

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

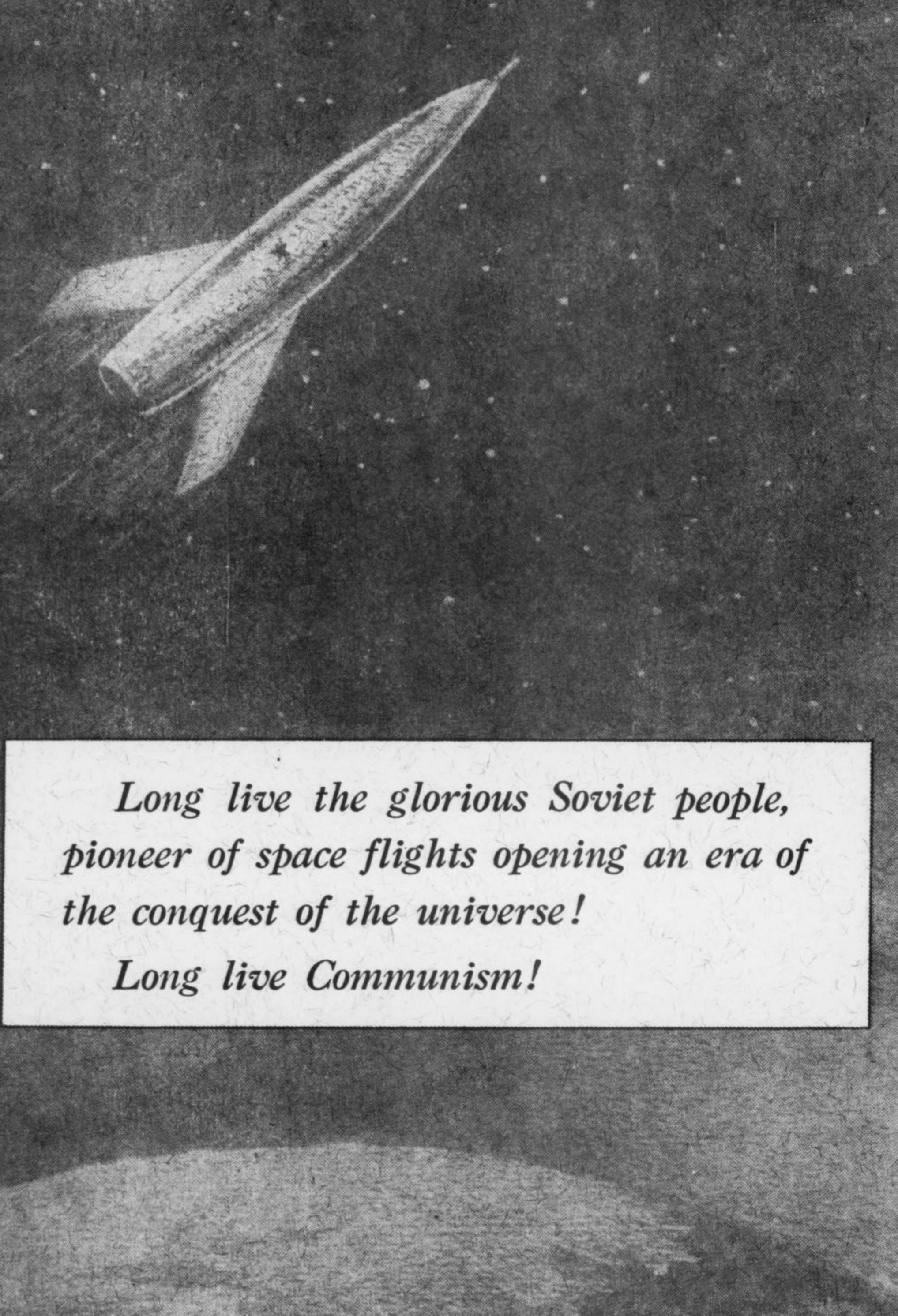
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

PROBLEMS
OF PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

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*Long live the glorious Soviet people,
pioneer of space flights opening an era of
the conquest of the universe!*

Long live Communism!

World Marxist Review:

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Gagarin Greets Communists of the World

Мой полёт в космос — это не мой подвиг. Это достижение коммунизма. Я горжусь тем, что я коммунист. Передаю через журнал "Проблемы мира и социализма" горячий привет всем моим единомышленникам — товарищам по партии на всей земной шаре.

Gagarin —
29.04.61

My flight into the cosmos was more than a personal accomplishment. The credit for it goes to communism. I am proud that I am a member of the Communist Party. And through the columns of World Marxist Review I send hearty greetings to all who share my views — to my fellow Communists throughout the world.

Gagarin

April 29, 1961.

The Central Factors of Our Day

EVERY year on May Day the international working-class movement reviews its fighting forces. On this day all champions of the workers' cause look back over the road traversed in the past year, assess the gains and examine the tasks ahead.

The past year saw the working class and all men of labor advance a long way toward their cherished goal. For the socialist world it was another year of great accomplishments fittingly crowned by a magnificent feat of human thought and labor—man's first flight into outer space. It was also a year of struggle for freedom and happiness on the part of the oppressed—a struggle that gripped countries and regions which imperialism had for long kept out of the mainstream of social progress. Africa rose to full stature. Heroic Cuba raised aloft the torch of liberation for the oppressed peoples of the Western Hemisphere. In South Korea, the dictator Syngman Rhee, so loathed by his people, was put to flight. The rays of freedom pierced the gloom of the darkest, fascist corners of Europe—Spain and Portugal—as witnessed by the actions of men and women who are fighting against the dictatorship of Franco and Salazar.

For the labor movement of the capitalist countries the past year was one of major struggles. The working people of Japan added a splendid page to their history, showing that the people's will is a force that has to be reckoned with even by rulers who grovel at the feet of foreign imperialism. The working class in Italy, all her working people and her youth, demonstrated their singleminded resolve to bar the way to reaction and fascism and to win far-reaching democratic reforms. The Belgian proletariat once again proved that social demagoguery has not been able to uproot the militant traditions of the West European workers. The democratic forces of France left no doubt as to their determination to put an end to the policy of colonial wars. And in Latin America, North Africa and the Middle East the working-class movement assumed impressive proportions.

Of the past year's events, the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties was particularly important for the international working class. This gathering was not only a striking demonstration of the growing solidarity of the Communists; it also testified to the maturity of the

working-class movement generally and its ability to answer the questions agitating the minds of men. In the documents adopted by the Meeting, the vanguard of the workers' movement drew this conclusion from the past battles: "The central factors of our day are the international working class and its supreme achievement, the socialist world system. They are the earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress."

* * *

The socialist world system is the most powerful unit of the fighting forces of the working class. The developments in this part of our planet are truly a triumph for the international workers' movement.

Here the working class has given practical proof of its ability to solve, without exploiters and better than the exploiters, all economic, political and social problems. Only a few decades ago the very thought seemed ludicrous to the "enlightened" elements of capitalist society. The Russian bourgeois newspaper *Novoye Vremya*, for instance, wrote in 1917, just before the October Revolution: "Let us assume for a moment that the Bolsheviks win. Who will govern us then? The cooks, experts in cutlets and beefsteaks? Or firemen? Grooms and stokers? Or perhaps nursery maids will run in for sessions of the State Council between washing the nappies? Who indeed? Who will be the statesmen? Perhaps fitters will take charge of the theaters, plumbers of diplomacy, and carpenters of the post and telegraph? Will this happen? No! How could it? History will give its emphatic answer to this Bolshevik madness."

History has indeed given its emphatic answer. And not only by showing that yesterday's workers and peasants can become able statesmen, generals, diplomats, scientists and artists. (A few years ago there was a public opinion poll in the West as to which of the present political leaders, taking into consideration only their abilities and disregarding political views, should be chosen and for which post in the event of a single world government being formed. The choice of the majority for Prime Minister was the former coal miner and fitter Nikita Khrushchov.) And most important, history has incontrovertibly shown that the working class, once it has taken power into its own hands, can

build a new society superior in every respect to capitalism, a society in which man's boldest dreams are realized.

Was this not proved once again by the fact that it was the Soviet people who built the rocket that first carried man into outer space? Is it not symbolic too that the world's pioneer spaceman is a Communist? Indeed, millions throughout the world received the news of the first cosmic flight not only as a victory of human genius, of science and engineering, but as a triumph of the ideas of communism, a victory of the socialist system.

The socialist world is a powerful factor impelling the whole of mankind toward socialism, and not because the countries of the socialist camp aim at spreading their ideas and their social system by force. The Communists unconditionally reject any "export" of revolution. The "secret weapon" of the socialist peoples in helping to bring about the worldwide victory of Communist ideas is their economic, social and cultural achievements, the example of which is convincing the masses of working people of the superiority of socialism as the only just social system.

The working people of the capitalist countries look with hope and gratitude to the camp of socialism and its victories. But the working class has never had things served up to it on a silver platter; it has had to fight for everything it has gained. And the workers still under the yoke of capital know full well that they can win a better future only through their own efforts. It is because of this that they make a thorough assessment of their forces on May Day.

These forces are mighty indeed. Year by year they are becoming better organized. Moreover, in practically all countries the organizations of the proletariat are centred around Marxist-Leninist parties.

The strength of the international working class, however, stems not only from its own organization, its class consciousness and militancy. Also of decisive importance is its ability to build a lasting alliance with the non-proletarian working masses and all progressive, democratic movements.

By virtue of the historical mission of the proletariat, which is to emancipate not only itself but the whole of society from all oppression, the people as a whole are its natural ally. Moreover, the objective basis of this grand alliance is steadily widening, for capitalism with its policy of imposing hardships on all sections of the population impels the broad masses to fight for peace, democracy and national independence, for far-reaching

economic and social changes. A feature of our times is the unprecedented rise of the most diverse democratic movements, which are merging in a single stream with the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

This of course does not come about automatically. It demands from the vanguard of the working class much effort, correct tactics, and breadth of vision. But the objective possibility is there, and the Communist parties are translating the possibility into reality.

The working-class movement has long been a major social force, moreover, a force that is growing daily. But the essence of the changes that have taken place in our time goes deeper than that. In addition to growing stronger the international working class has acquired a new quality. For today the working class, relying on the socialist world system, on its organizations with their millions of members and its alliance with all the oppressed, *determines the purport, the basic trend and features of social development.*

The bourgeoisie still rules over the greater part of the world, but it no longer shapes the course of events. Gone are the days when capitalism could do as it pleased. No longer does the bourgeoisie set the pace of history — a fact which many capitalist spokesmen have begun to realize, albeit slowly, belatedly and reluctantly.

Here is an illuminating sidelight. The West German journal *Aussenpolitik*, No. 2, 1961, opens with an article headed "Between January 20 and October 17." The 1961 political year, according to the journal, is bracketed between these two dates—the first being President Kennedy's inauguration day, and the second, the day set for the opening of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Yes, it is a fact—even the imperialist camp has begun to measure time by Communist Party congresses!

Even where the bourgeoisie rules, it no longer holds undivided sway. More and more often it is forced to retreat and make concessions—economic, social and political—before the powerful socialist world system and the growing working-class movement. This in itself is a great gain for the working people, for it opens up opportunities for solving in a new way many of the key problems of our times. So pronounced is this tendency that there are those who harbor the illusion that capitalism has changed its nature, who wonder whether the yellowed stubble of capitalism is not sprouting the green shoots of socialism.

