enterprises have been abolished. The reduction has furthered the activity of the members of the Party committees, has led to the appearance of instructors (not full-time), to such new forms as that of forming from among the activists economic and technical councils in many of the district Party committees, and to other forms of greater activity by the Party members. Approximately one-sixth of all Party members function as members of the Party committees (secretaries, committee members and group organizers).

Continuing the line of the Twentieth Congress the Twenty-First Congress reaffirmed the significance of consistent inner-Party democracy and of criticism and self-criticism as conditions for improving the organizational work and rallying the masses for the tasks of communist construction.

This popular character of the Party finds increasing manifestation in its methods of leadership. Nationwide discussions of vital questions, before decisions are taken, have become usual. The reorganization of industry, for example, was discussed by more than 40 million people, while some 50 million took part in discussing the reorganization of the machine and tractor stations; the draft reform of public education was discussed by 25 million in four republics alone (the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Lithuania). Leading workers and specialists in the various branches of the economy, cul-

ture and science are invited to Central Committee plenary meetings and conferences at which their views are heard and taken into consideration. Party functionaries spend most of their time in the factories, pits, construction sites and on the collective farms where they carry on their organizational and educational work.

One has only to ponder over some of the facts mentioned at the Twenty-First Congress in order to understand the process of creative interaction between the initiative from below and the top leadership. The December 1958 plenum of the Central Committee reported to the people on what had been done to develop agriculture during the previous five years. The plenary meeting criticized many shortcomings and outlined the main tasks for increasing agricultural output. However, the nationwide discussion of the decisions adopted by this meeting revealed new potentialities. Many regions and territories undertook to double and even treble the output of meat within a year. In proportion as larger numbers of collective farmers are drawn into the tapping of reserves, it becomes clear that even the new pledges do not fully reflect the increased potentialities of socialist farming.

But the most striking indication of the close interaction between the leadership and the masses is the seven-year plan. Elaboration of the plan began in the factories, on the construction sites and on the collective farms and was continued in the economic councils and in the planning bodies. This made it possible to take into account the numerous suggestions and to give them reflection in the plan. After this the Central Committee submitted the target figures to a nationwide discussion in which over 70 million people took part. Among the hundreds of thousands of suggestions made many were of national importance. Some were taken into account right away, while others were passed on to the planning bodies. The results of this truly nationwide activity were examined at the Twenty-First Congress.

The Congress engendered a new upsurge among the masses. It had hardly ended when reports began to come in from all parts of the country telling of the new obligations undertaken by the working people, of the new suggestions which guarantee that the seven-year plan will be fulfilled ahead of schedule. For instance, agricultural workers in the Ukraine, after discussing the results of the Congress, pledged to complete the seven-year plan in five years.

Now social relationships are developing in an atmosphere where communist construction becomes the vital concern of all the people, of every conscious man and woman, when the Party's work assumes the character of the supreme form of activity by the people. This is how the Marxist-Leninist theses on the Party's duty to teach the masses and to learn from them, on democratic centralism as the sole principle which combines centralized leadership with mass initiative and independent action, appear in the new conditions.

This nationwide support makes the Party particularly strong. Never was the Party so solidly united as it is now; its roots are embedded in the moral and political unity of Soviet society, and that unity is strengthened by the Party's consistent policy and its uncompromising attitude to bourgeois ideology. Gone are the days when the Party had to effect social changes by breaking the resistance of the class enemies and their agents—the Trotskyites, Right-wing opportunists, bourgeois nationalists and others. Since there are no exploiting classes in the USSR, there is no class basis for deviations within the Party. This does not imply, however, that the Party is guaranteed against penetration by elements infected with bourgeois ideology. The elimination of class contradictions in society does not mean the disappearance of contradictions in general, including contradictions in the Party. Contradictions between the old and conservative and the new and progressive are inevitable. Inevitable, too, is the struggle against the conservative, backward elements divorced from life, who are incapable of discerning the new progressive sprouts and of nurturing them. The CPSU defeated the group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Bulganin and Shepilov, which opposed the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and took the road of factional and anti-Party activity in an attempt to turn the Party back to methods of work which had been condemned. The exposure of these sectarians, divorced from the life of the Party and the country, reminds us once more that needed for the implementation of the Party's general line is a principled struggle against revisionism and opportunism of all kinds, intolerance of arid dogmatism which signifies die-hard conservative thinking. It is noteworthy that the masses regarded the Party's struggle against the attempt to divert it from the Leninist path not as an internal Party affair but as their vital concern. They rallied closer

around the Party and began to carry out its general line more actively.

The popular character of the Party is manifested in the care it displays for the people in the whole of its policy. The people wholeheartedly support this policy; they see in the Party leadership the source of their strength, the guarantee of new and bigger successes along the path indicated by the Twenty-First Congress. The path is clear, and the time is not far distant when the socialist world will surpass the capitalist world in volume of production, with the Soviet Union outstripping the United States and the other

leading capitalist countries in per capita production. Concepts such as the material-technical base of communism, the merging of the two forms of property, state and collective-farm, have acquired concrete meaning.

Much still remains to be done. But a great goal begets great forces. The enthusiasm displayed by the people of the Soviet Union enabled the Twenty-First Congress to declare: "The people as a whole have unanimously approved the target figures, have hailed the seven-year plan as their vital concern and have declared their firm resolve to reach and surpass its assignments."

Economic Foundations of the Peaceful Policy of the Socialist Countries

Viliam Siroky

PEOPLE all over the world are calling for an end to the detested cold war, for the removal of the danger of nuclear war. They are demanding the universal prohibition of nuclear weapons, a reduction in armaments, and are urging all countries consistently to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence. Two basic policies exist in relation to these vitally important questions: there is, on the one hand, the consistent foreign policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries—a policy which expresses the interests of all people—and, on the other, the imperialist "position of strength" and "brinkmanship" policy, which runs counter to the interests of the people.

* * *

The economic basis of the socialist system of society determines its consistent peace policy.

In socialist society private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished; the means of production are public property; relations of comradely co-operation have been established among people; the product of labor belongs to the working people and social production generally is carried on for the purpose of satisfying their needs. The policy of the socialist countries is the direct reflection of the interests and will of the working people.

The socialist camp acts as standard-bearer in the fight for peace, champion of friendship and co-operation among the nations. With the growth of the political and economic might of the socialist world system, conditions have been created for ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems.

The economic progress of the socialist countries has radically changed the balance of forces between the two systems. Industrial output in the socialist world increased five-fold in 1958 as compared with 1937. In the Soviet Union it had risen 36-fold as compared with 1913.

Imperialist propaganda, unable to deny these obvious facts, is doing its best at least to distort the main purport of the unparalleled tempo of the economic advance of the socialist countries and to "prove" that they are pursuing military aims. It stands to reason that as long as the international imperialist forces continue their aggressive policy and increase allocations for the arms drive, the socialist countries, in the interests of their security, in the interests of the freedom and independence of the peoples and of world peace, will be compelled to strengthen their defensive capacity. But this does not interfere with the basic aim of the socialist economy, which is to secure the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing needs of the whole of society. This is

proved by the economic advance of the socialist countries. In Czechoslovakia, for example, which even before the war was notable among the capitalist countries for its relatively high standard of living, per capita consumption in 1957 rose by nearly 60 per cent as compared with 1937 and by 37 per cent as compared with 1953. The six successive reductions in state retail prices since 1953 have played a big part in raising the living standard. As a result of the price reductions in March this year, the population will benefit to the amount of 2.3 billion crowns.

For the socialist countries, in contrast to the imperialist states where armament production is a basic source of superprofits, armaments are only a burden. In view of the aggressive policy pursued by the Western powers, the socialist countries are compelled to maintain strong armed forces. But they are, as far as possible, reducing them by unilateral action. The Warsaw Treaty member-states reduced their armed forces by 2,896,000 men between 1955 and 1958. In the two years 1956-58, the USSR's military expenditures dropped from 18 to about 15 per cent of the budget.

The socialist countries, on the basis of their great achievements, are now drawing up new and impressive plans for their economic development. These plans are permeated with deep concern for man, with the desire to improve his well-being. A major task of the Soviet seven-year plan is to secure a further rise in the material and cultural level of the population. Personal consumption will increase by 60-63 per cent, real incomes of industrial and office workers will rise by an average of 40 per cent and those of collective farmers by at least 40 per cent. Within the next few years, it is planned to abolish taxation. The plan provides for large-scale housing construction—15 million new flats in towns and workers' settlements and seven million houses in rural localities. The Soviet Union will gradually introduce the shortest workday and the shortest working week in the world without reduction in wages; in fact wages will rise substantially.

In Czechoslovakia the XIth Congress of the Communist Party has sighted the targets for a 45 per cent rise in consumption by 1965 as compared with 1957, and hopes to solve the housing problem by 1970. The German Democratic Republic plans to secure a further increase in consumption of basic foodstuffs and in output of manufactured

goods and at surpassing, within a few years, per capita consumption in West Germany.

It goes without saying that these tasks can be fulfilled only in conditions of peace, and the socialist countries are working to preserve and consolidate world peace. "A state which undertakes a gigantic program of building new factories, mills, power stations, mines and other enterprises," said Khrushchov in his report to the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, "which allocates nearly 400 billion roubles for housing and public building, and sets the task of substantially raising the living standard of its people—that state wants peace, not war."

The persistent efforts made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to outlaw nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for all time, to use atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes, to develop science and technology for the well-being of man, to substantially reduce arms and employ the funds so released to develop civilian production and to aid other peoples—follow logically from the basic tasks and aims of the socialist countries and reflect their real interests and requirements.

* * *

The abolition of private ownership of the means of production in the socialist countries has led to a change in the class structure of society; in this society there are no exploiters or exploited. In the Soviet Union there are the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia closely allied with them. No class or section in the Soviet Union is interested in war.

As a result of the radical changes in the social structure of the people's democratic states, power is in the hands of the working people. The policy of these states is not determined by the interests of a financial oligarchy or by landlords, but exclusively by those of the working people. The working class, the laboring peasantry and the intelligentsia are vitally interested in preserving and consolidating peace, in the peaceful development of society.

The communist and workers' parties are the most consistent fighters for the working people. These parties are guided by Marxism-Leninism—the science of the development of human society. Their policy is based on a profound study and conscious use of the laws of social development in accordance with the will and interests of the working people of the world. That is why the leading role of the communist and workers' parties in the social-

ist countries is the guarantee of their consistent home and foreign policy, which is aimed at peaceful construction, consolidating peace and friendship among peoples.

The reverse is taking place in the imperialist countries where the monopoly bourgeoisie is the dominant force in society. Its economic might and its policy are based on expansion, on profit and exploitation.

This is clear from the example of the USA—the most powerful capitalist state, which plays the leading role in the present-day politics of international imperialism. It is no secret that the U.S. economy recovered from the effects of the 1929-33 crisis only when blood began to flow on the fronts of the Second World War. Industries which had stagnated in peacetime developed rapidly during the war, and the war brought the American monopolies profits on a scale undreamed of in the past.

After the war the U.S. monopolies became certain that peace offered them no advantages. They made sure of their superprofits by engineering an artificial "prosperity," i.e., militarization of the economy. In 1949, when the second postwar recession set in, a way out was found in preparing and unleashing the aggressive Korean war. And this war, with all its horrors, became the main source of the rapidly swelling monopoly profits.

In an article (Nov. 1955) aptly entitled "The Armed Forces—America's Biggest Business," the *U.S. News & World Report* cited details to the effect that the weapons, equipment and property belonging to the army were valued at nearly half of the total investment in private industrial enterprises.

The U.S. economy is highly militarized. The share of war production in the gross output of the basic heavy industries rose to 39 per cent between 1950-54. War production is now the chief source of profit for the monopolies; arms make up the bulk of the export trade; delivery of arms is the main form of "aid" to other countries; drawing peoples into aggressive blocs is now the recognized way of subjugating them.

There is, then, nothing surprising in the fact that the U.S. imperialists are endeavoring to prevent a new wave of the crisis which began in 1957 by further militarizing the economy and by military provocations. The oil monopolies exert considerable influence on this policy. In 1957 the USA invested in oil industries abroad, 36 per cent of its direct long-term foreign investments, while the profits of the oil monopolies amounted to about one-half of the total profits from these

investments. That is why the American oil monopolies are so interested in the Middle East and in the Far East. In the winter of 1958 they plotted to restore the colonial regime in Indonesia. In July 1958 the USA, together with Great Britain, perpetrated an act of aggression against the peoples of the Middle East with the object of re-establishing their domination there. And, before the adventurist campaign against the Arab countries had ended, the USA resorted to another provocation by entering upon aggressive activities against the Chinese People's Republic in the Taiwan Straits.

U.S. leaders are now turning into reality the concept of so-called local or restricted wars which would, on the one hand, justify their speeding up the arms race and and serve as a good source of profits, and, on the other, pave the way for unleashing another world war.

Behind Dulles's "brinkmanship" lies the thirst of the U.S. monopolies for superprofits. This unrestrained drive by a handful of monopolies has led to a situation in which there is a real danger of atomic war with all its terrible consequences—wholesale annihilation of people and incalculable devastation. This situation calls for the utmost vigilance on the part of all in regard to the policy pursued by the international imperialist forces, to all their designs.

* * *

The victory won by the working class has created the conditions for completely new relationships between the socialist countries. With the abolition of bourgeois rule, the causes and the sources of all that divided these countries in the past have also disappeared.

The socialist states base their relationships on the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual respect and mutual aid. Led by the communist and workers' parties, these countries are working to get rid of the discrepancies in the levels of the economy and culture.

The basic conditions for the fusion of the countries into a single strong socialist camp are: their common road to socialism, the single class base on which their social and economic system and state power are founded, mutual aid and support, identity of interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism, the single Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The unity and the steadily growing co-operation of the socialist countries is an ob-

jective necessity deriving from the very essence of the socialist system. No matter what the revisionists say, socialism cannot be built in isolation from the other fraternal socialist countries, in isolation from the mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union—the first socialist power. Fraternal co-operation and mutual aid between the socialist countries reflect the indissoluble link between their national and international interests. It is this that enables each country to develop its productive forces to the utmost and, simultaneously, those of the socialist camp as a whole.

The possibility of combining the productive efforts of the socialist countries is revealed most clearly in the gradual application of new, higher forms of co-operation—specialization and co-ordination of production—forms based on the systematic and purposeful international socialist division of labor. These forms enable the socialist countries to utilize the advantages of the socialist system, to utilize their own resources to greater purpose, to develop more rapidly their productive forces in conformity with the economic and other conditions of each country, to accelerate the tempo of building the new, socialist society, and to raise the standard of living.

The relations between the socialist countries, naturally, greatly influence the people in the capitalist countries. By their example the socialist countries have proved that socialism abolishes the age-old strife among the peoples and establishes sincere fraternal co-operation among them in the interests of their well-being, in the interests of peace.

Capitalist social relationships, founded upon the exploitation of man by man, inevitably engender class and national oppression, discord among the peoples and their enslavement. Competition among the monopolies, their rivalry for spheres of influence and markets, their striving to plunder and attack the weak and to maintain or consolidate their domination—these are the sources of continuous conflicts, international tension and aggressive wars.

Developments in Germany demonstrate the profound difference between the policy pursued by the socialist countries and that of the capitalist countries. The German Democratic Republic, which abolished the monopolies and the sources of militarism, has firmly taken the socialist path and is now a factor for peace, security, co-operation and friendship in Europe. In the German Federal Republic, on the contrary, power is held by those same forces of monopoly capital which held

sway in the past, forces notorious for their thirst for new markets, their adventurist policy and, in particular, their traditional militarist forms of expansion. The ruling circles in West Germany have taken the path of militarism and revenge, the path of expansion and of the enslavement of other countries. To further their plans the Bonn rulers have decided to equip their army with atomic and rocket weapons. It is not fortuitous that West Germany is now coming forward as the sworn enemy of a peaceful solution of international issues, the main obstacle to security and peaceful co-existence in Europe. The Federal Republic—the state of the German monopolists—has become a source of tension, an atomic menace in Europe.

Western propaganda is extolling the varied forms of integration and, in particular, “supranational” co-operation. The facts show, however, that any of these forms, be it the so-called “common market” or something similar, can only result in the further consolidation of the stronger and the ruin of the weaker countries. The various organizations in Western Europe are evidence of this. As the days go by it becomes clearer that the West German monopolies are turning these organizations into an instrument for expansion and the economic subordination of Western Europe, into a weapon for the implementation of their militarist and aggressive designs.

The “right of the strong,” which prevails in the relations between the capitalist states, is exercised with even greater brutality in matters affecting the economically underdeveloped countries. Imperialism’s colonial policy is a striking reflection of these relations. The entire history of colonialism is a history of wars and enslavement of the populations of whole continents. In our days the colonial system is disintegrating under the irresistible pressure of the peoples advancing to freedom and independence. Despite the efforts of some capitalist powers, the USA in particular, to bring colonialism “up-to-date,” its essence has not changed. The imperialist powers are doing their utmost to preserve, strengthen and expand their colonial domination. This gives rise to the danger of new wars. The wars prosecuted by them since 1945 have been wars to maintain or consolidate imperialist colonial rule.

The socialist states, on the contrary, are irreconcilable opponents of colonialism and stand foursquare on the side of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. It is an indisputable fact that it is precisely

the consistent anti-colonial and peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that cools the ardor of the imperialist "hotheads."

For all practical purposes the capitalist states continue to pursue their former colonial policy towards the now independent but economically backward countries. The imperialist powers, chiefly the USA, pose as philanthropists "generously" endowing those poorer than themselves. The facts, however, prove the opposite. The imperialists have devised a whole system of ways and means of exploiting the underdeveloped countries. The profits flowing into their pockets surpass by far the amount of their "aid" to these countries. Price policy will serve as an example. Prices for the raw materials bought from these countries are systematically reduced, while the prices for the goods exported from the capitalist states continue to rise. Chile, for example, was obliged to export three times more copper (or seven times as much saltpeter) in 1956 as compared with 1950 to cover the same quantity of imports.

This price policy and the profits derived from direct capital investments, not to mention other forms of exploitation, enable the imperialist states to net about 7-8.5 billion U.S. dollars yearly from the underdeveloped countries. This sum is equal to about one-quarter of the value of the exports of all the underdeveloped countries for 1957, and is nearly double the annual foreign private and state investments.

Far from being interested in putting an end to the economic backwardness of these countries, the capitalist countries hinder them from developing their own industry. According to a UN survey for 1956, per capita production in the economically underdeveloped areas of the world rose only six per cent as compared with the prewar level, whereas in the industrially developed areas of the capitalist world it increased by 47 per cent.

* * *

The advance of the socialist countries is founded on economic planning. Socialism has abolished the capitalist anarchy of production and put an end to economic crises. Planning ensures the proportional development of the economy. Inasmuch as production is designed to satisfy the growing needs of the population, the high rates of economic development do not give rise to marketing difficulties. Never once in the 41 years of its existence, in the course of which industrial

output has increased many times over, has the Soviet Union had a marketing problem.

Although industrial production marked time in Czechoslovakia under capitalism, the country had difficulty in disposing of its goods. Under socialism even a three-fold increase in output has caused no difficulties of this kind.

The socialist countries have the territory and resources they require. They do not want other people's wealth, nor are they interested in seizing markets or sources of raw material. Geological research in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries has revealed inexhaustible raw material deposits.

The economic laws of socialism and the conditions of its development enable the socialist countries to concentrate on utilizing their own resources to the fullest extent, on peaceful co-operation with other countries.

Things are otherwise in the imperialist world. Economic development under capitalism is spontaneous and there is anarchy of production. The laws of capitalist economics inevitably make for overproduction and cyclical crises. How to expand markets has always been a basic problem of capitalist economy; and the struggle for markets and for a re-division of the world has been one of the major causes of imperialist wars. The considerable shrinking of the capitalist world market after the Second World War impelled the U.S. monopolists to seek for more effective forms of economic expansion. One of these is their so-called aid to other states. Some U.S. industries discovered this to be the best way to dispose of their goods.

Whereas during the early postwar years the USA regarded its "aid" to other countries as being mainly economic, later, in keeping with the militarization of the economy, it took on an openly military character. Of the sums assigned for "aid" in the 1958-59 fiscal year, 46 per cent goes toward services and deliveries of military equipment, 23 per cent for "defense" purposes, only 12 per cent for what is more or less economic aid and 5 per cent for technical aid. The remaining 14 per cent makes up the President's special fund from which allocations are made for special programs, in particular for subversion in the socialist countries.

"Aid" granted through the various international organizations and, in part, through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development does not, in fact, differ from that given by the United States and the other imperialist powers. At the Delhi conference held by this Bank and the International Mone-

tary Fund in October 1958, the U.S., West German and British representatives advanced a program for intensified exploitation of the underdeveloped countries; they insisted that these countries should raise no obstacles to the penetration of foreign capital and should relinquish the plans for developing their state-owned industries, etc.

U.S. "aid" is a weapon for the exploitation and the colonial enslavement of other countries, their subordination to the aggressive designs of American imperialism in the interests of securing superprofits and carrying out the plans of the American monopolies for world domination.

American "aid" to other countries is a combination of various methods of economic, political and military pressure. The U.S. obtains fabulous profits from deliveries of war materials. The sale of obsolete arms, too, is highly profitable and simultaneously accelerates the rate of modernizing its own armed forces. Appropriate agreements create advantageous conditions for the monopolies which sell their manufactured goods at high prices and buy raw materials at low prices. Economic, financial and political conditions narrow down the opportunities for the industrialization of the country that receives the "aid," force it to maintain restrictions on the export of certain goods to the socialist countries and subordinate its economy to the American monopolies. Agreements for military and technical aid are, as a rule, linked up with military treaties envisaging bases for the aggressive blocs established under U.S. aegis.

The system of aggressive pacts and military bases, which embraces many countries and serves the American imperialists as a means for conducting their "brinkmanship" policy, shows that the constant danger of aggressive war is inherent in the very nature of imperialism.

* * *

The progress of the socialist world system shows that the victory of socialism is simultaneously the victory of peace over war. The stronger the forces of socialism the more difficult will it be for the imperialists to conduct their aggressive policy and the harder will it be for them to unleash war. This became particularly evident with the emergence of the socialist camp after the Second World War.

The might of the socialist camp is an insurmountable obstacle to the aggressive designs of the imperialists. The socialist countries now occupy 26 per cent of the earth's

surface, while their population numbers more than a third of mankind. They already produce over a third of the world industrial output. Thanks to the steady economic advance, the rapid technical and scientific progress in the Soviet Union, the socialist camp has everything it needs to crush any aggressor. A war against the socialist countries can only lead the imperialists to their destruction.

The steady growth of the socialist world system is of consequence not only for the socialist countries; its impact is felt on the whole development of mankind. As long as imperialist market laws operated throughout the world, their effects, including wars, inevitably affected the destinies of the peoples. The rise of the socialist world market means that the world economy is more and more influenced by another, qualitatively different, trend leading to relations of equality and to growing co-operation among the peoples.

The sphere of action and the influence of the capitalist system are declining, while the influence of the socialist system is steadily growing. Economic relations in the imperialist system, in which the law of unequal development operates, serve the purpose of obtaining superprofits by the big imperialist monopolies. But these monopoly interests run counter to the economic development of the smaller capitalist countries. These deep-going inner contradictions substantially weaken the capitalist system. But the socialist system is based on the harmonious development of all countries, on the community of the general and particular interests of each country.

The socialist countries are helping the free and politically independent countries which have arisen on the territories of the former colonies and are now striving to end their economic dependence upon the imperialists. Now, as Comrade Khrushchov said in his report to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, "These countries, although they do not belong to the socialist world system, can draw on its achievements to build up an independent national economy and to raise the living standard of their peoples."

The new independent states in Asia and Africa, by co-operating with the socialist countries, can free themselves of economic dependence on the imperialists. Firm ties with the socialist countries, whose economies are not subject to cyclical crises and are developing along planned lines, introduce an element of stability and equilibrium into the economies of the free African and Asian countries. It is characteristic that the economically

underdeveloped countries trading in a big way with the socialist states are less affected by the crisis than the other countries.

Aid is rendered to the underdeveloped countries without any military or political strings, and with strict observance of the principle of noninterference in their internal affairs. It furthers the development of the countries receiving the aid, facilitates the utilization of their natural resources and the training of experts and technicians. The influence exerted by the socialist world system strengthens peaceful relations among the nations. It goes without saying that this influence is not confined to the economic sphere. The existence of the powerful socialist camp and its fraternal help is, for the underdeveloped countries, a reliable guarantee of freedom and independence, a force which, as practice has repeatedly shown, is capable of foiling the aggressive designs of the imperialists.

Friendly relations with the socialist camp are important not only to the countries which have thrown off the colonial yoke, but also to the capitalist states dependent on the big imperialist powers, first and foremost the United States.

Thus the growing might of the socialist world system and its influence strengthen the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces, open to the peoples the way to freedom, help them to free themselves from humiliating subordination to and dependence on imperialism, abolish the remnants of colonialism and undermine the system of aggressive blocs. Co-operation with the socialist countries is a sure guarantee of independence, security and peace for all peoples.

The consistent peace policy of the socialist camp reflects the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. And despite the smear campaign launched by imperialist propaganda this policy is meeting with the sympathy and the active support of the working people everywhere.

* * *

The present period in the history of human society, the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism, will inevitably culminate in the victory of socialism throughout the world.

The socialist states, strictly adhering to the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, consider it inadmissible to impose socialism on other peoples and have never sought to achieve the victory of socialism on a world scale through war.

The socialist countries have no desire for war with capitalist countries, and not because they fear them. There can be no doubt that if the imperialist states unleash war against the socialist countries they will only sound the knell of imperialism.

Possessing tremendous vitality, the socialist states are determined to win the battle with imperialism in peaceful economic competition and not by resort to arms. We are now in the era when the victory of socialism in economic competition with capitalism is not a distant dream, but the concrete and immediate task of our generation, a task that is incorporated in the long-term plans of the socialist countries.

In this all-out socialist offensive the Soviet people are the decisive force. Under the leadership of the Communist Party they have begun work on the majestic seven-year plan, a plan reflecting the inexhaustible force of Marxist-Leninist ideas and testifying to the ability of these ideas to mobilize the energy of hundreds of millions of people for the purpose of transforming the world and building communist society. Fulfilment of the seven-year plan will be a decisive step towards accomplishing the basic economic task of the USSR—to overtake and surpass the more developed capitalist countries in per capita industrial output in a historically brief space of time.

The Soviet seven-year plan is the basis for the rapid development of the entire socialist camp. The strides now being made by the Chinese People's Republic will enable it to outstrip Great Britain in a relatively brief period in the volume of basic industrial output. By 1965 Czechoslovakia will have surpassed the present level of per capita output of pig iron, coal, steel, cement and certain other items not only of Great Britain and West Germany but also the USA. By 1965 the Polish People's Republic will have increased industrial output by 80 per cent as compared with 1958. The initiative displayed by the popular masses led by the Communist Party has enabled the People's Republic of Bulgaria to set itself the task of completing the third five-year plan in three or four years. The other socialist countries, too, are making rapid economic progress.

As a result of the further expansion of their productive forces the socialist countries will, when the Soviet seven-year plan targets have been reached and surpassed, account for more than half the world industrial output. Thus the superiority of the socialist world over the capitalist world in material produc-

tion, i.e., in the most important sphere of human activity, will have been ensured

The magnificent growth in the productive power of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist countries will decisively tip the balance of forces on the international arena in favor of peace, with the result that new and even more favorable conditions will arise for preventing a third world war.

An analysis of the correlation of world forces led the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU to draw the conclusion that war is not now inevitable, while the XXIst Congress reaffirmed this conclusion, the soundness of which is confirmed by the tremendous forces capable of rebuffing the imperialist aggressors and of defeating them should they start a world war. What is more, the XXIst Congress showed a realistic way to eliminate wars as a means of solving international issues, showed how to eliminate world war from the life of society even before the victory of socialism on a world scale. There can be no doubt that the victory of the Soviet Union in the economic competition with the USA, and the triumph of the socialist world system over the capitalist system, will lead to a new balance of forces in the world, to such a growth of the peace-loving forces that "even the most die-hard imperialists will clearly see the futility of starting a war against the socialist camp. Backed by the might of the socialist camp, the peaceful nations will then be able to compel the bellicose imperialist groups to abandon their plans for a new world war" (From N. S. Khrushchov's report to the XXIst Congress of the CPSU).

The prospect of the final, epoch-making victory of socialism in the economic competition with capitalism has become quite clear. The fact that the XXIst Congress received such close attention in the West shows that the ruling groups of capitalists are forced to recognize economic competition as the arena

on which the future of the world will be decided. Not even Western spokesmen can deny the need for peaceful economic competition between socialism and capitalism. Vice-President Nixon, for instance, has pointed out that it is necessary to switch to economic competition instead of competing in preparing for war. It would be highly desirable if this principle were actually reflected in U.S. foreign policy. We would but welcome it if all the capitalist states, particularly the Great Powers, realized that, with the existence of two world systems, peaceful coexistence and competition is the only way to preserve peace.

Mutually advantageous trade relations could be developed on this basis between the socialist countries and the capitalist states. Certain imperialist circles, however, mainly the U.S., in an attempt to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries, have cut trade between the countries of the two systems to the minimum. But experience has shown that trade restrictions cannot retard the expansion of the productive forces in the socialist countries, that, on the contrary, they are detrimental to many capitalist states.

There can be no doubt that if the Western rulers can bring themselves to see things as they really are and remove the obstacles to trade between the socialist and capitalist states, this will help to preserve universal peace and relax international tension.

The socialist states will continue to exert every effort to safeguard world peace, and time will demonstrate to the peoples that socialism, and socialism alone, is capable of securing a really happy life for all. There can be no doubt that the people, inspired by this splendid example, will decide to put an end to capitalism which engenders poverty, oppression and wars, and establish the socialist system, the system of peace, freedom and happiness for all working people.

The Bonn-Paris Axis

WHILE people of good will looked upon the British Prime Minister's visit to Moscow as an event that could contribute to relaxing international tension, "the displeasure provoked by Macmillan's visit," said the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, "was expressed most distinctly in Paris and Bonn."

Shortly after Macmillan's return from Moscow a meeting, the third in the past six months, took place in Paris between Chancellor Adenauer and General de Gaulle. The policy of the two most reactionary governments in Europe, which was co-ordinated at these meetings, is a factor intensifying the war danger in Europe.

The Old Policy

After the First World War French policy in relation to Germany pursued two aims: first, to secure the domination of the French bourgeoisie on the Continent with a subordinate, but not ruined, Germany; and second, to involve Germany in the bloc of victor-powers with a view to turning her into a shock force against the Soviet Republic.

Stresemann, German Foreign Minister, later adroitly used these anti-Soviet plans to loosen the grip on Germany. He was assiduously aided in this by the Americans, British and French, the same French who later entered into a plot with Hitler.*

This policy, of which one of the first results was the 1935 Anglo-German naval agreement, contributed greatly to reviving the might of German imperialism and subsequently led to the Munich betrayal. In 1938, Georges Bonnet, with the approval of circles whose motto was "Better Hitler than the Popular Front," signed a Franco-German declaration with von Ribbentrop which gave Hitler a free hand in Eastern Europe. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the Weygand expedition to the Middle East and the military help rendered Finland testified to the desire of a part of the French bourgeoisie to turn the war against Hitler into a war against the Soviet Union. For reasons which it would take too long to enumerate, this tendency did not, in the long run, prevail.

But the game was merely deferred. The defeat of France permitted the Laval-Pétain group to pursue a policy of converting the

country into a "brilliant second" to Germany. It was with this in view and precisely at that time that the fascist-minded politicians conceived the idea of "Eurafrica."

After the defeat of the fascist coalition, France was entitled to take steps to safeguard her security. It goes without saying that it was a question "not of destroying the German people, but of precautionary measures which France was entitled to take against the reactionary and revenge-seeking elements of the German people, while displaying complete confidence in their, as yet weak, democratic forces" (Maurice Thorez). De Gaulle, however, took a different attitude: he encouraged the resurgence of nationalist elements and again lauded the reactionary concept of establishing an anti-Soviet "Little Europe." Already in 1945, during a visit of inspection through the French Zone of Occupation, he declared in Coblenz: "You have observed, of course, that I speak only of the present and future. There is a purpose in this." The "purpose" was made clear in another speech in Trèves during the same visit: "France is here not to take, she is here to regenerate." The real meaning of this seemingly promising statement became apparent when, at the London Foreign Ministers' Conference in 1947, Bidault, the French Minister, a consistent Gaullist, light-heartedly, and in keeping with directives from Washington, renounced claim to the reparations which Germany was to have paid to Nazi victims. At the same time the French bourgeoisie, weakened by the war, discredited by the collaboration with Hitler and disturbed by the powerful democratic movement of the masses, found "patrons" in the United States and became reconciled to the U.S. taking over leadership of European policy. The United States was directly interested in reviving the economic might and military potential of West Germany. With American aid it has become a separate state, entrusted once again with the role of "bulwark against communism" in Europe. The economic interests of the trans-Atlantic magnates (the desire to obtain huge profits from the vast U.S. capital investments in West German industry, and to dominate the German market) and their political interests (to have a powerful and reliable military base on the Continent) on this occasion coincided. The French bourgeoisie, in gratitude

*See I. Mintz's article entitled "The People Will Not Forget the Lessons of the Past" in *World Marxist Review*, March 1959.

for the subsidies periodically solicited from the United States, helped to implement these plans, and palmed off as French initiative the idea of creating the "black pool" (the European Coal and Steel Community) and the European Defense Community (EDC), although these plans, which envisage the re-establishment of West Germany in its former strength, were manifestly Washington-inspired.

The rebirth of German imperialism could not but alarm the French bourgeoisie, upon whose interests the Rhine industrialists directly encroached. The German capitalists were increasing their exports rapidly, ousting their French and British competitors not only from neighboring European states, but also from the Near East and Latin America. The alarm of the French bourgeoisie was manifest in the rejection of the EDC draft. Undoubtedly de Gaulle, who was not at that time in power, took a definite, although inconspicuous, part in the campaign which ended in the draft falling through. Although opposed to a definite plan for a "European army," the Gaullists did not object to the re-arming of West Germany, and actually favored close military collaboration with it. After the London and Paris agreements had been signed, Chaban-Delmas, Gaullist Defense Minister (now Chairman of the National Assembly), became an avid champion of an "armaments pool" with French, Italian and German participation.

With de Gaulle's advent to power the attitude towards the Federal Republic becomes clearer and more definite. His first official visit was paid to Chancellor Adenauer at Bad-Kreuznach in November last. (In return for the Chancellor's visit to de Gaulle in September 1958.) The first important act of the new French Government in the international arena was to give effect to the Common Market Agreement which has closely linked France and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). What is the explanation for this policy and what are its aims?

Industrial and Financial Agreements

Let us take French Africa. For many years now the French Government has been trying to attract German capital for the exploitation of the riches of Africa. A number of agreements were concluded in the past. The West German industrialists Mannesmann, Thyssen, Krupp and Kloeckner account for 10 per cent of the capital invested in the company exploiting the iron ore deposits in Fort-Gouraud in Mauritania. The Vereinigte Aluminium

Werke participates with Pechiney in the Fria Company in the processing of Guinea bauxites. An Essen concern proposes to collaborate with the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas in mining iron ore in Gabon (Société des mines de fer du Merambo). Many instances could be cited of the increasing penetration of German capital into Africa, including "the area of French influence in North and West Africa," as Hans Guenther Sohl, President of the Administrative Council of the Thyssen concern and Chairman of the German Metallurgical Federation, put it in 1957. The "Franco-German Economic Committee," an official organization, was set up in May 1957, with the object of paving the way for "German participation in the development of Africa." Until recently, however, German capitalists have displayed caution in co-operating with the French, at any rate they had no wish to be their only partners. Up to 1958, for example, there were hardly any German investments in Sahara oil, whereas American and British capital flowed there. Early in 1957, Hermann Abbs, the well-known German financier and economic adviser to Adenauer (he occupied the same post under Hitler), explained the reasons for this attitude to French ministers and industrialists. A true capitalist, he began by saying that "the chief yardstick in investing capital should be profitability and no risk." He then expressed fear as to the political future of the French colonies: "The sooner economic and juridical order inspiring confidence and ensuring stability is established in these countries, the easier it will be to integrate areas requiring development in a common, extensive market." Later, Walter Scheel (German), Chairman of the Overseas Affairs Committee in the European Assembly, declared at a conference on Franco-German relations: "Before embarking upon economic co-operation it is absolutely necessary that we determine our common policy in Africa. Our capital investments depend upon the formulation of such a policy."

With de Gaulle's advent to power, the enforcement of the Common Market agreement and the establishment of the Bonn-Paris axis, these fears, it appears, have vanished. To judge by press reports, after studying developments in the Belgian and French Congo, the participants in a similar Franco-German conference in Bad-Godesberg last March "came to the conclusion that capital investments in Black Africa should no longer be discouraged. They have not, in contrast to last year, made them (i.e., investments—Ed.) dependent upon

a solution of the Algerian problem." According to the same sources, the setting up of a "permanent co-ordinating body"* was also discussed.

Speaking of the Sahara oil, a French newspaper wrote after General de Gaulle's trip to Hassi-Messaoud and Bad-Kreuznach: "It is believed that the new European partners, notably Germans, will help to develop the oil wealth of the Sahara."** True, this is only a beginning, but a decision has already been reached in principle to build a pipe-line from the Sahara to the Rhineland (Karlsruhe). It is also known that there exists a "Eurafrigaz" project envisaging the supply of Hassi-R'Mel (North Africa) gas to a number of Ruhr enterprises.