Nor is it only the reformists and revisionists who foster these illusions. Many bourgeois spokesmen, too, pin their hopes on them. We, says Averell Harriman, the millionaire top-flight diplomatist in the Kennedy administration, should not let Khrushchov or any other Communist write us off as standard-bearers of imperialist capitalism. To save capitalism from being buried, Harriman suggests burying instead the word "capitalism." And this is not only semantic sleight-of-hand. What is implied is also rejection of some of the "excesses" of capitalism, the adoption of a shrewder, craftier policy.

The more far-sighted capitalist leaders consider it imperative to work out such a policy. They are trying to persuade the peoples that the nature of imperialism has changed, that it has ceased to be a threat to peace, democracy and progress. Moreover, the imperialist ideologists are seeking to make it appear as if the ideals of freedom cherished by all working mankind were their ideals.

They have gone so far as to include the concept of revolution in their arsenal. Not because it appeals to them, but because they are well aware of its impact on the millions still crushed by poverty and oppression. (Does this not give the lie to the revisionists who are seeking to delete the very word from the political vocabulary on the pretext that the masses no longer accept it?)

A few years ago John J. McCloy, now one of the Kennedy advisors, said: "We commonly think of the Soviet Union as the revolutionary force in the world today. In doing so we run the risk of allowing the Soviets to pre-empt the role of the symbol and inspiration for constructive change in the conditions of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world." McCloy's advice is to "remind others" of America's revolutionary traditions and try to wrest the slogan of revolution from the Communists. The same idea was advanced recently by Chester Bowles, another member of the Kennedy "brain trust." It would be foolish, he said, to allow the United States to be associated with the forces of reaction and stagnation. And President Kennedy himself has time and again referred to the revolutionary traditions of the USA and spoken of the "crucible of revolutionary ideas and efforts" which it is allegedly destined to be again.

Faced with the growing forces of peace, socialism and democracy, the bourgeoisie is at times compelled to make concessions to public opinion which are not only verbal. Although the object pursued is purely demagogic—a case of giving up a hair to save one's

head—these are nevertheless the fruit of the struggles and victories of the working people. When they have a bearing on the vital interests of the people, such concessions are worth fighting for.

If the more far-sighted spokesmen of the ruling bourgeoisie are beginning to realize that it is in their own interests to renounce war, this is a major gain for the forces of peace, democracy and progress. If the less diehard bourgeois politicians, fearing for their international positions, are prepared to give up the attempts to keep one or another people in colonial slavery by force, this too is a victory for the people. And if the monopolies, seeing their domination threatened, are sometimes forced to yield to the political and economic demands of the working people, the latter can rightfully regard this as something won through their own efforts, regardless of what bourgeois ideologists think and say.

Their day-to-day experience is a constant reminder to the working people that every concession made by capitalism is not the result of any change in its nature but the fruit of their own struggle. In this respect the past year, which has dispelled many illusions concerning the nature of imperialism, has been instructive indeed. The U.S. provocations against Cuba (and where if not here, on its own doorstep, could the United States have demonstrated its devotion to the ideals of a "freedom revolution"?), the colonial wars in Algeria and the Congo, and the shooting of demonstrators on the streets of Italian and Belgian towns confirmed again and again that monopoly capitalism remains the mortal enemy of peace, national independence, democracy and all the ideals which the working people hold sacred. Fully aware of all this, the working-class movement will not allow itself to be lulled to sleep by concessions; on the contrary, these will only stimulate the struggle.

The international working class, as it sums up its accomplishments and reviews its fighting forces, can say today with a deep feeling of gratification that its struggles and sacrifices have not been in vain.

* * *

Powerful though the militant forces of the international working class are, the working-class and Communist movements cannot afford to rest on their laurels, to relax their efforts. For there are new, momentous tasks ahead, as is clearly stated in the documents of the Meeting of the 81 Parties in Moscow.

"The Communists," the Statement of the Meeting declares, "regard it as their historical

mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission." This is the solemn commitment undertaken by the Communists on behalf of the international working-class movement.

This commitment is all the weightier because it is concrete. With hundreds of millions of people reaching out toward peace as their cherished goal, few refrain from pledging support to it. Yet none but the Communists have advanced a concrete and feasible program for ensuring peace.

This is a program based on the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems. The imperialists are doing their utmost to misrepresent the essence of this principle, and no wonder, for were international relations to be based on it, the ground would be swept away from under their aggressive policies.

For a long time the imperialists claimed that the Communists advocated peaceful co-existence not because they had any intention of practising it, but because they were weak. Today few presume to talk about the "weakness" of communism. Hence the new tack—the attempts to make peaceful coexistence look like a variant of the cold war.

This is the keynote of imperialist propaganda today, and especially of the comment on the documents of the Moscow Meeting. There has been much speculation in particular about the Communists' view of peaceful co-existence as a form of class struggle and their conviction that coexistence, far from preventing, will, on the contrary, hasten the victory of the ideas of socialism throughout the world. This sort of speculation has been joined by Lord Home, British Foreign Secretary, who called the Moscow Meeting "most discouraging," and Federal German Defense Minister Strauss, who declared that peaceful coexistence has proved to be no more than the "tactics of strangling the adversary otherwise than by a hot war."

That this propaganda is designed to discredit the policy of peaceful coexistence is obvious, as is the utter falseness of the arguments used.

The Communists indeed hold that the two systems are engaged in a class struggle in the world arena which nothing and no one

can eliminate. But this class struggle can take different forms; moreover, the choice of the forms depends in large measure on the governments, on the parties, and on the conscious efforts of the people. There are imperialist leaders who would prefer to settle the historical contest between the two social systems by force of arms. The Communists, however, reject this as a solution. They believe it is in the vital interests of all that this struggle should take the form of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence has nothing to do with cold war. Those who find the theoretical arguments too hard to grasp, need only turn to the facts. The keystone of the peaceful coexistence program advanced by the Communists is complete, general, controlled disarmament. In contrast to this the basic feature of the cold war is steady intensification of the armament drive. Peaceful coexistence presupposes non-interference by states in each other's internal affairs, with the choice of the social system being the exclusive concern of the people of the particular country. The cold war, on the country, implies gross violation by the imperialists of national sovereignty. Peaceful coexistence is a policy of settling outstanding international problems by peaceful means, i.e., through negotiation. The cold war policy is one of intimidation, pressure and aggravation of international crises. Peaceful coexistence means strengthening economic relations and contacts in the spheres of culture, science, etc. The cold war implies violent severance of these relations and contacts, trade restrictions and erecting barriers between nations.

The difference, as we see, is basic. Underlying the cold war is the imperialist policy of preparing for a shooting war and fighting the socialist world with no holds barred. Peaceful coexistence presupposes strengthening peace and normalizing international relations, with the inevitable class struggle in the world arena proceeding in forms that hold no threat of disaster to the nations. This is a form of peaceful competition in the spheres of economic development, social progress, culture and democracy between the two systems, a competition that will demonstrate to the peoples which system can give them a better life. This, moreover, is a fair contest of ideas, an ideological controversy, in which the truth will win.

As for the conviction of the Communists that they will win this contest with capitalism, it is not a sign of "aggressiveness," but of a profound understanding of the laws of history, of certainty that they are right and

that their social system is the best system, and of their faith in the common sense of the peoples, who are bound to choose the better, not the worse, way of life.

The idea of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition of the two systems is closely connected with another task which the Communists have set themselves — the task of *achieving new successes in economic development, in social and political relations and culture in the socialist countries, constantly increasing their preponderance in the peaceful competition with capitalism.*

The peoples of the socialist camp have dedicated their labors to the accomplishment of this task. And as they march from victory to victory in building socialism and communism, they are working for themselves, and their life is becoming fuller and richer. They are inspired by the knowledge that in this way they are most effectively performing their internationalist duty. For the stronger the socialist camp, the greater the opportunities opened to man to solve right now the most pressing problems — to preserve peace and strengthen it, to work for victory of the ideas of socialism throughout the world, and to promote the progress of the peoples whose development has been retarded by colonialism.

The greater the strength of socialism, the more confident all working mankind can feel. For the strength and might of the socialist system are wholly dedicated to peace and progress. This was demonstrated once again this April, when a Soviet man on board a Soviet rocket made the first cosmic voyage. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have rightly described the achievements in exploring outer space as a victory not only for their own people, but for all humanity. "We are happy to place them in the service of all people," they declared, "in the name of progress and the happiness and well-being of men and women throughout the world. We place our achievements and discoveries not in the service of war, but in the service of peace and the security of the peoples."

At their meeting in Moscow the Communists reaffirmed their resolve to *render every assistance to the oppressed peoples in their struggle against colonialism, for national independence and social progress.*

For the working-class solidarity with the oppressed peoples is not just a tactical move or a maneuver dictated by ulterior motives. The international proletariat is the natural ally of these peoples. For they have a common

enemy—imperialism. They are equally interested in peace and in economic, social and cultural progress.

The imperialists are clinging desperately to the remnants of their colonial empires. To oust them, the constant pressure of world public opinion must be added to the efforts of the national-liberation movements. In this respect a decisive role is played by the foreign policy of the socialist camp, by the active solidarity with the oppressed peoples of all Communists, including the Communist parties of the imperialist countries.

Invaluable aid is rendered by the international working class to the peoples that have thrown off the colonial yoke. Though they have won national independence, they still have to solve many complex problems arising from the need to overcome their backwardness and to promote economic, social and cultural progress. But to do this they must have economic and cultural aid. The imperialists, however, are determined to take advantage of this in order to enslave the emerging nations once again. All the more important then is the help given the young national states by the socialist camp, not to speak of the valuable lessons they can draw from the experience of the socialist countries, many of which had to solve, or are still solving, analogous problems (accelerated industrialization, agrarian reform, training a national intelligentsia, etc.).

A big task of the Communists, the labor movement and all the working people of the capitalist countries today is to *redouble the resistance to monopoly capital, intensify the struggles for the economic and political demands of the masses and, on this basis, develop massive action to curtail and abolish the power of the monopolies.*

There is no doubt that the achievements of the socialist countries and the victories of the national-liberation movement are creating the external conditions favorable for carrying out this task which is so vital to the peoples of the capitalist countries.

At home, too, the prerequisites for its realization are maturing, for the policy of the monopolies is impelling ever broader sections of the population to rally behind the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard. But to take advantage of these favorable conditions, determination and self-sacrifice are not enough; a correct policy, sound tactics and the ability continuously to extend and deepen the link between the vanguard and the masses are equally essential. The Communist parties

consider it their duty to improve their work among the masses and to perfect their political and tactical skill. For success in the struggle for peace and progress throughout the world depends in great measure on the effectiveness of the blows struck against imperialism at home.

* * *

The international working-class movement is, then, faced with complex problems of unprecedented magnitude. How are they to be solved? The Communists—the vanguard of the movement—gave a clear-cut answer when in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting they defined the principal lines of action.

Victory can be won only in struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is a ruthless and experienced enemy, but the working class enjoys the advantage of having the masses, the overwhelming majority of mankind, on its side.

To benefit from this advantage it is necessary to rally the masses and organize them. Unity in the broadest sense of the word is the earnest of success—unity of the socialist countries, unity of the working class of the capitalist countries which is still split through the efforts of the imperialists and their agents, unity of the working class and all other working people in every country, unity of the

working-class movement and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, the international unity of all the national detachments of the working class, the unity of all the forces of peace, democracy and progress.

The basic, cohesive force cementing this global solidarity is the unshakeable unity of the Communist parties themselves. "The Meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all the working-class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the grand struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for all mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism," we read in the Moscow statement.

The fact that the world Communist movement has become the most influential force of our time, the decisive factor of social progress, is due in large measure to its monolithic unity. And it is precisely because they are members of this closely-knit international family that the Communist parties are keenly aware of their strength, confident of their final victory irrespective of their present numerical strength and of the conditions in which they are working today.

Rumania Is Completing the Building of Socialism

Gheorghe Apostol

THE Rumanian People's Republic has entered a new stage in its development—the stage of completing the building of socialism. The far-reaching economic, social and political changes that led up to this were summed up by the Third Congress of the Workers' Party in June last year. Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's report to this congress, a document of great theoretical and practical significance, contained a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the socio-economic processes now under way in the country and

outlined the prospects opening up before the people.

Socialism has triumphed in the Rumanian People's Republic, the economic foundations of the new system have been laid, and exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever. Socialist relations of production hold undivided sway in industry, transport, trade and in the sphere of credit and finance. In agriculture the socialist sector embraced 83.7 per cent of the cultivated area by the end of 1960.

The working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are working on the six-year plan (1960-65), the current component of the fifteen-year long-range economic program approved in outline by the Congress. The main task of the six-year plan is to develop the material and technical base of socialism and socialist relations of production throughout the economy so as to complete the building of socialism.

I

The main task that arose before the Party and the people's state with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat was to solve, in favor of the new social system, the basic contradiction of the transition—the contradiction between the incipient socialism and capitalism which, though overthrown, had not yet been completely destroyed. This meant that simultaneously with consolidating the political rule of the people the basic means of production in industry, transport, etc., had to be nationalized, the economy as a whole reconstructed along socialist lines, and socialist relations of production established and extended in all spheres of material production.

In working out a policy of socialist construction, the Party took cognizance of the low level of the productive forces, and the economic backwardness inherited from capitalism. Agriculture heavily outweighed industry in the overall economy, for the country had served merely as an agrarian adjunct supplying cheap raw materials to the imperialist powers. Heavy industry was at an exceedingly low level; basic branches such as the engineering and electro-technical industries were practically non-existent. How backward the Rumania of the capitalists and landlords was can be judged from the fact that in 1938, her prewar peak year, pig-iron production did not exceed 133,000 tons and that of steel, 284,000 tons. Per capita production of steel in 1938 was 18.2 kg., as against nearly 330 in Germany, 159 in Czechoslovakia*, 150 in France, about 54 in Italy, and 43 in Poland.* Per capita power output was 72.4 kwh; compare this with about 504 in France, 364 in Italy, and 285 in Czechoslovakia.

Even the semi-official publications of the time admitted that the economy was in a sorry plight. For instance, *Essays on the Rumanian Economy*, a book published in 1939 by the Supreme Economic Council, con-

cedes that although Rumania "has favorable conditions for the development of industries, she remains . . . one of those countries whose economic structure is largely determined by the agricultural character of production, the export of raw materials and import of manufactures. Local industry . . . supplies only a part of the manufactured goods consumed." From this the bourgeois authors drew the conclusion: "Because of this we still are within the sphere of influence of foreign interests, both economically and politically."

In laying the material foundations of socialism the Party was guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching that only large-scale machine industry can ensure the economic progress of the country as a whole. The question had to be posed differently than in highly developed industrial countries. Industrialization, including a large-scale machine industry, was the cardinal task facing Rumania. This was the only way—the way indicated by Marxism-Leninism and tried and tested in practice. As far back as 1945, when the bourgeois-democratic revolution had still to be completed, and when the agrarian reform, democratization of public life and economic rehabilitation were on the order of the day, the Party, while solving all these problems, concentrated on restoring and expanding industry, primarily heavy industry.

At the socialist stage of the people's revolution, industrialization became the general line of the Party's economic policy. As a result, Rumania today has a steadily growing heavy industry and an electric-power base that is expanding faster than industrial production. New branches of industry have been established — production of tractors, farm machinery and oil-field and mining equipment—and others have been expanded.

By 1960, overall industrial production had increased fivefold compared with prewar, while output of the engineering industry went up tenfold, chemical elevenfold, and power sevenfold. Industry as a whole produced as much in eleven weeks as it did in the whole of 1938, and the national income exceeded the 1938 level 2.7 times.

Our experience has confirmed that *industrialization is an objective necessity for building socialism in those countries embarking on this path at a comparatively low level of economic development and with no large-scale industry*. Our Party proceeded from the premise that a socialist country, drawing on its own resources and the advantages

*According to data for 1937.

accruing from co-operation with other socialist countries, must build up its own industry producing the means of production.

One of the most complex tasks in the transition from capitalism to socialism is, as we know, the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Our policy of guiding the peasantry to socialism has been based on Lenin's co-operative plan, which has fully shown its vitality in the conditions of our country as well. One of the factors that facilitated the transition of the millions of peasant households to socialism was mechanization. The government supplied the machine and tractor stations and state farms with tens of thousands of tractors and thousands of harvester combines and other machines, thus bringing about a technical revolution in agriculture that enabled the peasants to see for themselves how much they had to gain from the use of machines.* Moreover, the state rendered substantial assistance to them by providing credits, building materials, selected seed, etc., and also by sending crop and animal husbandry experts to the countryside.**

An important role in the socialist reconstruction of the countryside was played by the state farms. Tilling roughly 13.7 per cent of the crop area and equipped with machinery, they are an example of socialist farming and do much to raise productivity. The state farms also help the collective farms by providing them with high-quality seed, helping to improve livestock strains, etc.

But complex though the process of socialist reorganization of agriculture is, our Party is coping with the problems by consistently adhering to the Leninist precept that the way to accomplish it is through the voluntary association of individual peasant farmers in large-scale socialist production units. Both the Party organizations and governmental bodies have conducted extensive educational work to prove to the peasants the superiority of large-scale socialist farming. While opposed to any tendency to regard the building of socialism as a purely spontaneous process, the Party is steadfastly on guard against any undue haste, stressing that the transfer of individual peasants to socialist farming is a

gradual process requiring patience and understanding.

The transition is facilitated by the producers' co-operatives which range from the simplest to the highest types. The basic and highest form of socialist agricultural co-operatives, as the Central Committee of the Party pointed out at a meeting in March 1949, is the collective farm, where all the means of production (the land, implements, draught animals, etc.) are the common property of all the members from the very outset, and where all the work is done jointly and the produce distributed according to the quantity and quality of the labor put in by each member. The simpler forms of co-operation—associations for joint cultivation—are used for the purpose of gradually accustoming the peasants to work jointly, to overcome their private-property mentality and educate them in the spirit of collectivism.

The achievements of the collective farms in increasing farm production and raising the standard of living of their members have been a powerful incentive to the members of the simpler co-operatives to reorganize into collective farms. In the recent period this reorganization has become widespread. At the same time the smaller collectives are joining to form bigger ones, going in for new branches of farming, increasing their efficiency and consolidating themselves organizationally. These developments are aspects of the single process of the steady strengthening and spread of socialist production relations in the countryside.

More than four-fifths of all peasant families in Rumania are now socialist farmers. In many districts and some regions the entire peasant population has joined the collective farms. Last year the socialist sector accounted for the bulk of the total farm production, including 88 per cent of the wheat, 80 per cent of the corn, 91 per cent of the sunflower, and 98 per cent of the sugar beet. The Third Congress of our Party had good grounds for declaring that *the transition to co-operative farming had been completed in the main.*

The socialist reorganization of agriculture is accompanied by a steady increase in productivity. For instance, the average annual wheat production in 1956-60 amounted to 3,300,000 tons as against 2,630,000 tons in 1934-38, while corn production increased by 24 per cent. There was a substantial increase in both herds and the productivity of livestock. By the beginning of this year the

*By the end of 1960 there were 42,800 tractors, 20,200 tractor-drawn cultivators and 17,400 grain-harvesting combines on the farms. In 1960 alone the number of tractors increased by 11,500, or the equivalent of nearly three times the total number in 1938.

**More than 30,000 agricultural experts were working on the farms by the end of 1960. This was nearly four times the number in 1951. Nearly half of them were crop and animal husbandry experts, veterinary surgeons and mechanization experts with college degrees.

number of beef and dairy cattle had increased to 4,500,000 from 3,700,000 in 1938, while that of pigs went up from 2,800,000 to 4,300,000. Highly important in strengthening the collective farms and increasing productivity were the material incentives and the changes made in the system of state procurement of farm produce. As far back as 1953 a new system of contracts and purchase by the state was introduced for a number of types of farm produce, and by the end of 1956, when the peasants had come to see its advantages, it superseded the previous system of obligatory deliveries completely.

The progress made in the socialist reorganization of agriculture shows that *the Rumanian peasant, convinced of the correctness of the Party's policy, has chosen once and for all the path of large-scale socialist agriculture*, which has opened to him the way to a prosperous life. The times—once considered normal by bourgeois sociologists—when “weeds and meadow and forest grasses were for the peasants” not only “a free apothecary” but also “a natural store of food,” have gone never to return. The basic task of the six-year plan in agriculture, which is to complete collectivization, promote diversified farming in the co-operatives and their organizational-economic consolidation, and secure a substantial increase in both crop and livestock production, is being successfully carried out. By 1965 the gross farm output is scheduled to increase by 70-80 per cent, with the emphasis on wheat, corn and livestock farming. The Party and the government are rendering extensive assistance to the collective farms through credits with a view to increasing the commonly-owned herds and raising livestock productivity.

Rumania is thus completing the process of building socialist relations of production throughout her economy. The socialist way of life is assuming undivided sway.

II

The decisive thing for completing the building of socialism is *the development of the material and technical base of socialism*. This, at the same time accelerates our rise, economically and culturally, to the level of the more highly developed socialist countries and enables us to increase our contribution to the peaceful economic competition of the two systems.

What must be done further to develop the material and technical base of socialism in our country?

Above all, socialist industrialization must be continued without let-up. The key here, as in the past, is priority development of heavy industry, primarily machine-building and the manufacture of industrial equipment. This, it should be said, is a constant, objective precondition of socialist extended reproduction generally, and not only at one or another stage of socialist construction taken separately.

The ratio between the production of means of production and means of consumption is determined by the requirements at each stage of development, but in all circumstances a more rapid rate of growth is ensured to the former. For instance, during the 1960-65 six-year plan period when, in conformity with the decisions of the Third Congress, industrial production as a whole is scheduled to increase somewhat more than twofold, the growth in the production of the means of production is set at approximately 2.2 times, while that of the means of consumption is to double. As a result, the share of the former in the gross industrial output will approximate 66 per cent as against 45.5 per cent in 1938.

The proportions set for the current six-year period are designed to ensure rapid progress in all branches of the economy and a higher technological level in industry and other spheres of material production through retooling, modernization and so on, with the emphasis on the decisive branches of heavy industry — power, metallurgy, engineering, and chemical production. Three-quarters of the total investments in industry are earmarked for these branches.

Guided by Lenin's counsel concerning the role of electrification in building the new society, and taking into account our abundant power resources, the Party as far back as October 1950 elaborated a ten-year electrification plan for 1951-60. This plan was overfulfilled. Our annual power output is now in the neighborhood of 7,700 million kwh. At present electrification assumes still greater importance in the light of the latest discoveries in science and engineering which open up wider opportunities for the use of electric power. Hence, in order further to develop the material and technical base of socialism, power production has to be increased faster than industrial production generally. Accordingly, with the average annual increase in industrial production as a whole set at 13 per cent in 1960-65, electric power output is to go up in the same period by

an average of 18 per cent annually. The stress is to be laid on thermal power units as the most economical in our conditions.