This "harmony" does not prevent contradictions from either arising or deepening. After Suez the West German exporters tried to step into the shoes of the French and British exporters throughout the Near East. On July 30, 1958, the day following the visit to Bonn by de Couve de Murville, French Foreign Minister, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* said: "Paris has so discredited itself in the Middle East that the French would do better to let others represent them instead of being there themselves. Maybe it is difficult to put this bitter truth before the French diplomat but it should be done in the interests of the West." The Bonn government recently sent an economic mission to Tunis. Thus Franco-German co-operation in certain spheres (two Franco-German groups are delivering equipment to a number of the Aswan Dam installations) is accompanied by fierce rivalry for neighboring markets, by efforts to dislodge the "ally" wherever possible.

Whereas only recently German capitalists were extremely cautious in relation to Africa, the creation of the Common Market has, it turns out, foreshadowed clearly-formulated bank and economic agreements between the financial groups of the two countries. "Agreements have been reached in the iron and steel, chemical and automobile industries," affirmed M. Pelenc,*** former general reporter on the budget on behalf of the Council of the Republic Finance Commission. It is known that the Deutsche Bank and the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas set up, as early as September 1957, the "European Industrial Development Society" (each of the banks owning 50 per cent of the capital) with a view to bringing the "French and German financial

and industrial groups into close association" for the purpose of building industrial enterprises "on the European territory of each of the two countries"; of providing the monopolies of the two countries with "raw materials and power, chiefly from Africa," and, finally, for the "joint exploitation of foreign markets." In 1958 the Rothschild Bank signed an agreement with the German Berliner Handels industrial group in which Belgian and Italian groups participated. "Increasing preference is being shown," wrote an economist, "for combining and sharing markets on the basis of firms investing capital in each other's companies. . . . There are already 120 instances of German capital participating in French companies, one-third of these are industrial enterprises, one-half trading organizations and the remainder banks and insurance companies. Perhaps the best known example of pooling capital and interlocking directorships is provided by Charles Berthiez (of the Fives-Lille trust) and Schiess (Duesseldorf). The joint concern set up by these firms dominates the European heavy machine-building market."*

There is another important aspect to be noted. *Industrial collaboration includes war production.* The plans for an "armaments triangle" (France, the FRG and Italy) are being discussed more or less in secret. In 1957 the experimental technical laboratory in Saint-Louis (Alsace), in which, after the war, a number of German scientists did research on ballistic missiles has, under an agreement concluded between the two governments, been converted into a Franco-German Scientific Institute for Ballistic Research. Upkeep costs are shared by the two governments on a fifty-fifty basis. The Colomb-Béchar (Sahara) rocket-launching site is used by both countries. In 1958 West German Defense Minister Strauss inspected the area. It is even planned to make Colomb-Béchar a testing ground for atomic weapons. Furthermore, as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote on January 6, 1958, "Franco-German tests in Colomb-Béchar will lead in the not-too-distant future to the joint production of tactical rockets." The existence of agreements on the joint manufacture and testing of tactical rockets has been confirmed by other German newspapers, less interested than the French in secrecy on this subject. Some of them assert that the American-designed guided missiles will be manufactured in Europe by a company

*Le Monde, March 3, 1959.

**La Vie Française, December 5, 1958.

***Revue de Paris, January 1959, page 35.

*Economie et Politique, November 1958 (See Michel Hinecker's article), p. 83.

in which Thomson-Houston will represent France and Telefunken—the FRG.

From the facts cited one can conclude that the agreements entered into between the monopolies in both countries lie behind the Franco-German rapprochement. These monopolies do not conceal their hopes of eliminating (read: absorbing), with the aid of the Common Market Agreement, thousands of small and medium enterprises and thousands of peasant households which will not be able to survive the competition into which they will inevitably be drawn. As the *Handelsblatt*, organ of big Ruhr capital, wrote in connection with the agreement concluded between the Dresdener Bank and the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, this is "the first step towards the integration of credit and industrial financing." This policy accordingly directly contributes, on both sides of the Rhine, to the vast concentration of finance and industrial capital. The latest example of this is the re-establishment of Krupp's industrial empire which will now produce up to four million tons of steel annually and several million tons of coal. This example is symbolic. At the end of the war Krupp was sentenced by the Allied Tribunal at Nueremberg to ten years' imprisonment for helping Hitler. It was decided that he was never again to have the opportunity of becoming a "cannon king" and investing capital in the iron and steel and the mining industries. On Adenauer's personal intervention the Allies, the French Government included, agreed not to apply all the de-cartelization provisions and to lift the restrictions which might hamper Krupp.

In their turn the trusts are using their tremendous power to exert pressure on the French and FRG governments, impelling them to pursue a policy in keeping with the interests of the trusts. That the de Gaulle and Adenauer governments are simply the stooges of big capital is no empty phrase.

"General Agreement"

After the meeting with de Gaulle in September 1958, Adenauer shared his impressions at a press conference: "De Gaulle," he said, "is convinced of the importance for Europe and the world of an agreement between Germany and France." He expressed satisfaction that a "general agreement" had been reached. De Gaulle who, before coming to power, was extremely reserved in his attitude to the Rome agreements, told Adenauer that he wished to implement the Common Market Agreement.

After the negotiations in Bad-Kreuznach de Gaulle affirmed that "our two countries, situ-

ated as they are in the heart of Europe, have the same destiny." He, too, expressed satisfaction about "the particular significance of this meeting for the whole world. . . . It demonstrated that co-operation between France and Germany was a natural thing." It would be wrong to regard this as the usual polite exchange by speakers who have just partaken of broiled trout or grilled roe.

Shortly before the Common Market Agreement came into force, France was in a somewhat embarrassed financial situation. Sensing an imminent devaluation, currency and gold owners were exporting their capital. The introduction of free convertibility made the franc still more vulnerable. As one of the de Gaulle newspapers said, "the return to free convertibility without sufficient reserves implies that the Germans will give us guarantees as honest partners."* France's deficit in the European Payments Union exceeded \$484 million. In 1958 West Germany granted France special credits amounting to \$100 million through this organization. In short, the French Finance Minister accompanied de Gaulle to Bad-Kreuznach solely for the purpose of bargaining for credits.

The West German press was most frank on this subject. A "general agreement"? After de Gaulle's first meeting with Adenauer the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* carried a cartoon depicting a mournful Marianne standing before Adenauer. The words "Suez," "Atom Bomb," inscribed on her arms showed the cause of her grief. De Gaulle was depicted as presenting one of her legs—it had become detached from the trunk and had "Algeria" written on it—to Adenauer, the corpulent capitalist in gold cross and chain. The Chancellor comforted the pathetic general: "In case of an accident this can be glued with our marks."

What did de Gaulle promise in exchange for the much needed marks, 250 million of which have already been received from the Adenauer Government? Bonn is interested in having the French Government's political support on Berlin and the re-unification of Germany. The support asked for by Bonn and promised by de Gaulle boils down in effect to French government solidarity with Adenauer's point of view, i.e., to de Gaulle accepting the Adenauer concept of "absorbing" the German Democratic Republic.

The acts of the de Gaulle Government confirm that this is the real content of the Bad-Kreuznach "general agreement." As was the case during his last meeting with Adenauer

*Le Journal du Parlement, January 8, 1959.

in March 1959, de Gaulle is still foursquare with West Germany in its stand on Berlin. He is every bit as intransigent as Adenauer and even more so than Dulles. It was Foreign Minister Couve de Murville, who at the NATO council session in December 1958 insisted on the rejection of the Soviet proposals for Berlin. Three weeks later the French Government expressed its hostility towards the Soviet draft of a peace treaty with Germany, although the draft contained guarantees for the security of Germany's neighbors. A government really concerned with the security of the nation, as a study of this draft shows, would hasten to sign it. It proposes that Germany shall not possess or experiment with nuclear arms, shall have no rocket installations, bomber aircraft or submarines (Article 28); she shall not manufacture or acquire war equipment in excess of the quantities required for her defense (Article 29); Germany shall recognize the existing frontiers and, therefore, relinquish Alsace-Lorraine (Articles 8 and 11); she shall not permit propaganda for revanchism or the revision of frontiers (Articles 17 and 20). Instead of giving his approval and support to this draft, which fully conforms to the interests of France, de Gaulle has aligned himself with Bonn on this question.

Support for Adenauer goes to such lengths that the French Government is prepared to admit the possibility of forcing a passage through to West Berlin. To all appearances it is coolly studying the eventuality of an armed conflict so that West Berlin, in keeping with Adenauer's wishes, shall not become a demilitarized, free city.

The Main Political Course

There is no question of episodic or fortuitous de Gaulle support of Adenauer's policy, it is the *main political course*, the most important manifestation of which is the Common Market. One should not be deceived by appearances: "The purely economic aspect of the agreement (establishing a common market of six Western European countries) should create no illusion. . . . After the failure of the European Defense Community, the Rome agreement should be regarded . . . as a means of establishing a political community which could not be built on a military basis," writes Marcel Pellenc.* That is the point. The Common Market is nothing other than the revival, by different means, of the same European Defense Community policy. Another writer, M. Daniel Willey, having set out the main

reasons by which the initiators of the Common Market are, in his view, guided, adds: "I have left the economic reason to the last as, . . . in spite of all, I hold it to be secondary and subordinate."*

What are the political motives to which this author, who may be regarded as the mouthpiece of the de Gaulle "brain trust," attaches particular importance? In his view a way out must be sought for the young people in the capitalist countries of Europe. "So that it should not be communism, it must be Europe."** But the voice of this Europe will only be heard if it "ceases to be an area of financial depression. . . . This implies the existence of a desire for joint defense, for a global and integrated program for the manufacturers of armaments, a single command already in peacetime, a unified strategy and diplomacy."*** Willey does not conceal that the "essential European military potential is in Germany." The main forces of the French Army—but he makes no mention of this—are engaged in Algeria, whereas in Europe there are only two or three French divisions; and even those are not at full strength, as compared with the Bundeswehr. Hence "West Germany must be tied irrevocably to Western Europe."****

What is it that the bourgeoisie expect from this choice? At home they hope to rule out the possibility of a "Left," democratic solution. They hope, too, that the Common Market will strengthen the monopolies in the most concentrated industries, in whose interests they are making a clean sweep of hundreds of small, "unprofitable" enterprises and peasant households. And, what is more, they hope to attract German capital to Africa with her alluring, fabulous wealth. The French bourgeoisie are in real need of German capitalist "aid" in order to continue their exploitation there. De Gaulle's policy is unambiguously clarified by its advocates: If, they say, we proceed from the fact that a large part of Africa is tied to Europe through France, it is essential that this continent should not fall into "other hands" and that German capital be attracted. "The maintenance and development of Africa as a continuation of Europe implies the urgent need for large-scale German participation in this matter."†

A. Janet, a representative of the powerful Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas (one of de Gaulle's pillars) confirms that "faced with

*Revue de Paris, January 1959, p. 26.

*Revue d'Economie Politique, January-February 1958, p. 20.

**Ibid, p. 15.

***Ibid, p. 16.

****Ibid., p. 18.

†Revue d'Economie Politique, January-February, 1958, p. 20.

nationalism which has overestimated its possibilities (?) it would be a good thing if an association of European nations belonging to the old civilization acted together in developing territories. Germany could bring an exemplary reputation of colonialism (?) into this association, to say nothing of her growing industrial potential and financial possibilities."*

This, it is clear, is the viewpoint not merely of a publicist but of the imperialist and cosmopolitan circles of finance capital, of which the de Gaulle regime is the political expression.

We would remark in passing that, notwithstanding the Gaullist propaganda to the contrary, there is absolutely nothing "new" in this policy. De Gaulle has purely and simply borrowed the structure of the Common Market bodies from the political arsenal of his predecessors. Thus we see the true worth of the cry that de Gaulle has regenerated French policy.

The Danger to France

What prospect does this policy of hitching France to the Bonn chariot hold out?

In most industries West German superiority is clear and is increasing every day. In 1958 the FRG, together with the Saar, accounted for nearly 45 per cent (25 million tons) of the steel produced by the six Common Market countries, and 60 per cent of the coal. The FRG's currency reserves (which amount to 20 billion marks) provide it with enormous finances and enable it—since the introduction of convertibility—to subordinate French finances still more easily. In eight years West German exports have risen from five to 17 per cent of the total industrial output. These facts recently led the London *Economist* to foresee "unnecessary perils and frustrations" for the French people.

How will this policy of building a Franco-German bloc affect the standard of living of the French (and West German) working people? Since the de Gaulle Government took its economic measures in December 1958, this aspect stands out even more harshly. Rising prices, the cutting of social welfare allocations (new taxes on the working people total 800 billion francs)—all this is needed to cover the cost of the dirty war in Algeria. But this is required, too, to relieve capital of such costs and permit it more successfully to meet European and, particularly, West German competition. Consequently these measures are to a considerable degree the conse-

quence of a political orientation realized in the Common Market.

But there is another, and still more dangerous, aspect. Strauss does not wish the Bundeswehr to be a "poor relation." He is demanding command posts in the NATO forces (Baltic and North Europe) for his generals. His departments recently began to study the possibility of Bundeswehr intervention in the event of a "local conflict" arising in Central Europe. The minister proceeded from the assumption that the "atomic equilibrium" allegedly existing between the United States and the Soviet Union can eventually mean a classical local war. The question is posed: Does Herr Minister intend Berlin to be the occasion of a "demonstration" of this kind?

Another and more general question arises: Will not the French Government, which in Bad-Kreuznach pledged support to West Germany's diplomatic stand, go to the length of supporting and even encouraging the territorial claims of the Bonn revanchists in Europe, of approving their refusal to recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier? It is significant that the French Government gave the Soviet Draft Peace Treaty with Germany a hostile reception. De Gaulle's position recently, particularly on the German problem, has been marked by *extreme intransigence and extreme hostility to any initiative promoting the easing of tension in Europe*. Speaking on Berlin and on the Soviet proposals to turn West Berlin into a free demilitarized city, Couve de Murville insolently declared: "We must be categorical and implacable"; while Hervé Alphand, French Ambassador to Washington, went still further: "We are fully resolved, should the need arise, to take to arms."

Of the three Western allies, it is the de Gaulle Government that is most opposed to European peace. "Believing for his part that any compromise with the Soviet Union can only be made at the expense of the Federal Republic of Germany, the French Foreign Minister is hostile to the initiative displayed by French diplomacy in this direction," noted a well-informed French newspaper.* That is why de Gaulle is doing nothing to relax international tension, for peace brings no advantage to the Bonn revanchists! As the saying goes, this is the limit. Thus, having chosen the "European bloc," de Gaulle has renounced the "fine and splendid wartime alliance." He has rejected alliance with the USSR in favor of aligning himself with his enemy of yester-

*L'Usine nouvelle, December 26, 1957.

*Le Monde, January 23, 1959.

day against the ally to whose sacrifices Europe owes its liberation.

Foreign observers are under no delusion as to the consequences of this policy for France. After the session of the NATO Council in December 1958, the U.S. Associated Press Agency reported that the chief conclusion to be drawn from the session was that the importance of the Federal Republic in the European system was growing, parallel with a decline in the role played by France.... And as the Common Market machinery is brought into operation, this process becomes more and more pronounced, and the freedom of France increasingly restricted. France is finding herself in the situation of Gulliver who awoke one morning to find that his enemies had bound him to the ground with countless threads.

Justifying the Common Market, its apologists speak of the need to "defend Western civilization" (read: defend the bourgeois class and the system this class finds profitable). The line chosen by the bourgeoisie, which shapes de Gaulle's policy, does not go beyond the limit of saving the capitalist system, a system that has been sapped considerably by the achievements of the socialist camp's peaceful construction. And as the bourgeoisie fear the outcome of peaceful economic competition with the socialist countries, and still hope to solve the issue by armed force, Franco-German policy deviates but little from its set course and, with grand demagogic declarations, keeps strictly in line with the aggressive NATO policy and, consequently, with U.S. imperialist policy. *The Bonn-Paris axis policy does not signify greater freedom to maneuver vis-a-vis the United States.* This "European bloc" is not a neutral force between the East and West: in any circumstances, and on all major issues, it is but a *subsidiary of American strategy*. One can judge the character of this force by the presence in NATO headquarters on French soil of the Nazi General Speidel, who was responsible for the execution of many French patriots during the Second World War.

The attitude of de Gaulle and his government is revealing. Whereas some Northern European states have refused to let Speidel even visit them, de Gaulle is not at all embarrassed by the proximity of a Nazi, who has come to make a long stay within a few kilometers of Paris. And although de Gaulle all too frequently proclaims his nationalism in an attempt to deceive public opinion, it is no secret that on all important issues in the

recent period, be it intervention in Lebanon, relations between East and West, or the German problem, he invariably acts with an eye to Washington's reaction.

Another Policy Is Possible

A government with the interests of France really at heart would endeavor to guard the country (and Europe) against the danger of a resurgent German imperialism. All French governments in the past ten years and more have contributed to this resurgence and de Gaulle is merely continuing the policy with as much determination as possible.

A government cherishing the interests of France would support the efforts Soviet diplomacy is making to prevent the growth and atomic equipment of the Bundeswehr, efforts that envisage the signing of a peace treaty guaranteeing the states neighboring on Germany against any aggression and territorial claims. Such a government would show interest in any step towards relaxing international tension, would welcome a policy favoring the establishment of an atom-free zone in Europe and express its readiness to discuss the Rapacki plan. Recognition of the German Democratic Republic would mean that it could rely on the support of this German state, which pursues a consistent policy of peace and which, geographically and politically, is the natural ally of France. And it would denounce the two-, three- and six-country re-armament agreements (Euratom, armament agreement) accelerating the arms drive, which impose a heavy burden on the country's finances.

It became clear to the masses early this year that de Gaulle's policy did not conform to the national interests of France and security in Europe. While de Gaulle claimed to be in the opposition and speculated on the patriotism of the masses, he manifested a studied hostility to uniting the French and West German armies in the European Defense Community and, later, to the Common Market. But directly he was in power de Gaulle became a firm champion of Adenauer's economic, political and even military undertakings. And he even seized power under the banner of nationalism. His policy attests to a cosmopolitan expediency, sacrificing the vital interests of the French nation. It is by no means pure coincidence that implementation of the "general agreement" with revenge-seeking Bonn Germany means that de Gaulle has deprived more than a million veterans of the two wars against German imperialism of their pensions. This measure is symbolic. The war veterans, who have raised a powerful mass

protest, have advanced a demand that is not simply economic but, clearly, is most patriotic.

By pursuing a policy of which the outstanding feature is the vain attempt to resolve internal conflicting interests with the object of more quickly overcoming the difficulties they encounter at every turn, the French and German bourgeoisie are, in fact, striving to retain their temporary political domination in Germany and France at any cost. Their aggressive noisiness is designed to conceal weakness: the French and West German monopolies have not ceased to compete; the antagonistic interests of the Common Market countries and other capitalist states in Europe are coming sharply to the fore; clashes are beginning in Africa. The intransigent attitude adopted by the Paris and Bonn governments on the Berlin question and the peace treaty with Germany has, moreover, brought about their complete isolation in world public opinion. And, finally, the French and German bourgeoisie are witnessing the growth of protest movements of the masses discontented with their reactionary policy. As someone once said, as far as the masses are concerned the Common Market is "the common market of squalor."

What is more, the possibility is not excluded that it may become the arena of working-class unity. The working people in France and West Germany, who from the very outset were alerted by their Communist

parties, are, in fact, participating to an ever greater extent in the struggle against this reactionary policy of poverty and preparation for atomic war. As Jacques Duclos recently declared on behalf of the French Communist Party, "the people of France will not fight in order that Berlin may remain a hotbed of war in the heart of Europe." Moreover, the idea that joint action by the working people of France, West Germany and the Common Market countries will most effectively foil the plans for imperialist exploitation, is being seized upon. "They have united," the workers are saying, "why shouldn't we?" The French and Italian General Confederation of Labor have in this spirit issued an appeal to all trade union centers in the Common Market countries. At the time of the miners' strike in Belgium there was splendid solidarity between the French and Belgian miners.

That is the right way, the road to peace. Experience has proved that axes of the Bonn-Paris kind are unstable agreements between fiercely competing monopolists. These agreements do not safeguard peace and the security of peoples; on the contrary they bring them nothing but poverty and grief. The stability of these "axes" is illusory. Unity and international solidarity of the working people combating this adventurous policy, for which they have paid dearly in the past, are irresistible.

Observer

The Multi-Party System in the German Democratic Republic

Hermann Matern

IN HIS book *The State and Revolution* Lenin pointed out that "the transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Various forms of people's democracy arose after the Second World War. Despite their national peculiarities all of them are in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The people's democratic system established in a number of countries differs from the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat which arose in Russia as a result of the October Revolution in the sense that in addition to the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class other political parties are functioning there.

Although a single-party system took shape in Russia after the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks held at the time that the existence of other parties under the proletarian dictatorship was possible, and actually tried to co-operate with them. The first Soviet government, it will be recalled, included "Left" Socialist Revolutionaries. But the bourgeoisie,

confident of its strength and backed by foreign capitalists, resorted to civil war. The petty-bourgeois parties followed the bourgeoisie and opposed the working class. They deserted to the counter-revolutionaries. The Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries withdrew from the Soviets, thus isolating themselves from the people. A few months after the establishment of Soviet power, the "Left" Socialist Revolutionary Party, then represented in the government, launched a counter-revolutionary uprising. The Communist Party alone consistently fought for the interests of the working people. It should be said that even in 1921, after the victory in the Civil War, the Bolsheviks tried to enlist the aid of members of the other parties for the purpose of consolidating Soviet power. In a letter addressed to the Georgian Communists, Lenin advocated an acceptable compromise with those Mensheviks who were not entirely opposed to the Soviet system. The latter, however, took the way of resistance to the Soviets. Thus there was nothing artificial about the rise of the single-party system under the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. It was the logical outcome of the polarization of the class forces in the specific conditions of the Russian revolution.

The existence of several parties in some of the new socialist countries is likewise a logical development. There is nothing artificial or formal about it. These parties are a reflection of the class forces that helped to establish the system of people's democracy.

What the multi-party system means under the proletarian dictatorship and what the roots of this system are can best be seen from the example of the German Democratic Republic.

Along with the Socialist Unity Party, which plays the leading role, four other parties are represented in the government: the Democratic Peasants' Party, the National Democratic Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Christian Democratic Union.

The experience of the struggle waged by the German workers since the revolution of November 1918 and especially the struggle against fascism demonstrated with particular force the need to heal the split in the working-class movement and to build a united workers' party. The Socialist Unity Party is the result of the fusion of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party. It is firmly founded on Marxist-Leninist principles and persistently upholds the interests of the working people of town and countryside.

The Democratic Peasants' Party, formed in 1948 to represent the interests of the working peasants, sets itself the aim of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The National Democratic Party, also founded in 1948, comprises the patriotically-minded sections of the middle and small bourgeoisie, including many former Wehrmacht officers and National Socialists who, towards the end of the war, joined the anti-fascist patriotic movement led by the National Committee of Free Germany;* others had their eyes opened by the catastrophe of 1945 and now support the national regeneration brought about under working-class leadership.

The Liberal Democratic Party, formed in June 1945, includes democratically-minded medium and small employers and handicraftsmen who had suffered from the rule of the monopolies and from the war. Founded as an all-German party, it developed differently in the two parts of the country. In West Germany it was renamed the "Free Democratic Party."

The Christian Democratic Union represents the religious circles of the middle sections and handicraftsmen. It, too, was founded (1945) as an all-German party. In the Federal Republic it is headed by Adenauer and is the servant of monopoly capital. In East Germany the CDU, while not a clerical party, has taken over the petty-bourgeois traditions and ideas of "Christian socialism."

Practically all the petty-bourgeois democratic parties, though of postwar origin, did not come out of the blue; they are offshoots of the traditional parties.

All five parties are united in a bloc which also includes the Free Trade Unions, the Democratic Women's Union and the Free German Youth.

Roots of the Multi-Party System

The foregoing shows that the parties are not something fortuitous, but organizations representing all classes and strata (excluding of course the monopolists and Junkers who have been removed from power in the GDR) vitally interested in Germany's independence, democratic reconstruction and social progress. National regeneration harmonizes with the interests alike of the working people and the petty bourgeoisie, and also a part of the middle bourgeoisie. This aim can be achieved

*The National Committee of Free Germany was established in 1943 with the participation of Communist Party leaders. The movement arose in the POW camps on Soviet territory, among German emigres abroad and among the people at home.

only through persistent action for democracy and socialism, through the joint effort of all patriots under the leadership of the working class. In the circumstances of today the general democratic and socialist tasks in the fight for peace, for democratic regeneration and social progress throughout Germany interweave more than ever before.

Twice in the lifetime of one generation German imperialism plunged the country into world wars which caused terrible suffering. The second of these, the criminal war unleashed by Hitler, imperilled the very existence of the German nation. The working class and its revolutionary party were faced with the task of saving the nation. In its irreconcilable struggle against imperialism and militarism, for peace, democracy and socialism, the working class has always upheld the national interests; by fighting for emancipation it simultaneously strives to abolish all forms of exploitation. Its vanguard—the Communist Party—produced staunch and fearless fighters against the fascist tyranny. During the Hitler terror, which was levelled against the Communists, Social Democrats and other anti-fascists, in the process of the anti-fascist struggle, the conditions were created in prisons, concentration camps and in the underground for healing the split in the working class. In those grim years the workers learned that the division in their ranks had enabled the monopolies to install the fascist regime.

The struggle waged by the best sons of the working class to rescue the country from the Nazi criminals merged with the fight against the invader waged by the Soviet Army. The victory won by the Soviet Union provided the opportunity for the revolutionary German workers to ensure the democratic development of their country. For the purpose of achieving this they had a clear-cut program for uniting the workers in a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type, and they rallied all progressives around this party. In the Soviet Union they had a true ally and a mighty force capable of helping Germany to take the road of peace and democracy.

The victory won by the Soviet Army and the destruction of the fascist state machine cleared the way for changing the relationship of forces on the home front in favor of the working class. This enabled the popular forces, weakened by the fascist terror, to recover, gain strength and take power into their hands.

The bloc of anti-fascist parties and democratic organizations, which was formed under

the leadership of the working class, became a real class alliance from the very outset. The alliance of the working class with the other sections of the working population took shape and gained strength on the basis of their common interests in abolishing the fascist tyranny, expropriating the magnates and landlords—the war criminals—and in establishing a genuinely democratic order. As presently constituted, the alliance is a development of the anti-fascist democratic bloc which arose in 1945 and, with the working class playing the leading role, became the decisive factor of the anti-fascist democratic system, one of the forms of worker-peasant rule.

The system did not develop smoothly. Having regained their positions in West Germany and leading posts in the state, the monopoly bourgeoisie and Junkers, with the backing of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, exerted a definite influence not only on the middle sections but also on a part of the workers in the GDR. Despite the difficulties to which this gave rise, the reactionaries were unable to prevent the growth of the anti-fascist democratic system.

Of great significance for the development of this system was the fact that the working class, united on revolutionary principles, exerted the decisive influence, being the champion of political, economic and cultural progress. In close alliance with the laboring peasantry it rallied round itself the other sections for a new, democratic Germany, for economic progress without the monopolists and Junkers, for peace and reunification along democratic lines. The Socialist Unity Party took into account the inner laws of this development and pursued its policy accordingly.

The ideas expounded by Lenin in his *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* were creatively applied in building the anti-fascist democratic system in Germany. The new system had to ensure democratic liberties on an unprecedented scale, a genuinely democratic administration, carry out land and educational reforms and other measures, thereby completing the bourgeois revolution of 1918. The new system had to abolish not only the feudal survivals which had coalesced with monopoly capitalism but, above all, the base of the fascist dictatorship—monopoly capital. The result was that in 1945 there arose not the typical bourgeois-democratic system, but an anti-fascist democratic system.

The immediate task was to extirpate the economic roots of fascism and militarism. This was done by expropriating the big mono-

polies (which had amassed huge profits both before and during the war), by confiscating the property of all active Nazis and war criminals. The basic industries became public property and the anti-fascist democratic system laid solid economic foundations which paved the way for socialist production relations. Thus the leading role of the working class under this system derived, from the very outset, from this solid economic base, and this greatly facilitated the building of the worker-peasant state.

The Socialist Unity Party, basing its policy on a scientific analysis of the inner laws of social development, has succeeded in convincing the middle sections that socialism corresponds also to their interests. In this, too, we see the leading role of the revolutionary working class and its party in the multi-party anti-fascist system.

The expropriation of the war criminals and profiteers freed many medium and small employers and handicraftsmen from the pressure exerted by the monopolies and the banks. The acute postwar shortage of goods, however, provided opportunities for capitalist growth and profiteering. There was the danger not only of the rapid rise of new forms of exploitation, but also of an equally rapid differentiation among the middle sections, and of capitalists developing out of the ruin of the majority of these sections.

The land reform led to a similar situation in the countryside. The rich farmers, as was to be expected, maintained their grip on animal husbandry and seed cultivation; they owned the bulk of the machines and farm implements. The small peasants, including many who had been allotted land for the first time, were threatened with the danger of extortionate dependence on the rich farmers.

By deliberately retarding capitalist differentiation, nipping it in the bud, our Party upheld the interests of the working class and of the overwhelming majority of small and middle peasants, the handicraftsmen, shopkeepers, tradesmen and other middle sections. These sections were not in a position to stand up for themselves. Consequently their alliance with the working class had a real, though contradictory, basis, implying not only combined efforts to preclude the return of the magnates, bankers and Junkers, but also action to prevent the emergence of new exploiters and to ensure existence and prospects for the middle sections. The most enterprising and influential elements among the middle peasantry and urban middle sections dreamed of taking their place among the prosperous

élite, because they did not see any prospects for themselves under socialism.

The policy of the Socialist Unity Party was to demonstrate, step by step as socially important changes were effected in the system with the object of expanding socialist production relations, the identity of interests of the working class and all sections of the working people and, by so doing, show them the way to a better future. It was essential constantly to search for new opportunities, to point the way to socialist forms of production.

In the sphere of co-operation with the middle sections, the working-class party used the co-operative traditions of the German peasants and handicraftsmen in order to go over, step by step, from the buying and supply co-operatives to the simple, and afterwards to the higher, forms of producer co-operatives, thus furthering the growth of socialist production relations. Agreements concluded on a commission basis between the consumer co-operatives and the state trading enterprises paved the way to socialist forms of trade, which simultaneously guarantee and improve the conditions of the small shopkeepers.

Making use of the experience gained by the fraternal Communist Party of China, we solved another complex problem: state participation in the privately-owned enterprises enabled the middle and small employers to apply their know-how and abilities both to their own advantage and for the benefit of the people as a whole. Thus, by solving these problems we prevented the spread of capitalist exploitation.

The gradual elimination of the outmoded remnants of exploitation opened before the small and middle employers an acceptable way to the socialist future.

The Socialist Unity Party took into account this contradictory growth of the material base of the alliance of the working class and peasantry with other sections of the working population. It proceeded from the Leninist teaching that during the transition from capitalism to socialism the attitude of the working class and its party to the non-proletarian sections is of decisive significance for continued social progress and for the consolidation of worker-peasant rule. The middle sections, Lenin said, "*cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remolded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work,*" designed to persuade them that socialist development corresponds also to the interests of the vast majority of these sections, and that the workers'

party represents, as Engels put it, both the present and future interests of the small producers. It is essential to convince the middle sections that the party's policy not only improves their well-being today but that socialism will also ensure their future, whereas under capitalism their existence is constantly threatened.

There are, then, profound inner laws governing the evolution of the anti-fascist democratic system into the people's democratic system. But the forms and phases of the first worker-peasant state in Germany are not determined solely by internal factors. The peace movement and the struggle to rebuild Germany as a freedom-loving and democratic state have also had their impact. This activity paved the way for the nationwide movement led by the working class—the National Front of Democratic Germany (NFDG), which in large measure now determines political developments in the Republic.

The National Front began to take shape in 1947, when the Western occupation powers along with the West German monopolists who were creeping back under their protection, initiated measures to divide the country and create a separate state. This action, it will be recalled, encountered the bitter resistance of all Germans. But the arbitrary rule and the terror to which the Adenauer government resorted constantly restricted the activities of the NFDG and prevented it from growing. The Communist Party—the vanguard of the working class—was banned. In East Germany, on the other hand, the patriotic movement, led by the Socialist Unity Party, evolved into the broadest movement in the history of Germany. The first worker-peasant state was established on the basis of this movement for national regeneration. The first Constitution of the Democratic Republic, the first People's Chamber and the first Government derived from the bodies set up by this nationwide movement.

Subsequent events in the two Germanys accentuated the fundamental question now facing all the countries of the West: what happens to the nation when monopoly capital holds sway, and what happens when the working class is in power?

The multi-party system in our Republic reflects the relationship of the class forces and their contradictions. The latter are not antagonistic and are overcome peacefully provided the working class plays the leading role. The anti-fascist democratic bloc reflects the decisive factor in the co-operation of all the parties of the bloc—the identity of inter-

est of the classes and strata of the population in building socialism and safeguarding the gains of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Multi-Party System and Its Future

The forces in West Germany now trampling on democratic rights, jailing fighters for peace, banning the Communist Party, rigging elections and lauding the two-party system, brazenly assert that the multi-party system and the anti-fascist democratic bloc in our Republic are purely formal in character and that everything is decided by the Socialist Unity Party. The facts, however, show that these allegations are groundless.

It is perfectly natural for the parties to act in a united bloc: all are fighting for a common cause, for peace and the regeneration of Germany along democratic lines, for the victory of socialism. The Socialist Unity Party plays the decisive role because behind it stands the most progressive social force—the ruling working class which involves all the working people and their parties in the job of running the country. The parties are independent, each has its say in state affairs.

Article 13 of our Constitution reads:

"Associations, which proclaim in their Rules the aim of democratic public life in keeping with the principles of this Constitution and the organs of which are elected by their members, are entitled to nominate candidates for the people's councils in communities, districts and Lands.

"The right to nominate candidates for the People's Chamber shall be enjoyed only by those organizations which, according to their Rules, stand for democratic government and democratic public life and which have their branches throughout the country."

Members of the petty-bourgeois parties elected as National Front candidates are deputies of the People's Chamber and as such participate in forming the government in keeping with the Constitution. Dr. J. Dieckmann of the Liberal Democratic Party is Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Chamber—the supreme body of the Republic. According to the Constitution each group numbering not less than forty deputies shall be represented in the Presidium of the People's Chamber. Among the Deputy Prime Ministers are members of all the parties affiliated to the National Front. For instance, M. Sefrin is a member of the Christian Democratic Union; Dr. H. Loch—the Liberal Democratic Party; P. Scholz—the Democratic Peasants' Party; Dr. Bolz—the National Democratic Party. The bloc parties are likewise repre-

sented in the organs of people's rule and state administration in the capital, areas, districts, towns and communes.

Each party has its program, daily newspapers in Berlin and in the provinces, party schools, publications for functionaries and branches all over the country.

Meetings between the parties of the bloc and the mass organizations are held regularly, each supplying the chairman in turn. They discuss political, economic and cultural measures. For instance, at one of these conferences prior to the Fifth Congress of the SUPG, its leadership informed the leaders of the other parties of the agenda for the forthcoming Party congress. A National Democratic Party spokesman called for the further development of the producer co-operatives, with due regard to the interests of the various groups of handicraftsmen. The proposal was accepted and found reflection in the Congress resolutions. Many examples of this kind could be cited.

Inter-party conferences at all levels consider the assistance to be rendered by each of the parties and organizations in carrying out the political, economic and cultural tasks. There are no majority decisions, since this would infringe the rights of the minority parties. The points are discussed until unanimity is reached. There is complete agreement on the basic questions of the worker-peasant rule and its perspectives.

Matters concerning everyday activities, the best methods of work and the generalization of experience are discussed and corresponding decisions adopted in just the same way. The Liberal Democratic Party studies the experience of state participation in the medium and small privately-owned enterprises in order to go ahead in this direction. The Democratic Peasants' Party works among the rural population, especially among the individual peasants, with a view to raising the level of agriculture. Its experience is taken into account in drawing up and implementing practical measures.

Since 1945 the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic parties have travelled a long road of inner development, often accompanied by bitter conflicts. The struggle began with the exposure of the erroneous views and subversive activities of the agents of the monopolies who had wormed their way into the leading bodies of these parties and who banked on playing with the Socialist Unity Party the old coalition game of the Weimar times. But their efforts came to nought thanks

to the resistance of the progressive forces in their organizations and to the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of the Socialist Unity Party. One after another they soon fled to their old masters in West Germany where they received remunerative jobs and now engage in slander and espionage against the Democratic Republic. This was the case, for example, with Jakob Kaiser, former Bonn Minister for All-German Affairs, with Lemmer who now heads this ministry of red-baiting and terror, with Hamann and others.

The internal process of cleaning up these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democratic parties added to their strength. The policy of the bloc proved to be the ideal way of furthering the victory of the progressive forces in these parties, of exposing and rendering harmless the reactionaries who yearn to see the power of the monopolists, the militarists and the Junkers, restored. In order to isolate the reactionaries and defeat them the working-class Party co-operated with the progressive forces in the parties of the bloc in the early stages of the Republic. This policy enhanced its leading role. In the fight to strengthen the system and during the discussion in the parties the agents of the big bourgeoisie were smashed. That is why they were unable to offer any great resistance during the transition from the anti-fascist democratic system to worker-peasant rule. More and more the parties of the bloc developed into petty-bourgeois democratic organizations supporting socialist construction and recognizing the leading role of the working class and its party. This can be seen from their programs, policy and from the fact that they produced many progressive figures in the course of the struggle against the reactionaries.

It would be wrong, however, to link the development of the parties only with the political and economic achievements of the Republic. The changes that have taken place in these parties cannot be regarded in isolation from developments in West Germany.

The imperialist powers, above all the U.S. monopolists, in agreement with the German imperialists, have prevented the establishment of an anti-fascist democratic system in West Germany, although this was called for by the interests of their peoples too, and although they had undertaken to do so under the Potsdam Agreement. Militarism as well as the old regime of monopoly capital—the pillar of the Kaiser's empire, the Weimar Republic and Nazi

tyranny, the regime which collapsed under the burden of its crimes—have been restored in the Western zones. The present German state of monopoly capitalism—the military-clerical Federal Republic—is now one of the most reactionary states in Europe, the source of a grave military threat. With the present balance of forces in the world the bellicose policy of the Adenauer Government bodes only national catastrophe. As the monopoly bourgeoisie establishes itself and militarism is revived, nuclear war preparations are stepped up. The interests of the German people are cynically sacrificed to the avarice of the German and U.S. monopolists. Democratic liberties are restricted more and more, being used as a façade barely concealing the dictatorship of monopoly capital, this time in the shape of clerical militarism.

The first worker-peasant state in Germany, on the other hand, is steadily going ahead under the leadership of the working class; it unswervingly pursues a policy of peace, easing international tension and friendship among all nations. There is real democracy in the Democratic Republic, i.e., the masses participate in running the state and in economic affairs. The worker-peasant state is steadily uprooting the survivals of the chauvinism with which the fascists and militarists poisoned the nation. In the interests of all people it is expanding the socialist planned economy, advancing science and culture, strengthening the new morals and the new law based on real and not formal equality of all the people, on brotherhood and mutual aid.

Ever since its inception the worker-peasant state has represented the future of the German nation whose regeneration, existence and progress are possible only under the leadership of the working class.

The idea that the days of monopoly capitalism in Germany are numbered, while the epoch of socialism is only beginning, is penetrating the minds of growing numbers of people in our Republic. Many people in West Germany, too, are beginning to grasp this. Consequently the best forces of the people are striving, under the leadership of the working class and its party, to make the GDR's achievements a still more inspiring and attractive example of the bright future of all Germans.

This consolidates the unity and co-operation between all parties in our Republic and makes their alliance stronger. The bloc of the anti-fascist democratic parties and the

mass organizations differs (and will differ more as it develops) from the party alliances typical of the bourgeois parliamentary republic, including the coalitions of the Weimar Republic. Under the coalition policy, in the conditions of bourgeois parliamentarism, the interests of all other strata of the population, and especially of the working class, are sacrificed to the interests of monopoly capital. Things do not change when there are Social Democrats in the government or even under a purely Social-Democratic government. In these conditions the coalition policy is merely a fig-leaf, a somewhat embellished democratic façade for the dictatorship of monopoly capital. While preserving this façade, the bourgeoisie destroys the democratic gains of the working people. This was the case recently in France and it is becoming increasingly evident in West Germany.

The bloc of anti-fascist democratic parties and mass organizations, on the contrary, is an expression of the alliance of the working class, as the recognized leader of society, with the laboring peasantry and other sections of the population, progressive intellectuals and, in certain connections, even with the democratically-minded bourgeoisie. In our Republic, this bloc unites all anti-fascists and democrats in order, first, to accomplish the democratic revolution and, later, to draw them into socialist construction and jointly with the National Front, to rally all patriots for the reunification of Germany on a democratic and peaceful footing.

The question may be asked: in the event of socialism triumphing in our Republic in the near future, how long will the parties and mass organizations continue to co-operate in the bloc and in the National Front? The answer is that the co-operation will continue until all strata are remolded in the spirit of socialism and as long as the struggle for the democratic regeneration of all Germany continues. And even when these aims are within sight, with West German imperialism uprooted and the country advancing to socialism by gigantic strides, much will still remain to be done in order to overcome old habits, outmoded concepts with regard to law, ethics, tradition and custom.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, especially in West Germany, long ago betrayed and besmirched with fascism and clericalism the ideals of democracy, freedom, progress, human rights and the happiness of the greatest number. This banner has been raised aloft by the

working class which has rallied under its leadership the best representatives of all strata of the population, including the progressive bourgeois elements. In the conditions of socialist construction all of them are bringing the old ideals to life, materializing them in new forms and with a richer content. With the march of time the moral and political unity of the people will be strengthened and the class division eventually overcome.

The multi-party system will remain until the social status of the various strata changes and the people are remolded in the spirit of socialism. But with the changes in the class structure of society, arising from the advance of socialism, the character of the multi-party system, too, will change.

A Few Conclusions

What conclusions and lessons can be drawn from the experience of the Socialist Unity Party concerning the multi-party system in a socialist country and the leading role of the Communist party in this system?

Insofar as proletarian dictatorship, in any form, means genuine democracy for the absolute majority of the population, the question of the multi-party or the single-party system is linked not with the substance of power but with its form. Its solution depends on the specific historical, national, internal and external conditions of each country.

1. In present conditions, i.e., with the existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, with the splendid achievements of victorious socialism in all spheres demonstrating the superiority of the latter over capitalism, the multi-party system under the leadership of the revolutionary working class and its party contradicts neither the theory nor the practice of proletarian dictatorship. On the contrary, under the people's democratic system it can be described as the creative application of Lenin's theory of the transition from a bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The multi-party system is a method of drawing the middle sections into socialist construction, a method based on the harmony of the workers' interests with the basic interests of the middle sections—both present and future—during the transition from capitalism to socialism. This can be seen particularly in our divided country.

Given a strong socialist sector in industry, the principal means used by the Marxist-Leninist Party in winning the middle sections for socialism are: patient persuasion of the overwhelming majority of the middle sections

of the economic, political and moral superiority of socialism; expansion of the socialist forms of production through the voluntary unification of the small commodity producers (co-operative traditions are also used); prevention of the process of capitalist differentiation; vigilance and consistent struggle against the capitalist agents always found in the petty-bourgeois democratic parties and who are always supported and encouraged by the expropriated monopolists and big landlords; support for the broad, decisive section which has emerged in the petty-bourgeois parties in the course of this struggle and which is both reliable and convinced of the superiority of socialism.

2. Fulfilment of the leading role by the Marxist-Leninist party under the multi-party system necessitates with particular force that the working-class party should be a mass party, extremely flexible, uncompromising in principle, and stable. A dialectical approach to the key problems of socialist construction, creative application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the socialist revolution, the state and proletarian dictatorship, on the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry and other non-proletarian sections, safeguard the Party in its co-operation with the petty-bourgeois democratic parties against the danger of falling into opportunism and against dogmatic and sectarian distortions of its policy.

3. The multi-party system reflects the evolution of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and with other sections of the working population. This alliance helps to draw a part of the small and middle bourgeoisie first into a solution of the general democratic questions—the struggle against nuclear armament, for peace, a confederation of the two German states and unification along democratic lines — and later into socialist construction.

The National Front, which rests on the multi-party system and goes beyond it, rallies all patriots with the aim of preserving peace, regenerating the nation, overcoming bourgeois ideology among all sections and securing the moral and political unity of the people. The National Front is also a lever for developing socialist democracy, which presupposes increasingly larger masses taking part in economic and political affairs.

4. The multi-party system reflects the fact that the workers' struggle against imperialism, and for the new, socialist system, merges

with the struggle for the regeneration of Germany as a united, freedom-loving and democratic state, with the struggle against nuclear armament and the militarist policy of West

Germany. This is an integral part of the struggle waged by all the peoples against the war gambles of U.S. imperialism, to preserve and consolidate peace.

Attacks on the Democratic Forces in Greece

Leonidas Stringos

GREECE is experiencing a wave of reaction. The onslaught gained momentum after the general election of May 11, 1958, when the Left democratic forces made considerable gains. Now that Manolis Glezos, National Resistance hero, Organizing Secretary of the United Democratic Left Party (EDA) and director of the newspaper *Avghi*, has been arrested, reaction has stepped up repressions against EDA members and sympathizers. The anti-democratic crusade is at its height. Why has this offensive been undertaken and what are its aims?

In the Grip of American Imperialism

Fourteen years have passed since British imperialist intervention halted Greece's democratic development and placed monarchist-fascist reaction in the saddle. Since then the people have been experiencing the consequences of British and, later, American "aid" in the shape of intervention. Economic and political dependence on the American imperialists has resulted in the country being turned into a base and military springboard for an attack on the socialist countries and on the national-liberation movement in the Middle East. Taking advantage of the slavishness of the Greek government, of the state machine and their grip on key positions in the economy, the U.S. imperialists use the "aid" to further their own interests. They have imposed extortionate "agreements" on us under which our territory, communications, ports, airfields and army are placed wholly at their disposal. In short, they act as if they were masters in the land, regulate our national economy, command our armed forces, and direct the country's foreign policy to their own aggressive advantage.

Greece continues to be a poorly-developed, agrarian and backward country. Its economic structure has changed but little. Much of the

highly-publicized \$3 billion "aid" was used to organize the civil war, to enable U.S. monopoly capital to enslave the country, or was squandered by the plutocratic oligarchy. Even government bodies admit that there has been practically no important capital construction in recent years. There have been no improvements of any consequence in the economy; in some respects the position has deteriorated, as is evident from the relation between exports and imports. Before the war exports amounted to at least 69 per cent of imports; the present figure is only 42 per cent. Technical equipment, it should be said, does not account for the increase in imports. Even the bourgeoisie and its ideologists are concerned about the disparity between our backward economy and the economy of the neighboring socialist and capitalist countries.

The growing penetration of American and, later, of West German finance capital is leading to plunder of the natural wealth. Greece, despite an abundance of raw materials, suffers from a shortage, because they are seized by foreign monopoly capital which is doing everything to retard the country's industrial development. Output of wheat, tobacco, cotton, raisins and citrus fruits has risen during the past four or five years, but because of economic dependence this has proved to be a curse for the producers. Prices have fallen, and there is no market for agricultural produce because the American imperialists have prohibited any expansion of trade with the socialist countries.

The latest Greek-German agreement signed in Bonn means simply the further subordination of our economy to foreign monopolies and entails encroachments on our sovereignty. Under this agreement West German finance capital is allowed to build mills and factories in Greece. The government has no say in the working of these enterprises,

neither can it prevent their being erected, even if they will eventually compete with Greek enterprises and injure the national economy. The agreement contains enslaving provisions for unrestricted import of West German goods, preference for West German coal, ferrous products, and so forth. So onerous are the terms that Greek industrialists have adopted a cautious attitude to this "co-operation." We say nothing about the political strings attached to this agreement, about the undertaking, for instance, to uphold Bonn's stand on the Berlin question, or to solve the Cyprus problem without encroaching upon the interests of the British imperialists.

The country's dependence upon foreign monopoly capital is increasing. Our agricultural exports are being restricted, while by virtue of the free imports law American manufactures and farm produce are coming into the country in vast quantities. The economy is being placed on a military footing. These factors, together with the world economic recession, are heading the country towards a crisis. According to the latest statistics 534 vessels—nearly four million tons of shipping—are now laid up, and more than 15,000 seamen have lost their jobs. Most mining enterprises have either curtailed production or closed down. The Larymna mine, whose nickel ore is rated among the best in world, has closed in consequence of interference by Krupp.

Industrial output has risen slightly in the past few months. Stocks, however, are piling up as a result of reduced spending by the public, the wage freeze and the declining incomes of the peasants. Since last year it has been difficult to market farm produce, in view of which the government and the Americans have taken steps to "re-organize" agriculture, that is, to reduce wheat, cotton and other crop areas. Currency reserves, furthermore, have dropped in the past couple of years from \$198.8 million to \$144 million.

The economic war, which has been stepped up in Western Europe with the establishment of the Common Market, the devaluation of the French franc and the introduction of convertibility of some currencies, will have a disastrous impact on the Greek economy. We may expect greater imports of industrial goods—to the detriment of the home industry—and a restriction on exports of tobacco, cotton, wine, fruit, vegetables and other agricultural products.

According to published reports the value of the gross national product, which in 1938 amounted to \$1.86 billion (in terms of 1954 prices) did not, in 1955, exceed \$1.99 billion. Thus, the value of the gross national product has risen by a mere seven per cent in 15 years. Bearing in mind the 17 per cent growth of the population during this period, we see that the gross national product per capita declined from \$261 to \$238. The wage freeze continues in most instances, while the cost-of-living index is steadily rising. Unemployment is on the increase and now embraces a quarter of all workers and office employees, numbering one million. With a population of about eight million, we now have some three million people without steady means of subsistence. Farm produce is often sold for next to nothing—at 20, 30 and sometimes 50 per cent below last year's prices. More and more peasants are drifting to the towns. There are whole villages without a single inhabitant. Excessive taxes and the competition of foreign monopolies are ruining the middle sections.

Bitterly and indignantly our people realize that the people of Cyprus have been deprived of genuine independence. This sacred cause is being betrayed not so much through the action of the British imperialists and the Turkish reactionaries, as through the systematic sabotage by the Karamanlis government, in power by the grace of the Americans. This government, by force of arms, prevented the Greek people from supporting the Cypriots. The government engaged in behind-the-scenes machinations and shady deals with the British colonialists and docilely carried out the orders of its Anglo-American masters instead of relying on the support of the Greek people, on the Arab and other peoples fighting colonialism, and on the socialist countries, the sincere friends and allies of the Cypriots. At the recent Anglo-Turko-Greek conference in London, the Karamanlis government agreed to a spurious "self-government" for the island under which the British bases are to stay. Cyprus will remain an important NATO stronghold in the Mediterranean, with British, Turkish and Greek garrisons.

Obediently conducting its Washington-dictated policy, the Karamanlis government is now preparing to site U.S. rocket-launching installations in Greece. Upon returning from a Paris meeting of the defense ministers of the NATO member-states, the Deputy Minister of National Defense announced that the

Greek delegation had undertaken new commitments to equip the country with atomic armaments. It is a matter of concern to our people that, on the orders of the U.S. State Department, the Greek and Italian governments are taking steps to create a Turkey-Greece-Italy axis within the NATO framework which will be spearheaded against the national-liberation movement in the Middle East.

Postwar developments in the country have aggravated the antagonisms between foreign monopoly capital and the local oligarchy closely collaborating with it, on the one hand, and the vast majority of the population, including the national bourgeoisie, on the other.

Popular Resistance Grows

The Greek people, who have gained much experience in the National Resistance and who for the last 14 years have been tasting the bitter fruit of British intervention and American tutelage, have no intention of yielding. They are stepping up their resistance day by day. Since 1956 there has been a steady rise of the working-class and democratic movement. Some 150,000 working people went on strike in 1955; 320,000 in 1956 and 500,000 in 1957. The 1958 general election in which the EDA polled about a million votes and thus became the leading opposition party signified a defeat for U.S. policy and a splendid victory for the democratic forces. The election demonstrated that the majority of the working class and considerable numbers of the peasantry and middle sections were firmly in favor of democratic changes. The decisions adopted by the XIIIth Congress of the General Confederation of Labor (GCEE) held last October, were an important gain for the democratic movement. The Congress made a big contribution to working-class unity. It rebuffed the combined attempts made by the Theodorou splitters, the Americans and the government forcibly to seize the GCEE leadership, and decided to reinstate all local organizations and federations previously expelled for "communist activities." The Congress formulated a list of economic and political demands, including demands to abolish the affirmation of loyalty and to cease the arbitrary exiling of trade union leaders. The importance of these decisions can be properly appreciated only if we take into consideration the extremely difficult conditions under which the democratic opposition in the trade unions is forced to work,

and the fact that the leadership of the General Confederation and of most of the federations is held by reformists who not infrequently take an anti-democratic and anti-communist stand.

The peasants—most of whom are organized in marketing co-operatives—are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the working class. Last year the tobacco-growers, grain-growers, olive and raisin producers and cotton-growers held meetings and insisted on higher prices and the opening of the Eastern markets. The following testifies to the militancy of the peasants. After futile appeals to the government in connection with the difficulties in marketing their tobacco, the tobacco-growers in the Agrinion region held a protest meeting at the local cemetery and went on a hunger strike. Since this yielded no result, 5,000 of them occupied the Athens-Agrinion-Yiannena motor road, burnt bales of tobacco and erected barricades.

Big sections of the national bourgeoisie are also against the free import of American goods and the selling of the natural wealth to foreign capital. They are calling for increased trade with the Eastern countries and want industrial equipment from them.

Anti-American sentiment among the working people and some sections of the bourgeoisie has become stronger of late. This was evident during the general election when, in fact, the vast majority of the people voted against atomic and rocket-launching bases. The growing hatred of American imperialism came to the fore particularly after the last UN General Assembly session at which the U.S. adopted an openly hostile attitude to the Cypriot people's right to self-determination. This evoked a nationwide protest movement against the U.S. imperialists and the Karamanlis government.

Even the Right-wing government paper *Kathimerini* commented in connection with the visit to Athens of Rountree, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State: "If Rountree makes a tour of the city he will hear from a thousand mouths in a thousand places that the Greek people do not believe (as they at one time fanatically did) that America leads the peoples' struggle for freedom and democracy, they do not believe that the U.S. government is friendly towards Greece."

During the election campaign the parties of the democratic Center rejected the EDA's proposal for co-operation on a minimum program—the struggle for peace and for demo-

cratization of public life. Had this co-operation been achieved Karamanlis would not now be in power and the country would have made an important advance towards democracy. Rejection of the EDA proposals meant severe losses at the election for the democratic Center parties.

Now that the masses have moved into action, no party can go against the national demands or ignore them. The Liberal Party, the next largest opposition party after the EDA, is undergoing a crisis. It has broken up into two groups precisely because of its uncertain or even negative attitude to the important issues for which the people are fighting. The Agrarian Party, too, is experiencing a similar crisis. Adherents of these parties call for more vigorous action, for struggle against the anti-national, anti-democratic policy of the Karamanlis government; others insist on co-operation with the Lefts. Meanwhile some of the leaders of the two parties are trying to consolidate the "democratic Center" as a barrier against the genuinely democratic forces. It is noteworthy that government circles and Washington are sedulously creating this Center which could succeed the Karamanlis Government in the event of its failure.

Both the Rights and the Karamanlis government are losing influence despite the latter's seeming stability. Their bankrupt policy on national problems—the government's agreement to establish American rocket-launching bases in Greece, the deteriorating economic situation, the falling standard of living, the surrender over Cyprus—is widening the gap between the government and the people.

There is dissatisfaction even among some conservative circles and, at times, open opposition to the government. It is common knowledge, for instance, that the courts have refused to enforce measures against exiled people who have been temporarily freed, and have acquitted those arrested by the police. The preaching of hatred, intolerance and national division meets with less response among government supporters, while national unity, of which the Communist Party is the standard-bearer, is becoming stronger. Most revealing were the events which took place at the time of the general election of May 11, 1958, when the leaders of some of the armed detachments of the Rights, who in the past fought against the people's democratic movement, demonstrated their loyalty to this movement and even tried to

contact or co-operate with it. There were instances of children and widows of the enemy occupation and civil war victims forming joint reconciliation committees.

These changes are closely linked with the big gains of the socialist camp and the disintegration of colonialism, the broadening of the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries and the people's opposition to the war policy.

The Communist Party's ideological, political and organizational work, stepped up after the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission (March 1956), is furthering the growth of the forces favoring national-democratic changes.

The Fascist Danger

Reaction's onslaught is aimed at halting the growing democratic movement. The top monopoly capitalist circles, headed by the National Radical Union (ERE)—the party in power—and the government which is slavishly fawning on the Americans, are trying hard to get out of a difficult spot. They want at any cost to make the working people shoulder the burden of the crisis. They are trying to re-establish the Balkan Union, or to participate in broader blocs under the aegis of Washington. They want to secure absolute domination over the country's economic and political life, and intend making short shrift of anyone seeking democratic changes.

The reactionary offensive in Greece is not an isolated phenomenon. In one or another form we see this taking place in France, Italy, Japan and in many colonial and dependent countries. In all cases its object is to suppress the liberation movement, aggravate international tension and enhance monopoly rule. It is headed by American imperialism, now playing the part of world gendarme.

A timely exposure of reaction's designs was made by the Communist Party. It is not so easy to re-establish a fascist regime in its old forms in Greece, where the people have suffered under a monarchist-fascist dictatorship and experienced its rottenness and corruption. For this reason the plutocratic oligarchy is bent on curtailing the few democratic rights still enjoyed by the people, introducing reactionary constitutional reforms while preserving, as far as possible, the semblance of parliamentary life.

Its aim is to crush the EDA, to isolate it from the mass organizations, the trade unions, co-operatives, various associations, municipal and communal councils, to turn

it into a harmless group in Parliament as a result of an electoral swindle giving the Rights an absolute majority. Many facts testify to the existence of a far-reaching plan of this nature. EDA activists are being arrested in increasing numbers; the vile practice of exiling people to the islands—where many popular fighters have been kept for nearly 12 years without having been tried—is continued on a still greater scale. Law 375 is widely applied to Left elements. Under this law civilians may be brought before a military tribunal for “espionage” in peacetime. A number of emergency measures are still in force, as, for instance, the law banning the Communist Party and a number of democratic organizations, the law restricting the freedom of the press, the “affirmation of loyalty,” etc. The barbarous medieval custom of offering rewards for the capture of a “criminal” is practised; provocations, attacks on EDA premises and acts of arson are organized; people elected to leading trade union, co-operative, municipal and communal bodies are victimized; parliament is recessed for long periods, and so on. With the arrest of Manolis Glezos and the handing over of his case to the military tribunal on a framed charge of espionage, the reactionary offensive has reached its peak. This offensive, now spearheaded mainly against the Left, threatens all the democratic forces and, unless halted, will leave no democratic gain untouched.

The totalitarian regime to which reaction aspires differs from the old forms of fascism. Since the influence of the oligarchy is diminishing, it depends to an ever greater extent on the police and the military, and on foreign support. The police, in point of fact, are becoming the dominant force behind the country's policy. Not a single measure of any importance can be carried out or any appointment made without the approval of the “asfala”^{*} and the KIP (State Information Service under direct American control). As for the military clique, the fact that Law 375 was extended on their insistence speaks for itself. These forces are playing an increasingly bigger role in politics. It would be incorrect to say, however, that the danger of fascism emanates from military and police circles and that the Karamanlis government has adopted a neutral stand. It is precisely this government and the ruling ERE Party that are implanting fascism in all spheres of public life.

^{*}Greek political police.

In the drive to weaken and divide the democratic forces and to strike at them, reaction resorts to “anti-communism,” encourages “intolerance,” spreads fabrications to the effect that the nation and national independence are “utopian,” “obsolete” concepts. In launching their attack, the reactionaries rely on the support of Right-wing reformist leaders in the working-class movement. Some of the latter now preach “anti-communism” and laud the blessings which the aggressive NATO allegedly provides. Others—splitters of the Theodorou brand—combine anti-communism with attempts to seize trade union leadership by gangster methods on the American model. Hostile propaganda is also conducted against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, and a policy of aggravating relations with the socialist countries is pursued.

This orientation is a sign of the weakness, not of the strength, of the rulers and demonstrates their fear of the growing democratic forces. The reactionary camp has not become stronger in Greece, as it has, temporarily, in France. The reverse is true. Right-wing influence is somewhat declining, the Center is undergoing a crisis and Left influence is growing. It is typical of the situation in Greece that the reactionary offensive has given rise to a protest movement embracing masses of people and many prominent personalities and politicians, lawyers, representatives of science and culture. Nearly all the opposition parties—the Democratic Party of the Working People, the National Progressive Union of the Center (EPEK), the Democratic Union, the People's Social Party, the New Agrarian Movement, part of the Liberal Party and leaders from the Agrarian Party — are fighting the Right-wing policy. They want the repeal of Law 375, an end to the exile policy and insist that so-called espionage cases be tried in the civil courts. A motion to repeal Law 375 was moved in Parliament by the Democratic Party, the EPEK and nine members of the Liberal Party. All lawyers' associations have denounced the law. Some of the opposition parties are in favor of the Communist Party being made legal. Even among the big bourgeoisie there are those who disagree with the reckless government policy, fearing that it might aggravate things at home and abroad and cause an even greater swing to the Left.

It would be a mistake, of course, to underestimate the danger of fascism and to ignore the shortcomings of the democratic move-

ment. The working class is divided, reformists head the GCEE leadership, despite the fact that politically the majority of the working class is behind the Left democratic forces. So far there is no united democratic front, while the mass resistance movement is not yet able to put up an adequate opposition to the regime of repression, impoverishment and subordination to foreigners. Moreover, the Greek reactionaries have been encouraged by de Gaulle's success in France.

Uphold Democratic Freedoms

Greece's social development, particularly during and after the war, demonstrates that the plutocratic oligarchy places its own class interests above those of the country. It has betrayed the national ideals and democracy. The working class and its Communist Party inevitably become the vanguard fighters for the constitutional liberties and institutions which the bourgeoisie has betrayed. This is the essence of the changes now taking place in the country and of the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. The democracy, for which the working class, in alliance with the majority of the people, is now fighting against the 500 capitalist families, is a genuine democracy, one which will make the country truly independent, sweep away the remnants of feudalism which the bourgeoisie has left untouched, and make the people the real masters of the country. The urgent need for these changes and the people's aspirations are reflected in the Communist Party's Policy Declaration. Its main points are: "Independence—political and economic; restoration of democratic rule; peace and friendship with all countries; reconstruction of the economy and a higher standard of living for the people." The dilemma confronting Greece, the Declaration states, is not the choice between capitalism or socialism, but between enslavement or independence, war or peace, fascism or democracy.

The Communist Party firmly believes that, despite the difficulties and obstacles created by the reactionaries to hinder the opposition, this program can be implemented in a peaceful way provided all the progressive forces are organized into a powerful anti-imperialist democratic front.

In order to facilitate the unity of the democratic forces and frustrate the plans nurtured by the reactionary plutocracy, the Communist Party of Greece has advanced a minimum program envisaging a government of national unity which would carry out

the following urgent measures: end the anti-democratic repressions, foil the anti-democratic designs and restore democratic liberties; pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples; take immediate measures to alleviate the conditions of the people.

"The task of the moment," states the Resolution of the November 1958 meeting of the Central Committee, "is to rebuff reaction, to call a halt to the arrests and other government measures against the liberties of the people, safeguard every gain won by the people, even the smallest, prevent implementation of planned anti-democratic dictatorial decisions. This struggle is indissolubly linked with the fight for bread, for the defense of Cyprus, with the struggle against foreign domination, for peace and against the menace of nuclear annihilation."

The Communist Party calls upon the patriotic forces to rally and unite for the purpose of carrying out this program. This unity presupposes that the Party should close its ranks and uphold Marxist revolutionary theory against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. The Central Committee resolutions point to the need to continue the struggle first and foremost against revisionist views and trends, which have become more pronounced as a result of the difficulties encountered by the democratic movement and which are reflected in defeatism, in trailing behind the bourgeois opposition. There must be no relaxation in combating the survivals of dogmatism and sectarian methods, in the struggle against those who fail to see the changes taking place daily, who flinch in the face of the difficulties in achieving unity and who show no desire to seek new forms of broadening contacts with the masses.

The people of Greece are fighting a hard battle for democratic liberties, for their lives, for peace and independence. The movement to save Manolis Glezos, who has been charged with high treason and illegally transferred to the medieval Kalami convict prison on Crete in order to hinder his defense and make it more difficult for the Greek people and world public opinion to support him, is part of this struggle. Our fight is inseparably linked with the peoples' struggle for peace, independence and democracy in the Middle East.

In these conditions international solidarity is of decisive importance. The people of Greece are grateful for the sympathy, solidarity and help rendered them by all the

freedom-loving peoples, by the socialist countries. They are convinced that they will beat back the reactionary onslaught and

restore a democratic system and normal life, and win peace, democracy and independence for their country.

Strengthening the National-Liberation Front

(from the experience of the Communist Party of Chile)

Luis Corvalan

THE peoples who are striving for independence regard the Soviet Union and the united camp of the socialist countries as the powerful bulwark and the main stronghold in their struggle. This is the reason for the warmth with which they reacted to the seven-year plan adopted by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Fulfilment of this plan will exert a very great influence on Latin America and will open up new horizons to its peoples. For us, whose countries suffer from Washington's policy of plunder, economic enslavement and involvement in military plans on the pretext of "protecting the American continent from Soviet aggression," this plan thoroughly exposes those who try to fool our peoples with lies. The seven-year plan is further proof that the sole aim of the Soviet Union is peace—peace to build communist society and to compete with the capitalist world in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres, so that the people may themselves choose the system they prefer. Its fulfilment will open the eyes of those in Latin America who have been taken in by dollar propaganda.

Many people in the Latin American countries, particularly among the national bourgeoisie, fell for the "omnipotence of the United States" and the "fatal effect of geographical proximity." The propagandists of the "American way of life" and of geopolitics had sown confusion in people's minds. They have now suffered a crushing blow. The Soviet Union, through the medium of its seven-year plan, intends to catch up with and overtake the "American colossus" in per capita output. And, aware that the Soviet Union always fulfils its projects, as the previous plans testify, the seven-year

plan is a decisive factor for strengthening the militancy of our peoples and their faith in a happier future.

At the time of the decline of Spanish colonialism in South America, the progressive ideas of the French Revolution were strongly felt in the country. All attempts to hinder this were futile. And futile, too, will be any effort to prevent the growth of the attraction of socialist ideas in the age of the atom and sputniks; in contrast to the bourgeois revolution, these ideas translate into reality mankind's age-old dream of genuine fraternity, social justice and freedom for the peoples.

We should not, of course, sit back and repose our hopes on the life-giving influence of socialist ideas. It would be erroneous to assume that social changes will take place spontaneously, without persistent class battles. The people will have to fight for liberation from the capitalist yoke.

Since monopoly capital took root in our lands, Latin Americans have been fighting to uphold their sovereignty and genuine independence. In the course of this struggle more than once have tyrannical governments that had sold themselves to the imperialists been overthrown. But so far defeat has invariably followed success. Even when the overthrown governments were replaced by democratic forces, the latter failed to carry out the radical reforms called for by the social-economic development of our country. And when they did make some changes, they stopped halfway, surrendered to imperialism and the oligarchy, entered into collusion with them, or were smashed by reaction. Whatever progress was made was, as a rule, transient and superficial. For although the national bourgeoisie won positions in a number of coun-

tries, the colonization of Latin America by the United States continued, the main feudal survivals being preserved.

This was because our progressive movements were led by the national bourgeoisie. Although their interests differ from those of imperialism and the landlord oligarchy, the national bourgeoisie are linked with these enemies of progress; they are weak organizationally and fear the working-class movement. Hence their inconsistency, instability and venality.

An important factor of the present upsurge of the struggle against North American imperialism is the increased activity of the working class accompanied by the rapid growth of the Communist parties. It can be said that the revolutionary process in Latin America has changed qualitatively. The working class is becoming the leading force. This fact is of paramount importance for the success of the national-liberation struggle and consistent implementation of profound democratic changes in the interest of the progressive development of our countries.

Experience has shown that there is only one way of building a truly national-liberation movement and of carrying out real and far-reaching transformations in Chile — the way of working-class unity in the fight for urgent needs and, *simultaneously*, for the solution of tasks which are equally the tasks of the progressive sections of society and, first and foremost, the peasantry.

Only in this way can the working class gather strength, win positions and unite and head the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal coalition. "For it is not enough to call ourselves the 'vanguard,' the advanced detachment; we must act like one; we must act in such a way that *all* the other detachments shall see us, and be obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard."^{*}

Guided by this principle, Comrade Galo Gonzales, the late Secretary-General of the Party, always counselled us that before talking about the leading role of the proletariat at meetings and in the press, we should achieve it in struggle. In the long run this question is decided by the balance of forces. If we act ably and adhere to the correct strategic line, success will depend upon who is stronger organizationally and politically: the bourgeoisie and their parties or the proletariat and their vanguard. The need to develop unity and the working-class struggle

and to build a powerful communist party derives from this, and that was how the XIth National Congress of our Party (November 1958) posed the question.

The Communist Party of Chile has recorded important gains in this sphere. Jointly with the Socialists and other allies, we re-established trade-union unity. All factory and office workers are now united in the Trade Union Center of the Working People of Chile formed six years ago.

Trade-union unity was established and consolidated by following three basic principles: firstly, by strengthening the working people's unity of action in the struggle for their common demands; secondly, by Party work in the mass organizations, irrespective of the leaders and the general trend of these organizations; thirdly, by participating in all the stages of unification and in the leading bodies of the amalgamated trade unions, and by upholding trade-union democracy.

In 1946 when the trade-union renegade Bernardo Ibanez and other imperialist agents split the trade-union center, two rival bodies were set up—one under communist and the other under socialist leadership. We continued to work in the trade unions that followed the disrupters, we continued our fight there for the rights and demands of the working people. Later, this enabled us to regroup the forces of the proletariat. We can cite another example of the effectiveness of this policy. Towards the end of 1958, thanks to the Party's work in the mass organizations, four of the five trade-union federations in Chile withdrew from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Inter-American Regional Organization of the Working People affiliated to the ICFTU.

Communists, Socialists, Radicals, Christian-Democrats, Independents are represented in the Trade Union Center, in the individual unions and in the various union committees, in numbers commensurate to the influence of these parties. The Center rules guarantee proportional representation for each party. It should be noted that on all important issues the Communists work for decisions acceptable to all the parties. Our group does not seek to impose decisions by virtue of its majority, it endeavors to obtain their unanimous acceptance by means of persuasion and explanation.

The XIth National Congress of the Party emphasized the need to strengthen unity and to secure better organization of the factory and office workers. Definite tasks

^{*}V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works* in Two Vols., Moscow, Vol. I, part I, p. 292.

are being advanced in this connection: to achieve still closer unity of the working people in each industry, inasmuch as parallel trade unions still exist in some of them; to help in formulating common demands according to industry, to win hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers for the trade unions, first and foremost the agricultural workers, to develop class solidarity and step up the ideological struggle against economism, indifference to politics and other bourgeois influences which tie the hands of the working class and prevent it from playing the leading role. Chile's population of over six million includes 700,000 industrial workers, among whom are miners, construction and transport workers. Half a million proletarians and semi-proletarians live in the countryside. There are, furthermore, about 370,000 state and private office workers and 380,000 domestic workers (servants, chauffeurs, gardeners, etc.). The working people represent a powerful force which, if organized, will be capable of accomplishing great deeds. The task of the day is to draw this force into the mass struggle.

Proletarian unity calls for co-operation between Communists and Socialists. It strengthens the struggle of the working class, and makes it confident of its own strength. In Chile this co-operation was achieved by way of joint action for the demands of the working people, by concentrating on the things on which their views are identical. We are, of course, conscious of our differences with the Socialists. Our discussions develop along ideological lines; we argue points during private talks and at meetings where there is a real conflict of ideas and not mere bickering. And our unity is strengthened every time the Communists and Socialists make joint efforts to overcome differences.

While working to improve the organization, strengthen the unity and struggle of the working class, we at the same time do our best to win over the peasantry. Without an alliance with the peasantry the proletariat cannot become the leader in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement. *The leading role of the proletariat implies that other forces, chiefly the working masses in the countryside, must be rallied around it.* We have had some success in this respect. In the September 4, 1958, presidential elections, Salvador Allende, who is opposed to feudalism and imperialism, polled more votes in the agricultural regions than had ever been cast for a nominee of the democratic forces. It should be added that ten per cent of the

delegates to the last Party Congress came from the countryside. This, however, is but a beginning. Peasants make up 39 per cent of the population and they must be won over to our side (isolating 2,000 big landowners).

Our initial success among the peasantry was achieved as a result of our practical work, because in addition to proclaiming that "the peasantry is the proletariat's chief ally" we took concrete steps to win this ally. A considerable number of the party organizations in the towns now visit villages on Sundays where they hold talks with the peasant masses, interest themselves in their needs and help to organize them.

Peasants are mistrustful by nature. Having been deceived time and again by bourgeois politicians and officials, they sometimes say: "A good harvest, abundant rain and no frost to ruin our crops, that is our idea of good government." Their confidence cannot be won by talking, but by practical help in solving the countryside's urgent problems. In Coquimbo Province our comrades help the peasants to obtain credits and right of tenure and press for state subsidies in times of drought. In the Santiago Province the farmers' association sells the produce without middle-men. This enables them to secure bigger incomes. Near Talca our activists forced the authorities to open a school for the peasant children.

Sometimes the difficulty in the struggle for the worker-peasant alliance is to know where and how to begin. We should visit the villages, ascertain the peasants' needs and, together with them, seek ways in which to help them. This task often appears extremely difficult and one wonders how to set about it.

A comrade from Lautaro, a delegate to the XIth Party Congress, told us that they had been looking for a good agitator for work in the countryside and were on the point of making an application to the Central Committee when they suddenly discovered that our newspaper was the very agitator they required. Groups of comrades knocked at the doors every Sunday, selling the paper and chatting with the peasants. The outcome was that 14 peasant branches were set up in six months and 17 rural teachers joined the Party.