Another prerequisite for the further advancement of all branches of the economy, and especially the engineering industry, is increased production of metal. Consequently, the Third Congress above all stressed the need for a radical expansion of iron and steel capacity.* Of great importance in this respect is the construction of an iron and steel work in Galati with an annual capacity of about four million tons of steel. This plant, which is being built with Soviet aid, will be biggest of its kind in Rumania.

A key role in building the material and technical base of socialism belongs to the engineering industry, particularly the machine-tool industry. At present special attention is paid to the manufacture of complete production lines and installations on a level with the most perfected types put out in the leading industrial countries. The main task of our engineering industry is to increase the output of equipment needed for the mechanization and automation of production.

All-round development of industry necessitates a considerable expansion of the raw material supply. We shall solve this problem by intensified prospecting for new mineral deposits and making effective use of the known deposits, as well as by promoting co-operation and relations of mutual assistance with the other socialist countries. Our object is to meet in increasing measure the requirements of industry with our own raw materials. For example, it is planned to increase iron ore extraction 3.8-fold by 1965 as compared with 1959 by tapping new deposits.

Symptomatic too is the more effective use of the natural resources. An end has been put to the rapacious waste of the natural wealth which was the rule when Rumania was exploited as a raw material source for the imperialist countries.

We have been able to tackle the highly important task of making rational use of our natural riches thanks to the creation of a manufacturing industry of our own as well as the technological progress made in all branches of the economy. Engineering is a case in point; here the current six-year plan envisages, by making lighter and better ma-

chines, and by launching new lines of equipment with higher technological standards, a 30 per cent increase of output, in terms of value, from each ton of metal. The wood-working industry is scheduled to turn out 80 per cent more, in terms of value, from each cubic meter of wood used.

A big role is being played in this respect by the chemical industry, especially plants making plastics, synthetic fiber and yarn, synthetic rubber, etc., from by-products of the oil and natural-gas industries.

To provide the economy with up-to-date machinery and installations equal to the best put out anywhere is the aim of our state. Introducing the latest in scientific and engineering achievements in all branches of the economy is the guarantee of the production pace set by the six-year plan, a steady rise in labor productivity, lower costs, and better quality. More than 70 per cent of the production increase envisaged in the plan is to be achieved through higher productivity of labor.

That the planned rates are feasible is shown by the results of the first year of the six-year plan. Although the plan calls for an average annual increase of 13 per cent in industrial production, 1960 registered a 16.9 per cent growth over the previous year. The 1960 increase alone exceeded the 1938 total output of pig iron by 26 per cent, steel by 36 per cent, and iron ore by 185 per cent.

Besides developing the productive forces as a whole, there is also the task of the accelerated economic and cultural advancement of a number of areas which under the bourgeois-landlord system lagged considerably behind the rest of the country. The uneven, sporadic development characteristic of capitalism resulted in such regions as Maramures, Dobrogea, Suceava, Bacau and Oltenia being neglected. Our economic policy calls for a higher rate of progress in these areas in order to bring them up to the level of the more advanced and create an integrated, harmoniously developed, thriving national economy. Since the establishment of people's rule, industrial centers have sprung up in areas that formerly had no industry at all.

The policy of raising the formerly backward areas to the general level of the national economy is being pursued today as well, as can be seen from the allocation of investments. New factories and mills are being built in these sections with a view

*In 1965 steel production is to reach 3,300,000 tons, and in 1970 roughly 7,500,000 tons, as compared with 1,400,000 in 1959.

to making the maximum use of the economic and natural advantages of all regions.

To solve the complex tasks of socialist development, the introduction of new technology must be accompanied by the training of skilled personnel. At the moment Rumania has over 59,000 certified engineers, as against 9,000 in 1938, while the number of specialists with a secondary education runs to more than 220,000. One can judge the scale on which specialists are being trained for both the economy and the cultural sphere by the fact that in 1959 there was one student for every 294 inhabitants in Rumania. Compare this with the figures for the Netherlands (1957)—one to 340; Britain (1958)—one to 435, and Norway (1957)—one to 569.

III

As a result of the consistent policy of restricting and squeezing out the capitalist elements, the capitalist form of economy has been abolished completely. The overwhelming majority of the small agricultural producers have taken to socialist farming. Socialist economy has triumphed once and for all and is now going ahead on the basis of rapidly developing industry and collective agriculture which is being steadily mechanized.

This has had as its corollary far-reaching social changes. A new class structure has taken shape in our society, which now consists of classes that live by their labor and are united by bonds of friendship.

How did this come about? The landlords and the capitalists were abolished as a class already in the early years of the revolution as a result of the agrarian reform and the nationalization of industry. As it embarked on the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the Party consistently pursued a policy of restricting and gradually squeezing out the rich farmers by limiting their opportunities to exploit the working peasants with little or no land of their own. They were, however, given an opportunity to continue farming and trading on conditions stipulated by law. Then the successful building of socialism, the growth and consolidation of the socialist sector in agriculture, made possible the elimination of the rich peasants as a class. The Party tackled the problem creatively, in keeping with the specific Rumanian conditions of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Proceeding from the fact that socialism had occupied the commanding heights in the economy and from the favorable inter-

national situation, the state abolished the forms of exploitation that still existed in agriculture. The rich peasants were allowed to keep only as much land as they could cultivate themselves and the surplus was turned over to the socialist farms. Sharecropping, renting of land and all other forms of exploitation were prohibited.

The social and economic position of the former rich peasants changed accordingly, and they were allowed to join producers' co-operatives without the right to be elected to leading posts. Their applications for membership are dealt with on their merits by general meetings of the collective farms and co-operatives. The work done by the Party to educate the working people in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance and loyalty to the socialist system develops their civic mindedness and strengthens people's democracy.

The working class, once exploited both by the native bourgeoisie and by the foreign monopolies, has become a new class, rid of exploitation and, together with the rest of the people, the owner of the basic means of production. It is the leading force of our society. True to its revolutionary traditions, the working class has proved equal to its historical mission as leader of the nation in building socialism. In the process of the socialist construction its numbers have increased, its leading role in the life of the country and its socialist consciousness have been enhanced. The number of workers engaged in the national economy grew from 1,222,900 in 1950 to 2,227,000 in 1960 and now comprises 70 per cent of the total number of wage and salary earners.

Deep-going changes have also taken place among the working peasantry. Socialism has delivered them from their age-old poverty and made them an active factor in social progress. A new class is taking shape in the countryside—a collectivist peasantry who are a reliable ally of the working class. The new, socialist attitude to public property, to the people's democratic state and to the interests of society generally, and its growing activity in public life are the result of the radical changes that have taken place in the peasants' living conditions.

The rise of socialist relationships in agriculture and the formation of a class of collective farm peasants are decisive factors cementing and developing the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry. This alliance is the solid foundation of the

people's democratic system and the motive force in building the new society.

The years of socialist construction have resulted in considerable changes also among the intellectuals. Thanks to the educational work conducted by the Party, the old intelligentsia is now merging with the new. An intelligentsia deriving from the people and which is taking an active part in the struggle for socialism has emerged. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals wholeheartedly support the policy of the Party and the government and are contributing to advancing the economy, science and culture, and spreading knowledge and culture among the people.

The rapid growth of the national economy and of the national income is accompanied by rising material well-being and cultural standards for all sections of the working people. The Party and the government are working unremittingly in this direction. As distinct from the situation in the capitalist countries where the exploiting classes appropriate the bulk of the national income, in the Rumanian People's Republic the national income belongs wholly to the working people and is distributed in their interests. In 1956-60 more than four-fifths of the national income was channelled for consumption.

It is the policy of the people's democratic state steadily to increase the purchasing power of the population, primarily through gradually raising money wages on the basis of the growing productivity of labor. Other important factors are the reduction of retail prices, lower taxes on wages, etc. Between 1955 and 1959 real wages rose 33 per cent—the target set by the Party's Second Congress in 1955 was reached a year ahead of time. The upward trend continued last year, with another 11 per cent gain over 1959. The income of the working peasantry also went up. Beginning with the 1960-61 school year all school children from the first to the seventh grade will be supplied with free textbooks. All other school supplies are to be issued free of charge in the future.

The substantial rise in labor productivity and technological progress will make it possible during the present six-year span gradually to shorten the working day without any reduction in earnings.

The steady rise in living standards is the fruit of the all-out effort to expand the material and technical base of socialism. The experience of Rumania and of the other so-

cialist countries proves that *the consolidation of socialism and growth of popular well-being are organically interconnected*. This is a striking manifestation of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

The socio-economic changes have paved the way for the moulding of the new, socialist ethics. A new attitude to labor and to the common good, and new relations of fraternal mutual aid are asserting themselves. This cements the moral and political unity of the people, whose initiative is being directed by the Party to the speedy completion of the building of socialism. The Party is invincible thanks to its steadfast ties with the people. And in the process of building socialism, a process in which all are taking part, the leading role of the Party is enhanced in all spheres of endeavor.

On May 8, 1961, the fortieth anniversary of the Communist Party of Rumania will be celebrated not only by the members of the Party, but by all the working people of our country, who regard the Party's policy as their own policy and are working with resolve and enthusiasm to carry it out.

In honor of this historic occasion a socialist emulation movement with high quality of production as the main target has spread throughout Rumania. The scope of this movement and the energy and uplift with which the people are working to fulfil the tasks posed by the Third Congress of the Party are a reflection of their faith in and devotion to the Party, which for the past four decades has stood steadfastly on guard for the interests of the people and the country as the organizer and leader of the struggle for the victory of socialism in our country and for peace.

* * *

Rumania's experience shows that mutual aid and support among the socialist countries, the utilization of all the advantages accruing from the unity of the socialist world system, are prime conditions for success in building the new society.

The identity of the social and state systems of the socialist countries, their common Marxist-Leninist ideology, the community of their interests with regard to the defense of national independence and their revolutionary socialist gains, and the oneness of their goals all find vivid reflection in the relations between countries and peoples in the socialist camp. Economic co-operation based on proletarian internationalism facilitates the extension of the material and tech-

nical base of socialism in our country and accelerates socialist construction generally. The people of Rumania are grateful to the people of the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the fraternal, internationalist assistance they are rendering us in building our new, socialist life.

The relations between the socialist countries are deepened and assume new forms as the socialist world system develops and grows stronger. As the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held last November pointed out, closer co-operation and fraternal mutual aid and perfection of the international socialist division of labor facilitate the gradual eradication of the historically-conditioned differences between the economic levels of the various countries and the creation of a material foundation for the more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist world system to communism.

With the success of socialism, the possibility of restoring capitalism in our country is

ruled out for all time. The united forces of the socialist camp are a guarantee against any encroachments on the part of imperialist reaction. The indestructible unity of the socialist countries and their growing economic and political impact ensure the complete victory of socialism on the scale of the entire system.

Rounding off the building of socialism and developing its material and technical base play a paramount role in Rumania's advance to communism alongside the more developed socialist countries. The complete victory of socialism is already a matter of the not so distant future. In another ten or fifteen years, as the Third Congress of the Party pointed out, Rumania will be a highly developed industrial country with a highly productive and diversified agriculture. And its riches, in the hands of the working people, will ensure them conditions of life worthy of the epoch of victorious socialism and the building of communism.

The Algerian War of Liberation and the Struggle for Peace

Larbi Bouhali

THE Algerian people have been waging a national-liberation war for nearly seven years now. They are fighting against the vast army of the colonialists with courage, fortitude and selflessness.

Their sacrifice has not been in vain. And though the primary objective of national independence has not yet been attained, our people know it is not far off.

They know, too, that they are fighting a just war, a war in step with the march of history. Their battle for independence, flowing into the common current of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed people, merges with the worldwide struggle for peace, progress and socialism. Part of the world anti-imperialist front, the Algerian war of liberation strengthens this front and at the

same time draws strength from it. Support given by the anti-imperialist front will, undoubtedly, contribute to the ultimate victory of the Algerian people.

1. Results of 78 Months of War

The Great October Socialist Revolution awakened the national sentiment of the colonial peoples and drew them into the current of the worldwide revolutionary movement. But the tidal wave of the national-liberation movement began to rise in earnest after the Second World War.

The victorious armed struggle of the Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean peoples dealt fresh blows to world imperialism, undermined its military prestige and proved to the colonial peoples that the so-called invin-

cibility of imperialism was nothing but a myth. In 1952-53 the fraternal peoples of Tunisia and Morocco rose in arms against imperialism. Their success had repercussions among our people. Guided by the experience of other countries, and taking advantage of the favorable world situation, the people of Algeria began an armed struggle for independence on November 1, 1954.

They did not take to arms lightheartedly. It was only when they were unable to realize their national aspirations by peaceful means after decades of trying, that they did so. They learned that colonialism never gives up its privileges of its own free will, and that only through armed struggle could they end the oppression and exploitation, the race-hatred and constant humiliation, in a word, the violence of the colonialists.

The uprising evoked unparalleled enthusiasm among the people and redoubled their revolutionary vigor. In the heat of combat the glorious National-Liberation Army was formed; it rapidly became battle-seasoned and the most effective and reliable weapon of the liberation. National unity was forged around the National-Liberation Front (FLN), which rallied the overwhelming majority of the people for the revolution.

The economic levers in Algeria are held by the colonial bourgeoisie, with the result that the national bourgeoisie in Algeria is weaker than, say, in Morocco or Tunisia. Nevertheless, this bourgeoisie has not only fought at the side of the workers, peasants and other sections of the population, it has headed the revolutionary struggle through the FLN. The national bourgeoisie in Algeria is, in the main, anti-imperialist. Algeria is proof of the correctness of the words in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties: "In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries not connected with the imperialist circles is, objectively, interested in accomplishing the main tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and, for this reason, can participate in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism."

By virtue of the historical conditions, the national uprising and the war of liberation in Algeria have been led by the national bourgeoisie, not by the working class or the Communist Party. Nevertheless, both before the revolutionary outbreak and in the course of the struggle the Communist Party played an important part in rallying the masses. It

was active politically between the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the armed struggle in November 1954. On the basis of the demands connected with the common struggle for national independence, the Party organized mass political actions into which it drew various sections of the people — the working class, peasantry, the middle sections, youth and women, among whom were a considerable number of working people of Jewish or European origin. The Party pursued a policy of uniting the national and democratic forces, combating reformism, and was opposed to any wait-and-see policy and national narrow-mindedness in the liberation movement; it deepened the political and revolutionary consciousness of the people, thereby making an important contribution to preparing our people for the armed struggle.

From the very beginning of the national revolution the Communist Party has played its part in the liberation struggle. And yet, although some of its members have fought in the National-Liberation Army, while others have worked in the local organizations of the National-Liberation Front, the Communist Party, as such, has never been a member of the FLN. Indeed, the latter, formed first and foremost by activists and members of old nationalist parties and organizations which broke up during the war, took on the character of a new party. The FLN insisted that the Communist Party should cease activities and merge with the Front. The Algerian Communists felt that they could not comply with this demand. Had they done so, they would have betrayed the interests of the working class and the poor peasantry and abandoned their historical mission. The FLN's attitude, however, did not prevent our Party from continuing its policy of unity and duly appreciating the anti-imperialist aspirations of the national bourgeoisie and the National-Liberation Front which had taken over the general guidance of the struggle. That is why the Communist Party has always supported the FLN and the Provisional Government, and why it is doing its utmost to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle, and above all, the armed struggle.

Had the FLN leadership observed and extended united action with the Communist Party, to which in fact it had agreed in 1956, the popular struggle would only have gained. Events have shown that by safeguarding its political and organizational independence, our Party has been able to do much more in the national revolution. It supported the FLN and

the Provisional Government and at the same time expressed its opinion on how the struggle was progressing, pointing to its positive aspects and negative sides in order to develop the former and overcome the latter. We shall cite one example. Having recognized armed struggle as the principal form of struggle, our Party at the same time insisted on mass political actions in all forms. The demonstrations in the towns last December which were the subject of worldwide comment show how right we were.

The French colonialists are going all out to maintain their domination in Algeria. Their 600,000 hand-picked troops, i.e., over a half of the French army (to which should be added 200,000 police), have suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of the people of a small country whose main weapon is unity and love of country.

This does not mean that the people of Algeria are not suffering under the terrible war of extermination imposed upon them. Few have suffered such heavy losses in their struggle for liberation as have the Algerian people. Over a million have been killed, mostly women, the aged and children. Two million are behind the barbed wire of so-called regroupment centers, in concentration camps, in prison or have found refuge in Tunisia or Morocco. In other words, three million Algerians, one-third of our people, have been either massacred or insulated. The physical and moral suffering of the other two-thirds defies description.

The brutality, however, has not brought the people to their knees. On the contrary, they are constantly stepping up the struggle, going from success to success in the military, political, economic and diplomatic fields.

Under the blows of the National-Liberation Army, the colonialists have been forced time and again to change their strategy, tactics and military chiefs. And now, in the seventh year of the war, their army can be said to be undergoing a real moral and political crisis.

In the political sphere, the Provisional Government formed in September 1958 symbolizes the restoration of the Algerian state. Recognized by many countries, it is acting ever more confidently as the lawful government, a government expressing the interests of the whole people.

The confidence reposed in the government during the December events and the boycott of the de Gaulle referendum are proof of this. Even de Gaulle, who refuses to recog-

nize the authority of the Provisional Government, scornfully calling it an "external organization of rebels," had to agree to meet its representatives in Melun, which cannot but signify virtual French recognition of the Provisional Government.

The ultras and the monopolists do not want to "lose Algeria." For this reason French official circles are maneuvering to evade real negotiations with the Provisional Government, seeking to create an "Algerian Executive Authority" composed of their stooges, and intensifying the policy of "pacification," with its massacre of Algerians, death sentences, executions, round-ups and "verifications of documents" in towns and villages. Their policy cannot, however, conceal the fact that the French rulers have been surrendering their positions consistently. Thus in June 1958 de Gaulle and the ultras who brought him to power favored a "French Algeria," and staged a "Franco-Moslem fraternization." In September 1958 de Gaulle offered a "peace of the brave," and in September 1959 spoke for the first time of "self-determination." In June 1960, on the eve of the Melun meeting, he talked about an "Algerian Algeria," and in November agreed that "there would be an Algerian republic on day." In qualifying the Algerian war as an "endless and hopeless venture," he involuntarily admitted defeat.

On the socio-economic and political plane, all the measures aimed at sapping the unity of the Algerians, corrupting them (the Constantine Plan is a case in point), and diverting them from the struggle have met with fiasco.

On the international plane, the Algerian issue is worrying most governments. And if, when this question first came before the United Nations the General Assembly declined to discuss it on the pretext that it was an "internal affair of France," things were different at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly. In fact, by a vote of 63 to eight, with 27 abstentions, the delegates recognized "the Algerian people's right to self-determination and independence," and "the imperative need for safeguards . . . to guarantee implementation of the right to self-determination . . . on the basis of respect for the unity and the territorial integrity of Algeria," and "the responsibility of the United Nations in securing this right"

The words of the editor of *Le Monde*, who makes no secret of his pro-deGaulle sentiment, are evidence of the failure of the colonial war in Algeria: "To prolong the sta-

tus quo it is necessary not only to continue to maintain large military forces in Algeria, intercept more foreign vessels for inspection and, perhaps, sever relations with a number of countries, but it is essential to stop the spread of FLN influence by putting a strait jacket on millions of Moslems, to set up more regroupment centers, control the movements of the population, keep a strict watch on the pecuniary and even food resources of Algerian families"

Even if the French colonialists could do this, they would still not escape defeat, for, as the Moscow Statement says, "the complete disintegration of colonialism is imminent."

Like the Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean and Cuban peoples, the people of Algeria have shown that in our time all oppressed nations, even the smallest, are, if united and resolved to fight, not only unconquerable but capable of triumphing over imperialism.

2. Progressive Revolutionary War

All people live today under the threat of a devastating thermonuclear war which the imperialists, especially the American, are preparing. But the question of war no longer depends on the will of the imperialists. Now that "the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society," the peace-loving forces of the world have become so strong that they can prevent a new war. Precisely for this reason all progressive people believe that "the issue of war and peace is the burning issue of our time," as the Moscow Statement emphasizes.

The Communists, exponents of the will for peace of the peoples and the working class, have always been determined opponents of war. They, in Lenin's words, regard "war between peoples as a barbarous and brutal affair." But this does not mean that they are against war in the abstract. As Lenin taught, they see "an inevitable connection between wars and the class struggle in a country," and recognize the need "historically (from the standpoint of Marx's dialectical materialism) to study each war separately." They therefore distinguish between "unjust" wars, which they condemn and oppose, and "just" wars, which they approve of and support.

But how is one to distinguish between a just and an unjust war? Any war started by the people, by the masses in order to win freedom, to break away from the yoke of

the oppressors, or to safeguard sovereignty and social gains, is a just war. And any war unleashed by the imperialists for the purpose of plunder, seizing foreign territory and enslaving the peoples, is an unjust war. This distinction remains in force even when different kinds of war come into the picture: world wars, local wars and national-liberation wars.

The Communists combat local and world wars unleashed and fanned by imperialism. Recalling the Communist attitude to wars of liberation the Moscow Statement points out that "Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars . . ." and, further: "The Meeting extends heart-felt greetings and support to the valiant people of Algeria fighting for freedom and national independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria."

In these words the Communists of the world, including the French Communists, express their sympathy with and warm support for the Algerian people who are fighting for freedom and national independence. They reaffirm their principled position, a position that condemns aggressive wars and supports national-liberation wars.

In keeping with this principle, the Statement proclaims that: "All the socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement consider it their duty to render the utmost moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny."

France is waging an aggressive war in Algeria, a war which actually began as far back as 1830 and has been continuing ever since in diverse forms. This war entered upon a new and extremely acute phase in 1954. Inasmuch as this is an unjust war, it is condemned by the bulk of the people of the world, first and foremost, by the Communists. The French Communists, for their part, true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and despite persecution, were the first to act resolutely against the colonial war in Algeria.

There can be no doubt that although the Algerian people were the first to resort to arms, their struggle is a lawful one. They committed no act of aggression against anyone. They began a national-liberation struggle to end the intolerable colonial regime established in Algeria by fire and sword 130 years ago.