Our experience has shown that by establishing contact with the peasants, the Party draws closer to them, develops greater activity and makes progress in carrying out its task. But the worker-peasant alliance calls for more than this, it demands that the working-class organizations in the towns keep in constant touch with the masses in the country-

side. On the initiative of the Communists, a number of trade unions have taken on the patronage of the peasants in particular villages and have established permanent contact with them. More and more of the Party's propaganda and agitation is devoted to the peasant question and to land reform. Every second day the Party newspaper gives a whole page to peasant subjects. The progressive forces in the towns now appreciate the need for land reform and for supporting the peasants, even if only morally. This encourages the peasant masses, who are gaining confidence and losing their fear of the big landlords.

* * *

The national-liberation movement is developing on the basis of trade union unity of the working people and close understanding between the Communists and Socialists. A Popular Front has been established which includes the Communist and Socialist Parties, the Democratic Party, the Party of Labor, the People's Party, the Radical-Doctrinaire Party, the National Alliance of Working People and the Party of Irreconcilable Radical-Anti-Imperialists. The Front has thousands of committees all over the country; its program, which was drawn up in consultation with the people, poses the following four tasks: extension of democracy, improvement of public welfare, economic development and consolidation of national independence. The measures aim at radical progressive changes such as land reform, democratization of the republic, protection of the national wealth, establishment of relations with all countries, etc. These measures are not merely declared, they add up to an integrated, scientifically-founded program, based on the real conditions and possibilities and reflecting the genuine aims and needs of the country. To a considerable degree this accounts for the success of the Popular Action Front whose candidate would have become president had he polled another 30,000 votes.

The Front has succeeded in uniting a big section of the working class and a considerable part of the peasants and the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Progressive forces belonging to the Center parties, such as the Radical Party, the Christian-Democratic Party and the National-Popular Party, or who are under their influence, have not yet joined the Front. Hence the importance of unity between the Popular Front and the Center parties mentioned above.

Experience has shown that joint action is necessary. The agreement signed between the

Front and the Center parties has three main objectives: 1) repeal of the notorious "Defense of Democracy Law" under which the Communist Party was banned;* 2) democratic electoral reform; 3) enactment of a law to improve the administration.

The first two aims have already been attained: the Communist Party has regained its legal status, and electoral rights and freedoms have been extended somewhat. Thus the opportunities exist for successfully completing the long struggle waged by the people. But history shows that this struggle does not develop in a steadily ascending line. After the presidential elections, which resulted in victory for Jorge Alessandri, the candidate of the Rights, the centrist Radical Party swung to the Right and established contact with the government, while two other parties of the Center, the Christian-Democratic and the National-Popular Party, re-affirmed their "strictly centrist" position.

The national or middle bourgeoisie is a vacillating and unstable element. Hence the position it has adopted. We are decidedly in favor of re-establishing joint action by the Popular Front and the Center parties; reviving first and foremost the struggle of the masses, developing it among "the lower strata." We did this during the struggle for the repeal of the law banning our Party. Having shed all the illusions about the "purely" parliamentary activity of the progressive bourgeois parties which for a number of years formally urged the repeal of this law and which at all their congresses adopted "solemn" resolutions on this issue, we laid special emphasis on the activity of the masses and particularly of the working class. Industrial workers held protest strikes, meetings and rallies, demonstrations in the streets, demanding the repeal of the law. Furthermore, utilizing the relative freedom that obtained at the time of the presidential election, our Party campaigned in the streets and addressed public meetings. Acting independently as a party, not in isolation but jointly with our allies, we held more than 40 meetings.

Our slogan was: first—*de facto* repeal of the anti-Communist law with the support of the masses and, subsequently, *de jure* repeal by a special Act. After the people had been brought into action, and after we had enlisted the support of a considerable parliamentary majority, General Ibanez, then president, who had previously persecuted us, submitted a draft of the repeal of the anti-Communist law

*The "Defense of Democracy Law" (repealed in 1958) was passed in 1948.

to the National Congress and requested that it be urgently considered. Had this not been done by the president under pressure of the Communist Party, the debate would have been postponed indefinitely. In taking this stand President Ibanez was influenced by the differences among the Right who had antagonized him.

In the long run our struggle was crowned with victory. The Communists understood Lenin's words when he, criticizing the "Left" Communists in Germany, wrote: "The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and *without fail*, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully using every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."*

It is not easy to rouse the people or to fuse the activities of broad sections of the population. Big difficulties are encountered: the intrigues of the imperialists and reactionaries, the wavering of the national bourgeoisie and its efforts to impose its leadership, the thirst for leadership and power on the part of our allies. We often have grave differences with these people. With mass support, however, we can overcome the biggest difficulties, provided we work patiently and painstakingly for the unity of the masses, take the initiative into our own hands and steadfastly carry out our tasks. A good example was shown by the miners in the Concepcion and Arauco provinces who, under the leadership of our Party, worked in this way. When threatened with pit closures in Lirquen and Plegarias, which would have greatly aggravated the crisis in the mining industry where the workers are on short time, the miners won the support of the shopkeepers, small industrialists and the majority of the population. Similar examples could be cited in the Tarapaca and Antofagasta provinces.

There has been doubt and misunderstanding in relation to our policy of uniting the progressive forces. Betrayal by some groups of the national bourgeoisie, of whom the working class has not infrequently been the victim, has given rise to the conviction that we

should rely solely on the struggle of the masses and extend and strengthen the positions of the proletariat and its Party. This, of course, is the chief thing and we adhere to it in our practical work. But because of this betrayal sectarian tendencies and the incorrect idea that the proletariat should abandon any alliance with the national bourgeoisie have spread among various groups of our socialist allies, and even among certain members of our own party. The Trotskyite remnants supported these Left tendencies, seeking to isolate the working class and bring about its defeat. In this they were joined by the revisionists. Denying the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the proletariat's allies in the democratic revolution, and, in part, on the need to win the co-operation of the national bourgeoisie, they preached that in Chile and other Latin American countries the bourgeoisie as a whole had become a reactionary class.

Despite fabrications of this nature objective reality shows where the truth lies. The bourgeoisie, of course, are not homogeneous, and there are antagonisms between their various groups. There is the top bourgeoisie, the monopoly-type sections linked with North American imperialism and the landlord oligarchy. This section is reactionary. But there is, in addition, the petty bourgeoisie which acts with the proletariat, and the middle, wavering and unstable bourgeoisie hovering round the centrist parties and at times siding with the working class and at others taking a reactionary stand. We are working to get the middle bourgeoisie to join the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement. On some issues and in definite circumstances, we try to neutralize or even to enlist the support of certain groups of the big bourgeoisie for one or another undertaking. Although, generally speaking, the big bourgeoisie are an ally of imperialism, there are times when they, too, become the victim of imperialism. The import of North American coal, for example, hurts the Chilean coal monopolies.

The division of the bourgeoisie into big, middle and petty is correct, as is the policy of winning over to our side the middle and petty bourgeoisie. But there are occasions when the middle bourgeoisie adopt a reactionary stand and an alliance with them is then possible only if a crushing blow is struck at the more conciliatory elements, always bearing in mind, of course, the possibility of drawing them into the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. We must be guided in

*V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works* in Two Vols., Vol. II, p. II, p. 396.

our activities therefore not by preconceived ideas but by the constantly changing reality.

To achieve success in uniting all the democratic forces, including the national bourgeoisie, the common aims must be defined and placed in the forefront. Unless attention is focused on the common, most pressing tasks of any given time, unity of action cannot be achieved. At the same time we must intensify the struggle of the working class for its specific demands; unless this is done our Party cannot march at the head of the proletariat and the proletariat cannot become the leading force. It might appear at first glance that this last circumstance will aggravate the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and weaken the unity of action of the various progressive sections in the struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy. But this need not necessarily occur, and it will not happen if the working class combines the fight for its own specific demands with the struggle for national aspirations, as for example, the extension of diplomatic and trade relations with other countries, or for land reform. As a result of this policy the balance of forces changes, the contradictions with imperialism and the oligarchy are accentuated, and the opportunities increased for winning over some capitalists on such an issue, say, as increasing the purchasing power of the working people. It should be borne in mind that the low purchasing power of the masses retards the expansion of the national industry and trade, and that many capitalists might make economic concessions to the working people if, through the joint efforts of all patriots, the imperialist robbery is checked in some measure and agrarian changes carried out.

* * *

The question can be posed: what is the trend of development in Chile?

The crisis in the country is becoming more acute, and the present rulers, like their predecessors, are endeavoring to carry out plans built on sand.

On the pretext of ending inflation, real wages and consumption are being reduced. Four wage-freeze laws have been forced on the working people to date. But the cure has proved worse than the disease. The chronic inflation is becoming worse, with the result that industrial output fell by 8.6 per cent in 1958 compared with the two preceding years; the building industry has curtailed production by 60 per cent; a quarter of a million people are jobless and many shopkeepers have been ruined.

On the pretext of developing the mining industry and expanding exports, the taxes levied on the U.S. companies extracting copper, saltpeter and iron ore have been reduced, and the currency repeatedly devalued. The last devaluation raised prices 20 per cent, and as the value of manufactures increases with the higher production costs, another attempt will be made to devalue our currency as compared with the dollar. To make up for the shortage of agricultural goods, surplus farm products are being imported from the USA. These measures enslave our country to an increasing extent and curtail trade with Argentina, which formerly supplied us with the foods now being imported from the United States. Foreign capital investment is being sought in the hope of stimulating industry.

Chile's dependence is increasing, more and more of her wealth is flowing into the coffers of the U.S. monopolies, and things have reached the state where we are exporting—as a result of companies pumping money out of the country and of our foreign debt payments—more capital than we are importing.

The country cannot bear the consequences of this policy much longer. The forces demanding a change are growing and will continue to grow with every passing day. Developments connected with the last devaluation testify to this. A strong opposition has arisen in the extreme Right parties supporting Alessandri.

Chile, like other Latin American countries, is fighting to develop an independent economy, to improve conditions for her people, for national culture and sovereignty. In this struggle she comes up against U.S. imperialism, the landlord oligarchy and the big, monopoly-type capitalists. This conflict cannot be resolved without comprehensive reconstruction.

The complete liberation of the oppressed nations, the economic and social progress of backward countries—such is the trend of the times. Needed for this are far-reaching changes, at the expense of the imperialists and landlord oligarchy, by way of a genuinely democratic government of national and social liberation which would carry out these transformations and place our country among the international forces of peace and progress. Our government is now in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie linked with U.S. imperialism and the big landowners. Its reactionary policy will rally the opposition and unite the majority of the people. As in other Latin American countries, the conditions are rapidly maturing in Chile for a revolutionary

crisis. Our Party is striving to unite all forces into a single democratic front of national liberation in which the leading role will belong to the working class and its Party. On this front will devolve the task of winning political power.

Many obstacles stand in the way of this. The reactionaries are trying to retard the growth of the mass movement. Afraid of the people, they, relying on their parliamentary majority, have postponed the municipal elections and are anxious to push through an electoral law modelled on the swindle of French reaction. They fear the growing prestige of our now legal Party which, before the adoption of the "Defense of Democracy Law," had 17 deputies in Parliament and four senators. It now has six deputies, elected during its period of underground activity. In the next general election we hope to win considerably greater representation.

The U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries at home will try to prevent this. Legal status for the democratic forces runs counter to their aims, and this being so, they are concocting new reactionary laws and measures. In his report to the XXIst Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Khrushchov, speaking of the reactionary offensive in the capitalist countries, said:

"Today, when there is a powerful socialist camp, when the working-class movement has much experience in combating reaction, and when the working class is much better organized, the people have greater possibilities of blocking the advance of fascism. Broad sections of the people, all democratic, genuinely national forces, can and must join hands against fascism. In so doing, it is very important to stamp out all vestiges of sectarianism, which is liable to obstruct the mobilization of the masses against reaction and fascism. The unity of the democratic forces, above all of the working class, is the most reliable barrier to the fascist threat."

It will not be amiss to recall that at the time of the Ibanez government attempts were made to abolish Parliament, the independent press and the political parties. We opposed these attempts, for we understood only too well that they aimed at worsening the situation. We developed joint action on the basis of working-class unity and succeeded, in some cases, in winning over even the Right constitutionalist groupings. It goes without saying that we shall continue to act in this spirit.

Our chief task is to defend democratic liberties and the rights of our Party, and our main

efforts are directed to doing this. But no matter what the outcome of the struggle will be, it is clear that changes are bound to take place in Chile and in the other Latin American countries. From being a reserve of imperialism and war, Latin America is becoming an active force in the struggle for peace, independence for the peoples, for democracy and socialism. Nothing and no one can prevent its liberation. In the not very distant past North American imperialism could, more or less with impunity, invade Guatemala. But it could not do this in Cuba. The solidarity of the peoples of Latin America—the main factor of the liberation struggle—is stronger today than it was yesterday, and tomorrow it will be stronger than it is today.

But the more widely and the more actively the working class and the Communist parties participate in this struggle, the more rapidly will the Latin American peoples achieve victory over the foreign oppressors—U.S. imperialists—and the internal reactionary castes, and the quicker the great change will take place. In the ranks of this vanguard movement, and among those who are hanging back waiting to see where it will go, are the national bourgeoisie who are anxious to avoid any far-reaching changes and who, in the event of winning or maintaining a grip on the key positions, can again nullify the liberation efforts of our peoples. In these conditions it is especially important for the working class to achieve the leading role in the liberation movement by unity and struggle, by building strong Communist parties and acting jointly with all progressive forces. We have not yet achieved this in Chile but we are going along this road and we realize that we still have much to do.

It follows, therefore, that in the final analysis the most important task of the moment is to build a powerful Communist Party.

Definite progress has been made in this respect. The 1958 Galo Gonzales enrolment doubled the membership of the Party and the Young Communist League. We hope that the latest Luis Emilio Recabarren (founder of the Party) campaign now under way will increase the membership by another fifty per cent.

In strengthening the Party and consistently carrying out its policy, we should continue to combat sectarianism and revisionism. In particular we must uphold the leading role of the Communist Party, which is denied by some adherents of the pernicious tendency to slur over this role. Without retreating a step in defending the Party's leading role, we must

avoid our former errors. Up to 1947, in the period of our legal activities, an overweening and presumptuous approach to this leading role interfered with our work; genuine leadership is achieved and can be achieved only by practical, painstaking work.

In all our countries the struggle is entering upon a new phase. We Chilean Communists, like our comrades in other Latin American countries, are determined to fulfil our revolutionary duty, to bring our peoples to victory.

The Middle Sections in France

Fernand Nicolon

THE favorite approach of the bourgeois economists and sociologists in attacking Marx is that he reduced bourgeois society to two antagonistic classes and predicted the rapid and inevitable disappearance of the intermediate sections.

Many of them try to prove that the development of productive forces, far from leading to the polarization of capitalist society, to its break-up into the two main classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—has resulted in the growing importance of the “intermediate class,” the “middle class,” made up of office employees, technicians and the free professions. The proletariat, so the claim goes, by becoming bourgeois, tends to merge with an “intermediate class” which, they say, takes over the leadership of capitalist society and makes the bourgeoisie dependent upon it.*

No matter what the theories that lead to conclusions of this kind or derive from these conclusions, they all equally deny the role of the production relations and of the class struggle in social development. For an analysis of class relationships they substitute an analysis of technological relations, seek to establish the political, psychological and ideological phenomena of the superstructure directly from the productive forces, by-passing the relations of production.

I. Marx on the Middle Sections

Analyzing the capitalist mode of production Marx, in *Capital*, sought above all to provide a theoretical picture of it in abstract form. This mode of production, “taken in its pure form,” is marked by the relationships between the two major antagonistic social classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The laws engendered by capitalism are laws of tendencies; while manifesting themselves as an iron necessity, they are nothing other than the

resultant of opposing forces. The fact is that capitalist production relations contain elements of the production relations of the previous modes of production and inevitably give birth to a series of social stages intermediate between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Marxist theory by no means denies the existence of the intermediate sections. But it regards this existence as being temporary and transitional, and sees a constantly operating two-fold process within them, a process which, on the one hand, thrusts the lower sections of the bourgeoisie into the ranks of the proletariat and, on the other, attracts an insignificant minority of the upper sections of the proletariat to the ranks of the bourgeoisie. At the same time Marxism denies that this “social mobility,” to which bourgeois sociology would like to reduce social science generally, in any way changes the nature and class structure of the capitalist system. The social sections which have come down from the pre-capitalist modes of production and are linked to the still existing and more or less considerable petty-commodity production sector, are characterized in those parts of the *Communist Manifesto* (so often criticized by bourgeois economists) where Marx and Engels describe the process of proletarianization that leads the “middle sections” to inevitable decline. This, the authors say, concerns the “small tradespeople, shopkeepers and retired tradesmen, the handicraftsmen and peasants,” the lower strata of the “old middle section.” Marx and Engels laid particular emphasis not on their physical disappearance, but on the change in their economic status, their decline as an “independent social force.” However, they never doubted the tenacity of the intermediate sections. “In countries,” they wrote, “where modern civilization has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between prole-

*See article by A. Daix in *Esprit*, No. 5, 1956, pp. 681-682 and 684.

tariat and bourgeoisie and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society." It is a burden on the working class and adds to the power and prosperity of the higher classes.

II. The Two-Fold Nature of the Development of the Middle Sections

The complicated social relations and the numerous transitional stages from one class to another make it difficult to differentiate between such clearly-defined classes as the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. And this makes it even more difficult to classify the intermediate sections.

As far as France is concerned, an analysis of the 1954 census results shows that the intermediate non-peasant sections account for some 6.5 million people. These include about two million handicraftsmen and shopkeepers, approximately 2.5 million employees in the government and private sectors, 850,000 intellectuals, 350,000 foremen, technicians and engineers in the state sector, 550,000 foremen, technicians and engineers in the private sector and 350,000 police and regular soldiers. A comparison between the total number of intermediate non-peasant sections and the industrial proletariat, of whom there are 6,600,000, shows that the middle sections make up a big proportion of the population of France. To their number we should add over a million small peasant households (of less than 10 hectares).

As Maurice Thorez showed, "... a two-fold process is now taking place—the proletarianization of the middle sections who occupied a place in production is under way; it is accompanied by a tendency for parasitic elements to increase (army, police, officials, administrative personnel in industry, trade, credit organizations and so on)."

This two-fold process explains why there are two major groups in the middle sections. In the first place they include the small peasants, artisans and shopkeepers. These groups are the survivals in bourgeois society of the pre-capitalist mode of production and the corresponding forms of exchange. They are, so to say, the "old" middle sections, most of which arose under feudalism and have been preserved to our times.

There are, also, other intermediate sections which appeared later; their origin and development are linked with the growth of the

productive forces and of the parasitic features of capitalism.

Latter-day capitalism is constantly reproducing so-called new middle sections: civil servants, office employees in the state-owned and privately-owned enterprises, engineers and technicians, intellectuals, etc. But the numerical growth of these sections does not mean that they are dislodging or absorbing the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—the main classes of bourgeois society—as the bourgeois sociologists try to depict. This process merely shows that capital, by exploiting the vast masses, accentuates the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the millions of working people. The position of the intermediate sections is most unstable, and differentiation is always taking place. The conditions of many of them such as, for instance, the office employees, engineers and technicians in the low-income group, do not differ substantially from those of the working class.

III. The "Old" Middle Sections

1. *The small peasantry.* The numerous peasant population which at one time served the bourgeoisie as a rampart against feudalism and, later, against attacks by the proletariat, has left a deep imprint on French political history.

The existence of smallholders complicates the differentiation of social relationships in the countryside, multiplies the intermediate stages and the transitional forms between semi-feudal relationships (sharecropping) which still obtain in some districts, and the typically capitalist relationships prevailing in the more economically developed regions.

The peasant owning a small plot of land and implements is, formally, the owner of the product of his labor. In point of fact, however, he is dependent upon the capitalist market prices which, in turn, are determined by the conditions of capitalist production.

Labor productivity is extremely low on the peasant plot, for its implements are primitive. More often than not the peasant's meager income does not suffice to maintain his family. His position is made still more difficult if he has to lease the land and pay rent from his scanty income.

He has to redouble his efforts, work more hours and suffer shortages in order to increase his income; he is forced to sell his draft animals in order to buy implements with the aid of which he hopes to raise labor productivity. But in most cases he falls into debt

*New Data on Impoverishment, *Cahiers du Communisme*, 1955, Nos. 7-8, pp. 820-821.

and sinks deeper and deeper into poverty. It is only when he is on the verge of utter impoverishment, often after having made vain attempts to keep going by working long hours—part of the time on his holding and part in a neighboring factory—that he finally resolves to give up his bit of ground to become an unskilled laborer. Only in the most favorable circumstances is it possible for a few to rise to the position of middle peasants.

The law of capitalist concentration, which in under 60 years has brought about the disappearance of about one-third of all the small-holdings (of up to 10 hectares each), operates in the French countryside just as it does in other capitalist countries. But there are still over a million of these households, mainly in the south of France. Their economic importance is diminishing more rapidly than their number.

Do the small peasants form a social class? In his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx gives a guarded reply: "In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no community, no national bond and no political organization among them, they do not form a class. They are consequently incapable of enforcing their class interest in their own name. . . ."*

The small peasantry is one of the most typical survivals of the pre-capitalist mode of production, against which the law of concentration and proletarianization operates more or less ruthlessly, depending on the economic situation, but always harshly.

2. *Handicraftsmen.* These, even more than the small peasantry, are weighed down by big capitalist production. The fact that they are numerous (about 900,000 enterprises still remain in France) should create no illusion: compared with the capitalist sector their economic importance is negligible and their position unstable. Bakers, pastry-cooks, butchers, sausage-dealers and so on, with their semi-commercial activities, form the exception. Their conditions, furthermore, have changed radically.

Ruined by big industry, the handicraftsmen are gradually abandoning production proper

for repair and maintenance work (mechanics, electricians). They often combine their functions as producers with trading activities, becoming agents for capitalist firms (watch, radio and T.V., agricultural machines, autos, etc.), upon which they become dependent.

Handicraftsmen are being ousted from production more or less rapidly, depending on the industry. In some branches of art production (printing, fretwork, bookbinding) or in the poorly-mechanized industries (clothing, furniture), conditions are more favorable for handicraft workshops. But even most of these have long since stopped catering to a big clientele, and only have one customer (large store, publishing house) whose orders they fill.

More and more artisans in the building trade (plasterers, house-painters, joiners, plumbers, floor-tilers and so on) are becoming sub-contractors to building firms.

Occasionally, however, big capitalist industry is directly interested in maintaining handicraft labor as, for example, to make spare parts, and put the finishing touches to autos and aircraft.

Capital unhesitatingly resorts to handicraft labor when it finds it more profitable than factory shop labor. It uses it regularly when, for the output of a small quantity of goods, poorly mechanized processes can replace processes which are normally carried out in big workshops. This labor is particularly profitable (mainly in making knitted garments, gloves, spectacles, watches, leather goods, novelties and knickknacks, plastics, toys, clothing and so forth) when there are plenty of hands obliged to content themselves with a small wage.

No matter whether we call them handicraftsmen, home workers or even workers—these toilers are all, in point of fact, wage workers, doing piecework for the capitalist who brutally exploits them. He finds it pays to employ this kind of worker, for the latter uses his own instruments, bears part of the overhead (rent, heating, lighting, cost of various accessories and of rejects) which should be the capitalist's responsibility. Not only does the craftsman himself work long hours in unhygienic conditions, very often his wife and children are forced to do likewise; sometimes, he takes on one or two helpers.

Except for the few who are not engaged in serial output (art production, barbers and hairdressers), the mass of handicraftsmen form an extremely unstable social section

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in Two Volumes, Moscow, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 334.

most of whom, and this is particularly true at times of economic crises, are constantly going over to the proletariat from which they, in most cases, originally came. At the same time, this section is continually being reinforced by working people who, made desperate by unemployment or attracted by what they consider to be favorable circumstances, try their luck as "independent" producers. But the independence thus acquired is, as a rule, a fiction.

This kind of handicraft production should be regarded as a survival of small-scale commodity production. The modern handicraftsman differs from the medieval "guild-master," however, in that he has long since lost the independence and stable position of his ancestors. He has become an appendage to big capitalist production or trade.

3. *Storekeepers.* The changes have had repercussions on the small trader, although trading activity continues to be a relatively favorable field for the small man.

The big stores (including chain stores, department stores with their branches, specialty stores, etc.) which compete with and gradually oust the independent store, are but one of the ways—and, without doubt, not the most important—in which capitalism has secured almost complete domination of trade. Control of production provides big capital with a thousand and one supplementary ways of controlling sales without taking charge of them unless it finds this necessary. Industrial monopolists are forcing their goods on the consumer, fixing selling prices and thus determining the storekeeper's margin of profit; the latter is forced to sell only monopoly goods, to stock them, and to have the monopolists' interests at heart, etc. "The dictatorship of the trade-mark, the might and power of advertising, no longer permit small-scale trade, although it may exist formally, to be really independent."*

Thus there are a number of intermediate stages in the trade sector between the wage worker and the small capitalist: the commission agent, the commercial traveler and the "salesman." The last-mentioned categories, whose incomes depend on turnover, are easily distinguished both from the owners of the trading enterprises, inasmuch as they are not co-owners, and from the wage workers. The independent trading concern has disappeared entirely in a number of sectors, and, despite strong resistance, is being ousted from others.

*Pierre Bleton, *Les Hommes des temps qui viennent*, Paris, Editions Ouvrieres, 1956, p. 61.

A new small trading bourgeoisie is evolving, subordinate to capitalist production and large-scale capitalist trade and suffering moreover from the rigors of competition as did its predecessors.

IV. "New" Middle Sections

Another process is taking place simultaneously with the process of the proletarianization and economic subordination of the "old" middle sections to capital. "New" middle sections are taking shape. This process has been greatly accelerated during the past decades and has profoundly changed the structure and composition of the intermediate sections.

Having become the ruling class, the bourgeoisie's first job was to subordinate the state apparatus and, thereafter, the scientific, ideological and other spheres; thus it absorbed a part of the former ruling classes engaged in these activities. Moreover, the extension of the functions of the state—functions of repression occasioned by the growth of the class struggle, and administrative and economic functions arising from the growth of the social character of the productive forces—has led to a considerable numerical increase in government employees. A similar process has taken place in the private sector: the division of labor and its increasing productivity have contributed to a growth of the non-productive sphere. Monopoly capital has given an impetus to this sphere (banks, insurance, financial companies, advertising, etc.), and has made it more parasitic.

On the other hand, the needs of modern industry with its increasingly complex technology require that the big enterprises be equipped with up-to-date machinery and research laboratories. This makes the sections of engineers, technicians and employees still more numerous.

And, finally, the development of education, science, medicine and culture, particularly the latter's application for commercial purposes, has led to an increase in the number of mental workers and has made this section, once an integral part of the bourgeoisie, socially heterogeneous.

A considerable part of the present-day intermediate sections, if we discount the small peasants, consists not only of handicraftsmen and business people—the old petty bourgeoisie engendered by pre-capitalist conditions, and which capitalism is slowly transforming and absorbing—but of various officials, office employees, engineers, technicians and intellec-

tuals, that is to say, the new middle sections engendered by modern capitalism.

1. *Officials of the state apparatus.* The number and the structure of the social sections directly or indirectly associated with the state apparatus and its supplementary bodies vary from country to country. This depends on the size of the state sector, the degree to which nationalization has taken place and on historical conditions. In France, where centralization has always been pronounced, education, the post and telegraph, radio and television directly depend upon the state. For financial, strategic and other considerations, the arsenals, bridges, highways, tobacco and match production are all in the hands of the state. The pressure of the democratic forces after World War II resulted in the establishment of an extensive network of social institutions and in the nationalization of a considerable sector of the economy (railways, gas, electricity, coal-mining, and certain others). The legal status of the working people in this sector (employment, pensions, sickness benefits and so on), despite the bourgeois attacks of recent years, still bears the imprint of the gains won by the people in the class struggle at that time. There are several categories among the working people of this sector.

The conditions of the factory and office workers, technicians and engineers in the state-owned or nationalized branches of the economy do not differ essentially from those of corresponding categories in the private sector.

As far as the personnel of the state apparatus proper is concerned, the police and regular army, clearly, should be singled out. The *raison d'être* of this section implies loyalty and absolute devotion to the big bourgeoisie. This loyalty and devotion are obtained by selection, a special system of pay, and the appropriate ideological conditioning of the key personnel and strict discipline among the "ranks."

The personnel of the central civil administrative bodies belong to the category of government employees. This category has changed greatly in the past fifty years.

As stressed by Lenin, most of the functions of the old state power have been so simplified and reduced to such simple operations, as registration, recording and control, that they can be performed quite easily by anyone with a minimum education, and who can be paid the usual wage of the worker. Division of

labor and standardization in the offices have made it possible to mechanize office work and to employ less skilled workers (typists, secretaries, telephone operators, computing-machine operators, and so on). Most of this work is done by women and young girls from families of modest means. In terms of their daily routine, conditions of labor and wage level, these employees and petty officials stand closest to the working class.

At the other end of the social section of government employees we find the relatively small number of top officials who elaborate and implement the bourgeois class policy to which they are themselves linked not only by the functions they fulfil, but by virtue of a series of economic and personal relationships.

Between these two extreme groups of civil servants is the rather large number of middle officials who have gradually lost their privileges and no longer enjoy the particular esteem in which "civil service" was formerly held. More and more they are slipping to the level of lower-rank officials whose work no longer calls for any great skill, whose material conditions are deteriorating and not infrequently are worse than those of the semi-skilled industrial worker.

2. *Employees.* Employees in the private sector have experienced the same changes as those in the state sector: their numbers have swollen in the same way, the same changes have taken place in their conditions, and there is the same differentiation. On the one hand a tiny minority occupying high posts is, socially, tending to merge with the bourgeoisie, while the vast majority are doomed to routine, exhausting and nerve-racking bureaucratic work.

Many office employees are really in the position of hired workers. Their salaries depend in large measure on the general level of salaries, that is to say, on the state of the labor market and the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, of which they are becoming an ever-greater part.

Mechanization in the offices approximates their conditions of labor to those of industrial workers. But the nature of their work, their role in the enterprises (proximity to the management), and, consequently, the pull of bourgeois ideology, retard the development of their class consciousness and, at times, conceal the basic identity of their interests with those of the industrial proletariat.

3. *Engineers and technicians.* The section consisting, among others, of technicians, engineers and administrative staff in the factories is in large measure a product of technological progress. The increasing complexity of production processes calls for highly-skilled workers. In production the engineers and technicians differ from the other working people only in the level of their technical knowledge. But under capitalism, technical functions are often interwoven with the functions of management, co-ordination and supervision, being paid for by capital and in its interests.

These functions, however, do not turn the technicians, the engineers and administrative staff into an independent social class. They are subordinate to the capitalist class that pays them. But the special role of the technician or engineer does not diminish the power of capital which continues to dominate in production and exchange.

From the standpoint of class relationships in capitalist society, the social status of the technicians and engineers is ambiguous and contradictory: on the one hand, as salaried workers they are exploited and their interests conflict with those of the capitalists; on the other, having been invested with the functions of exploitation—the management of enterprises—they represent capitalist interests.

This section, too, is something in the nature of a hierarchical ladder. At the lowest rung the foremen still have close ties with the working class from which they come. In proportion, however, as the class struggle sharpens in the factories, the importance of supervisory and repressive functions increases. At the same time mechanization is gradually relieving the foremen strata of responsibility for the technical side of the job, which in the past made them highly-skilled workers. Foremen in some of the big plants in France tend to become supervisors, or are placed in charge of a staff of supervisors who do the dirty work (act as informers, use physical violence against workers) and who are recruited from the dregs of society engendered by decaying capitalism (declassed elements, ex-policemen, the residue of colonial wars, etc.).

At the top rungs of this ladder we find the trusted men of the big bourgeoisie who, with rare exceptions, form part of it. As for the intermediate groups, their kinship with the capitalist class often depends on the extent to which their managerial and co-

ordinating functions predominate over their purely technical functions.

It is noteworthy, by the way, that the bourgeoisie pays more for the performance of organizational functions which, under capitalism, are simultaneously functions of exploitation, than it does for technical and technological functions. Engineers in charge of shops or building sites become "officers" and "NCO's" of a sort in the army of labor, and are usually better paid than the engineers in research departments. The future of the engineers and technicians engaged in production depends more on the development of the productive forces than on the fate of the capitalist class; the full flowering of their creative powers presupposes the abolition of capitalist production relations which at the present time are the main obstacle to the growth of the productive forces and the rational organization of economic activity.

And if the personal and transient interests of the engineers and technicians usually result in their siding with the bourgeoisie, their future interests may bring them to the proletariat. There is an objective basis for rapprochement, a basis which turns into a profound community of interests the moment that the abolition of capitalist ownership relieves the technical functions of their capitalist attributes of exploitation.

4. *Intellectuals.* These include various categories (scientists, teachers, doctors, lawyers, architects, journalists, writers, artists, students, clergymen, etc.). They all live on their earnings, as professional workers. But the social functions and economic status of the various categories and, sometimes, of members of the same profession, differ considerably. Some teachers, for instance, are state employees, others are salaried workers and employers. Some of the latter are heads of private educational establishments.

The intellectuals are not a homogeneous social stratum, neither do they constitute a particular social class. The position of some of the groups in this social section reflects, in varying degree depending on their role in society, the basic contradictions in capitalist society.

Most of them work outside sphere of production. But under capitalism their activity can be bought and sold; it can, and does become a commodity and, therefore, a source of profit for capital. The writer, generally, complies with the requirements of the capitalist publisher, the painter caters to the

taste of his capitalist client, the film producer is obliged to agree to the terms laid down by the film-magnate, and so on.

The sharper the contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations, the wider the gap between real life—from which the actors, artists and writers draw their inspiration — and the demands made by the bourgeoisie. Under capitalism the intellectuals find themselves in a position where, as Georgi Dimitrov put it, the old drags them back, while life spurs them on. The scientist cannot but be conscious that the full blossoming of science and the maintenance of the capitalist system are becoming more and more incompatible. And indeed, in order to work, the scientist must place his knowledge at the service of capital; but this very capital has a growing fear of science, because the latter is sapping the foundations of the former's rule and ideology. For the scientist it is a tragedy to be attached to a private research institute, where he is prevented from engaging in theoretical research in which capital has no direct interest, and is restricted to work which will be of practical advantage to the capitalist. And it is equally a tragedy for the scientists working in state research institutes to be condemned to carry on theoretical research without a practical base which, as a rule, is the property of the capitalists. In both cases the scientist, furthermore, is obliged to comply with the requirements of "secrecy," which depreciate the value of scientific discoveries. Considerations of competition compel scientists in various institutes to work on their own.

The future of only a tiny minority of mental workers (for example, bailiffs, notaries, etc.) is bound up with that of the bourgeoisie. Only under socialism will the vast majority of intellectuals secure the conditions which capitalism increasingly denies them. Despite the non-proletarian origin of the bulk of the intellectuals (the expense of an education closes the professions to people of working-class origin, or from the lower categories of the intermediate sections), despite the conditions of life and work (similar to those of the petty bourgeoisie), despite the individualism and, consequently, a dislike of discipline and organization, there are objectively good grounds for a rapprochement between the intellectuals and the proletariat. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote: "Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of

the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat and, in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole."* This has found striking confirmation in all capitalist countries and in some of the underdeveloped countries which have broken with colonialism or are still under its yoke. The working class must display tact and flexibility with a view to making the most of these opportunities for rapprochement.

Conclusions

This brief analysis of the intermediate social sections shows that the history of their formation, their economic basis and their functions in the social organism make them a *highly heterogeneous mass*. Their sole common feature is that in a developed capitalist society they, of necessity, find themselves between two poles, between two main social classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and, consequently, in an intermediate position in relation to these classes. Their heterogeneity dooms to failure any attempt to apply to them a precise and general definition, or to depict them as an independent social class. The concept of a "middle class" is wrong scientifically and dangerous politically. It is wrong scientifically because these sections, both in the aggregate and according to strata, do not conform to the Marxist, that is to the genuinely scientific, definition of a class.**

Among the individuals comprising the intermediate sections there is not that deep community of interests necessary for the molding of class consciousness, no basis for a clearly defined class political organization that is called upon, by virtue of the development of the production relations, to play an independent historical role.

Their position does not permit these sections to pursue an independent policy for the simple reason that in a society made up in the main of two antagonistic classes, all other sections come up against these two main forces, and their activities inevitably strengthen either one or the other. In modern bourgeois society there cannot be a "middle line" for any length of time.

The concept of a "middle class" is dangerous politically because it leads to con-

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in Two Volumes, Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 43.

**Cf. V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works* in Two Volumes, Moscow, Vol. II, part II, p. 224.

cealing the basis for an alliance between the proletariat and the non-proletarian sections of the working people. It is dangerous, too, because it conceals the differentiation taking place within each stratum, a differentiation which, objectively, leads to the rapprochement of the greater part of the intermediate sections with the proletariat.

An analysis of the social and political conditions of the various middle sections shows that *the main interests of most of them coincide with the interests of the working class*. But this analysis also demonstrates that these sections are often only vaguely conscious of their interests, in view of the many threads binding them to the ruling class. By virtue of their position, functions, sources of income and the way it is obtained they continue to be attached to the capitalist social order. And, finally, the objective reasons for their opposition to the big bourgeoisie vary from section to section.