The people of Algeria know that they are not fighting against the people of France. Despite the monstrous crimes perpetrated by the French army in Algeria and the fact that many French people have been misled by the colonialists, the people of Algeria have never identified the people of France with their rulers. The Algerian Communist Party has always emphasized that the two peoples have no conflicting interests, that, on the contrary, they have a common enemy in French imperialism. Our people's just cause has the support of many people in France. The FLN leaders realize this. M'Hammed Yazid, Minister of Information of the Provisional Government, said at the Conference of Independent African Nations in Addis-Ababa: "We note with satisfaction that there are democrats, workers, students and intellectuals in France fighting for peace in Algeria." The same view was expressed in a joint statement issued by the French General Confederation of Labor, the General Union of Algerian Working People and the General Union of Algerian Moslem Students: "The signatory organizations proclaim the urgent need to end the war. This objective can, they believe, be achieved only through direct negotiations between the French government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic concerning the conditions for implementing the principle of self-determination and a cease-fire. Any unilateral action aimed at imposing any statute whatsoever, even if only temporary, or at partitioning Algerian territory will run counter to the principle of self-determination and can never lead to peace."

Nor are the Algerian people prosecuting a war against the Europeans who are settled in Algeria, although the ultras have most of them in tow. Despite the bitter struggle, Algerian national organizations and the Provisional Government have always regarded them as Algerians. They tell them that in the sovereign Algerian Republic of tomorrow it will be entirely up to them either to become citizens of the republic with the rights and duties of the indigenous Algerian population or to retain the citizenship of the country of their birth, in which case, a special statute, to be drawn up in accordance with the laws adopted in the Republic, will be applied to them as foreigners.

The war was started by the Algerian people to destroy the colonial regime and replace it by a free, democratic and progressive system. At no time has it borne, as far as the Algerians are concerned, an anti-

French, racial or religious character. And whereas the French army, on the orders of its Command, indiscriminately kills both prisoners-of-war and unarmed civilians, and the French government passes death sentences on Algerian prisoners-of-war, whom it treats as criminals, the National-Liberation Army and the Provisional Government not only observe the Geneva Convention, but frequently unconditionally release French soldiers. This proves that the war waged by the Algerian people is a just, revolutionary war for national liberation.

And, lastly, the responsibility for continuing the war rests entirely with the French rulers. Although they are stepping up military operations and the popular struggle, the Algerian Communist Party, the National-Liberation Front and the Provisional Government nevertheless maintain that every opportunity should be seized upon for a peaceful settlement. And not only because the war is taking terrible toll of our people, who ardently desire peace, but because there is risk of the war spreading to Tunisia and Morocco and jeopardizing the independence of these countries, as the frequent violations of their frontiers by French troops show. What is more, the numerous piratical attacks on foreign vessels and aircraft, including, particularly, one on a civilian Soviet plane with Comrade Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on board, show that the Algerian war is a threat to world peace.

3. A Contribution to the Consolidation of World Peace

The Algerian national-liberation war is not only a progressive revolutionary war, but an important contribution towards consolidating world peace.

From the beginning of the Algerian revolution, the imperialists of all countries have shown their hostility to our people and their sympathy with the French rulers. The antagonistic contradictions between the imperialists have not disappeared, nor can they disappear. But, confronted by the peoples who are fighting for freedom and the socialist camp, the imperialists are banding together. Yesterday they came out in a solid front against the peoples of China, Vietnam, Korea, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Today they are aligned against the peoples of Cuba, the Congo, Laos and Algeria—in fact against all peoples fighting for their freedom.

The NATO military bloc, headed by the U.S. imperialists and spearheaded primarily against the socialist camp, aids and abets French imperialism. M'Hammed Yazid stated in an interview given on February 7 to the World Peace Council Bulletin: "The NATO powers are supporting the French colonialists in the Algerian war. As we Algerians see it, the Atlantic alliance is a coalition of colonialists. Without constant help from the NATO powers, first and foremost from the USA, France could not have continued such a costly undertaking as the Algerian war."

The Atlantic bloc renders France financial, military and diplomatic aid. She was allowed, for example, to withdraw part of her military units from the NATO armed forces in Europe in order to use them against the Algerians. Since 1956 the NATO powers have been backing France in the United Nations and torpedoing discussion of the Algerian question. As a matter of fact the Algerians are fighting not only French colonialism, but also the joint forces of the Atlantic coalition. Their blows at French imperialism reverberate throughout the Atlantic bloc.

The fact that a considerable part of the means and forces earmarked for NATO — credits, troops, arms, aircraft and the whole French Navy — is engaged in the Algerian war shows that directly or indirectly this war is being waged against our people by the whole Atlantic bloc.

Suffering defeat in Algeria, the French rulers consider that their NATO partners are not helping them enough. And they make no secret either of their dissatisfaction or their demands. Their allies, particularly the USA, West Germany and Britain, primarily concerned with their own imperialist interests, are none too keen to compromise themselves by participating overtly in the affairs of the French colonialists. These factors aggravate the antagonisms between the imperialists and undermine their front. Their support of France has gone to such lengths, however, that the imperialists have already given themselves away, with the result that their positions in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been weakened.

Immediately after its formation in September 1958, the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, on behalf of the Algerian people, declared itself for a policy of peace and stated that "it approves all initiatives aimed at consolidating international peace, ending the arms drive and prohibiting nuclear tests throughout the world, tests which France intends to carry out on Algerian soil."

It is clear from the foregoing that there is a virtual alliance between the Algerian people fighting for their liberation and the socialist camp, fighting for peace and peaceful co-existence and against imperialist military provocations. The struggle waged by the peoples who have thrown off the colonialist yoke or who are in the process of doing so, weakens the positions of imperialism and at the same time strengthens the world peace forces headed by the socialist camp. Once suppliers of raw materials, cannon fodder and cheap labor for the imperialists, the colonial and dependent countries, now free, or on their way to achieving freedom, are, objectively, becoming the allies of the world socialist revolution.

Having lost their major positions in Asia, the imperialists turned to Africa, where they hoped to maintain and strengthen their hold through neo-colonialism. The peoples of Africa, however, like those of Asia and Latin America, reject colonialism in any form.

The African national-liberation movement is aware that the present balance of world forces, which has changed, thanks to the existence of the socialist camp, favors its rapid advance towards the main objectives. And the impact of the national-liberation war in Algeria on the liberation movement on the African and other continents should not be underrated.

During the discussion on the Algerian question at the last session of the U.N. General Assembly, the representatives of some countries, described, contrary to the will of their peoples, as "French-language" countries, acted as agents of the French colonialists in their struggle against the Algerian people. They have forgotten that it was largely due to the valor and sacrifice of the people of Algeria that they had the opportunity to speak in the United Nations on behalf of the independent countries.

President Bourguiba's attitude was revealed in a statement issued by the Algerian Communist Party on March 3 last. "It is an open secret," it says, "that de Gaulle wants to split the three North African countries and win over Bourguiba so as to present the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic to French public opinion and public opinion throughout the world on the eve of the March session of the United Nations, in the light of an intransigent party. It is to be regretted that Bourguiba looks kindly upon this idea and has publicly demanded that the Provisional Government should 'create no obstacles,' accord de Gaulle 'the

necessary assistance (!) and display understanding'." Bourguiba should make these proposals not to the Algerian Provisional Government, which has time and again demonstrated its sincere desire for negotiations and peace, but to de Gaulle, in whom, as he said after the breakdown of the Melun meeting, he no longer had any confidence. The attitude adopted by Bourguiba, who is taking care of neo-colonialist interests, is, we believe, retarding the final liberation of the African peoples.

"Despite these important reservations and differences, the Algerian Communist Party believes that a settlement of the Algerian issue is possible and it will be the first to express delight if the meeting between Bourguiba and de Gaulle results, at long last, in direct official and equal negotiations between the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and the French Government. If Bourguiba is guided by this major objective, he will have the support of our Party and of the Algerian public."

Is there any need to recall that there was hardly a single independent African nation when the Algerian people took to arms? After the Algerian uprising, France hastily recognized the independence of "her" two protectorates, Tunisia and Morocco, in order to concentrate her forces on retaining what she considered to be the most important of all, i.e., Algeria. Was it not these considerations that impelled the colonialists hurriedly to prepare the safety valve—the French Community—which soon began to fall to pieces? Let us remind the reader that after January 1, 1956, that is, when the Algerian people were already fighting their war of liberation, 21 African countries with an overall population of 117 million were granted independence. The countries in question are, the Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Guinea, Cameroun, Togo, Senegal, Mali, Madagascar, the Congo (former Belgian colony), Somali, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Chad, the Central African Republic, the Congo (former French colony), Gabon and Nigeria.

The people of Algeria highly appreciate the African and other peoples' solidarity with their struggle. And certain African leaders should not forget that the struggle of the Algerian people also objectively helps their people. They should certainly be aware that the hard battle, in which so many blows have been inflicted upon French imperialism, has had a chain reaction throughout the African continent and has played an important

part in the disintegration of the colonial system.

It is true that some African countries have as yet only formal independence and that the imperialists are hoping to retain their grip on them. But even formal independence is a step towards genuine independence. In their fight for complete liberation the people justly reckon on African unity and the solidarity of the socialist camp as their mainstay. They do not separate their fight for national independence and economic advance from the worldwide battle for peace.

The fact that the African peoples are developing independently weakens imperialism and strengthens the camp of peace and socialism. And the very existence of the socialist camp helps the African peoples, to say nothing of the political, economic and technical aid which the socialist countries extend to the independent African states.

The fight for national liberation in Algeria is, then, a sizable contribution to the world anti-imperialist front. The specific conditions in Algeria necessitated an armed struggle for liberation. This need not necessarily apply to other African peoples. But unity and struggle are essential for victory over imperialism. And union and solidarity between the nations are essential too.

4. Significance of International Solidarity

The solidarity of the world forces standing for peace and freedom with the people of Algeria is today greater and more effective than it was five or six years ago. This solidarity has grown because, on the one hand, world public opinion has a better understanding of the Algerian problem and, on the other, the balance of world forces has changed.

Our armed struggle was at once understood and supported by the peoples associated with us through historical, cultural and traditional ties—the fraternal peoples of Tunisia and Morocco and the Arab peoples generally. Initially, this solidarity was more of a moral nature; nevertheless it played an important part in the development of effective, practical solidarity.

The Bandung Conference (April 1955) marked an important stage in the popular struggle in Asia and Africa against colonialism and racial discrimination and stressed the need for solidarity. For the first time the Algerian issue was discussed at a big international conference. The demands of the Algerian people were unanimously endorsed

and the conference called on all countries to support their just struggle. Subsequent conferences in Cairo, Accra, Conakry, Monrovia, Addis-Ababa and Casablanca increased African aid to fighting Algeria.

The international labor movement, the Peace Movement and the international women's, youth and students' organizations are helping the Algerian people in their struggle. An International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity with the People of Algeria, formed on the initiative of the World Federation of Trade Unions and supported by the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, has played a big part. Other trade union organizations, some of which were not represented in this committee, have helped our people.

The Communist and Workers' parties, true to the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the principles of Marxism-Leninism which condemns all colonial wars and supports all national-liberation wars, are mobilizing the people for action to end the war and to obtain French recognition of the independence of Algeria. It is impossible to enumerate all that the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America have done in support of Algeria. Their actions have contributed in large measure to changing the attitude of the United Nations and a number of governments on the Algerian issue. Special mention should be made of the role played by the fraternal French Communist Party in campaigning against the Algerian war.

The French Communist Party's stand on the Algerian problem is not a recent one. Away back in 1932 Maurice Thorez wrote: "Every blow inflicted on the French bourgeoisie by our brothers in Indo-China and Algeria is a direct help to our movement. And conversely, every blow we deal our bourgeoisie is direct aid to the slaves oppressed by it in 'its' colonies." And as far as the present war in Algeria is concerned, he recalled in *l'Humanité* (February 3): "From the beginning we were the only party to declare and to prove by our actions our complete solidarity with this battle for liberation. We acted as proletarians faithful to internationalism and as Frenchmen concerned for the destiny of their country."

The people of Algeria attach exceptional importance to the popular movement in France for a negotiated peace. There is no question that this movement eventually will decisively influence the attitude of the French Government. To launch and develop

this movement was not an easy matter. Whereas it was relatively simple for the French Communists to organize popular actions against the colonial war in the Rif district of Morocco (in 1925) and in Vietnam, much effort was needed to make French men and women understand the essence of the Algerian problem and to eradicate the idea inculcated by the colonialists that "Algeria is a province of France." The French Communists found that even in the working class they had to combat the chauvinism implanted there by the reactionaries and the Social Democrats. And if today a broad popular movement is making headway in France, a movement which has forced de Gaulle to agree to negotiate with the Provisional Government, this is due above all to the staunchness, persistence and skill with which the French Communist Party has waged the struggle.

The socialist camp, the irreconcilable enemy of colonialism, supports all national-liberation movements. Hence the Algerian people's struggle has always had the sympathy and support of the Soviet Union, People's China and other socialist countries. Always, whenever the Algerian issue was brought up in the U.N. the socialist countries supported our people. And they have done the same in all other international organizations.

The forces of peace and freedom show their solidarity with the Algerian people in a variety of ways. The protest movement against the crimes of the colonialists and for the cessation of the war, for example, is gaining momentum. As a consequence, France finds herself considerably isolated in the international arena, as the voting on the Algerian question at the recent session of the U.N. General Assembly — although it did not fully reflect the popular will — clearly showed. Materially, solidarity is expressed by supplying Algerian victims of war with food and medicine, sponsoring children's homes, treating the wounded, granting stipends to students and training technical personnel, not to mention the international campaigns which have saved many patriots from the guillotine. Solidarity is also expressed by supplying the military equipment and arms badly needed by our people. Volunteers from many countries are ready to fight in the National-Liberation Army. If France obtains credits and arms from her allies to prosecute the war against us surely our people are entitled to more and more aid

from their natural allies. For the cause of Algeria is the cause of all free people.

The movement in support of Algeria has demonstrated that the solidarity is broader and more effective than it has ever been in the past. We are living in an epoch when the colonial system of imperialism is disintegrating, when the oppressed nations on the road to liberation are becoming increasingly conscious that imperialism can no longer maintain its domination. They know that "the forces of world socialism have contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression," just as they know that they will "win firm victory through a powerful national-liberation movement." Some 40 new sovereign states have appeared in Asia and Africa in the past fifteen years, including as we have already said, 21 since 1956 in Africa alone. No longer can imperialism use these nations to fight against others, as so often happened in the past. Moreover, the liberated peoples are now in a better position to help those who have not yet got rid of the colonial yoke. This is so because with the existence of the socialist camp there is less danger of their being intimidated or of punitive action being taken against them by the imperialists. And, lastly, the existence of a 36-million strong army of Communists is a powerful force working for peace and freedom.

Some people in our national movement harbored illusions about the "anti-colonialism of the United States." The Algerian Communist Party worked tirelessly to dispel them, and subsequent events have proved that it acted correctly. While the U.S. imperialists continue to support the French colonialists in the Algerian war, our people are benefiting from the effective solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces, first and foremost of the socialist camp. The Algerian national-liberation war has provided additional proof that there is, in effect, an alliance against imperialism, for freedom, peace and progress between the peoples fighting for their national liberation and the forces of socialism.

* * *

Our people have made great headway towards liberating themselves from colonial

domination, and they have made a considerable contribution to the cause of world peace. Despite the talk in the French press and radio about the de Gaulle-Bourguiba meeting and the proposed negotiations in Evian, we have not forgotten that although de Gaulle appears to have accepted the principle of self-determination, he hastens to couple his agreement with a threat to partition Algeria. "We will leave Algeria to itself," he said, "naturally after taking the measures necessary to protect, for one thing, those Algerians who wish to remain French, and, for another, our interests."

In view of possible maneuvers and evasion on the part of the French imperialists, the task of the moment is to intensify the struggle in all spheres, above all, the armed struggle. But if we are to make the struggle more effective and to alleviate the suffering of our people, international solidarity must be strengthened.

The colonialists may stave off the hour of their defeat, but they will never evade it. Our people know this and that is why the national-liberation banner can be seen at the head of the mass demonstrations in the towns.

The complete liberation of Algeria is a matter of time, and neither French imperialism nor any other force in the world can prevent it. For it is not an isolated phenomenon, but part of the general historical process of our time, of the irresistible national-liberation movement which has already brought freedom to over 1,000 million people and is still gaining momentum. The Moscow Statement stressed that "the march of world history during the recent decades shows the need for the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. . . . The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance in easing international tension and consolidating universal peace."

And, having cast off their chains, the people of Algeria will make their contribution to the cause of peace.

The Congo and Its Problems

Jean Terfve

THE destiny of all Africa is closely tied up with that of the former Belgian Congo, where the tidal wave of national-liberation struggle sweeping the continent has encountered formidable barriers raised by the colonialists. The crucial thing here is not only the importance imperialist Belgium attaches to the preservation of its colonial rule; the entire future of neo-colonialism in Africa, of which the United States is the principal proponent, is at stake. The reasons for the whirlwind of events which have proved so tragic for the Congo are both of an internal and an external order. Hence the international significance of the Congo's struggle for independence and its lessons for the national-liberation movement generally.

The Congo and Belgian Colonialism

The relations between Belgium and the Congo do not conform to the classical patterns. Belgian colonialism has its own features. For one thing, it appeared on the international arena later than French and British colonialism, at a time when Belgian capitalism had already reached its monopoly stage. Because of this, only a very small number of the big industrial and financial concerns took part in exploiting the African colonies. For example, the Société Générale de Belgique controls and runs three-quarters of all the Belgian enterprises in the Congo, including the Union Minière du Katanga.

Further, for decades most of the profits extracted from the Congo have not been exported to the home country. Instead, they have been either reinvested on the spot, or exported to other countries, Canada, for instance. This diminishes the *direct effect* of colonial profits on the economic situation in the metropolis.

In contrast to other countries, Belgian colonial stock is concentrated in the hands of a few big financial groups. Because of this the colonial disintegration, while dealing a blow at the financial omnipotence of the monopolies, has not affected the small stockholder so much.

Another feature of the colonial exploitation in the Congo was the extensive partici-

pation of the government in the various sectors of the economy. Mixed companies dominated public works, and transport exercised a large measure of control over the granting of concessions to private firms. Examples of this were the special committees for Katanga, Kivu and Kasai, where government and monopoly interests were interwoven.

The monopolies entered into partnership with the government in those spheres where initial outlays were heavy and immediate returns uncertain or insufficient. In this way most of the risk, and the losses, if these were incurred, were borne by the state, in other words, the taxpayer.

The Effect in Belgium

These features throw light on the significance of the Congo problem for Belgium. It would be hard, if not impossible, to secure the support of public opinion for armed intervention. The working people do not feel that their interests suffer in any way from Congolese independence. In their view the struggle to perpetuate colonial rule is solely the concern of the trusts, against which they themselves are fighting at home. The colonialist element has no great influence on public opinion, which explains the weakness, if not the complete absence, of an ultra-colonialist movement. Indeed, active colonialism of the chauvinist type is all but nonexistent among the people. The popular sentiment was reflected in the recent parliamentary elections, when the parties backing the colonial interests (Social Christian and Liberal) were defeated, while those opposed to colonialism, and above all the Communist Party, registered substantial gains.

This, however, does not mean that there is a strong anti-colonialist sentiment or a mass movement supporting genuine independence for the Congo. The monopoly pressure on the government, on parliament and the press, as well as the hue and cry about the alleged peril in which Europeans have been placed in the Congo have caused many Belgians to regard the Congolese independence movement with suspicion and distrust.

The attitude of the Socialist Party, which took up the Congo issue only to embarrass

the government while being strongly opposed to Lumumba, has but added to the confusion.

But for all that there is no hostility to the Congolese liberation struggle among the people generally.

The monopolies are another matter. For them the collapse of colonialism is a heavy blow. One of their main sources of profits is slipping out of their hands—a source that made them equal partners, or successful competitors — of the monopolies of other countries. The loss of the Congo would for all practical purposes deprive the Belgian companies of the possibility of using the government as an ally to further their own colonial interests, as a supplier of capital for major outlays and as a partner ready to foot the bill should a venture prove unprofitable. The advantages of co-operation between the government and the private companies would be lost. This is another reason for the aggressiveness of Belgian colonialism and its resistance to genuine independence for the Congo.

The "Junior Partner" of the Imperialist Sharks

The collapse of her colonial power has greatly weakened Belgium's position in the world arena. Since the second half of the 19th century her influence in the capitalist world has been disproportionately great thanks to her colonial empire. The wealth of the Congo enabled the Belgian capitalists to compete successfully with the stronger imperialist powers. And since the Second World War the Congo's uranium, cobalt, copper and rare metals have occupied an important place on the capitalist world market, bringing millions in profits to the Société Générale stockholders. For years it was the Congo that gave the Belgian capitalists their privileged position. Small wonder then, that they should cling to it so tenaciously. The loss of the riches of the Congo automatically reduces Belgium to a second-rate power.

The Belgian monopolies are not willing to accept this, all the more so since they are not prepared for such a change in status. Accustomed to the flow of easy money, and satisfied with seeing their production facilities operating to capacity, they gave little thought to the future.

Nothing was done to prepare for reconversion of the basic sectors of the Belgian economy to meet the new circumstances. Modernization of plant was neglected and only the old industries, such as engineering

and iron and steel, in which fortunes were made in the course of the previous decades, were developed. The monopolies were not ready to go over to specialized production requiring skilled labor or to establish new industries (chemical and plastics) using local raw materials. Because of this the Belgian firms found their more powerful French and West German neighbors holding the advantage over them in the Common Market.

So long as she was in possession of the Congo, Belgium could comfort herself with the hope that she could make up for this by capitalizing on the desire of her Common Market partners to share in the plunder of Congolese wealth. It will be remembered that one of the aims of the Common Market is to preserve the economic, financial and military control of the West over the former French colonies, Sahara and the former Belgian Congo.

But now the situation is changing. At best Belgian capitalism can look forward to playing second fiddle in the neo-colonialist exploitation (if this should prove possible) of the Congo by other Western powers, including the Common Market countries.

This helps to explain the desperation with which the Belgian colonialists are trying to retain their grip, if not on the whole of the Congo, then at least on its richest part, Katanga.

Neo-colonialism in Action

When the Congo first gained independence, the people there thought that Belgium would render the newly-born country the aid and support it needed.

This was because Belgian imperialism, when faced with a mounting struggle for independence, sought a neo-colonialist solution to the problem. The use of crude force was discontinued and a readiness to negotiate evinced. This engendered among the leaders of the Congolese national-liberation movement the illusion that the colonialists would opt for an honorable compromise. Appropriately timed statements by the King and the government, and especially the convocation of the round table conference in January 1960, reinforced these hopes. As a matter of fact, they seemed about to be realized when the Belgian government agreed to fix June 30, 1960, as the date for the proclamation of the Congo's independence and to guarantee democratic parliamentary elections and the formation of a government consisting wholly of Congolese.