The "old" middle sections of whom Marx wrote in his time and who are now mainly represented by small peasants (owners of small plots) and a few hundred thousand storekeepers and handicraftsmen (still owning small trading concerns or workshops), naturally tend to oppose the big bourgeoisie by virtue of their past status, to preserve the forms and methods of production doomed to extinction by the modern development of the productive forces.

The situation is different with the "new" middle sections such as managers, commission agents and commercial travelers, who have lost the right, wholly or in part, to dispose of the means of production. They are linked with the modern forms of trade and have an interest in the capitalist's profit, since their income often consists of a percentage of the profit, or at least a percentage of the turnover. Some of this section have, in a certain sense, become "salaried workers" of capital. But this is a special form of wage labor, one that impels them to collaborate with the capitalist class.

Even more specific is the position of the petty bourgeoisie which depends on its salary and which has emerged as a result of the further development of the social forms of labor and the extension of administrative and technical functions. Among this section we see growing numbers who, subjected to differentiation, are approaching the conditions of the proletariat and who, to an ever greater degree feel the need for their own trade-union organizations (unions of officials, clerical workers, engineers and technicians,

artists, etc.). Politically, however, this section is unstable; a supporter of "law and order," it is, naturally, the vehicle of reformist ideology and spreads its reformist ideas to the proletariat, simply because it lives side by side with it.

Today it is clearer than ever before that it would be erroneous and dangerous to regard the intermediate sections as one reactionary mass hostile to the proletariat. But it is equally clear that, for a multitude of reasons, these sections can play the role of "auxiliary sections" of the bourgeoisie.

In France, for instance, a considerable number of these sections—investors ruined by inflation, handicraftsmen, small peasants and storekeepers oppressed by taxes or the victims of capitalist concentration—proved to be favorable medium for authoritarian and fascist-like demagoguery. Large groups of them were disappointed and discouraged by the treachery of the Socialist leaders after the victory of the Left forces in the 1956 general election; they came under the influence of bourgeois propaganda, which created the illusion that the crisis of French colonialism was the reason for the worsening economic conditions of the middle sections. They, in large measure, formed the base upon which the nationalist and colonialist reaction relied during the 1958 election campaign. But the bitter reality stands out today: an analysis of the economic, financial and taxation measures undertaken by the new regime has proved once again that these sections, together with the working class, are forced to bear the brunt of the burden through the fault of those whom they helped to power. The big bourgeoisie resorts to these methods in order to accelerate what it calls "vitalizing the structure" of French capitalism. This simply implies ousting hundreds of thousands of small peasants (big capital considers that there are a million too many of these), the ruin of numerous storekeepers and handicraftsmen on the pretext of "simplifying" the distribution system, and also the lowering of the living-standards of office workers, officials and intellectuals. By acquiescing in the abolition of democratic institutions, the middle sections found themselves caught in the absolute grip of big capital precisely at the time when the latter, impelled by the economic difficulties engendered by its own policy, was beginning to attack the middle sections and, simultaneously, the working class. The results of the recent municipal elections, which were marked by a substan-

tial increase in the Communist vote and by a drop in the vote for the Gaullist candidates, proved that a part of these sections is becoming conscious of the danger threatening it and is losing confidence in the ultra-reactionaries.

Experience has shown that at times of acute class struggle, or economic difficulties, the middle sections, or at least the majority of them, display a natural tendency, after weighing up the pros and cons, to side with the strong. It follows, then, that *working-class unity* is the primary condition for separating these sections, or at least most of them, from the bourgeoisie, in order to turn them from the reserve of the bourgeoisie into the reserve of the proletariat.

The question whether the proletariat or the bourgeoisie will, in the long run, carry the intermediate sections with them, is one of the most important questions now facing the revolutionary party.

The working class cannot hope to win and maintain power unless it has the support of a part of these sections and the benevolent neutrality of the other part. Lenin's counsel to the Russian Social Democrats to go among all classes as theoreticians, propagandists and agitators, is as valid now as it was then.

And here we see the special importance of the alliance between the working class and the working people in the countryside—basically with the agricultural laborers but also with the small tillers, be they the owners of land or share-croppers—not only because in most countries the working peasantry accounts for a great part of the population and has great revolutionary potentialities, but also because it is an important economic sector. Without its help the working class cannot win or consolidate power. That is why the Communist and Workers' parties unconditionally support every demand advanced by the working peasants that does not run counter to the interests of the proletariat.

Some writers claiming to be "progressive," try to prove that this principled stand is reactionary in essence, because the small peasants, handicraftsmen and storekeepers often fight for the preservation of outlived

forms of production. They fail to see, or do not wish to see, that if these elements of the petty bourgeoisie often fight *in order to cling to the past*, "the Communist Party defends them because they are oppressed by big capital and are the natural ally of the working class. The Party defends them *in the name of the common future of all working people*, in the name of socialism, of the emancipation of humanity from exploitation of man by man, in the name of the rule of fraternal labor of free and equal working people".* It is not a matter of favoring "the wheelbarrow as against the tractor" or of preferring one to the other, as these authors affirm; it is a question of supporting and extending the struggle of the small peasantry against the big bourgeoisie, of uniting their struggle with that of the proletariat, and of stepping up the struggle waged by the working class and the small peasants.

The small peasant must also be shown that he has the choice of two roads: the capitalist road which leads to ruin and expropriation in favor of the rural and urban bourgeoisie, and the socialist road which gives him access to the modern means of agricultural production, thanks to the co-operation and help rendered by the socialist state. This alliance of small peasants and proletariat, which is cemented in the daily struggle against the bourgeoisie, is not fortuitous. It is a durable and far-reaching alliance, and for the small peasant—the only way to salvation.

The points made here concern not only the relations between the revolutionary proletariat and the small peasantry. They have a broader implication. We have tried to show that the intermediate, non-peasant sections hold out many possibilities for more or less broad and lasting alliances with the proletariat. The main task of the Communists is to study, on strictly scientific lines, the political and social peculiarities of each section, so that everything progressive in the given section, everything with which it opposes the ruling class, may be placed at the service of the revolutionary movement.

*Maurice Thorez, "Discours de cloture a la session du Comite Central les 26 and 27 janvier 1955." *Cahiers du Communisme*, 1955, No. 3, p. 366.

The Agrarian Reform Law in the Republic of Iraq

Zeki Hairi

ON September 30, 1958, two and a half months after the proclamation of the Republic of Iraq, the government passed a law on agrarian reform. The law is aimed against the section of big landlords created in the last forty years by the imperialists. These landlords came into possession of the land thanks to the imperialists who wanted an ally, an instrument for the enslavement of the people. They owed their political and economic power to imperialism.

Although the big landlords comprised but one per cent of the rural population, they owned 75 per cent of the most fertile land. Some of the estates occupied an area equal to nearly a quarter of the territory of Belgium. At the same time 85 per cent of the rural population were landless. Such was the situation, for instance, in Amara, one of the fourteen provinces of the country.

The agrarian reform, while not abolishing the class of landowners, establishes limits on ownership of land by one person: 2,000 dunums* of non-irrigated or 1,000 dunums of irrigated land. All land in excess of these limits is bought by the government and distributed on a purchase basis among the peasants, who get from 30 dunums to 60 dunums of irrigated land or from 60 dunums to 120 dunums of non-irrigated land. The number of landowners remains practically unchanged but the acreage at their disposal will be reduced by approximately 45 per cent. This measure will undermine the influence of the ultra-reactionary landlords, most of whom are imperialist accomplices. They will, however, retain a considerable acreage since about 50 per cent of the rural population will not receive any land.* Only a radical agrarian reform which would limit the estate acreage to 400 dunums could really change the conditions of the overwhelming majority of the peasants.

Several specific points could be raised in connection with the agrarian reform. In our view it would be better to indicate the limits

of land owned by one person in accordance with the quality of the soil and not, as indicated in the law, by merely distinguishing between non-irrigated and irrigated land. The top limit for landlords, it appears, is too great, especially in places under orchards, rice and tobacco.

However, it is important to note that this is the first time an agrarian reform has been implemented in Iraq, a country where agriculture developed along lines of expansion and concentration of feudal estates. One of the merits of this law, as distinguished from the law passed in Egypt, is that it prevents the landlords from evading it in the guise of selling land or giving away plots while the reform is being implemented. During the five years in which the reform is to be carried out the law provides that the land subject to being turned over is to be assessed as of the period preceding the Revolution of July 14, 1958.

The law retains the three existing forms of private ownership of land: 1) Family land: about 2 per cent of the estates. Under the law the owners get full compensation for this land when it is expropriated. 2) Land transferred to landlords on the basis of "tapu": over 55 per cent of the land. Under the law the holders of such estates get 75 per cent compensation. 3) Land transferred to landlords on the basis of "lazma": second largest holdings after "tapu." The holders get 50 per cent compensation.

The amount of compensation is fixed by special commissions in accordance with the category of the holding. Experts maintain that prices of land in Iraq are extremely low due to the clan tradition which ruled out land speculation. Very often the price does not exceed the cost of the seasonal yield. Compensation for land in excess of the estab-

*"Tapu", a form of permanent lease introduced by the Turks in the latter half of the 19th century, particularly in the areas populated by the Kurds (North and North-Eastern Iraq). Under this system a considerable portion of the state-owned land was leased to the feudal landlords.

***"Lazma", a form of land ownership introduced by the government of Iraq in 1932. Like the "tapu" it was juridically considered as a form of permanent lease of estate-owned lands to the landlords. Actually since 1932 the state discontinued exacting any rent for land leased on the basis of "tapu" or "lazma".

*Dunum—approximately 0.4 acre.

*These estimates and figures are approximate since there is no comprehensive statistical service in Iraq. However, they give a picture close to the actual state of affairs.

lished limit will be paid for in bonds issued by the state treasury, which are to be redeemed in the course of twenty years.

The compensation will be recovered by the state from the peasants getting the land. The latter will also pay for the expenditure incurred by the agrarian reform.

The land belonging to the royal family and to certain political figures of the old regime has been confiscated by the state without compensation. In our view it would be only fair to apply this principle to the estates of all the enemies of the Republic.

Many of the peasants, unfortunately, will not get any land, while others will get plots that are too large for the individual tiller without hired labor or machinery. If the acreage limit provided by the law were not so great (particularly in respect to land under rice, tobacco and orchards) many more peasants would have received land.

True, the authorities responsible for implementing the agrarian reform are empowered to distribute land in plots smaller than those envisaged in the law. But because of the vagueness in some of the provisions of the law the peasant masses must display vigilance to make sure that the authorities handling the reform do not permit any abuses, that they make every effort to distribute the land to as many peasants as possible, particularly the poorer ones. Unless this is done the allocation of large plots to few peasants and the preservation of the big estates will mean that in some of the provinces, in Sulaimaniya for instance, only a very small number of peasants will benefit.

The province of Amara, in the lower reaches of the Tigris, enjoys the best opportunities for distributing the land to the peasants. Most of the cultivated land here is owned by the state and, under the present law, all of it is being turned over to the peasants.

The Land-Reform Agencies

The vagueness of some passages of the law is such that in order to prevent abuses, the agencies responsible for carrying out the reform should be elective and subject to the control of the people. This is especially important where the matter concerns half-way reforms such as those now being implemented in the independent Arab countries.

The agencies implementing the reform, as provided by the law, are state bodies. All their members are government officials; peasants who know local conditions merely assist them. The law does not recommend co-

operation with the peasant unions, or that the local supervisors be elected by the peasants or their unions. Legally speaking this means that the peasants have no say in the bodies responsible for the reform. This, of course, is a serious defect. It means that the peasants are unable to exercise their main right—that of democratic control over the execution of the reform. And peasant control would have been the best guarantee against possible abuse.

However, there is hope that the agencies, the government, the peasants and the peasant unions will pay due attention to these basic issues. It would be desirable to incorporate a special article in the law providing for commissions elected by the peasants—the people vitally concerned with the proper implementation of the reform. These commissions would guarantee the democratic control needed and would save time and money, ensure a fair distribution of land and save the peasants from any negative consequences arising from a biased and unfair approach.

The experience of other countries shows that the reform may follow two diametrically opposed trends. It may, as is the case with China, result in the unshakable unity of the working peasants. On the other hand it may, as in the case of capitalist countries, cause a split in the countryside resulting from a biased approach and unfair practices. Indeed certain Western capitalist companies have approached the government of Iraq with the proposal to carry out the reform on its behalf; in doing so they refer to their recent experience in Italy! As an excuse for their interference, aimed at dividing the peasantry, these companies allude to the lack of information in Iraq concerning water resources and soil. It seems to us, however, that the authorities responsible for the reform in Iraq are displaying due caution in respect to foreign capitalist interference in this vital matter and are themselves trying to overcome the shortcomings.

Should the agrarian reform result in dividing the land-hungry peasants this would signify that it had failed. And failure would signify the defeat of the revolution and threaten the very existence of the Republic, for it would clear the way for subversion by enemies. In Iraq the peasants are the main force of the democratic revolution. It should not be overlooked that 75 per cent of the population depend on agriculture for a livelihood. There are excellent opportunities, in addition to those provided by the law, for broad and effective peasant participation in

carrying out the reform. The peasant unions are growing and the government has no alternative but to recognize their legal existence, their actual participation in carrying through the reform and their responsibility for its success.

Peasant unions emerged in a number of provinces several years before the July Revolution and played an important part in it. However, the government has not yet officially recognized them, although this delay is not in the interests either of the Republic or of the revolution.

In the countryside there are no local democratic organs of power which would be the bulwark of the democratic republican system. There are only officials appointed from above. The landlords, though their political power has been undermined, still retain a certain economic and political influence. In these circumstances no organizations can take the place of the peasant unions in defending the Republic, its democratic development and its future. From this viewpoint the peasant unions could do much more than merely help in carrying out the reform. Moreover, the spirit of the reform finds its fullest expression in the peasant unions.

Phases of the Agrarian Reform. The Need to Expedite Its Implementation

The law provides for three phases in implementing the reform: 1) expropriation of the excess acreage of the big landowners; 2) establishment of state control over this land prior to its distribution; 3) distribution of this land among the peasants.

Last autumn the authorities responsible for the reform announced the expropriation of the excess held by 50 big landowners each owning over 20,000 dunums. The authorities are taking over the best state-owned land in the Amara province. The distribution of land formerly belonging to the rich feudalists—sworn enemies of the Republic—is to be hailed in every way.

It is vital to expedite the execution of the reform. It would seem that the five-year time limit provided by the law is too great. The land should be expropriated as quickly as possible and government control established over it in order to accelerate distribution. Where the information on the water resources and plots of land is incomplete and holding up distribution, this is no excuse for delaying government control of the land. This control will lessen the threat from the feudal landlords, weaken their influence and free many peasants from their power. It will save the

latter from paying ground rent, amounting to over 50 per cent of the crop, to the feudal lords. Expediting these measures will further the cause of the Republic.

In an effort to subvert the reform the feudal lords have threatened the government that they will reduce agricultural output and starve the people. They want "equal rights" for the feudalists of the Amara province with those of the other provinces. But legally speaking the Amara landlords do not own the land; they rent it from the state and sublet it to the peasants, appropriating the lion's share of the rent paid by the latter. "Equal rights" would mean making them owners of the state land in accordance with the law-established maximum limit. The Amara peasants resisted this demand, with the result that the provincial authorities have begun to take over the state-owned land.

The threats of the landlords to reduce the output of food can be ignored, for the government is in a position to provide advance payments for the peasants through its officials in the localities as well as through the peasant unions. The state has allocated £500,000 in order to supply the peasants with seeds on a credit basis. In Hillah, for instance, when the landlord Jarian in an attempt at sabotage refused to supply seeds to the peasants, seeds were nevertheless obtained and planted. In case of a possible fall in agricultural output, food reserves could be created by importing wheat from friendly countries. It is important to understand one thing: leaving the land in the hands of the big owners is tantamount to giving them arms with which to combat the reform and to threaten the government.

In these circumstances it would be more dangerous to delay confiscation of land than to accelerate it.

Co-operative Societies

The agrarian law contains an article—similar to the Egyptian land law—concerning obligatory agricultural co-operative societies. The article applies only to peasants to whom land is allotted under the new law. The law stipulates that in the event of a peasant hindering the work of the co-operative his land is liable to confiscation and the instalments paid in compensation for the land are to be considered as rent to the state.

The experience of the socialist countries has shown that any attempt to force the peasants to join co-operatives is detrimental both to them and to the co-operatives. This experience teaches that success is ensured

by the voluntary principle, by persuasion and not compulsion. In order to set up co-operative societies on a sound basis it is imperative that the peasant unions be recognized as soon as possible for they, far better than any other body, can develop a broad co-operative movement. Those peasants who may at first be reluctant to join the co-operatives can do so later when they see their achievements for themselves.

The co-operative societies mentioned in the law are not producer co-operatives. There is no provision for these in the law. The functions of the co-operative societies are confined to credits, purchasing, and collecting compensation payments for the land received by the peasants; they engage also in joint preparatory work preceding cultivation, such as clearing rivers. Wide prospects are being opened to the peasant unions in respect to the organization of mutual-aid teams for tilling the fields. The peasants of the province of Diwaniya in the middle reaches of the Euphrates had organized such teams a few years before the revolution. They are the kind of mass movement needed at the initial stage.

The co-operative societies envisaged by the law will not develop successfully unless they win the conscious and voluntary support of the peasants. The role of the peasant unions can be decisive, hence it is imperative that they be granted legal recognition, enlarged and strengthened throughout the country.

Co-operative societies are especially important in the areas where the land is irrigated either by means of mechanical pumps or ditches. In such areas it will be impossible to do anything without public undertakings; co-operatives will be instrumental in the joint use and repair of pumps and clearing of irrigation ditches, etc. Previously the landowners or the owners of the pumps forced the peasants to clear the ditches and repair the dams. With the launching of the reform, this work can be carried out only with the active assistance of the peasant unions. Again and again we see how important it is that the peasant unions be recognized.

As to the setting up of obligatory co-operatives and assigning them complex functions with which the peasants are unfamiliar and the necessity for which they do not see as yet, it is apparent that grave difficulties will be encountered.

The Effect of the Reform

For a long time the peasant masses of Iraq had hardly any organization. They were brutally exploited by the feudal lords who paid

them miserable pittance on a sharecropper basis. The country produced neither machinery nor fertilizers. Foreign monopolies held key positions in the export of agricultural produce and shipping. These were the reasons for the extreme economic backwardness of the countryside: feudal relations prevailed, while capitalist development was retarded.

In the forty years since World War I agriculture developed only along the line of extending the crop area which increased by three or four times. Yield per acre has risen (thanks to the more extensive use of mechanical pumps and new irrigation projects), but the increase is very small. Even today only half the cultivated area is planted annually—the other half remains fallow. That is why 95 per cent of the cultivated acreage is harvested once in two years, whereas in Egypt, which enjoys similar climatic conditions, the land yields more than one harvest each year. There was no incentive for Iraqi landowners to raise labor productivity because they had big latifundia which were unknown in Egypt. Nothing induced them to enlarge their investment in agriculture, which without effort on their part, was already yielding them fabulous profits.

Some sources reveal that in the last few years there has been a decline in the yield per acre, while the overall crop area is increased. In 1955 the area under wheat increased by 15 per cent as compared with 1935, but the overall wheat output fell by five per cent over the same period. The area under barley increased by 62 per cent but the overall barley yield—by only 31 per cent. Yield per acre is declining because fertilizers are not used, soil salinity is becoming excessive, etc.

Rent paid by the share-croppers comprised the bulk of the harvest. Even the reactionary government, pressed by numerous peasant uprisings, was forced to enact a law limiting rent to 50 per cent of the crop. However, the law was enforced only in those areas where the peasants had fought vigorously for it, elsewhere it was evaded by the landlords with the connivance of the authorities. This monstrous exploitation of the peasants was the main cause of the backwardness of Iraq's agriculture even when it is compared with other countries of similar political regimes and natural conditions.

It may be that the limit to the acreage one can own will impel the bigger landlords to develop farming on a capitalist basis by increasing the productivity of their estates. In

this way they will try to make good at least in part the loss in incomes derived from the exploitation of large numbers of peasants using primitive implements and methods of tilling. The limit on land ownership will thus be a powerful incentive to extensive use of machinery and fertilizers.

The law stipulates the exact share of the crop a tenant shall pay to the landowner and safeguards the rights of the farm laborers, including the right to join trade unions. This will be yet another incentive to the landlords and big farmers to increase the yield per acre, to employ labor on a capitalist basis (that is, for wages and not for a share of the crop), to curtail and later, perhaps, abolish the share-cropper system altogether.

The table printed below shows the new ruling on the distribution of the crop between the small tenant farmers and the landowners in accordance with Article 41 of the law.

It will be seen that the rent in all cases will be limited to 10 per cent of the yield. Moreover, the owner will receive 10 per cent more if his land is irrigated without mechanical means. On non-irrigated lands the owner will not get this 10 per cent. The owner of a mechanical pump, that is, of an irrigation plant, will get 20 per cent (he may be also the owner of the land).

The minimum income of the peasant, including the price for the seed, will comprise from 40 to 50 per cent of the crop. If the price of the seed (approximately 10 per cent of the crop) is deducted, the peasant will have from 30 to 40 per cent. Payment for plowing and harvesting goes either to the landlord (if he provides the peasant with the implements) or to the peasant (if he plows the

land and reaps the harvest with his own implements).

	On land irrigated by ditches (per cent)	On land irrigated by mechanical pumps (per cent)	On non-irrigated land (per cent)
Rent	10	10	10
Payment for water	10	20	—
Payment for peasant labor and seed	50	40	50
Payment for plowing	7.5	7.5	12.5
Payment for harvesting	12.5	12.5	17.5
Administrative expenses	10	10	10

That means that the minimum share of the peasant is 30 per cent (on land irrigated by mechanical pumps) and the maximum—70 per cent (on non-irrigated land). But this maximum accrues to the peasant only if he performs all the operations including plowing and harvesting, that is if he has the implements and draft animals. And this, of course, costs money.

These 30-70 per cent comprise the demands of the Iraqi peasants who live in dire misery. The modest character of these demands stands out all the more when we bear in mind that some 50 per cent of the peasants will not get any allotments at all.

But even as it stands, the land reform carried out on the basis of the law will, undoubtedly, be a progressive achievement.

Agrarian reform is the basic social problem now confronting the young Republic of Iraq. It is the key to the development of agriculture as well as to the industrialization of the country and, consequently, ensures its economic and, in the long run, political independence. The future of democracy in Iraq depends on the success of this reform. For this reason all patriots and democrats unanimously support the law on agrarian reform.

The Significance of the Hungarian Soviet Republic

Dezso Nemes

1. Birth of the Hungarian Soviet Republic

FORTY years ago on March 21, 1919, Hungary became a Soviet Republic. The Hungarian workers, following the example set by their Russian comrades and inspired by the ideas of communism, took power into their hands thereby assuming full responsibility for the destiny of the nation. The Soviet Republic lived, worked and fought for 133 days. Those heroic days, filled with revolutionary enthusiasm, are inscribed forever in letters of gold in the annals of the international revolutionary movement, in the history of the working class and the nation.

The Hungarian Soviet Republic appeared against the background of the revolutionary upsurge engendered by the imperialist war and the aggravation of the crisis of capitalism. It was preceded by a series of bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Central Europe. Soviet Russia, beacon-like, illuminated the way to further advance—the conquest of power by the working class, the overthrow of bourgeois and landlord rule and the establishment of a Republic of worker-peasant and soldier deputies. The international working class was faced with the alternative: either make peace with capitalism which was responsible for the world imperialist slaughter, content themselves with dethroning a couple of emperors, or abolish the criminal capitalist system and, by establishing working-class rule, rid humanity of wars, unemployment and misery. The example of Russia stirred the Hungarian workers.

The founding of the Communist Party in November 1918 opened a new phase in the working-class movement and created a new situation in the political life of the country. A product of the revolutionary epoch, the Communist Party became the vanguard of the maturing socialist revolution. As the organizing force of the working class it began to consolidate the forces of the proletarian revolution at a time when history

ordained the transfer of power to the working class.

The Soviet Republic was proclaimed some five months after the military and political collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the political secession of Hungary. The new coalition Liberal-Social Democratic government soon failed in its home and foreign policy. Its efforts were aimed at developing the country along reactionary bourgeois lines. It collaborated with the monarchists and sent punitive detachments against the workers who had taken over the factories, and the peasants who had seized the land; it launched a frenzied campaign of anti-Communist terror. But it could no longer contain the mounting movement for the seizure of the industrial enterprises and the land, nor could it combat the growing influence of the Communists in the army and among the people. Moreover, it displayed utter helplessness when faced with economic ruin.

In circumstances of profound national crisis bourgeois democracy soon exposed itself as a capitalist dictatorship. At the same time the illusions about the "democratic" intentions of the victorious Entente powers and the United States were also dispelled. Thus, one of the fundamental arguments for the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the Right Socialists was destroyed. Disillusionment with the coalition regime set in among wide sections of Social-Democratic workers and petty-bourgeoisie who turned away from the big capitalists and increasingly supported the revolutionary proletariat—the only class capable of delivering the nation from the crisis.

Lenin foresaw the approach of the Hungarian revolution. He referred to it at the VIIIth Congress of the Russian Communist Party on March 19, 1919: "We know that both the Polish and Hungarian revolutions are growing very rapidly. These revolutions will furnish us with proletarian reserves, will ease our situation . . . This may happen

in the next few months . . .”* Two days later the Hungarian Soviet Republic was proclaimed.

As a result of the complete failure of the Right-wing leadership and due to the pressure exerted by the Left elements and the masses, the *Social Democratic Party recognized the principle of proletarian dictatorship*. The Social Democratic and Communist Parties merged and in an atmosphere of the greatest enthusiasm the united party formed a revolutionary government. *In the face of the merger of the two parties the bourgeoisie (which until then had staved off the proletarian revolution only with the help of the Social Democrats) was no longer able to offer any serious, organized resistance*. It lost its head, was thrown into utter confusion and put out of action. That was why the working class took power peacefully, without bloodshed.

The working class of Hungary raised aloft the red banner of the world revolution in Central Europe. It entered into a militant alliance with Soviet Russia — the world's first worker-peasant state—an alliance spearheaded against imperialist reaction. It anticipated the aid of the international proletariat.

The news of the birth of another proletarian state in Europe evoked universal enthusiasm, above all in Soviet Russia. “Tremendous enthusiasm!”—radioed Lenin to the government of the Hungarian Soviet Republic on March 22.

Greetings flowed in from the workers of many countries, including Soviet Russia. The revolutionary Workers' Council in Munich, expressing solidarity on behalf of the working class of Bavaria, pledged “that it would follow the example of the Russian and Hungarian workers by carrying on the fight until sovereignty was won by the working people of Bavaria . . .”** A message was also received from the Council of the Workers' Delegates in Warsaw. And on March 28, the Communist International appealed to the workers and soldiers of all countries to support the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

So began the epic of the Hungarian Soviet Republic which—from the moment of its inception, with all its achievements, mistakes and lessons—became the cause not only of the Hungarian working-class movement, but also of the working-class movement of the world.

*V. I. Lenin, *On the Party Program, Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 160.

**Soon after this, on April 13, 1919, Bavaria became a Soviet Republic.

II. The Significance of the Soviet Republic for Hungary

With the inauguration of the Soviet Republic administration of the state passed over to the Revolutionary Government Council. In a Joint Appeal “To All!” the united party and the revolutionary government proclaimed the Soviet Republic: “Hungary is to be a Soviet Republic, and the revolutionary government will proceed at once with a series of great changes in order to pave the way for socialism and communism.” This document, the program of action of the revolutionary government, evoked a deep and favorable response among the people.

No sooner had the Revolutionary Government Council been formed than local councils appeared all over the country. Thus power passed over to the working people in the localities as well.

The state system of the working class took shape in circumstances of a powerful and rapid political upsurge, so much so that on April 2, that is, barely ten days after the Republic was proclaimed, the government announced a *general election*. With the overwhelming majority of the people (above 18 years of age) voting on the basis of a *secret ballot*, the elections were an *outstanding victory, politically consolidating the new revolutionary government*.

The Soviet Republic was a higher form of power compared with anything previously known in the history of the country—the power of the working class which, at the same time, was the country's first *constitutional power* backed by the will of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The Republic took over factories and mills employing more than twenty workers, the mines, banks, transport and trading establishments, apartment houses and other capitalist property used for the purpose of profit. Production commissars “representing the proletarian class as a whole” were placed at the head of the enterprises. Although some exploitation remained, the property of the big and middle capitalists was abolished and the remainder of the capitalist sector placed under the control of the workers' government.

On April 3 the government issued a decree on the land. It stipulated that all holdings over 100 holds (about 140 acres) would become the property of the state, while small holdings would remain in private ownership. The land taken over by the government would not be divided, but used for co-opera-

tives. The Soviet government planned to go straight ahead with the creation of *socialist farms* on the land confiscated from the big and middle landowners. They were contemplated as a co-operative sector under state management.

The failure to divide the land among the peasants was a grave political mistake, which was seized upon by the counter-revolutionaries to undermine the worker-peasant alliance. Not only did they demagogically appeal to the land-hungry peasants, promising to divide the land after the fall of the proletarian power, they engaged in subversive activity among the small landowners, frightening them with the prospect of losing their holdings the moment the land and property of the big and the middle landowners were confiscated. The counter-revolutionaries calculated on arousing discontent primarily among the wealthy peasants; they could hardly count on inciting the farm laborers against proletarian power.

This mistake, of course, weakened the worker-peasant alliance and the proletarian dictatorship. However, neither this nor any of the other mistakes, some of which at least could have been avoided (although some were inevitable), can detract from the historic significance of the Hungarian Revolution which was that the Soviet Republic had implemented a revolutionary change in society, having expropriated the main exploiting classes and begun—though with mistakes—the construction of socialist society.

The Soviet Republic drew the masses into the management of state and economic affairs and other spheres of public life. Women were entitled to vote for the first time, and the number of voters increased six-fold compared with previous elections. In addition to the formal rights guaranteed by the Republic the working people were enabled to exercise them (halls for meetings, printshops, supplies of paper, etc., were made available).

The working class came to power at a time when the country had been ruined by the war. Urgent measures were taken to overcome the economic chaos and misery. Everything was done to alleviate poverty and to improve the conditions of the workers.

The government raised wages for factory and office workers by 20-40 per cent. The wages of the farm laborers were raised even more. The unemployed benefited through systematic aid. The Soviet Republic established an extensive system of social insurance. Much

was done in the sphere of mother and child welfare. Free education was introduced and access to culture and the arts opened to the working people.

The vast work for the reconstruction of society was accompanied by a revolutionary war effort which was an outstanding patriotic achievement of the Republic. The heroic struggle waged against the superior forces of the Entente yielded several splendid successes. There was action against the Balkan troops of the Entente commanded by General Franchet d'Esperey with headquarters in Belgrade. The Royal army of Yugoslavia took up positions in the vicinity of Szabadka, and the Royal Rumanian Army—in Transylvania. The bourgeois government of Czechoslovakia concentrated its forces in Slovakia. One of the main centers of counter-revolutionary activity against Soviet Hungary was located in Vienna, capital of "democratic" Austria, which made its territory available to counter-revolutionary brigands preparing to launch intervention.

On April 16, in order to preclude the deployment of the Hungarian Red Army forces, the Rumanian—and later the Czech—troops, acting on the orders of the Entente, assumed the offensive to overthrow the Soviet Republic and occupy the country. French and Serbian troops also took part in the intervention.

The proletarian fatherland was now in danger.

The situation was complicated by the fact that some leaders of the united party and the government wavered at a time when the vital interests of the Republic demanded quick and decisive revolutionary action.

At a meeting of the Revolutionary Government Council the Social Democrats Kunfi and Weltner moved that the Council should resign and a "transitional government" be formed. In plain language this meant surrender. Kunfi said: "Since there are symptoms that among the workers there is neither the strength nor the ability required for the struggle, a corporation should be set up to which power would be transferred, because the Entente does not wish to negotiate with the Revolutionary Government Council."

The opportunism and treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders will be even more obvious if we recall that on the previous day the Budapest workers staged an impressive May Day demonstration under the slogans of the Soviet Republic, which revealed their readiness to defend the proletarian

fatherland. This was a review of strength such as Hungary had never before witnessed. Enthusiastic May Day rallies and demonstrations were held throughout the unoccupied territory of the country.

The Communists Tibor Szamuely and Bela Szanto insisted that the Government Council should proceed with the execution of its duties. They were supported by the Social Democrat Erdelyi Mor and the Left Socialist Landler. As a result it was decided that the government would continue to function; it would summon a conference of the authorized representatives of the regiments and, after acquainting them with the gravity of the situation, would pose the question: "Are the troops ready to defend Budapest to the last?"

The spokesmen of the railwaymen and the workers' regiments as well as the Budapest Workers' Council unanimously expressed their readiness to defend the capital.

This political victory over the defeatists was the main condition for the further development of the revolutionary patriotic war. In the course of a few days 90 workers' battalions were formed. About 100,000 workers took to arms and joined the ranks of the Red Army in the field. The working class overcame the fatigue resulting from the four-year war privations, cast aside the defeatists who overtly incited to counter-revolutionary acts, and took to arms to defend the socialist fatherland.

Early in May the Red Army captured Szolnok, in mid-May it repelled the attack of the Czechs spearheaded against Salgotarjan and struck at the Rumanian forces which were thrown back to the east bank of the Tisza (Theiss). On May 20 the Red Army launched a counter-offensive on the Northern Front. These victories won admiration at home and astonished the whole of Europe.

In East Slovakia — freed by the armed forces of the Hungarian Soviet Republic — the Soviet Republic of Slovakia was proclaimed. The revolutionary government of Slovakia on June 16 entered into an alliance with the Hungarian Soviet Republic and proclaimed the task of liberating the whole of Slovakia, of helping the fraternal Czech working class to win power and of uniting with the kindred Czech lands within the framework of a Soviet Republic.

The success of the "northern campaign" was due above all to the valor of the Hungarian workers and peasants, the result of their resolve to defend the socialist father-

land. Moreover, the forecast of the Soviet government to the effect that the workers of the neighboring countries would not want to fight their Hungarian brothers was totally justified during the hostilities. The Serbian troops took only a very minor part in the intervention. Even when accompanied by French forces they proved to be very unreliable. There were many cases of insubordination in the Rumanian units. A Press Agency report of April 5 said that "in Vasarhely some of the Rumanian soldiers displayed insubordination, dispersed and walked through the town engaging in Communist propaganda." According to the paper *Debrecen* of April 11, many Maramarossziget workers took to arms, crossed the front and joined the Red Army. The men of the Czechoslovak Army showed remarkable solidarity with the Hungarian Soviet Republic. They combated the intervention in a variety of ways.

Thus the success of the Hungarian Red Army was due also to the fraternal solidarity of the international proletariat. This is corroborated by the fact that workers and soldiers of many nationalities fought in its ranks. International volunteer brigades were organized on the model of the Russian Red Army. Former Russian prisoners of war formed their own battalion of 1,000 men. We know that Russians fought also in the ranks of the Hungarian units.

Italian workers residing in Budapest, together with former Italian prisoners of war, declared their readiness "to defend the Hungarian Soviet Republic against any attack."

On April 3 a detachment of 1,200 workers arrived from Austria to join the Hungarian Red Army. Leo Rothziegel, one of the founders of the Austrian Communist Party, was in command. This unit took part in the battle at Debrecen. Comrade Rothziegel died the death of a hero on the battlefield. His last letter addressed to Fiedler, People's Commissar, written on the eve of the battle, was an example of Communist heroism and selflessness. "Tomorrow we will be under fire," he wrote. "I shall be glad to die for emancipation of the proletariat, I feel happy and proud. I shall be glad to shed my blood for Soviet Hungary which I consider to be the fatherland of the world proletariat. It seems to me that by shedding my blood I shall make up for the crimes of those Viennese who, led by the bourgeois agents Bauer and Renner . . . are betraying the world proletarian revolution."

Apart from the thousands of Slovak workers and poor peasants residing in Hungary who fought in the ranks of the Red Army there were thousands of others from Slovakia proper. A Rumanian unit was formed in Budapest. There was also a worker-peasant battalion of southern Slavs.

The broad participation of various nationals in the defence of Soviet Hungary is largely explained by its policy on the national question, which was imbued with the spirit of internationalism. This should be recalled for it is noteworthy that *40 years ago the Communists were able to create truly fraternal relations among nations*, while fascism—which ruled Hungary for nearly a quarter of a century—conducted a chauvinist policy of inciting one people against another.

In assessing the merits of the Hungarian Soviet Republic it should be pointed out that its emergence and its struggle seriously handicapped the Entente powers in their intervention against Soviet Russia. In this way valuable aid was rendered to the world's first worker-peasant state, the state whose example and actions have been of such great help to the working-class movement of the world, including that of Hungary. *The historic exploit of the Hungarian working class is that at one of the most difficult moments of the struggle it did not fail in its international duty in relation to the Soviet people.*

And, finally, it should be noted—a point which Lenin indicated more than once—that the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic signified a crushing blow to the “theoreticians” of the Second International who argued that the October Revolution and Soviet power were a unique, “specifically Russian” occurrence. The suppression of the Soviet government in Hungary by the enormously superior Entente forces does not detract one iota from the significance of the moral victory gained by the Republic for the cause of the world proletarian revolution.

III. Circumstances of the Fall of the Soviet Republic

The success of the “northern campaign” of the Red Army, the proclamation of the Soviet Republic of Slovakia and the growth of revolutionary activity among the working class of Czechoslovakia alarmed the Entente. It spared no pains in activizing the national traitors inside Hungary. After a number of unsuccessful attempts at counter-revolutionary outbreaks by officers and rich farmers, the Entente imperialists now concentrated

on a conspiracy against Soviet power by the Social Democrats and their crafty tactics of forming a “transitional Socialist government.”

On June 8 and 15, Notes came from Clemenceau demanding, on behalf of the Entente, the withdrawal of the Red Army from Slovakia, promising in exchange to withdraw the Rumanian forces from the Tisza area. The question whether to accept or to decline the Note was discussed for days both in the Government Council and outside. At the same time all-out subversion aimed at abolishing the Soviet Republic through the setting up of a “new government” which would qualify for Entente “aid,” was becoming more and more obvious.

The discussion revealed a split in the Communist-Left Social Democratic unity. The situation was seriously aggravated by the fact that Bela Kun suggested that Clemenceau's conditions be accepted. This was a grave error on the part of this outstanding leader. As a result, despite the ardent opposition of Tibor Szamuely, Laszlo Rudas and other comrades, the All-Hungary Assembly of Councils, apprehensive of a Rumanian offensive, decided to accept the terms of the Clemenceau Note. An order was issued to the Red Army to relinquish its offensive.

The conspirators lost no time. Revolts flared up in the provinces, and on June 24 an attempt was made to stage a putsch in Budapest. The counter-revolutionary officer corps, not without reason, counted on the support of the Social-Democratic defeatists.

The counter-revolutionary slogan of “National Social Democracy” added to the confusion. This slogan was the “ideological platform” for the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders and was one of the main instruments of “democratic” counter-revolutionary propaganda among the workers. Kunfi and his accomplices helped the counter-revolutionaries by opposing “the decisive use” of dictatorship and by defending “humanism.”

In the political gamble of the world bourgeoisie against Soviet Hungary, Social Democracy played the role of advanced chessman on the board. On July 15 the *Voros Ujsag* (Red Paper) commented that the counter-revolution had resorted to Social-Democratic slogans: “It does not admit, nor does it dare admit, that it is waging a class war on behalf of the bourgeoisie; and for this reason it pretends that it is fighting not against the working class, but only against

one of the methods of its struggle, against the tactics and theory of the working class, against its theory as represented by Bolshevism the cornerstone of which is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working-class state."

The Social-Democratic slogans, like the counter-revolutionary slogans of 1956 which closely resembled them, were an appeal to bourgeois democracy as opposed to proletarian dictatorship. When the revolution had entered upon the socialist phase, the demand for bourgeois democracy was nothing but a claim for freedom of action for the counter-revolutionaries.

In vain did the revolutionary government await the withdrawal of the Entente forces from the Tisza area as had been promised. In the second half of July it was forced to resume the offensive on that sector of the front. But now the main political condition necessary for its success was lacking, because the militant unity of the working class had been undermined by the disruptive activity of the Social Democrats. Moreover, the chief of staff, Frantz Julier, turned traitor: he handed over to the enemy information concerning the disposition of the Red forces.

The Red Army launched its offensive on the Rumanian front on July 20. The next day the Social Democrat Bem—who had resigned from the post of commander-in-chief shortly before—set out for Vienna to negotiate with the Entente the ousting of the Soviet Government and its replacement by a Social Democratic government. The mediators were Otto Bauer and Co. On July 25 Hoover reported to the Paris peace conference that Bem had asked for talks with the Allies. If the Allies acted accordingly, he said, Bem would be ready to set up a Social-Democratic government of which he could be the provisional dictator.

On the Rumanian front the Red Army, after a partial success, suffered reverses. The French and Rumanian troops launched a counter-offensive. On August 1, 1919, two days before the entry of the Rumanian troops into Budapest, the Soviet Government resigned. Power passed into the hands of the Social Democrats — the notorious "trade union" government of Peidl. This first government of the counter-revolution, which mouthed bourgeois-democratic slogans, was short-lived. Its purpose was to carry out the shameful role of paving the way to an overt counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

The Soviet Republic was defeated by the military intervention of the Entente and the

treachery of the national bourgeoisie. The latter played on the difficulties and mistakes of the Soviet Republic and particularly on the disruptive activity of the Social Democrats inside the organs of the proletarian dictatorship.

The fact stands out that both in 1956 and in 1919, the counter-revolutionaries first made their appearance in the guise of "democracy" and "democratic slogans." However, as a result of the overthrow of Soviet power, which was followed by ruthless terror, a fascist regime was set up which for 25 years crushed democracy with unprecedented cruelty. The inhuman terror of the counter-revolutionaries in 1956 very soon exposed the sham of their democracy. And this again confirms that the abolition of proletarian dictatorship—genuine democracy, democracy for the working people—far from establishing a "democratic system" signifies, on the contrary, the unbridled terror of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of reaction.

IV. Lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic

The lessons drawn from the experience of the Hungarian Soviet Republic are useful not only for Hungary but for the international working-class movement. Of these, three stand out.

First—the peaceful victory of the revolution. The revolution of 1919 was a bloodless revolution because the bourgeois government failed dismally both in its home and foreign policy; this resulted in a powerful upsurge and growth of the naturally superior revolutionary forces of the working class. In these circumstances the bourgeoisie was no longer in a position to offer resistance and ceded power peacefully. Consequently, *the Hungarian experience of 1919 was an historic example of a peaceful victory of the socialist revolution.* In the given case victory was not achieved through parliament. It follows that *in certain conditions a peaceful victory is possible without parliament.*

However, experience also shows that the bourgeoisie, thrown into confusion by the victorious proletarian revolution can stage a comeback and, aided and abetted by the imperialist powers, does not scruple to use any means to unleash the counter-revolutionary forces. The effectiveness of its counter-revolutionary activity largely depends on the stability of the proletarian power. This factor should be taken into account at all subsequent stages of the revolution and not only at the beginning. The experience of the 1956 putsch also confirms this, for it,

too, was the handwork of both the international and home reactionaries who made skilful use of the mistakes of the former leadership. The might of the socialist camp and its unity render hopeless any counter-revolutionary sally. But international imperialism may impel the internal counter-revolutionary forces to undertake even hopeless attempts.

Second — concerning the merger of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties. One of the conditions for the peaceful victory of the proletarian revolution in Hungary in 1919 was the fact that the Social Democratic Party recognized the principle of proletarian dictatorship, and the merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties took place on this basis. Thus the basic principle of the unification was a sound one. But its implementation—effected for the first time in the history of the world labor movement—was accompanied by fatal mistakes.

When the merger actually took place only three prominent Right-wing Social Democratic leaders resigned because of their disagreement with the principle of proletarian dictatorship. Their reformist colleagues were insincere when they endorsed Soviet power. They retained important positions, particularly in the trade unions, and were given posts in the government and public organizations of the Soviet Republic. Among the Social Democrats were quite a few who believed in Soviet power, but the moment things began to look black they panicked. Most of them wavered and drifted to defeatism and overt treachery. At the same time the struggle molded many Social Democrats into devoted fighters for the cause of the socialist revolution. This was true not only of the rank and file, but also of many functionaries and leaders.

Consequently, *the Hungarian proletarian revolution of 1919 showed that those Social Democrats who really stood for socialism and who despite ideological misconceptions were ready to fight for it in the fire of the grim battles, became more and more consistent and in the struggle for power were true comrades-in-arms of the Communists, whereas the Right-wing Social Democrats aligned themselves with the counter-revolutionary forces and became the shameful accomplices of the enemy, paving the way for the counter-revolutionaries.*

The treacherous role of the Right Social Democrats is universally known. They have now been reinforced by the latter-day revisionists who, in the guise of Communists, tried

to repeat in 1956 that which the Right Social Democrats did in 1919. The times change, and the traitors adapt themselves to the changes. In 1956 they cloaked their attack on the proletarian dictatorship in the guise of "national communism." The result was their own exposure and, simultaneously, in the eyes of the Hungarian people and the world working-class movement they exposed their Yugoslav accomplices. Our failure to learn the lessons of the proletarian revolution of 1919—both in respect to the Right Socialists and to co-operation with the genuinely Left Socialists—was a mistake.

Third—concerning the peasant question. The mistakes of the Soviet Republic in this field fully confirmed the soundness of the Leninist peasant policy consistently carried out by the CPSU after the October Revolution. *In a country like Hungary where feudal survivals were strong, it was wrong to bypass the stage of the revolutionary democratic development of the countryside; it was wrong to ignore the division of the land.* A considerable part of the confiscated semi-feudal estates should have been divided to satisfy at least in part the hunger for land. On the other hand—and this is most important—it was necessary to fortify the confidence of the land-hungry peasants in their right to be masters of the land. This was vital for cementing the worker-peasant alliance.

Even before the Soviet Republic was proclaimed the landless peasants while fighting for land had expressed a desire to see producer co-operatives on the estates of the landlords. It was correct to uphold this desire where it had a solid foundation. But the overestimation of this movement at the time was a mistake which was every bit as dangerous as the underestimation of the demand for division of the land.

In spite of the grave mistake on the peasant question the fact remains that Soviet power did turn over to the tillers the land confiscated from the landlords. This is one of the indisputable achievements of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

* * *

The memory of the Hungarian Soviet Republic is still strong in the minds and hearts of hundreds of thousands of Hungarian workers and poor peasants and in the hearts of millions of workers all over the world. The heroes and martyrs of the Soviet revolution in Hungary won eternal glory.

Both the Hungarian and reactionary bourgeoisie abroad, reformist politicians, histori-

ans and other advocates of capitalism have smeared the memory of the revolutionary government of the Hungarian working class. The vilification poured on it for a quarter of a century under the counter-revolutionary dictatorship filled the country and spread beyond its borders. Nor has this propaganda been wholly unsuccessful, for it has confused the minds of many. However, it is also true that this foul propaganda failed to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Republic in the eyes of the workers and poor peasants, it was unable to suppress the dream of a new working-class state.

Forty years have passed since the first proletarian power was proclaimed in Hungary. When its heroic struggle ceased, Lenin said: "*The second will be victorious!*" And it was, for such is the logic of history. This victory, which has made our country a member of the socialist world system, has brought it to the forefront of international progress. The one billion people of the socialist world, the revolutionary working-class parties everywhere, jointly with the people of Hungary, honor the glorious exploit performed by the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Among Our Contributors

V. SIROKY — *President of the Council of Ministers of the Czechoslovak Republic.*

H. MATERN — *member of Political Bureau, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.*

L. STRINGOS — *member of Political Bureau, C.C. of Communist Party of Greece.*

L. CORVALAN — *general secretary, Communist Party of Chile.*

F. NICOLON — *economist, member of editorial board of the journal "Economie et Politique" (France).*

D. NEMES — *editor-in-chief of "Nepsabadshag", alternate member, Political Bureau, C.C. of Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.*

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Cuba Today

THE theses published by the Executive Committee of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba point out that the revolution triumphed over the tyranny thanks to the people who fought in all spheres and in every possible way. The overthrow of the tyranny is, moreover, a defeat for U.S. imperialism. Power has passed into the hands of the "Movement of July 26" led by Fidel Castro. This movement is supported by the overwhelming majority of the peasants, farm laborers and urban workers and revolutionary students. Fidel Castro and his provisional government have a power and freedom of action, unhampered by foreign obligations, such as no government or political leader in Cuba has ever had before.

The revolution has resulted in a big change in the balance of class forces. The small and middle bourgeoisie, and also the landowners — not latifundists — are represented in the new government. These social forces, opposed to imperialism, are upholding their interests and national independence. But they are hesitant about progressive reforms which could guarantee social progress.

The new government was backed by the peasants and workers who fought against the dictatorship and who are now making their demands in order completely to liberate the country from imperialism. The new regime, as we see, has mass support (workers, peasants and national bourgeoisie), with the national and petty bourgeoisie playing the leading role. The provisional government is not representative of all the political forces which brought it to power and which support it and for this reason cannot be regarded as the government of a revolutionary and popular coalition.

Internal reaction is now incapable of putting up any strong resistance to the new regime. But it can be anticipated that the enemies of the revolution abroad, first of all the North American imperialists and their stooges — Latin American dictators — will resort to maneuver and threats in an attempt to nullify the revolutionary gains and divide the forces supporting the government; new plots, too, can be expected.

This being so, the task of the moment is defense of the revolution and the common patriotic and revolutionary program, the further development of the revolution through the unity of all the parties, strata and groups which overthrew the tyranny, unity of the workers, peasants, students,

women, young people, intellectuals — in a word, unity of the entire people.

The fight for unity does not preclude the possibility of differences arising among these forces.

These differences should not be hushed up or evaded. On the contrary, in view of the tasks facing all classes, they should be overcome in unison, in a democratic way, by utilizing the freedom which has been won. Furthermore, it is necessary to preserve the solidarity of the revolutionary camp, the identity of viewpoints and co-ordination for the purpose of achieving the common aim and plans.

In these conditions the task of the working class and the peasantry is to reinforce the Left and weaken the Right.

The theses point out that so long as the latifundists, foreign companies and banks, big business, importers and sugar magnates retain their economic power and, consequently, political influence, the danger of the reactionaries staging a comeback, even in a "revolutionary" guise, remains.

The revolution overthrew the tyranny and destroyed its rotten apparatus of power. It is now necessary to fight for the abolition of all anti-democratic laws, for new labor legislation and to put the economy and finances on a sound footing. All agents and associates of the tyranny guilty of crimes, torture, etc., must be severely punished and the reactionary deputies, elected during the last, rigged elections and during the equally shameful elections in 1954, deprived of the right to engage in politics.

The insurgent army and the people are one. The core of the army consists of the civilians who fought against the dictatorship. The democratic, patriotic and revolutionary training of the armed forces is the rational way to consolidate the civil power and to avoid coups and tyranny.

The provisional revolutionary government is faced with important tasks. It is essential to reduce prices and take measures against unemployment, to raise wages and alleviate the conditions of the peasants. It is called upon to enact legislation to ensure the political rights won by the people in struggle, reconstruct the economy and initiate agrarian reform, abolish the latifundia, nationalize the communal utilities now held by foreign firms, return the national wealth to the people and annul colonial concessions. A beginning must be made to exploit the resources, rapidly develop industry

and agriculture, make the communal services more effective, promote social progress in order to improve the conditions of the people, ensure freedom for the trade unions, end racial discrimination and illiteracy, and advance culture and art. Preparations should be made to restore and amend the 1940 Constitution and to hold democratic elections. It is important to exercise national sovereignty throughout the territory of the country, close the foreign military bases, put an end to outside interference in the administrative bodies, pursue an independent foreign policy of peace, mutual aid and close co-operation among the Latin-American countries, a policy of establishing broad contacts with the socialist camp and the Afro-Asian countries which have got rid of colonialism.

The Popular Socialist Party, the theses say, aims at achieving its lofty liberation goals and a socialist future without another civil war.

Although during the years of the tyranny the Party tried to avoid violence, the imperialists and reactionaries made civil war inevitable. Consequently the Party supported the revolutionary war. Many of the members and sympathizers fought with the insurgent army in which they distinguished themselves, winning general recognition for their courage. In some places the armed units formed on the Party's initiative joined forces with Fidel Castro.

The Party worked tirelessly to bring the masses into activity, and this work greatly contributed to the victory. The strikes, the peasant actions, the efforts of office employees, intellectuals and students, the appeal to boycott the fraudulent elections and, lastly, the general strike in Havana and in the other provinces also helped to secure the victory of the revolution.

While not satisfied with the present composition of the provisional government the Party nevertheless supports the new regime and defends it against the attacks, conspiracies and pressure of the home reactionaries and foreign imperialists. It stands for a government based on a broad popular coalition, including representatives not only of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie but also of the peasantry and the proletariat.

The immediate task of the Party is to preserve and strengthen the alliance of all revolutionary and popular forces represented by the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. It points to the need for closer unity of all the left forces in the framework of this alliance and warns against any division. In the fight for unity anti-communism should be denounced, because it is the chief ideological weapon of the imperialists and their agents who are using it in order to defeat the revolution and restore the tyranny.

For success in the fight for unity, the theses continue, sectarianism and opportunism must be combated both in the revolutionary alliance and in the party. Sectarianism in some of the political organizations is manifested by some people in overestimating their achievements and services and in underestimating the significance and role of the other revolutionary forces. In the Party it appears at times as a reaction to the sectarianism of the other forces, as a tendency to isolation and renunciation of the joint fight for unity by way of personal contacts, as a tendency to confine one's efforts to mere declarations and propaganda. Sectarianism is also seen in the tendency to work only where it is easiest to work.

Opportunism in the revolutionary alliance is shown by the fact that sometimes the desire for maximum extension of unity opens the door to associates of the tyranny and imperialist agents. Opportunism in the Party takes the form of seeing no difference between the Left, Center and Right forces in the revolutionary camp, of renouncing in advance the Party's stand on political questions and of hushing up its role in social life with the alleged purpose of facilitating unity.

The masses should be organized and their activity developed on the basis of clear-cut demands with regard to the measures and the reforms necessary for advancing the revolution; they should be shown what has been done and what still remains to be done.

The organization of the people and their unity are the guarantees that the revolution will not be reversed, but will go forward. Of great significance is the reorganization of the trade union movement by uniting all working people in a single, independent trade union center. The national front of labor unity has played and will continue to play the decisive role. The official agricultural bodies (associations of tenants, coffee and tobacco growers) should be reorganized and a joint peasant movement launched for land, lower rent, government credits, the establishment of co-operatives, and so on. It is necessary to improve educational work among the Negro population as an important unit in the fight for liberation, democracy and progress.

As for the Popular Socialist Party and the Socialist Youth Union, these organizations, the theses point out, should be systematically strengthened by recruiting new members, improving discipline, enhancing the activity and responsibility of each member and of the organization as a whole; more revolutionary papers and journals should be published and their circulation enlarged; the ideological and political level should be raised on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Party Education in Indonesia

THE Communist Party of Indonesia is now the biggest party in the country. Working for a broad, united national front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, the Party is striving to complete the national and democratic revolution, or, as its slogan says: "To realize the program of the August revolution of 1945 in its entirety."

The Party feels that it will not be able to cope with the increasingly complex tasks unless the ideological and theoretical level of the members is raised. Inadequate attention paid to education could have undesirable effects on the Party. That is why the Party has launched an educational campaign among its members, based on the Three-Year Plan of Organization and Education drawn up by the Central Committee in 1956.

The keynote of the campaign is "combine work and study, study and work." Over one million members are studying the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, learning how to apply them in the practice of the Indonesian revolution.

There are Party schools and classes for both rank-and-file members and full-time functionaries. Six basic subjects are taught: the fundamental problems of the Indonesian Revolution, the history of society, the national united front, the international working class movement, dialectical and historical materialism and Party history.

Five Party journals *Bintang Merah* (Red Star), *Kehidupan Partai* (Party Life), *Mimbar Komunis* (Communist Tribune), *Ilmu Marxis* (Marxian Science), *PKI dan Perwakilan* (CPI and the Legislative Bodies), and the newspaper *Harian Rakjat* (People's Daily) contribute to the Party education.

The Publishing House "Jajasan Pembaruan" has put out a number of books and pamphlets, including works by Marx and Engels published in Indonesian for the first time. Among these are

Manifesto of the Communist Party, Wage-Labor and Capital, The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man; works by Lenin: *What Is To Be Done?*, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, *Party Organization and Party Literature*, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, *The State*, "Left-Wing" Communism, *an Infantile Disorder*; works by Stalin: *Anarchism or Socialism, Dialectical and Historical Materialism*; Khrushchov's *Report to the XXth Congress of the CPSU and Fortieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*; works by Mao Tse-tung: *On New Democracy*, *On the Coalition Government*, *On Practice*, *On Contradictions*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. Also published are books by Georgi Dimitrov, Klement Gottwald, Ho Chi Minh, Palmiro Togliatti, Maurice Thorez, L. Sharkey, Ajoy Ghosh and other leaders prominent in the international communist movement. D. Aidit's *Selected Works* will be put out shortly in two volumes.

The attention devoted by the Party to political education and assimilation of theory convince the Communists that study helps to solve difficult problems, while even simple questions present difficulties to the non-educated man.

Combining patriotism with proletarian internationalism, studying its own history and the experience of the fraternal parties — the victorious and the not yet victorious — the CPI is working to fulfil its historical mission in the country and at the same time is contributing its bit — "as small as a finger-nail," as Aidit put it — to the noble struggle for the victory of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Njoto,
Deputy General Secretary,
Communist Party of Indonesia.

Unity Is Built from Below

NOKIJA is the second largest industrial township in the Tampere district, Finland. Of the thousand workers employed at the pulp and paper mill forty are Communists. They are active, well-organized, enjoy prestige among the workers and exert considerable influence in the mill.

Most instructive is how this Party branch achieves unity among the workers. Gone are the days when the Communists merely appealed for unity and explained its importance. Experience has shown that unity is built in the day-to-day

struggle for solution of the economic and social questions affecting all working people.

In January 1954 the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a call to the working people, "Unite for action." This call remains the guide for all Party branches because it contains the basic principles on which unity can be established and developed.

In last year's general election 40 per cent of the electorate of the township voted for the People's Democrats (Democratic Alliance of the People of

Finland); the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties received 60 per cent of the votes. The mill workers, then, hold different political views. And yet the Party branch achieves unity of action on many issues.

One of these was the collective agreement for 1959. As a matter of fact such agreements are concluded on behalf of the Central Committee of the trade unions, many of which are dominated by Social Democrats who force their wage policy on the workers and avoid any discussion of issues directly at the enterprises. But on the insistence of the workers, the local branches are now devoting more attention to economic conditions. It is on these issues — the common concern of all — that unity of action can be attained more easily.

When the Central Committee asked the union branch in the mill for its comments on the new agreement, the Communists thoroughly discussed the points which they thought should be raised. They formulated a number of demands, chief of which was to bring wages into line with the cost of living, and put them to the workers.

For several weeks the Communists explained their proposals in the shops, talking with the workers, including Social Democrats. This preparatory work yielded results. The meeting of the union branch, which was attended by a record number of members, unanimously approved the proposals. The Central Committee had no choice but to incorporate them into the draft agreement and put them before the employers' association. The delegation from the mill to the district trade union conference included many Communists. But the most important thing was that the Social Democrats supported the proposals. The trade union leadership, it is true, did not fight to the end. Still, the unity of the pulp and paper workers enabled them to obtain a better agreement.

The workers displayed their unity also during the election of factory representatives. These representatives have considerable rights; they keep watch over fulfilment of labor laws and perform other functions. Elected by the workers, they can summon the workers to meetings to discuss urgent questions; they have the right to visit other organizations during working time without loss of pay. It is important, therefore, that these spokesmen should be elected from among those best able to uphold the interests of the collective.

Prior to the elections the Communists did a good job in the shops, talking things over with the workers. As a result, the Communist nominee was supported by all the workers. The Communists, in their turn, voted for Social Democrats who enjoy prestige among the workers.

This success in establishing unity of action is explained by the fact that the Party members

maintain close contact with the workers. Since the Party branch has its groups in the main shops and individual members in the others, it reacts promptly and constantly strengthens its ties with the workers. Its influence at the mill can be seen from the fact that there is a big sale for Party newspapers and magazines — 114 copies of the theoretical journal *Kommunisti* are sold in the mill. The Communists consult with the workers on all basic questions, and lend a ready ear to their suggestions. Conceited members, those who ignore the opinions of non-Communists and who talk down to them, are not tolerated in the branch. Getting the Party members to understand correctly their role in achieving unity of action is not an easy matter. Now and then prejudice, lack of self-control and, at times, of modesty, make themselves felt. The branch, therefore, discusses matters affecting unity at its meetings. In addition to formulating the policy, these meetings criticize those members who tend to ignore the Social Democrats, who make wild statements and who do nothing to win over the non-Communists to our standpoint.

At one of the Party meetings, which discussed questions of unity and the role of the Communists, criticism was directed at those members who, conscious of the support of the majority of the trade unionists, prefer to settle questions by at once putting them to a vote, rather than to "waste time" persuading dissenters and explaining matters to the wavering elements. There were cases where some Party members applied the same yardstick to rank-and-file Social Democrats and leaders, blaming the former for the sins of the leaders. Others sharply criticized the Social-Democratic workers or made fun of them. And though at first glance it would seem that they were guided by revolutionary considerations, they in fact simply prevented the Party branch from achieving unity.

Unity in the fight for the economic interests of the workers, although an important step, is still only the beginning. It is important that the workers see the connection between their economic conditions and the policy of the government, that they advance from the understanding of the interests of their shop and enterprise to an understanding of the tasks facing the country as a whole. Hitherto the Social Democrats have not supported the Communists on political issues. But in view of the growing unemployment—at the end of February the officially registered unemployed numbered 100,000, surpassing the record figure of 1932—the Communists are able to demonstrate that the well-being of the workers depends on the policy of the government. One of the union meetings at the mill discussed the question of more trade with the socialist countries, to which the mill's products are

exported; the speakers criticized the foreign policy of the government. The meeting adopted a resolution calling for the formation of a government based on the democratic forces and pursuing a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union. The resolution was forwarded to all the M.P.'s elected by the workers' vote.

This Party branch, one of the most active in our area, is far from being the only branch that has had success in establishing unity of action. On the whole, the consistent efforts of the Communists to establish unity are causing a division in the Social-Democratic ranks. This is particularly felt in the trade unions where the leadership no longer wants to be aligned with the Social-Democratic leaders in supporting the reactionary policy of the government. The trade union press has criticized

the Social-Democratic leaders, blaming them for the grave situation in the country. On the other hand, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders—the Tanner-Leskinen group—are trying to split the trade union movement by establishing a new trade union center and demanding that the workers' organizations refrain from discussing political issues.

The conditions are such that the fight for unity is acquiring an ever greater significance. And this makes great demands on the Party branches which have the duty of forging this unity at rank-and-file level.

Esko MALMBERG

Secretary of the Tampere District Committee, Communist Party of Finland.

Work Among Lumberjacks and Construction Workers

THE lumber industry accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total production in the Canadian province of British Columbia. Of the 60,000 lumberjacks in this province approximately one-third live in isolated camps and small communities. The majority are seasonal workers. They are drawn from the big towns and for months are isolated from the outside world, being constantly, and not only for the length of the working day, under the domination of the employers who own the communities and camps. Building workers live in almost the same conditions. That is why the building workers and lumberjacks have always been to the fore in fighting for their civil rights, the right of assembly, sanctity of mail, etc.

To build and maintain a Party branch amongst the seasonal workers is a difficult thing. However, the problem was solved during the long struggle to unionize the lumber industry; appropriate organizational forms of work were also evolved.

The core of the branch leadership, consisting of five or six comrades, resides permanently in Vancouver. Some of them are members of the provincial and city committees of the Party. This group guides the Party members residing in the camps and communities. This is done mainly through correspondence. The branch holds regular meetings on the same day each week. All members know this particular day which has never varied over the years and when they are in the city they attend the meetings. In slack periods of employment, when most members are in the city, the branch organizes educational classes and conferences to discuss current problems. During this period the branch also holds its annual meetings.

The branch members, while in camp or on the construction site, carry on work among the masses. The main work is in the trade unions. The Party members are now conducting a political campaign amongst the workers to win their support in the struggle to build a mass federated labor party which would unite the trade unions and the political workers' parties into one national party. Circulation of the Party press, pamphlets and leaflets receives the particular attention of the Communists. The workers do considerable reading of the Party press.

A lively exchange of correspondence takes place between the branch members residing in the communities and the branch secretary. The members write about the conditions in which they conduct Party work, ask advice on how to overcome difficulties, express their opinion on questions being discussed by the branch and report on how they are carrying out branch decisions. The branch leadership keeps the members informed on questions of Party work and life through bulletins, letters, reports and papers. Materials relating to the study of Marxism-Leninism are also sent out.

The Communists have carried on good work for peace and trade with all countries. The recently held trade union convention of the lumberjacks of British Columbia passed a resolution urging that a delegation be sent to People's China in the interests of promoting trade between the two countries.

The branch successfully conducts Party and press financial campaigns. It regularly raises more than the planned \$1,000 which is approximately double the amount the other branches of equal membership raise. As a result, the branch has

earned the distinction of being the only "Thousand-Dollar Branch" in Canada.

The campaigns for funds are carefully prepared. Having accepted a proposed objective from the higher Party Committee, the branch leadership informs every member by mail of the aims of the campaign and the plan for its realization. This is done beforehand, to enable the Party members to send their comments and estimates of what amount they personally can raise amongst the people they work with. The replies and personal estimates are studied by the branch leaders who, in consultation with the higher Party Committee, finalize the objective and plan which is sent to the branch mem-

bers for ratification. Such campaigns provide an example of how the work of the Communists can be organized by mail in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism.

This method of work, tested by many years of practice, shows that the Communists have found the proper ways of conducting Party work amongst the lumberjacks and construction workers living and working in the backwoods of British Columbia.

N. MORGAN

Secretary of the British Columbia Provincial Committee, Labor-Progressive Party of Canada.

Communists in Local Government Bodies

THE local government bodies (municipal and provincial councils) play an important role in social, economic and political life in Italy. They are relatively independent and enjoy considerable rights. Suffice it to say that the present local government expenditures comprise approximately one-quarter of the national government's expenditures.

Today the Communists, Socialists and other democratic forces control about 25 per cent of the communal councils and 30 per cent of the provincial councils. The Communists are guided in their municipal work by a resolution which says: "The worsening economic situation, high prices and the decline in the conditions of the urban and rural population necessitate the maximum development of local government functions and initiative aimed at satisfying the vital needs of the people not only in the sphere of public services, education, social welfare, but also in providing work."

The Party's constructive program on local government offers a sound basis for fruitful co-operation among the Communists, Socialists and other Left, democratic forces. Their joint initiative and unity of action enable them to achieve tangible results not only in the councils where they are in the majority.

The instances of Communist initiative in the local government bodies are so broad and varied that it would be impossible to enumerate all of them. But the main lines of the work should be pointed out.

First there are the public work, struggle against unemployment and support for the middle sections affected by the monopolies and the government's economic policy. In the last few years the local government allocations for public works amounted to some 40 per cent of the national expenditure for this purpose.

In places where industry is being curtailed and where large numbers are unemployed the local authorities, on the initiative of the Communists and

Socialists, make representations to government bodies and employers, suggesting practical measures and calling for solidarity with the workers and peasants fighting for the right to work.

In Prato (Florence) and Verbania (Novara), for instance, the Communist mayors used their powers to take emergency measures—the closed factories were taken over and placed under the temporary management of worker co-operatives.

The Communist councillors see to it that the local authorities, in addition to safeguarding the interests of the workers, support the peasants in their efforts to secure agrarian reforms and agricultural agreements, uphold the rights of the small peasants, reduce taxes, extend the social services, etc. This work is important especially now that the European Common Market makes things worse for the millions of peasants.

The Communist councillors do not neglect the needs of the middle sections—handicraftsmen, small businessmen and shopkeepers. The Modena city council, for example, built a settlement for handicraftsmen with plots of land and communal services on favorable terms. Most of the funds needed for this undertaking were provided by the Council. Efforts are also being made to lower taxes and extend the market for handicrafts.

Tax reform figures largely in the work of the municipalities. The aim is to reduce the taxes paid by the working people and raise the tax on the monopolists and profiteers. In Bologna, where the local council is controlled by Communists and Socialists, 62 per cent of all families have been exempted from the heaviest communal tax and the family levy. About 30 per cent of the population pay 33 per cent of the taxes, while 8 per cent (some 4,000 families) — the remaining 67 per cent. The Communists are striving to get the main burden of indirect taxation switched from essential to luxury goods.

Although there is an acute housing shortage, the building organizations, especially in the cities, have become centers of corrupt practices by the monopoly groups and profiteers. For years the Communist councillors have been fighting against the monopoly of building sites. In Rome, where the price of building land has risen fantastically, their activity in this respect is part and parcel of the work conducted by the Party organization. The Communist Party exposed the tie-up of the Christian-Democratic councils and the building trusts and land speculators. The exposure brought to light a national scandal which ended in a sensational trial.

The electric-power monopoly, which also causes no little harm to the national economy and the working people, is tirelessly combated by the councils run by the Left forces. Calling for nationalization of the power undertakings, they at the same time take measures against the high charges for electricity, against the high-handed methods of the power companies which injure the small and middle consumers.

In Modena, Reggio Emilia, Bologna and in other provinces, over one hundred local government bodies have exposed the machinations of the private companies and have annulled the contracts with them. Consumer-defense committees were organized in the communes. The councils in the mountain provinces, where the monopolies control the sources of hydro-power, managed to get a law enacted under which part of the charges for electricity goes to them. So far the monopolies have paid only a meager part of their debt. The government does nothing to make them comply with the law. But the demand to make them disgorge is supported by all working people.

A sharp anti-monopoly struggle has developed around the question of the municipalities taking over the public utilities. Municipal plants generate only 10 per cent of the electric power, but, concentrated in the cities, they are in a position to influence the rates and stimulate production. Pursuing a policy of equitable rates, the municipalities utilize their enterprises for the struggle against monopolies and to help the handicraftsmen and other small producers.

In Popoli, a commune in the Abruzzo district, the charges for the electricity generated by the municipal power station are considerably lower than those of the privately-owned station. What is more, the municipal station provides an incentive to industrialization in a backward district with much unemployment. The station concludes contracts on favorable terms with small and medium factory owners.

Successful anti-monopoly activity is conducted in yet another sphere—the sale of medicines. The association of municipal pharmacies in Reggio Emilia exposed the machinations of the pharmaceutical monopoly; it pointed out that the prices fixed by the private associations (in collusion with the government control authorities) for some medicines are from 6 to 12 times higher than their actual value. The exposure forced the monopolies to reduce prices. Action of this kind rouses the people against the monopolies, awakens them to the need to fight for the economic and social regeneration of the country.

In the course of this struggle co-operation between the Communists and all the Left forces is growing, and the Party organizations are establishing closer contact with all sections of the working people. Conferences and meetings on particular problems (bringing industry to the economically backward southern regions, etc.), mass meetings with Communist councillors reporting on their work, petitions and deputations, forming advisory committees on a variety of issues—public utilities, taxes, and so on—all help to strengthen the bond between the Communist councillors and the electors. The work of the Councils in which the Left is in the majority is not confined to the usual administrative routine; it is conducted on a broader social and class plane. That is why it encounters opposition and sabotage, and why at times the councils are over-ruled by the central authorities. Only mass struggle can overcome the obstacles and accelerate constitutional reform and free the local authorities from government and bureaucratic pressure and sabotage.

Now, with the reactionaries trying to abolish the Constitution and the basic freedoms, to wipe out the most important democratic rights, restrict the powers and financial autonomy of the local authorities to the minimum, and hold up the formation of the regional councils envisaged in the Constitution—the municipal work of the Communists becomes more important, an integral part of the nationwide struggle of the democratic and socialist forces to safeguard freedoms and democracy, to uphold the Constitution and see that its provisions are carried out.

The unity of the democratic forces achieved in local bodies influences the masses and also those councillors supporting the government. The Provincial and National Associations of Communes, representing the provincial and municipal bodies regardless of their political orientation, recently criticized the government's local finance bill. The National Association's opposition to this bill (which would deprive the councils of the right to control the organization of town markets and would grant

privileges to the monopolies) compelled Parliament to reject it.

It can be said that there is not a single local government body in Italy which, on the initiative of the Communists and Socialists, would not discuss the burning political issues of the day, including the appeal of the peace supporters against nuclear tests, the issue of the foreign military bases—

especially atomic bases—the threat to world peace and West German rearmament.

The work of the Communists in the municipal councils shows how closely their struggle for economic and social measures is linked with the political struggle against the reactionary onslaught, for a new political majority, against the clerical and monopoly domination. *Kuggero RINALDI*

Work Among National Minorities

NATIONAL minorities in Poland are now a small percentage of the population—six or seven hundred thousand, mostly engaged in agriculture. Of these about 500,000 are Ukrainians and Byelorussians, and about 40,000 are Lithuanians and Slovaks. An insignificant number of Russians, Czechs and Jews live chiefly in the towns. There are also some 3,000 Germans. Since 1957 about 70,000 Germans have returned to their country. Thus the claims of the West German revenge-seekers about one million Germans in Poland are absolutely unfounded.

Under bourgeois rule the national minorities, then about 35 per cent of the population, experienced social and national oppression and saw the way to emancipation in overthrowing the landlord and capitalist rule. That is why they fought jointly with the Polish working people, while their best representatives joined the Communist Party. Under the Nazi occupation the Polish Workers' Party included Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Jews and people of other nationalities. Now among the Party and Government officials there are many who received their tempering as members of the former Communist parties of Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, the German Communist Party (at one time) and younger comrades drawn from the national minorities and educated by the United Workers' Party.

The establishment of people's rule paved the way to the wiping out of nationalist animosity among our people. But the reliance on administrative rather than on ideological guidance weakened the Party's vigilance in relation to the nationalist survivals which existed among the masses and even among Party members. The constitutional rights of the minorities were not always respected in the localities, nor was their national life allowed to develop in full measure.

After its second congress the Party took measures to improve the national relationships in the country. For example, the decisions of the Central Committee (1955) concerning the Ukrainian and German population pointed to the need to abolish discrimination. The decisions, however, did not sufficiently

stress the need to overcome the survivals of chauvinism. In 1956 these survivals became more pronounced. Nationalist elements among the minorities also became active.

Regarding the manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism and racism as a grave danger to the interests of the country, the Central Committee addressed a letter to all Party members (1957) in which it forcefully stressed the internationalism of our Party and called for resolute struggle against nationalism. Our Party, it said, could not tolerate members "... who propagated nationalist, chauvinist and racist views."

Consistently implementing the principle of national equality, the Central Committee adopted, also in 1957, measures aimed at promoting the cultural life of the minorities. This was followed by the formation of Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Czech and Slovak cultural societies; a German society was formed in Wroclaw and a Lithuanian society in the Bialystok region. Russian and Jewish societies were established earlier. More newspapers are now published in the languages of national minorities.

Committees to handle national affairs were formed in the Central Committee of the Party, in ten regional and in many district Party committees. These committees help the Party implement the decisions concerning the minorities, and make proposals on current issues. Thus work among the minorities has become a part of the everyday Party activity. During the past two years the regional and district Party committees have paid much attention to the minorities, extending their contacts with them and helping them in every way. The Party committees and the people's councils have drawn a large number of them into active social life. About 3,000 members of the people's councils at all levels are representatives of the minorities.

The number of clubhouses, recreation centers, libraries, reading rooms and amateur art societies among the national minorities has increased. The network of primary and secondary schools in which teaching is conducted in the native language has also been extended; such schools now number

400, and they have been supplied with the appropriate language textbooks. The 19 Ukrainian schools which functioned in 1955 have grown to 150. The children of the minorities receive the same general and specialized education as Polish children. Young Byelorussians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Jews are studying in higher educational establishments.

The mixed population with rare exceptions lives in friendship and harmony. The Polish language and songs can be heard together with languages and songs of other nationalities at weddings and gatherings.

It goes without saying that the overcoming of deep-rooted nationalist prejudices necessitates painstaking, day-to-day educational work. And this work is carried out consistently and actively. Last year, for example, the Higher School of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party arranged a conference on the national question. Proletarian internationalism is among the

subjects taught in the Party schools, classes and seminars. Interesting articles on this theme appear in the press. In addition, many conferences are held in the localities as well as discussions in the Party branches.

Whenever explanatory work is inadequate, extra measures are taken by Party control commissions. To date these commissions have examined nearly 400 violations of the principles of internationalism. All cases were submitted to the Party branches and this helped to draw members into the active struggle against nationalism.

The Party organizations constantly explain to the members and administrative workers that any inequality and discrimination are inadmissible, that internationalism signifies friendship between peoples and countries and the molding of national relationships within the country in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

A. SLAW

Short Notices

Spain

CALL TO THE WORKING PEOPLE

THE rising cost of living in Spain is having repercussions in the form of mass protests by factory and office workers, teachers and government officials. The nationwide demand for a general wage increase is rallying all workers.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party has called upon the working people to intensify the struggle "for all-round wage and salary increases," "for a minimum wage based on the sliding scale, and the eight-hour day."

The call points out that the blame for the rising cost of living rests with the monopolies which are piling up profits, with the financial magnates engaged in profiteering and swindling, and with the government which is raising taxes and squandering billions of pesetas for military purposes.

In recent years the working people have accumulated useful experience of mass struggle. They have learned how to utilize the legal opportunities and combine them with underground activity: petitions are compiled, signatures collected and delegates elected to present the demands to the trade union leadership, to employers and to the government; pressure is being exerted on those concerned in any way with payment of wages. The

Communist Party is counselling the working people to use all legal opportunities, not to be discouraged by refusals and threats, and to insist on their demands. The workers are becoming conscious of the need for more vigorous methods of struggle, such as brief sit-down strikes, demonstrations outside the premises of the unions and factory managements. The call emphasizes that these actions can be successful only if they are prepared beforehand and the right moment is chosen for carrying them out. The workers should not dissipate their forces, they should gather strength and conserve it.

The Communist Party calls for unity of all working people—Communists, Socialists, members of the National Confederation of Labor, Catholics, former falangists and non-party people. At all trade union meetings and conferences, everywhere and in every way, the right to strike should be proclaimed. It is necessary to work for democracy in the trade unions so that their leaders are elected by direct vote and the employers' agents ejected. The unions should be purely workers' organizations, independent of the government and the falange. The powerful opposition which is now developing in the trade unions should unite and cast aside minor differences. The demand should be made for a congress of the working people, with delegates elected by direct vote at the mills and factories. Legislation should be introduced to enable the trade union delegates to fulfil their duties. The Party calls upon its members to redouble their efforts in organizing the struggle, to lead the masses and show the way to victory.

Korean People's Democratic Republic

STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL WORK

THIS year the Korean People's Democratic Republic will catch up with Japan in output of basic manufactured goods per head of the population. The rate of industrialization is increasing.

With the victory of the socialist production relations in all spheres of the national economy and the rapid growth of the productive forces, the Korean Party of Labor has advanced the task of completing the building of socialism in the next few years. The Party is intensifying the communist education of the people, and the struggle to eliminate the survivals of feudal and bourgeois ideology in the minds of people.

These tasks were discussed at a national conference of agitators at which Kim Il Sung spoke on communist education. For successful communist education of the masses, he said, it is important to convince people of the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism. This should be demonstrated not only theoretically but also in a factual way, particularly by comparing life in Northern and Southern Korea. Successful socialist construction in Northern Korea is an essential condition for the peaceful unification of the country. It creates the prerequisites for a rapid rise in living standards in South Korea after the unification.

It is essential to inculcate respect for labor and the desire for innovation, and to go forward. Education based on the revolutionary traditions of the Party should strengthen confidence in final victory.

Attention was focused on the need to combat individualism and egotism, to foster the collective spirit, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Dwelling on this, Kim Il Sung stressed that the people should take pride in their work, in their village and town, should love their socialist homeland, which has abolished exploitation, given them good conditions and in which they will live even better in the future. They should display solidarity with the socialist countries and with all working people fighting for freedom and a happy future.

The cultural level and technical skills should be raised with a view to accelerating the building of socialism. All Party members must actively participate in the cultural revolution without which there can be no progress, constantly add to their knowledge and enhance their Party spirit. They should establish still closer contact with the masses, work among the people, consult with them and popularize the Party's policy in plain language.

Conferences of journalists, writers and art workers were also held. The Central Committee has drafted a series of measures aimed at improving ideological work.

U.S.A.

SOLIDARITY WITH FREE CUBA

THE National Committee of the American Communist Party has issued a statement which points out that more and more American workers hail the democratic aims of the new government in Cuba and its revolutionary justice against the murderers who killed untold numbers of patriots.

"It is no secret that Batista and his followers looted the national wealth of Cuba—looted it as did the big monopolies of Wall Street. . . . Hence the urgency of firm revolutionary justice so that Batista and his backers, with the incalculable millions they stole, will not succeed in carrying out their evil, subversive designs in free Cuba.

"The American public . . . increasingly recognizes that the horrors of the Batista regime could not have been possible without the machinations, guidance and support of American imperialism and its political representatives. By the same token, it should be evident that the fresh horrors which Batista plots in his efforts to overturn the revolution could only be effectively perpetrated with the open or hidden support of the State Department and the FBI. . . .

"The mask of U.S. imperialism must be stripped from its face so that all can recognize it plainly and act accordingly to prevent its open or concealed intervention, which remains the primary danger to the Cuban Revolution.

"We American Communists hail the great achievement of the Cuban people, and the new power that was led to victory by the noble forces of Fidel Castro and his associates. We hail the Cuban working class and peasantry whose struggles, and especially the general strike of January 1, played so important a role in overthrowing the Batista power. We hail the Cuban women who fought so valiantly for the lives of their sons and for a free Cuba, and the youth—workers, peasants, students, Negro and white—who labored so bravely to write this magnificent chapter in the history of the Americas.

"We hail the glorious Popular Socialist Party of Cuba—valiant, selfless, indestructible, with its exemplary record as patriots and fighters for national liberation and social progress. And we hail its slogan: 'Defend the Revolution and Make it Advance'.

"The Communists of the United States know well that the monopolies of Wall Street, in their striving to wring limitless profits from the sweat and blood of the Cuban people, constitute the greatest peril to Cuba's freedom and social progress. These monopolies are the enemies of the people of the United States, as well as of those of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. . . .

"We American Communists pledge our utmost to defend Cuba's right to full and untrammelled sovereignty, its independence, its social and economic welfare. 'Hands off Cuba' must be the reply of America's workers and farmers, of the Negro people, the students and intellectuals, to all open or covert conspiracies of the big trusts and their agents in the Government to interfere in any way with the unfolding of Cuba's sacred aspirations for freedom, social advance and world peace.

"We call upon the American people to express their solidarity with these aspirations, and to declare their support of a good-neighbor policy of friendship to the Cuban people and their government of national liberation and democratic reform."

Uruguay

FIRESIDE TALKS

FROM thirty to forty people gather in somebody's house or meet in the open air. These are non-Party workers invited by the Communist factory branch for a chat with a Communist leader. Money for food is either pooled or supplied by the branch. These unusual meetings begin with a brief talk on current events; the speaker then answers questions which are followed by discussion. If a meeting is arranged at the weekend, it lasts longer, if on workdays it lasts about two hours.

One such meeting of textile workers, at which Comrade Arismendi, first secretary of the Party, was the guest speaker, was most interesting. The branch invited 33 workers who are respected in the factory to a Sunday meeting. After Comrade Arismendi had spoken they showered him with questions about Party work. After lunch the workers engaged in free and easy conversation with the speaker expressing views that they were too bashful to express openly before. For instance, one worker asked Arismendi what he should do. His mother is a Catholic and anti-Communist, while he wants to join the Party. Another said that he wanted to be a Communist but was confused by the mistakes made by the Party in the past. The heart-to-heart talks helped to clarify the points of view. The questions were answered satisfactorily and the result was that all 33 applied for Party membership.

Meetings of this kind were first held during the election campaign in 1954. Since then this form of work has become widespread. The branch finds out beforehand which of the Party leaders the workers would like to meet, which questions they want answered and then applies to the Central Committee. And though there are hundreds of applications, all are usually satisfied. These meetings help to recruit new members and enable the leaders to establish direct contact with the workers.

In addition to the open branch meetings and public meetings these talks between Party leaders and workers are an excellent way of bringing the Party closer to the masses.

Czechoslovakia

NEW TEXTBOOK ON PARTY HISTORY

IN the current year the Institute of History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will publish a textbook on the history of the Party. This will be the first Marxist-Leninist treatment of the history of the communist movement in Czechoslovakia from its inception. A feature of the preparatory work was that all Party organizations took part in it in one way or another. The Party Secretariat appointed an editorial board which included prominent historians and leading Party functionaries. Attention was focused on the plan of the textbook and on dividing the history into periods. About 100 historians worked on the basic historical and theoretical problems. Their papers were published last year as the program for the future textbook and as study material. They comprise 200 pages and trace the growth of the revolutionary working-class movement and of the Communist Party from the forties of the last century to February 1948. This material was not without shortcomings. It was pointed out during the discussion that the principles of historical materialism should be applied more consistently, the role played by the people as the makers of history elucidated more thoroughly and the tasks of the Party as the leading force of the working class defined more concretely. After the publication of the material the Central Committee appointed a group of authors.

The authors have taken as their starting point the resolutions of the Central Committee, works by Gottwald and other Party leaders, archive documents and other sources. There is a paucity of documents for some of the periods as, for example, the beginning of the working-class movement and its contact with the First International, the underground work of the Party during the

Hitler occupation, etc. This has been remedied by collecting and classifying factual material. Recently the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the CPSU supplied documents per-

taining to the help given by the Comintern to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The work on the textbook is proceeding successfully. The book is to come out this year.

Reviews

History of the Three Internationals

THE political maturity of a given labor movement can be measured pretty much by the degree of internationalism animating it." This idea runs through William Z. Foster's *History of the Three Internationals*. The first Marxist book on this scale, it covers practically the whole of the century, with the accent on the history of the Comintern.

First published in the U.S., it has been translated into Bulgarian and Rumanian, in abridged form it has been published in Hungarian,* and German and Russian versions are in course of preparation. The author is well known in the American and international working-class movement and this, naturally, creates added interest in the book. Creative understanding of Marxism-Leninism and profound knowledge of the sources are combined with the author's personal experience.

Examining the background against which the First International and the working-class and democratic organizations took shape in Britain, France and other countries, Foster shows how the proletariat became conscious of the need for solidarity on an international scale. He emphasizes the flexible tactics of Marx and Engels, their immense labors in guiding the International and stresses the significance of its principles. Marx worked out the program and policy of the proletariat in the struggle against the various sects of petty-bourgeois socialism and British trade-unionism (these organizations, which reflected the influence of bourgeois ideology on the working class, seriously retarded the development of proletarian internationalism).

The defeat suffered by the Proudhonist teaching in this struggle signified the bankruptcy of the first international opposition to Marxism. The International Workingmen's Association, meanwhile, grew stronger, and the workers generally were taking the first steps towards independent activity. "For

the first time . . . the proletariat began to have an important say in the conduct of international affairs, hitherto the sacred preserve of the ruling classes" (p. 67). Even more important was the struggle between the Marxists and the Bakuninists, which, especially after the defeat of the Paris Commune, was fought out on the basic issues of proletarian revolution.

The chief reason for the demise of the First International, writes Foster, was that capitalism was then entering a new phase of development; the new period called for new methods and new forms of organization and, above all, for revolutionary political parties. He is merciless to the bourgeois and Social-Democratic falsifiers who claimed that the International collapsed because of the "wrong ideology" of Marx. The proof of the soundness of its general program is that its ideas, discarded by the reformist leaders of the Second International, have inspired the world communist movement since the October Revolution and are being successfully implemented in the socialist countries.

Analyzing the experience of the Second International, Foster dwells on its services in organizing the workers' struggle against the employers and the governments with respect to wages, hours of labor, factory legislation, social insurance, and the right to vote. The Second International began as a Marxist organization and reflected the needs of the international working-class movement during the rapid expansion of capitalism and its evolution into imperialism. It greatly extended the scale of the organized working-class movement in Europe and North America, developed mass workers' organizations and helped them acquire experience in conditions of bourgeois legality. But opportunism had corroded the majority of its parties, with the result that these achievements were secured at the cost of abandoning the principles of revolutionary Marxism; its leaders lost sight of the ultimate goal of the working-class movement.

Foster traces this process, which was a corollary of the growth of monopoly capitalism. Basing himself on Lenin's works, he penetrates to the roots of the opportunism which had set in among the

*William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals. The World Socialist and Communist Movements from 1848 to the Present*. International Publishers. New York, 557 pp.

Фостер У. История на трите Интернационала. София. 724 стр.

Foster W. Z., *Istoria celor trei internationale*. Bucuresti. 1958. 684 pp.

Foster W., *A III Internationale*. Budapest, 232 l.

socialist parties and trade unions—the buying-off of certain sections of the workers resulting in the appearance of a “labor aristocracy” and trade union bureaucracy, on the one hand, and, on the other, the domination of the socialist parties by petty-bourgeois elements (including intellectuals). The absence of the necessary unity in the Second International also testified to the opportunism of its affiliated parties and retarded the development of proletarian internationalism; the latent bourgeois nationalist trends made themselves felt.

The analysis of the internal conflicts in the international socialist movement at the turn of the century is of considerable interest. Bernstein's revisionism was a by-product of the rise of imperialism in general and of German imperialism in particular; the program which he enunciated then is still the program of opportunist socialism. “What essentially has since been added to it have been successive injections of Ebert-Noske counter-revolution, of Hitlerite anti-Soviet hysteria, and of Keynesian conceptions of ‘progressive capitalism’ . . .” (p. 175).

Useful lessons are drawn from the conciliatory attitude and fatal concessions made to revisionism by the “orthodox” representatives of German social democracy (Karl Kautsky and others): retreating step by step from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism they, in the final analysis, landed in the camp of bourgeois nationalism and reformism.

His study of the growth of opportunism in the Second International has enabled Foster correctly to estimate the significance of Lenin's work and of the revolutionary Marxist party of a new type, of which he was the architect, for the future of the international working-class movement. As he sees it, the rise of the Bolshevik party signified a turning-point in this movement. Foster dwells on the vital role played by the Left trend in the Second International because this trend—the revolutionary soul of the international working-class movement—painstakingly prepared the forces needed for the practical leadership of the working class in the fight for socialism. “The earliest roots of the Third International,” he writes, “reach back to the foundation of the Bolshevik group in Russia. The manifold writings of Lenin during the pre-war period were the foundations, along with those of Marx, of its revolutionary ideology. The struggles of the Russian proletariat in the great revolutions of 1905 and 1917 belong properly to its tradition. The sprouting Left wing in the pre-war Second International, so sedulously cultivated by Lenin, was its primary international manifestation. But this revolutionary tendency did not truly become an international movement until after the first world war and the Russian Revolution . . .” (p. 240).

This proposition is the prelude to the chapter on “The Third International.” Here we have an example of a scientific approach to the history of the Comintern which cannot be confined to the resolutions of its congresses and the meetings of its Executive Committee as was the case previously. The history is set forth against the background of the times. Before the reader there unfolds the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, its common features and peculiarities in the different countries, the revolutionary struggles and the counter-revolutionary actions.

Emphasizing the importance of the Comintern's experience for our days, Foster deals at length with the socialist revolution in Russia, the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in building socialism and, with every justification, fits this material into the history of the Communist International. Lenin's thesis on the common features and general laws of the socialist revolution in Russia is substantiated by facts. By carrying through the revolution and building socialism, the Russian proletariat “saved an enormous amount of work and struggle for later revolutions elsewhere” (p. 268). Were it not for the treachery of the Right-wing Social Democrats, capitalism would have been abolished after the First World War not only in Russia but in other European countries as well. An examination of the revolutionary crisis produced by the war confirms this deduction, demonstrating that “Lenin and the Communist Party struck the real note of progress for world society” (p. 276). Even in its initial phase the Comintern, Foster writes, posed and correctly solved the vital problems advanced by history before the international working-class movement. Citing (among other policy documents of the early period of the Comintern) Lenin's famous work, “*Left-Wing* Communism, an Infantile Disorder,” Foster points to the validity of Lenin's criticism because the “subtle forms of ‘Left’ sectarianism—generally a failure to participate vigorously in every phase of the great mass class struggle—remain a serious handicap of many, if not all, of the Communist parties in the capitalist world, and they must constantly be fought” (p. 297).

The grand aims of the Comintern's policy documents could be attained only by the revolutionary action of the proletariat and other working people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Communist parties. Cohesion and revolutionary training of the proletarian vanguards were necessary for this purpose, as well as tireless efforts to unite the workers and heal the split engendered in the working-class movement by the opportunist leaders of the Second International. Healing this split and winning the masses in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and in fighting for their every-

day needs — this was the number one problem facing the Communist parties and the Comintern.

The major obstacle, the main enemy of militant working-class unity, was reformism, social-democratic opportunism, which had long ago degenerated into social chauvinism and "social-democratic imperialism." The struggle against the counter-revolutionary policy of the postwar Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals and their attempts to perpetuate the split in the working-class movement with the aid of the reformist Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions constituted the basic content of the mass work of the Comintern and its affiliated parties.

For Foster the significance of the Third Congress of the Comintern was that it advanced the idea of a united front as the chief means of winning the masses. The wisdom displayed by Lenin at this Congress ensured the adoption of the well-known resolution on tactics. The subsequent decisions of the Executive Committee plenary meetings and the resolutions of the fourth and fifth congresses concretized and further developed the idea of the united front.

Turning to the difficulties encountered in winning the masses and the mistakes made in this respect, the author dwells on the complicated process which accompanied the maturing of the Communist parties, the purging of deserters and renegades, the Right opportunists and the Trotskyites.

The reader learns of the aid rendered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the ideological tempering of the fraternal parties of the Comintern. Particular importance is attached to the defeat of the Trotsky opposition in the Russian party. In the fight waged against Trotskyism, especially on the issue of building socialism in the USSR, at stake was not only the fate of the Russian Revolution, but also that of the world communist movement. Victory for the Trotsky forces would have been a decisive success for world reaction, a success fraught with disastrous consequences. The debunking of the Trotsky program ideologically and the political defeat of the Trotskyite opposition by the Central Committee of the CPSU — led by Stalin — and the Comintern, helped many of the parties to get rid of Trotskyite elements who had penetrated into their leadership, to consolidate their ranks and achieve notable success in winning the masses during the world economic crisis. The Communist parties of Spain, France and some other countries provided a striking example in this respect.

In the theoretical and political work of the Comintern an important place was assigned to the national-liberation movement in the colonial countries. From the standpoint of the aims and pros-

pects of the socialist revolution, it was the approach to this problem that distinguished the Communists from the Social Democrats of all shades. In the mid-twenties there was a tendency in the Yugoslav section to counterpose their views on the national question to the policy and principles of the other Communist parties. The Yugoslavs interpreted the national question in their country as something apart from the international situation, ignoring international relations and the world revolutionary movement; they claimed that the slogan of self-determination did not apply to their country. Foster does not deal with this point. But it should be recalled now, especially as this trend, essentially bourgeois nationalist, proved to be tenacious and dangerous despite the persistent efforts of the Comintern to overcome it.

Of paramount importance for the development of the Communist parties was the scathing criticism by the Comintern of the revisionist theories of the Social Democrats and their opportunist henchmen in the communist ranks. Foster lays bare the concepts of "organized capitalism" advanced by the Social-Democratic theorists and taken up by Bukharin. Lauding U.S. capitalism and counterposing "Ford to Marx," these theorists were merely "bringing Bernstein revisionism up to date," thereby helping the monopolies in the matter of intensified exploitation of labor and in their attacks on the revolutionary working-class movement.

In the light of this Foster stresses the significance of the program (adopted at the Sixth Congress in 1928) which summarized the long years of working-class experience. This was "the first such document constructed since the Inaugural Address written by Marx and adopted by the First International in 1864. Never in all its history was the Second International, with its component parties constantly at loggerheads over conflicting bourgeois national interests, able to agree upon a general program for the world labor movement" (p. 353).

The work of the Communist parties of the United States, Germany, France, Britain, Austria and a number of other countries is examined in detail. Thanks to their ideological and organizational unity, the Comintern and its affiliated parties, says Foster, were able to conduct international campaigns on a scale impossible for the postwar Second International which was torn by the strife characteristic of the bourgeois states. "The C.I. resolutions came to life in broad international struggles — against unemployment, for Sacco-Vanzetti and Tom Mooney, annual celebrations of women and youth international days, May First, against fascism, against war, in support of the USSR, the Chinese Revolution, etc. The Comintern was thus definitely a strong world political force" (p. 357). This force

underwent a decisive test when the capitalist stabilization ended, as the Comintern had predicted, under the blows of the 1929-33 economic crisis. The test was accompanied by a sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, by the onslaught of fascism and the war preparations of the imperialists.

The disruptive policy of social democracy contributed to the advent to power of fascism and the initial success of fascist reaction. Aided and abetted by the British, French and U.S. imperialists, fascism threatened all the gains of the working-class movement and democracy throughout the world. "In this critical situation," Foster writes, "the Second International was impotent," and responsibility for international leadership of the workers devolved squarely upon the Communists, and they proved competent for the historic task. This was one of the greatest achievements of the Comintern before its Seventh Congress.

Buttressed by the growing international prestige of the Soviet Union, generalizing the experience of a number of Communist parties which had mobilized the masses to repel fascism, and taking into account the lessons of the struggle waged by the German Communist Party, the Seventh Congress gave the working-class movement the slogan and tactics of the anti-fascist people's front. This period, according to Foster, marked the peak of the activities of the Comintern. In his report, a notable contribution to Marxism-Leninism in the new conditions, Dimitrov showed that the fascist offensive had drastically altered the world situation; therefore, "the Comintern, with true Leninist flexibility, had changed its tactics accordingly, and in some respects, also its strategy. This tactical re-orientation, however, did not imply the repudiation of the former tactical line of the Comintern, but the logical development of it, particularly of its established policy of the united front" (p. 396).

The new political line, concentrated in the slogan of the anti-fascist peoples' front, opened up before the Communists in all countries clear prospects of struggle for the interests of the working people. The popular front implied winning of the vast majority of the people of the given country (workers, peasants and urban middle sections) for the united movement, and placed on the working-class party the responsibility to speak on behalf of the nation. It implied, further, the struggle for governments within the framework of bourgeois democracy (with Communist participation in certain conditions), which would be able to beat back the offensive of imperialist reaction. And this in its turn, Foster notes, was the embryo of the idea of carrying through a socialist revolution peacefully — in the event of the sharp weakening of capitalism and given the unity of the popular forces

led by the working class. The Seventh Congress also envisaged new unity relationships with the non-Communist organizations and trends in the working-class movement, including the Social Democrats, Anarcho-Syndicalists and Catholics. Having warned against the danger of interpreting this in an opportunist way, the Congress simultaneously emphasized that a sharp break had to be made with sectarianism, its mistakes and methods. And, lastly, the people's front policy envisaged unification of the efforts of the peoples of all countries. This international unity of action was perfectly feasible since it could be buttressed by the increasingly active and popular foreign policy of the Soviet Union aimed at establishing relations with the bourgeois-democratic states that could halt the fascist offensive and avert the outbreak of war.

Subsequent developments confirmed the wisdom of this policy. Among these were the achievements of the Popular Front in France, the heroic exploit of the Spanish people led by the Communists in the fight against international fascism, the first successes in establishing united action between the Communists and Socialists in Italy, many national and international campaigns, and actions in defense of peace, against the Nazi brutalities and aggression. Both during and after the Second World War the soundness of this policy was further confirmed by the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in smashing the fascist states, by the leading role of the Communists in the Resistance movements, the people's democratic revolutions and the historic victory of the Chinese people. "The all-out national and international front against fascism, the line of the Comintern seventh congress, thus became the general strategy which won the war, another example of Communist world political leadership" (p. 420).

The increased role of the international communist movement during the anti-fascist war necessitated new forms. The conditions had been created for the dissolution of the Comintern. Commenting on this decision, Foster recalls how it was interpreted by the revisionists (viz., Browder in the United States) who drew liquidationist conclusions in relation to the Communist parties. Foster trenchantly criticizes these opportunist arguments: "Although organizationally the Comintern was dissolved at that time, its fighting spirit lives on, and so do the vast body of Marxist-Communist parties which it nurtured" (p. 442).

What were the results of the work of the Comintern? The Communist International, Foster says, equipped the international working-class movement with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, upholding this theory against profanation by the opportunists, developing it and enriching it with new experience of revolutionary struggle; the

Communist International rallied the revolutionary vanguard of the international working-class movement, strengthened the Communist parties and trained leading revolutionary cadres; it led the long series of revolutionary struggles, accumulated the vast experience of the revolutionary leadership of the masses and enriched the tactics of the working-class movement in all countries. "Let him, who wants to measure the achievements of the Comintern, in its true Leninist scope, consider that over one-third of the world is now on a socialist orientation" (p. 442).

Since the dissolution, the communist movement has been developing not by discounting the Comintern's experience, gains and principles, but by their further development in conformity with the new situation. Shortly after the Second World War the new tasks confronting the Communists necessitated another form of international co-operation in the shape of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' parties. The ideological, organizational and political strengthening of the Communist parties called for closer international

contacts between the Communists, as was clearly expressed in the Moscow Declaration of 1957. Their suitability at the present stage of the movement was confirmed at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU.

This book, with its wealth of factual material, is rich in thought. Some of the questions of the communist movement after the Second World War could not, naturally, be appraised and treated as fully as was done at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Moscow meetings of the Communist parties. In this respect changes have been made in the translations, bringing the work up to date. But the basic and other (less essential but important for a correct understanding of the history of the Communist movement) questions are posed and solved correctly from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

A contribution to the ideological store-house of the Communist parties of all countries, this book is especially important for the younger Communists.

N. Z.

The Theoretical Journal of the Argentine Communists

NUEVA ERA, one of the oldest journals in the communist movement of Latin America—it first appeared ten years ago—carries on the glorious traditions of the communist press in that part of the world. During these ten years *Nueva Era* has published a wide range of documents and articles contributed by Communist leaders not only of Argentina but also of Bolivia, Brazil, Venezuela, Guatemala, Cuba, Paraguay, Chile and other countries.

The journal commenced publication at a time when the cold war was being stepped up, when U.S. imperialism, staging a series of coups, installed tyrannical military-landlord regimes in most South American countries. Argentina was flooded by pseudo-nationalist demagogy to the effect that Peron had established "a system of social justice." This talk, though little different from the fable about Argentina's H-bomb, made it far more difficult to extirpate the effects of demagogy from the minds of the people who had been deceived by the illusions of the postwar boom.

At the time when imperialism was sparking the so-called local wars in the hope of kindling a world conflagration, when the peace supporters were rallying to halt the aggressors, *Nueva Era*

commented editorially: "Since its appearance this journal has made a point of explaining as clearly as possible whose and what interests are upheld by each of the two camps, to make it easier for every person to make his choice and join the camp which defends his interests and aspirations" (1949, No. 1).

Each of the sixty-odd numbers has been a multi-voiced champion of peace, placing before the Latin American people the facts concerning the war gambles in Korea and Vietnam, in the Middle East and on the American continent. The journal ceaselessly exposes the local stooges of the U.S. imperialists who hope to make capital out of the blood of other nations. Shortly after it appeared, *Nueva Era* campaigned against the bellicose schemes of Peron who promised cannon fodder to the U.S. imperialists for the Korean adventure. Recently it concentrated its fire on the plans set forth by the Costa Rican diplomat Gonzalo Facio for making Latin America a nuclear weapon testing ground.

Referring to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the journal carries information about important events in the working-class movement all over the world, and the achievements of the socialist camp. It gave prominence to the materials of the Twentieth and the Twenty-First Congresses

*The journal is published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina with Victorio Codovilla as Chief Editor.

of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, explaining their significance.

The basic documents of the international communist movement are featured regularly, as well as articles and excerpts from the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. In connection with the Moscow Declaration of 1957, *Nueva Era* published a series of articles and materials explaining the importance of this policy document which, as stated by the enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party, "is of enormous help to the communist and working-class movement in every country, clarifying their national tasks in connection with the common struggle of all peoples for peace, independence, democracy, progress and socialism" (1958, No. 1).

The pages of *Nueva Era*, being the annals of the Communist Party over the past ten years, illustrate its struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, for its creative development in accordance with the conditions in the country. The main sections of the new draft program of the Party are featured, as well as regular surveys of the materials produced by the economic commission of the Central Committee on the distribution of the national income and the conditions of the working class; reviews of the state of the economy are published annually. The leading articles explain the Party line in the rapidly changing situation.

The journal seeks to make the democratic traditions of the Argentinian people serve the working class, to make it impossible for the reactionaries to use these to their advantage. Commemorating the centenary of the death of General José de San Martín, national hero, the statement of the Party Executive Committee stressed: "We take to ourselves, to our working class and the working masses the lofty title of inheritors and continuers of the glory and historical mission of all who served the sacred cause of establishing our motherland—from General San Martín to Privates Cabral and Falucho" (1950, No. 1).

Of particular interest in this respect are the articles by Rodolfo Ghioldi, Saturnino Paredes and Eduardo Cuenca who, upholding the democratic traditions of the country's armed forces, denounce the attempts to force on the army Prussian and North American military doctrines; also interesting is the selection of San Martín documents and letters under the heading "The San Martín Heritage." F. Nadra explains the significance of the May uprising of 1810 against the colonialists in his article "May—the Historic Past and the Present" (1957, No. 3).

Ever since its inception *Nueva Era* has ceaselessly combated bourgeois ideology. It directs its main attack on the capitulatory concepts which

are seized upon by the North American imperialists to justify their colonization of the Latin American countries. It has denounced the idea of the "omnipotence of U.S. imperialism" in the Western Hemisphere, and the assertion that Latin America, by virtue of "geographical fatalism," cannot but follow in the wake of U.S. policies. In an article entitled "Geopolitics Means Imperialism" (1959, Nos. 1-2) Rodolfo Ghioldi shows that the geopolitical concepts of "continental economics," "American regional solidarity," advocated by national-reformists such as Betancourt and Haya de la Torre, are based on the Hitler "pan-regional" ideas and are designed to justify imperialist aggression. The journal has criticized the ruling circles who, at the expense of economic and political concessions to the United States, sought to step up the export of basic goods and obtain technical equipment with which to develop the national economy. As early as July 1949, in the editorial "How the Argentine Can Break Through the Imperialist Encirclement" the *Nueva Era* demonstrated the unsoundness of Perón's orientation on the Marshall Plan.* The same fate befell the economic plans of Prebisch and Yadarola, founded on the false premise of "mutually supplementing economies."

The journal has repeatedly raised its voice against the penetration of the foreign trusts, in defense of the national wealth, and above all, the oil, against imperialist encroachments. Last August it featured materials on the oil concessions granted by the Frondizi government to foreign capital, in which it stressed: "At a time when the countries of the East and other parts of the world are trying to abolish the extortionate yoke of the oil trusts, the latter want our country to fill the breach in the sphere of operations of the international oil cartel." The journal warned against the danger emanating from the present policy of the government. In this sense what the President said five years ago (it was quoted in *Nueva Era*) sounds quite significant today: "Don't forget that the dollars invested by Mr. Odlum** and other magnates through the United Fruit Company in Guatemala cost her an armed intervention, and it may well be that the same dollars invested in our oilfields might cost us similar intervention tomorrow."

Nueva Era warns the people that the North American concessions located in strategic areas of the country are being supplemented by handing over war bases to the U.S. armed forces. Light is shed on the close link between this colonialist

*A few years later Perón had to admit the failure of his policy; he said: "When the Marshall Plan received approval, we were told that they would buy absolutely nothing from the Argentine Republic. We were thus left with ready products, but did not know to whom to sell them."

**Director of the United Fruit Co. and the Atlas Corporation which obtained an oil concession in Argentina.

policy and the anti-democratic actions of the government of Frondizi who betrayed his election promises.

In view of the fact that Peronism had long been official doctrine and still remains widespread, the journal exposes the reactionary nature of this "theory," its spiritual kinship with fascist doctrines in Europe, and shows that the class roots of Peronism derive from the domination of foreign capital and the landlord oligarchy.

In an article published in No. 1, 1952, V. Codovilla pointed out that "Peron's justicialism (regime of social justice) was an attempt to hold back the struggle of the working class and the people for a significant improvement in the conditions of life and work and for a victorious agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution . . . by carrying out an insignificant reform in the present backward economic system based on large-scale latifundia ownership and on exploitation by big foreign monopolies (American and British)." The result of his ten years of "justice" was that the average monthly income of each of the nearly six million working people amounted to a bare 1,000-odd pesos, while the 28,000 exploiters had monthly incomes in excess of 100,000.

Nueva Era exposes the eclectic philosophical basis of Peronism which resorted to irrationalism and even to neo-Thomism. In editorials and in economic articles it shows the reasons for the political collapse of Peronism which brought misery instead of prosperity, and subjugation to the oil trusts instead of independence.

The journal persistently combats the clerical offensive, particularly in the sphere of public education. Ernesto Guidice in an article "Ideological Struggle in Public Education and Culture" (1958, No. 11) points to the crisis of bourgeois ideology expressed in the chasm between the spiritual and the material (Peron's preference for "boots not books," and his deliberate scorn for cultural matters which cleared the way for the clerical offensive).

Criticizing the national-reformist concepts of the revisionists, *Nueva Era* shows that the latter's overestimation of the strength of U.S. imperialism, their forgetting of the contradictions between the imperialists, and their claim that the Peron regime was anti-imperialist and "national," are all inter-related.

A number of articles demonstrate the theoretical inconsistency of the Yugoslav revisionists.

In the Party Life section the journal summarizes the rich experience gained by the Party on a number of fronts. Articles dealing with the struggle waged by the Party for trade union unity appear regularly.

The excellent layout of the journal is a help to readers; and this despite the fact that under Peron it was published illegally.

Its entire activity and its very existence show that communist ideas are deeply rooted among the people of Argentina, that the future belongs to these ideas.

C. Rimac

Reviews in Brief

P. Boiteau. *Madagascar. Contribution a l'histoire de la nation malgache. (Madagascar. Contribution to the History of the Malagasy People.)* Paris, Editions Sociales, 1958, 431 pp.

THIS WORK, the first Marxist monograph on the history of Madagascar from antiquity to our days, exposes the fabrications of those bourgeois ideologists who, in their efforts to whitewash the French colonialists, pour scorn on the Malagasy—the native population of the island. In contrast to the apologetic treatment of the history of Madagascar as ceaseless "racial strife" Boiteau sets forth the genuine social history of the people. Noting the ethnic uniformity of the population he shows that, notwithstanding the numerous invasions and the slave-trade, the Malagasy have created a unique and relatively high culture; in their development from tribal society to feudalism they built a centralized state. Madagascar's history pro-

vides a striking confirmation of the universal nature of the laws of social development as set forth by Engels in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

Turning to the ruthlessness of the colonialists, particularly during the seizure of the island in 1896 and the crushing of the liberation movement in 1947, the author shows the plight to which over fifty years of French rule have reduced the island.

The book deals at length with the liberation struggle and traces the growth of national consciousness, the rise of a national bourgeoisie and a proletariat, the struggle against the French rule on all fronts—culture, economy and politics. This struggle, which reached a high level after the Second World War, has yielded definite results (e.g., amnesty for the liberation fighters of 1947) and is the guarantee of the future independence of Madagascar.

Based largely on factual material and on the author's personal knowledge of the island and its people, his book is one of the many manifestations of international solidarity displayed by the working people of France and her colonies who are waging a joint fight for social justice, independence and democracy.

L. Hirszowicz. *Iran 1951-1953. Nafta, imperialism, nacjonalizm. (Iran 1951-1953. Oil, Imperialism, Nationalism.)* Warsaw, Kaizaka i wiedza, 1958, 442 pp.

THIS IS a book about Iran's oil nationalization in 1951-53. The author surveys the events which led to the nationalization by the Majlis in 1951, describes the Anglo-American attempts to regain their grip on the oil, the popular resistance to the foreign interference and reaction at home, and Mossadeq's negotiations with Britain and the United States.

Using the method of Marxist analysis, the author illustrates the interweaving interests of the imperialist groups and assesses the relationship of class forces in Iran. Attention is focused on the stand taken by the national bourgeoisie, the driving force of Iranian nationalism, and the source of its strength and weakness. The book explains the reasons for the fall of the Mossadeq government—inconsistency in the struggle against the reactionaries at home; illusions with regard to some aspects of the foreign imperialist policy; and refusal to co-operate with the People's (Tudeh) Party.

Light is shed on Anglo-American relations at the time and on the rivalry between the British and U.S. monopolies. Since the Second World War the Middle East has been the principal bone of contention between Western powers in their drive for sources of raw materials; in this rivalry Iranian oil was a major factor. The author traces Britain's diminishing influence and dwells on the two-pronged policy of the United States, which sought to replace Britain while simultaneously helping her to crush the Iranian liberation movement. The "compromise" led to a re-division of the spheres of influence and to the seizure by U.S. monopolies of 40 per cent of the shares in Iranian oil extraction.

The author has drawn up considerable documentary material based on diplomatic correspondence, government declarations, speeches by statesmen, parliamentary debates, etc.

A. Cornu. *Karl Marx et Friedrich Engels (1818/1820-1844)*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France. Vol. 1, 1955, 313 pp.; Vol. 2, 1958, 367 pp.

AUGUSTE CORNU is widely known to those interested in the origins of scientific socialism. In the two volumes of his latest successful research Cornu shows how the world outlook of Marx and Engels took shape in the social and political struggles in which they actively participated from early youth.

From his study of the Prussian police archives, the author has gleaned much concerning the repressions against the participants in the liberal and revolutionary movements during the reign of Frederick William IV, the spread of socialist and communist ideas, the role of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, etc.

Examining the activities of Marx and Engels at the time of the counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance, Cornu shows the situation in the Rhineland—the birthplace of the two men—which was one of the most highly developed provinces of Prussia, both socially and economically. The rising bourgeoisie directed its liberal actions against the absolute monarchy supported by the church. The rapid industrial progress led to the rise and consolidation of the working-class movement. (This point, in our opinion, could be a subject for deeper study.)

He shows that at the outset Marx and Engels, being of bourgeois origin, developed under the influence of Left Hegelianism, but they soon abandoned this, switching from philosophical criticism to political and, later, social criticism, which in turn led them to political economy. In 1844 historical materialism was beginning to take shape; the first radical break with Hegelian idealism could be observed.

This could not have happened, the author explains, were it not for the fact that Marx and Engels had had personal experience of the revolutionary action of the French and British proletariat. The path that led them from revolutionary democracy to communism was determined not by speculation but by the reality of class struggle. It is useful to recall this now that the revisionists are trying to emasculate scientific socialism of its revolutionary essence and to divorce it from the class struggle. In this case the world outlook and practical activity of Marx and Engels are the best refutation of the revisionist views.

Lenin — Master of Revolutionary Propaganda. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1958, 288 pp.

IN 1902 Ivan Babushkin, a Russian worker, wrote an autobiographical book in which he mentioned the underground political economy study group directed by Lenin. "The lecturer," he recalled, "always spoke without notes. Often he tried to get us to object to a point, or to argue, and he delighted in getting one comrade to prove to the other that his particular viewpoint on the matter was correct. . . . He also taught us to work independently, to find material on the particular subject. The written questions submitted to the members of the class were such that they had to make a thorough study of conditions in the factories."

This passage, testifying to Lenin's attitude to propaganda and how it should be conducted, is included in a symposium of recollections published recently in the Soviet Union. Among its 48 authors are rank-and-file workers, Party functionaries and leaders of the international communist movement. They tell of their impressions of Lenin's speeches, reports and talks. Many admire the extremely close link between everyday life and the subjects taught by Lenin, his ability to make listeners think independently, to inculcate the desire to do things. The authors note many other aspects of the art of propaganda as practised by Lenin.

Although all the articles in the symposium had been published previously, now that they have been brought together they reproduce a clear picture of unforgettable impressions of Lenin's speeches. Anyone who speaks in public (and Lenin maintained that without this there can be "no political activity") will find many useful pointers and practical help. The reader will find many subtle characterizations of Lenin's art of propaganda—intolerance of the empty phrase and gesticulation, ability to invoke history in a way that inspires action, expressing the most complex ideas simply and clearly, etc. Some of his speeches mentioned in the memoirs are reproduced in the book.

Lenin always stressed that Communists ". . . should be able to speak simply and clearly, in a language easily understood by the masses, resolutely abjuring the heavy artillery of abstruse terms, foreign words, hackneyed catchwords, and definitions and conclusions that are as yet unfamiliar to the masses and not understood by them." The memoirs provide a better understanding of how this was attained by Lenin, how the propagators of communist ideas should learn and what they should learn.

K. Hager. *Der dialektische Materialismus — die theoretische Grundlage der Politik der SED, (Dialectical Materialism — the Theoretical Basis of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany)*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1958, 87 pp.; *Der dialektische Materialismus und der Aufbau des Sozialismus, (Dialectical Materialism and the Building of Socialism)*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1958, 188 pp.

"WHILE bourgeois ideology is in the throes of crisis and stagnation, socialist ideology is becoming a force attracting more and more people." This feature of the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism is discussed in the materials of a theoretical conference held in May last year by the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The two pamphlets containing the paper read by K. Hager and the speeches in the debate stress that the struggle between the two world outlooks, far from declining, is growing in intensity and what is more, that the bourgeois ideologists are now directing their main attack against dialectical materialism—the theoretical basis of the revolutionary movement. The paper shows how in West Germany the ruling class, together with the church and "scientific" institutes, resorting to falsification and fraud, is trying to retard the spread of Marxism. To combat dialectical materialism the bourgeoisie have enlisted the revisionists who, claiming that materialism has become "obsolete," are emasculating the revolutionary content of dialectics. Bourgeois ideology influences the working people and has even penetrated into the Socialist Unity Party as can be seen from the rise of an anti-Marxist theory about the German Democratic Republic advancing to socialism without conflicts. It is not fortuitous therefore that the Party attaches great significance to deepening socialist consciousness and to the study of dialectical and historical materialism.

On the question of struggle for a united and democratic Germany the conference criticized the incorrect views of those who held that accelerated socialist construction in the Democratic Republic ran counter to the struggle for the unification of Germany. It is a fact that the building of socialism, far from widening the gap between the working people of the two German states, brings them closer, as they become more conscious of the advantages of socialism. The pamphlets prove, on a scientific basis, that socialism and its successes are not accidental but law-governed phenomena.

The materials contain new data on the socialist construction in the German Democratic Republic and an analysis of some problems (such as: overcoming contradictions in socialist society, the rela-

tionship between economics and philosophy, the fight against revisionism in the working-class move-

ment, etc.) which are of great theoretical and practical importance.

Letters and Notes

The Strike in Borinage

(Letter from Belgium)

THE significance of the strike struggles in Belgium goes far beyond the boundaries of the country.

Their main objective was to prevent the closing of coal-mines which, from the standpoint of the European Coal and Steel Community, are unprofitable.

Apart from this immediate aim, the working class showed that it had no desire to be a passive witness of the crisis and to suffer the consequences of it by accepting a lower standard of living.

The workers feel that they can and must combat the dismissals, the pit closures and the unemployment. And since unemployment has been imposed on them by conditions for which they are not responsible, they have no choice but to fight to maintain their purchasing power, which is one of the most effective forms of resistance to the crisis.

The strike spread rapidly and was a manifestation of militant solidarity of the workers in the various industries. The unity of the miners and the workers in the other branches was expressed in vigorous and varied forms. The strike was joined by office employees, foremen, owners of the small auxiliary enterprises at the mines, handicraftsmen and shop-keepers in the mining areas. And despite the tactical and political prejudice of some of the union leaders, a real alliance of the members of the different trade unions took shape. And although the Christian trade unions are represented in the government, the rank-and-file members of these unions were far from being the last in the fight.

It should be added that the efforts made by the leaders of the Christian unions to incite the Limburg miners against their fellow workers in Borinage by using both the feeling between Flemings and Walloons and the alleged antagonism between the miners of Limburg and those in the South on the unemployment issue, ended in most cases, in failure. The Communists boldly tackled these issues and their activity made a big impression and yielded results.

Despite the long-cherished desire of the mine-owners to take advantage of discord arising from

the economic difficulties, there was complete unanimity among the local and foreign miners. On the picket lines and at the barricades erected in Borinage, and at the meetings of the strikers, the Belgian and Italian miners (many Italians work in the mines) stood shoulder to shoulder in fraternal unity.

The international significance of the Borinage strikes is that they shed light on the functioning of the European Coal and Steel Community, its inability to play the "independent and supranational role" ascribed to it by its advocates and to resolve the inter-capitalist contradictions, its subordination to the big monopolies, particularly the Ruhr coal concerns.

The people soon grasped the issues which until recent times seemed very complicated; they understood the reason for the sharp criticism which until now had been expressed only by the Communists and the more far-sighted progressives. The struggle was waged not only against the mineowners and not only against the policy of the government, but also against the Coal and Steel Community, the incarnation of the big cosmopolitan trusts. The hostility shown for the Community created an atmosphere of mistrust in relation to the other "European" organizations, especially the Common Market.

The strike testified also to the political maturity of the workers, their growing understanding of the realities of capitalism and the possibilities of the working class.

Previously, a part of the working class, affected by the demoralizing influence of bourgeois ideology, believed that during a crisis, when economic conditions deteriorate, the working class is powerless to make any demands, and that there can be no talk of insisting on their satisfaction.

The February struggle was an expression of an opposite policy. The will to fight replaced the spirit of submission. The workers realized that while they were unable to avert crises, which are generated by capitalism, they had now developed to the stage and had acquired such strength that they were in a position to fight against shouldering the

brunt of the economic difficulties, and to make the capitalists bear the consequences of the situation for which they were responsible.

This new line was manifested in a variety of ways. Among these were the demands that there should be guarantees against arbitrary dismissals and lockouts, that compensation should be paid in the event of an enterprise being closed, and that the scale of unemployment benefits should be raised to maintain the standard of living.

In the present stage of capitalism, in conditions of a growing crisis, the immediate demands of the working class cannot be met by way of minor concessions and paltry benefits.

Such concepts as far-reaching reforms, structural changes and even nationalization have ceased to be something remote and abstract. They are coming to the fore insistently, as an essential and immediate continuation of the economic struggle. This is an important change which will have serious consequences in the struggles ahead.

* * *

In 1952 the Belgian coal industry lost its independence. It became part of the Coal and Steel Community. This took place when the country was experiencing a boom, when production in the member-countries was on the upgrade, with a resultant increase in the demand for coal. Everything was done to produce more coal. More workers were employed and the exploitation of the richest fields stepped up. But in doing so the mineowners gave no thought to the future; the mines were not mechanized, nor was free capital enlisted.

Moreover, it turned out that the member-countries did not have the necessary resources, with the result that the big enterprises—the main consumers—had to import coal. This led to long-term agreements being concluded with other countries. Faced with overproduction in its coal industry, the United States hastened to take over the West European market, and, despite considerable transportation costs, supplied coal to Europe at an exceedingly low price.

But the situation changed when business began to decline. The demand for coal fell off. Within a few months vast stocks of coal piled up. Stocks in Belgium alone amount to eight million tons. The supplier countries tried to ensure for themselves a privileged position, if possible, within the confines of the Coal and Steel Community or even outside it. The results of the new situation were bound to tell on the weakest sector—the Belgian coal industry. Production conditions vary in the different countries of the Community. They are worst in Belgium.

Our coal industry with its numerous mines is bound to be the heaviest sufferer. Demands are

being made that we should reduce our overall output by over five million tons. Borinage with its most unfavorable conditions for extraction is the worst hit area. It is planned to close 11 mines in brief space of time, which will mean practically complete ruin for an area in which mining is the sole source of subsistence.

The decision to close the mines was taken not in our country but in the Coal and Steel Community. It stands to reason that the stronger members of the Community, seizing upon the unfavorable economic situation, are trying to get rid of their weaker rivals.

This bodes disastrous consequences for our economy. It means that the richest natural resources will be abandoned—the mines are being closed forever. Even if things should change and the situation become better, Belgium will not be able to regain her former place on the coal market. Even now she depends in large measure on imports of basic raw materials and runs the risk of falling into dependence in the matter of coal supplies, too; and this cannot but affect her iron and steel industry, making it impossible to build the strong chemical and synthetic industries which are a pressing need.

The plight of the industry means ruin for the mining areas. It means that Borinage may become a distressed area. Unemployment is soaring, the jobless are becoming unemployable and the number of skilled workers is being reduced.

The European Coal and Steel Community's responsibility for this should neither overshadow nor diminish the responsibility of the Belgian monopolies which have long maintained that mining is a secondary matter, a matter not worthy of attention. This attitude is explained by the fact that coal mining yields fewer profits than the new branches of industry or some enterprises in the colonies. Consequently the monopolies have refused to make further investments. They are not greatly perturbed by the dangerous curtailing of production and the closing of mines even if these are imposed from the outside, for such a development is often in accord with monopoly interests and they, far from combating it, are ready to encourage it.

It should be said that the mining trusts are simultaneously the owners of the big coal-consuming enterprises. A typical example in this respect is the Cockerill-Ougrée trust which has mining enterprises in Borinage and metallurgical enterprises in Liège, Antwerp and Luxembourg. For this trust it is essential to obtain coal at the cheapest prices. And should Ruhr or USA coal be cheaper the trust would not scruple to ruin and abandon its own coal industry.

This policy of voluntary Malthusianism has led the big trusts shamelessly to squander the subsidies received from the Marshall Plan administration, the European Coal and Steel Community and the Belgian government.

The total sum received by the mineowners since 1946 exceeds 40 billion francs. In principle this sum was designed to cover modernization costs and to make further investments in order to raise the competitive power of the Belgian coal industry, but in reality a considerable part of the money was swallowed up in dividend payments.

At the same time the trusts granted credits to certain consuming industries to buy coal at lower than market prices. For the consumers this privilege became the main source of their rising profits.

And so the acute crisis of January-February 1959, of which the strikes in Borinage were the highest expression, was not the starting point but the culmination of the previous development. Even before, the signs of the crisis were not wanting. Some enterprises were closed in Borinage in 1957; in the following year there were closures in the south, the center and in Charleroi; in the Liège area, too, two pits were closed.

Each closure gave rise to protests, brief strikes and, in a number of cases, to temporary seizure of the pits by the miners threatened with redundancy. These actions were echoed in Parliament and were debated more than once in the Chamber of Representatives, but each time without any practical solution of the coal problem.

The plans for dismantling the enterprises were carried out cautiously, at intervals and, what is more, with no little artifice—in different places and at different times.

The stand taken on this issue by the contending parties is not without interest, all the more so because it had a powerful influence on subsequent events.

The trusts, particularly the Cockerill-Ougrée, wanted to close the Borinage mines and even precipitated this process. The Coal and Steel Community prodded to do so. And even if at times it agreed to postpone the closures, it never budged from the main thing, namely, the decision to close the mines. The attitude taken by the government was always the same—whether it was the Socialist-Liberal cabinet before June 1958 or the new Catholic-Liberal cabinet. This is a typical example of the activity of the economic and financial magnates who determine government policy, activity which runs counter to the interests of the nation and affects the vital interests of the working class and the entire working population.

The big trade union organizations were forced to take a definite stand and even to call for action.

But their attitude was characterized by indecision. The Christian unions, which in words often call for radical measures, have become more active in the southern coalfields where their influence is negligible, whereas in Limburg where they are the dominant influence, their attitude is one of restraint. The Socialist unions, particularly the miners' union, tend to be irresolute. On many issues their leaders are in virtual agreement with the employers and the Coal and Steel Community. They hold that closure is inevitable and in some cases even necessary. Because of political adherence to the Community they have ceased to oppose the decisions of the "supreme authority."

But these leaders at the same time came under strong pressure from the workers. In this situation they had to do something to maintain their prestige among the workers and to achieve a temporary compromise.

Their general tactic is to agree to closing the mines—one at a time—to prevent the working people from taking any action and, when action is taken, to channel it in their particular direction. They tried hard to nip the action in the bud, to prevent coordinated action and above all to stop the strike from spreading.

Both the Christian and Socialist unions advocate nationalization. But in both cases this is a concession made under rank-and-file pressure. Nationalization held out as a distant goal helps them to evade the struggle for immediate demands, they talk about the future but do nothing now.

The Communist Party alone has adopted a correct and consistent stand on this issue. Every time a crisis developed in the coal industry the Party concentrated on one point—no closing of mines until the coal problem is resolved with due regard for the needs of the country and the interests of the working class.

This attitude is in accord with the wishes of the workers threatened with redundancy and creates favorable conditions for united action. The demand for no closures is supplemented by another one: where closure is unavoidable, this should not take place until new enterprises are opened which, as stated by the government, could provide jobs for those dismissed.

Then there is another demand: in the event of dismissals the employer should at his own expense raise unemployment benefits to a scale which would guarantee a minimum standard of living. This would be a deterrent to dismissals, since it would involve the employer in extra expenditures. And such a prospect could influence his decision. And, finally, the demand for nationalization now links the immediate tasks with the perspectives of the struggle.

It took a long time, however, for the Party's policy on this issue to penetrate to the masses. The delay can be explained by the opposition of the leaders of the Christian and Socialist parties and trade unions, and also by the insufficient influence of the Communists in the miners' unions. Nevertheless our proposals found their way to the masses and, gradually, were taken up by them. Now they exert a stronger influence. During the January-February crisis the line of the Party was followed by other organizations—the trade unions and the broader defense committees.

At meetings held at the pits during the crucial periods of the strike, our line had the backing of the leaders of the General Confederation of the Working People and even of the Chairman of the Socialist Party.

Our demands are winning support, and the fact that in the process no mention is made of their origin does not make them less important. The Party itself will be able to explain to the working people the extent to which its policy corresponds to their aspirations and interests.

* * *

The conflict broke out without any preliminary decisions by the trade unions; it was the violent reaction of those who feel themselves on the brink of catastrophe and are ready to go to extremes. It was a movement truly rooted among the masses.

The subterfuge and hesitancy displayed by the trade union chiefs during the preceding few weeks forced the Borinage workers to resort to unconventional forms of struggle.

The movement was headed by the Defense Committee consisting of representatives of four political parties and all trade unions and also of the middle sections. This committee gave the initial spur to the movement, but in the course of the strike its role somewhat diminished largely because of internal dissension. The Socialists—both the leaders of the Socialist Party and of the trade unions—tried to get control and to transfer it to the Common Action Committee, on which all the Socialist organizations were represented, for the purpose of directing the struggle along their lines.

The Christian and Liberal leaders also tried to influence the course of the struggle with a view to preventing it from developing into an anti-government action.

Aware of the importance of this body, the Communist representatives on the Defense Committee fought for the highest form of unity. They spared no effort in helping the Committee find the right way to work out slogans in keeping with the requirements of the movement, and to impart to it a popular and active form.

Right from the beginning the Borinage strike acquired a mass character. It assumed the most active forms: pickets were formed, barricades were built on the main roads and meetings were held attended by large numbers of strikers. The main task was to extend the strike as quickly as possible. In a brief space of time most of the miners stopped work, the movement was joined by the basic categories of the workers; it was supported by shopkeepers and school teachers.

But it was imperative to go beyond the confines of Borinage, to win the active solidarity of the entire working class.

The threat to the miners in the other coal fields, the danger of dismissals in other industries and the general growth of unemployment caused the strike to spread quickly; it was now joined by the miners of Wallonia and by considerable numbers of the Hainaut workers.

Alarmed at the scale of the movement and by its radicalization the government began to temporize. Right from the start it negotiated with the mineowners and the trade unions, with representatives of the European Coal and Steel Community taking part in the talks.

The Socialist trade union leaders were in a quandary—they were face to face with a mass strike. This explains why, formally, they sided with the strikers.

While success depended on the steady growth of the movement, attempts were made to retard it in the final stage of the conflict; its fate was decided by the wavering of the iron and steel workers' union in Liège which failed to issue a timely call for strike action.

The union leaders pursued two aims: they wanted a compromise agreement with the employers in order to preserve the long-established collaboration with them; and they wanted to prevent a mortal blow being struck at the Coal and Steel Community and the "European integration" system, to which they are tied politically.

This policy enabled the government to conclude "negotiations" which it handled deftly from the very outset. And while the struggle was at its height and victory within sight, the government's maneuver was aided by the union leaders who signed a compromise agreement. As was to be expected, this broke the struggle. In Borinage this act was regarded as a betrayal, and the miners' trade union center, after a stormy meeting, refused to endorse this agreement.

The main objective of the struggle—to stop the closing of the mines during 1959—was not achieved; this means that the workers have not yet won security and that the plans of the European Coal and Steel Community for curtailing the Belgian

coal industry have not yet been halted. The concessions won by the dismissed miners, even when guaranteed by the employers, do not go beyond the promises made by the latter before the strike. Lastly, the general economic decisions are vague and do not signify any real restriction of the power of the monopolies. This may be taken by the workers as a defeat and may weaken their belief in being able to achieve anything.

Politically the strike was tremendously important. The lessons of unity, the will to fight, the possibilities of extending the anti-monopoly front, the active struggle to counter the crisis, and the linking of the struggle for daily demands with the socialist perspective—all these will benefit the working class in the near future.

The Communist Party, which played an important role in correctly orientating the struggle and elaborating correct slogans, is doing everything to further the struggle for the aims of the morrow. It is urging the working people to study the lessons of

today in order to be better prepared for the future struggle which is inevitable because of the policy pursued by the capitalists and their government, a policy leading to crisis. In its appeal to the workers the Party stressed: "If we want to win tomorrow, today we must study the lessons of the miners' strike . . . Now is not the time for dejection, disappointment, anger and division. Disagreement among the workers of different views and nationalities, from the different areas and trade unions, can only play into the hands of the enemy. Fits of anger and the surrender of the General Confederation of the Working People can only weaken the workers' front, the rapid rebuilding of which is determined by the needs of the anti-capitalist struggle. Let us unite our forces . . . Enriched by our experience, in greater unity and with greater determination, we shall win tomorrow. The Communist Party will devote all its efforts to uniting all forces. Strengthen this unity—such is the duty of all forward-looking working people."

Jean TERFVE

Release American Reaction's Prisoners!

(Letter from the USA)

FOR several years now Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, prominent leaders of the Communist Party of the United States of America, have been in prison. Winston is held in the Federal Penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana; Green in Leavenworth Federal Prison in Kansas.

The names of Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, active fighters for the working-class cause, for peace and democracy, are well-known to progressives in America.

In the 1940's Henry Winston, then a young man, took part in the unemployed struggle for relief and was one of the leaders of the "hunger marches." At one time he headed the youth division of the Unemployed Councils. Upon joining the Communist movement, Winston became active in the Young Communist League. During the Second World War he, like thousands of American Communists, volunteered for the U.S. Army and fought with arms in hand against fascism. Upon returning to civilian life in 1945, Winston became secretary of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party, and in 1946 the Organizational Secretary of its National Committee.

Gilbert Green's life is marked by devotion to the ideas of democracy and socialism, by service to the working people. For many years a leader of the progressive youth movement in America, he later headed the Communist Party organizations in New York and Illinois.

Green and Winston, together with other Communist Party leaders, were convicted at the notorious Foley Square trial. This trial, held in 1949, a mockery of justice, trampled on the traditions of Jefferson and Lincoln. The Bill of Rights and the principles proclaimed in the United States Constitution were flagrantly violated. The eleven Communist leaders were sentenced, not for anything they had done, but for ideas, for upholding the principles of scientific socialism.

The trial sparked off an offensive against civil liberties. It was the signal for repressions not only against the Communists, but against all progressives. It was a component part of the "cold war" policy.

It was followed by similar framed trials throughout the country—in California, Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington. One hundred and eight members of the Communist Party and other progressives were sentenced on Smith Act convictions alone.

Most of the leading U.S. Communists—Eugene Dennis, Robert Thompson, Benjamin Davis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Gus Hall, Jack Stachel, John Williamson, Irving Potash, Claudia Jones and Pettis Perry—spent years in prison and were just recently released. Some of them, for example, John Williamson and Claudia Jones, were deported.

But Henry Winston and Gilbert Green are still in prison. When they were convicted under the

Smith Act, additional sentences were inflicted for "contempt" of court. Both are serving eight-year terms.

The campaign to free Winston and Green—in which representatives from many social circles: trade union, college, religious, etc., are taking part—is gaining support. A plea addressed to President Eisenhower urging their release was signed recently by Norman Thomas, Dr. Niebuhr, and other distinguished citizens.

Many of the people now supporting the demand to free Winston and Green are emphasizing:

Firstly, that their release could make for a healthier political climate and contribute to weakening the anti-Communist psychosis and the other negative effects of the "cold war."

Secondly, *there is no doubt, the Smith Act is now thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the public.* Even the Supreme Court, taking cognizance of the protests, has found it necessary to reverse the ruling to bring other Party leaders to trial, for instance, in relation to a group of Communists in California. Thus the constitutional aspect of this Act, or, as many call it here, the "thought control" act, is now being questioned.

From this the logical conclusion follows: if the Supreme Court decision on the "California case" is applied to the rulings of the Foley Square frame-up these should also be declared invalid. And this means that the higher courts, to be logical and consistent, should recognize that *the Communist leaders—Dennis, Thompson, Flynn and the others, who have spent a number of years in prison, and who, as is known, were convicted under the Smith Act—were sentenced unlawfully! Winston and Green, too, are being detained unlawfully!*

That is why more and more people are urging the *immediate* release of Winston and Green, the last victims of this infamous act.

But the United States Government has refused so far to free Winston and Green. There is the danger that Robert Thompson, one of the National Committee secretaries, will be sent to prison again.

Most of the leaders released in the past few years are under strict police surveillance, many of them being virtually deprived of freedom of movement. A trial has been organized of the Party leaders in Denver, Colorado. Moreover, the so-called Subversive Activities Control Board has renewed its demand that the Party "register" as a "subversive" organization.

These developments indicate that the reactionaries have launched another drive against civil liberties.

In contrast to these anti-democratic measures is the political development in the socialist countries, a development which testifies to genuine people's democracy. Khrushchov's statement at the XXist Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that there are now no political prisoners in the USSR made a big impression here. Papers like the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald-Tribune*, reporting the speech by Comrade Jackson at the XXist Congress of the CPSU, referred to the passage where he spoke about the difference between freedom in the Soviet Union and that in the USA and cited as an example the fact that Winston and Green are still held in prison.

The demand for an end to the repressions against Communists, for the release of Winston and Green and other detainees is becoming more insistent.

The responsibility is that of President Eisenhower. He has the powers to grant executive clemency, to free these prisoners of the McCarthy reaction. The President has exercised his amnesty powers in behalf of criminal offenders, let him hearken now to the voice of the world to free these men, staunch and true defenders of the democratic traditions and the rights of the working people of an America that strives for peaceful and friendly relations with all nations.

"Free Winston and Green!" "Stop the persecution of fighters for peace and democracy!" These words should resound louder and louder throughout the world.

J. ROBERTSON

The Editor, World Marxist Review

The Editor,
World Marxist Review,
Dear Comrade:

I read with great interest Vladimir Koucky's article on revisionism in this month's issue.* The reference to Engels' remark about "equilibrium between the classes" took my mind back to 1925. The Baldwin government had intimated an end to the mining subsidy. This was an invitation to the mineowners to launch an attack on the miners' wages and working hours. We got at that time the famous slogan, "not a penny off the pay, not a second on the day." The miners had the solid backing of the other unions and, through the General Council of the TUC, the government and the mineowners were acquainted with this alarming fact. There, if the revisionists would care to have a look at it, was a situation with a balance of forces, as matters then stood, slightly in favor of the workers.

Labor and trade union leaders appealed to the government to intervene and stop what looked like a head-on clash. Thus, the state, represented by Baldwin & Co., was persuaded to act as arbiter between the contending, "balanced" forces. Like a big-hearted godfather, thinking only of the "wel-

fare" of the country, Baldwin announced that the subsidy would continue for another nine months. For nine months, not a penny off the pay, not a second on the day! They were all, for the time being, happy. But during the ensuing nine months the benevolent state made every kind of preparation for a "showdown" with the unions. The union leaders, particularly the General Council, made no preparations of any kind.

When the great "confrontation of the classes" became a reality, the mineowners looked to the state, to the government, army, police and the law courts to do their side of the fighting, and all were used; the workers, on the other hand, ignoring the state, set up their own Councils of Action, i.e., Soviets, to fight the state and could have won, could have overthrown the government had they been led by resolute, revolutionary leaders. But with leaders who were in the pockets of the bourgeoisie, the workers were shamefully betrayed, and for the next seven months the miners were left to fight alone against all the power of the state.

There is a lesson in this for all of us, but the revisionists, of course, have no desire to read or learn it.

Yours fraternally,
Wm. GALLACHER

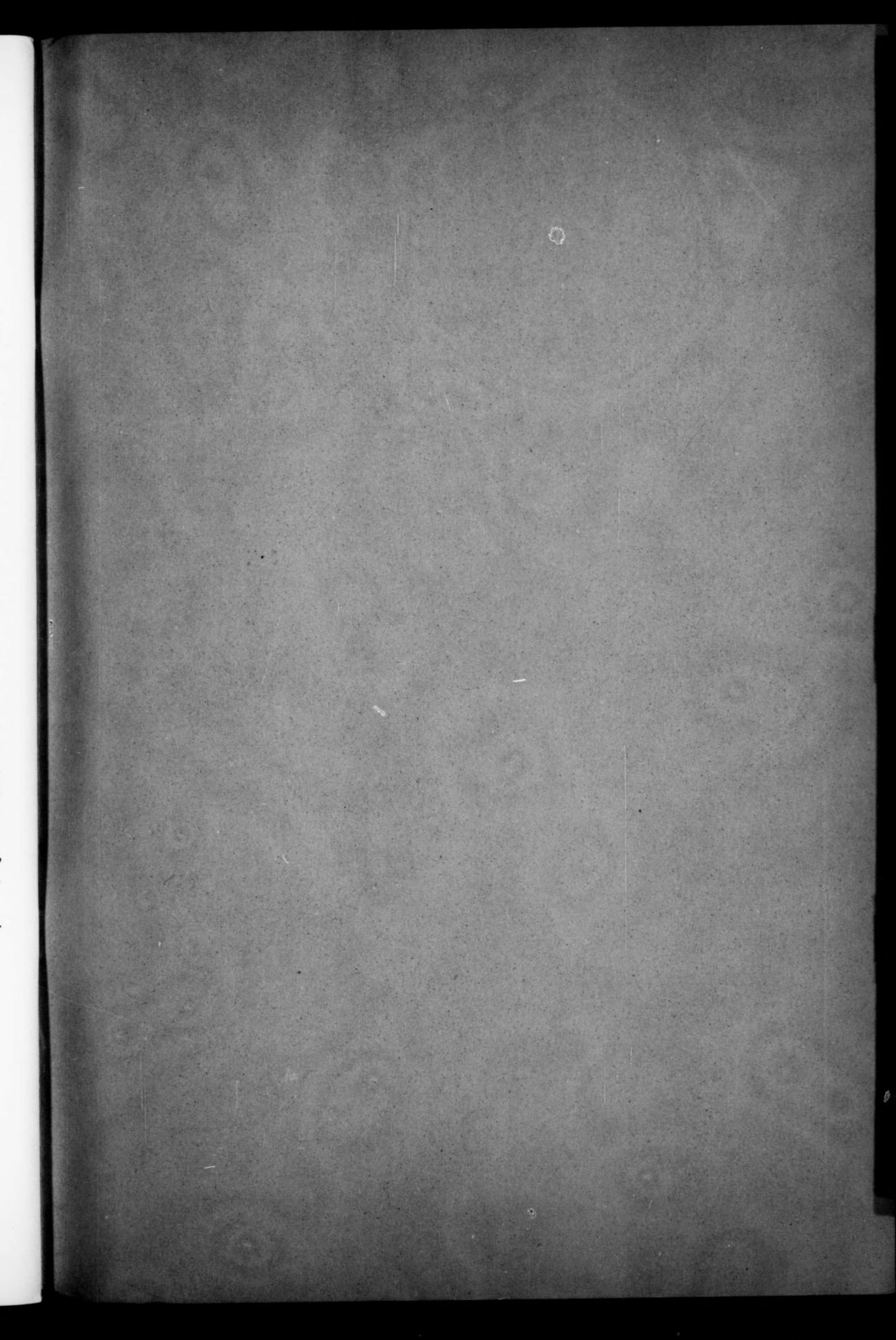
*February 1959.

NEW BOOKS

Below are listed a few of the many interesting Marxist works that have been published recently. The list will be continued in forthcoming issues of the magazine.

(Titles of works in other languages are given in English)

- D. Blagoyev, G. Dimitrov and V. Kolarov. *For Party Unity and Party Discipline*. Sofia, the Bulgarian Communist Party Publishing House, 1958, 286 pp.
- J. M. Budish. *People's Capitalism. Stock Ownership and Production*. New York, International Publishers, 1958, 64 pp.
- J. Diaz Rozzotto. *The Character of the Guatemalan Revolution. Decline of the Traditional Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution*. Mexico, Ediciones Revista "Horizonte," 1958, 316 pp.
- Renaud de Jouvenel. *The Children of Eagles. A Visit to Albania*. Paris, 1958, 229 pp.
- Memories of Witnesses of Heroic Days (1918-1919)*. Budapest, Kossuth konyvkiado, 1958, 195 pp.
- F. Donath. *Lenin in Leipzig*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1958, 34 pp.
- L. A. Leontiev. *Socialism in Economic Competition with Capitalism*. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1958, 224 pp.
- K. Liebknecht. *Works. Vol. I. September 1900-February 1907*. Foreword by W. Pieck. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1958, 492 pp.
- L. Luzatto. *Parliamentary Elections and Electoral Laws in Italy*. Rome, Ed. Reuniti, 1958, 310 pp.
- H. Malinowski. *The Founding and the Initial Period of the Activity of the Communist Party of Poland*. Warsaw, Kaiaszka i Wiedza, 1958, 158 pp.
- Marxist Philosophy and Socialist Politics (Problems of Marxist Philosophy in the German Democratic Republic)*. Berlin, VEB, 1958, 190 pp.
- Gy. Marosan. *The Party's Struggle for the Masses*. Budapest, Kossuth konyvkiado, 1959, 316 pp.
- Ma Teh-ting. *Selected Articles on Ideological Questions*. Peking, Tsotsia chupanshe, 1958, 277 pp.
- International Division of Labor in the Socialist World System*. Prague, Ceskoslovenska akademie ved, 1958, 128 pp.
- Lenin in 1917-1922, Selection of Articles*. Moscow, Academy of Social Sciences of the C.C., CPSU, 1958, 264 pp.
- T. Pavlov. *Fundamental Problems of Marxist-Leninist Esthetics, Vol. I*. Sofia, 1958, 336 pp.
- Problems of Development in Nature and Society. Selection of Articles*. Moscow-Leningrad, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1958, 296 pp.
- Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia. March 31-April 3, 1958. Documents*. Jakarta, "Pembaruan", 1958, 123 pp.
- Shu Wei-guang. *Forms of Peaceful Transition to Socialism in China*. Peking, Kehsiue chupanshe, 1958, 189 pp.
- S. Zolkiewski. *Culture and Politics*. Warsaw, Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1958, 289 pp.



Editions of the Journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Gray's Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1., England

Progress Books,
924 King St. West,
Toronto 2, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITION:

(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société Parisienne d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

RUSSIAN EDITION:

Stredisko pro rozširovani tisku,
Praha 6, Sadova 3
Czechoslovakia

CHINESE EDITION:

Guoni Shidian,
36 Suchohutung,
Peking, China

ALBANIAN EDITION:

Ndërmëryja Shqiptare Botimeve
"Naim Frashëri", Tirana

BULGARIAN EDITION:

Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen,
Sofia

CZECH EDITION:

Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

DUTCH EDITION:

Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam-W

GERMAN EDITION:

Deutscher Buch-Export und -Import
GmbH,
Leipzig C 1, Leninstrasse 16

HUNGARIAN EDITION:

Kossuth Kado, Budapest, V,
Vorosmartyter 4

ITALIAN EDITION:

Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION:

Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

KOREAN EDITION:

Central publications distribution office,
Phyongyang, Korea

MONGOLIAN EDITION:

Mongolgoskaigotorg,
ul-Stalina, Ulen-Bator

POLISH EDITION:

P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION:

Directia Difuzarii Presii,
Paletul administrativ C.P.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G,
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
Praha 6, Sadova 3

Editorial Anteo,
Calle Entre Rios 1039,
Buenos Aires
Argentina

SWEDISH EDITION:

Arbetskulturs forlag,
Kungsgatan 84,
Stockholm K

VIETNAMESE EDITION:

Editions HOC TAP,
61, Rue Nguyen Du,
Hanoi