But this was merely outward show. Actually, the Belgians were as determined as ever to retain their hold on the Congo's economy and finances. The drafts of the agreements on Belgian "aid" to the newly-emerging state were so obviously imperialist in spirit that even the inexperienced Congolese leaders saw through them at once. The economic round table conference came to nothing. The conference and its outcome greatly influenced the position of Lumumba, who realized that Belgian neo-colonialism was no less a threat to his country than the "classical" colonialism, and that there was no alternative but to fight it.

Failure impelled the colonialists to resort to more flagrant interference. They tried to bribe some of the Congolese leaders and openly supported political groups of their stooges in order to carry the polls. But here, too, they miscalculated. The elections gave the patriotic elements the majority in Parliament.

An attempt to instal a puppet government also failed. Having enlisted the support of Kasavubu, one of the most influential nationalist leaders, the Belgians did their best to instal the Kasavubu man Ileo as head of the government. But Lumumba's prestige was so great and so strong was the support for him among the patriotic forces that the Belgians had to agree to the post going to him. Lumumba, however, had to pay for this victory by agreeing to Kasavubu as head of state. The set-up seemed the right one under the circumstances, but it contained the seed of the subsequent tragedy which plunged the country into chaos and led to Lumumba's murder.

At the same time the Belgians carried out a parallel operation designed to secure, in case they could not hold on to the whole of the Congo, their domination over its richest provinces—Katanga, Kasai and part of Bakongo. With this in view, the Union Minière bribed a group of Congolese leaders at whose head they placed Tshombe and Munongo, both leaders of the Conakat Party. Lavish subsidies enabled Tshombe to seize power in Katanga and announce its secession.

The Forminière Company, which owns diamond mines in South Kasai, did likewise. It bought Lumumba's mortal enemy Albert Kalonji and proclaimed him the head of the government of the so-called mining state.

Old Policy, New Results

Nor did the Belgian colonialists renounce force as a possible solution of the problem. Using as a pretext the disturbances in the Congolese army (engineered, incidentally, by the Belgians themselves), they sent in troops, ostensibly to protect Europeans. The real object was to establish a military dictatorship and to crush the patriotic parties. The dictatorship in turn was to pave the way for a puppet government prepared to sign any treaty or agreement the colonialists wished.

It soon became clear, however, that the Belgian politicians had underestimated world public opinion as well as the opposition of their own people to the policy of intervention, that they had failed to discern the new African solidarity and relied too much on their imperialist partners in NATO. The Western Powers, headed by the United States, opposed the Belgian colonialists' *singlehanded* attempt to subjugate the Congo because they themselves wanted to get a foothold there. These factors led to the question coming up in the United Nations and the doors to the Congo being opened to the United Nations forces.

In Leopoldville the Belgian colonialists above all sought to split the Lumumba government and to oust Lumumba from the premiership. The U.S. and the other colonialists were in agreement with this. They all regarded Lumumba as a common enemy, as a man who was frustrating their intrigues.

A temporary united front of colonialists was formed in the struggle against Lumumba. To gain their ends the colonialists used the United Nations and its Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld. It is no exaggeration to say that the leader of the Congolese national-liberation movement was murdered by a "collective colonialism."

But, we repeat, the unity of the colonialists was only relative. The moment the Belgians tried to cash in on the successes scored in combating Lumumba and the national movement and to arrange for the wholesale return of Belgian "advisers" and technicians, they found themselves up against the U.N. command, which acted in the interests of the United States and paved the way for the penetration of U.S. monopolies.

The Belgian colonialists thus found themselves in a blind alley. All their efforts had failed to yield the desired result—preservation of their monopoly control over the Congo. Moreover, they had virtually isolated themselves from their influential allies.

THE CONGO AND INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISM

Belgium's senior partners in the Atlantic bloc are hastening to take her place in the Congo, the wealth of which is coveted by the monopolies who shape the policies of the Western governments. And the principal role in this rush to reconquer the Congo is played by the United States.

USA — the Chief Claimant

The U.S. imperialists, playing for high stakes in the Congo, are going about the job cautiously, in no hurry to show their hand. Donning the mask of benevolence and generosity, the new aspirers to the Congo are posing as zealous opponents of colonialism in order to persuade the Congolese that U.S. policy differs fundamentally from that of Belgium or such big colonial powers as France and Britain. The show is staged with the assistance of the U.N. representatives in the Congo, who are acting as the tools of United States policy. The aims the U.S. imperialists are pursuing are strategic as well as political and economic.

They have their eyes on the Congo's strategic raw materials (diamonds, cobalt, uranium, rare metals), materials which they lack at home. The Congo also looms large in the plans of the Pentagon. Situated as it is halfway between America and Asia, bases there would be relatively less vulnerable. From the standpoint of military strategy, it occupies a key position in Africa.

Last but not least, it is essential from the standpoint of U.S. global political strategy that the Congo should remain within the sphere of imperialist domination even after becoming independent. Its joining the neutralist camp would have a powerful impact on the policy of most of the African countries and would be fraught with exceedingly grave political consequences for the imperialist bloc headed by the USA.

The United States is proceeding cautiously also because it cannot afford to ignore the stand of the newly independent Asian and African states. If it tried simply to carry on from where the old colonial powers left off, it would fail and spark off another round of liberation struggle, this time against U.S. colonialism.

Considerations connected with the Atlantic bloc likewise prompt the USA not to be too precipitate in the Congo. The point is that its rivals here are also its allies in NATO. And since the Atlantic pact is the principal

instrument of U.S. policy, there can be no question of giving it up just now.

If it were only a question of the Belgians, who now have been relegated to one of the last places among the United States' junior partners, there would be no need to stand on ceremony. But France and West Germany are a different matter. The United States cannot risk any worsening of relations with them.

France and West Germany Join Efforts

Not only U.S. neo-colonialism is out to supplant Belgium in the Congo. France and West Germany are displaying a joint interest in it—joint in the sense that, judging by everything, the French and West German monopolies have co-ordinated their colonial policies.

France, at least in Black Africa, is trying its hand at neo-colonialism. The West German monopolies, eager to share in the spoils, are lavishly contributing capital to the venture. At the same time they are anxious to avoid making their political responsibility too obvious, for West Germany, like the United States, prefers to pose as an opponent of colonialism, a "third party" motivated by altruism and concerned only with the welfare of the underdeveloped countries.

At first the West German colonialists were most active in Bakongo, in the western part of the Congo. This area has many attractions. First of all its borders on the former French Congo, and its population has much in common with that of the latter. There are close bonds of kinship between the tribes on both sides of the frontier, not to speak of common traditions that can be traced back to the time of the Bakongo state.

Bakongo, rich in resources, is notable also for its comparatively developed agriculture. Here, too, is the Inga, the narrow part of the Congo River, an ideal site for a big hydro-electric plant. Preparatory work for the construction of a power station is in full swing and major international capitalist trusts have been vying for the contract to build the dam. In the vicinity of the power site are rich deposits of bauxites where an aluminium industry can be started.

Even before the proclamation of the Congo's independence, Franco-German bankers displayed a sympathetic interest in Kasavubu, the leader of the Abako Party, who already then evinced separatist tendencies and was very much under the influence of Abbot Fulbert Youlou, at present head of the former

French Congo and stooge of the French colonialists.

France's main aim is to preserve her economic and financial domination in the former French Africa. Nor are the French averse to linking the Congo with the Common Market and thereby keeping it within the Atlantic bloc orbit. Such a political line, naturally, presupposes opposition to the establishment of a genuinely national Congolese government that would resist neo-colonialist penetration. This explains the hostility of the French government and its representatives in the United Nations first to Lumumba and now to Antoine Gizenga.

There is another feature of French policy: since she is not uninterested in getting a slice of the Congolese pie, France is unwilling to associate herself with some of the Belgian gambles and risk being discredited together with them. For instance, she has not officially recognized the secession of Katanga or the "mining state" of Kasai. At the same time, however, she has given enough support to the Belgians to be able to demand, in the event of success, a share of the profits.

On the other hand, France is extremely interested in suppressing, or at any rate in retarding, the national-liberation movement in Africa. She knows that the genuine liberation of the Congo would almost automatically bring with it the collapse of the entire system of neo-colonialism which she has gone to so much trouble to build in a number of her former colonies.

Lastly, it should be noted that West Germany, even though fairly closely associated with French policy in the Congo, has reserved for itself considerable freedom of action. In order to play safe, some major West German financial groups are inclined to make overtures to the Congolese nationalist elements as well. As a matter of fact, they even tried to establish contact with the followers of Lumumba. The Bonn politicians are closely following developments in Stanleyville and are prepared to seek agreement even with the Gizenga government should this be possible and, what is most important, should it be profitable.

The British Attitude

Britain's role in the Congo is much more modest than that of the other colonial powers. It can broadly be described as following in the wake of the U.S. policy. No doubt there are British monopolies that have hatch-

ed or are hatching schemes of their own for Katanga, because the British imperialists have long cherished the idea of bringing the mineral resources of Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Katanga under their undivided control. However, the present attitude in London suggests that it does not intend to press the matter with any particular vigor.

The plans to include the Congo in the Common Market find little support in Britain. Still, the British colonialists are definitely for suppressing any truly national movement in the Congo since the success of such a movement would have repercussions throughout East Africa, where the British are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their domination. This makes the British colonialists, too, enemies of the Congolese patriots.

THE VATICAN AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Besides the big imperialist countries, there is yet another power that plays quite a big role in the Congo. That power is the Vatican, whose interest in Africa is common knowledge.

The Black Shadow Over the Congo

The Congo is one of those African territories where Catholic missionaries have been most active. Under an agreement concluded with the Vatican, Leopold II granted each new Catholic mission a tract of the best land. Thus the Church in the Congo became a powerful force, a big landowner and a partner in the colonial exploitation. As in most places, the Catholic Church developed into a capitalist concern with its own material interests in the Congo.

Moreover, the Church monopolized education. And this monopoly remained unchallenged until 1955 when the Belgian government opened a few secular schools.

The missionaries faithfully served the colonialists. Their educational work was confined almost entirely to teaching people to read and write; only in rare cases were Congolese given elementary vocational training. The Church, which thus deliberately kept the people in darkness, bears a good share of the responsibility for the low cultural level of the population.

Until recently the ideas and interests of the missionaries and the secular agents of colonialism coincided. But already before 1959 some churchmen with direct connections with the Vatican drew attention to the

changed situation and foresaw the inevitable rise of the African liberation movement. They anticipated its scale and character, and realized that unless they adapted themselves in time to the new situation and found a place for themselves in the incipient movement they would be swept away together with colonialism.

The New Policy of the Church

For this reason, the more farsighted churchmen took steps to save the situation. The Church was the first to revise the old attitude. It founded a university in the Congo open to Negro students, and announced it would curtail its secular activities and devote itself mainly to charity and spreading the gospel. It also began to train more African priests and allowed them to enter the higher hierarchy. A number of African bishops were appointed.

At the same time some churchmen supported the independence movement. They were the first to do what the Belgians could no longer evade doing some months later.

Having recognized the Congo's right to independence, the Church set about advancing the Africans who were under its influence to leading posts; today it is reaping the fruits of these efforts.

Kasavubu, for instance, was once a novice preparing for priesthood and has remained closely connected with the Church. A member of the Jesuit order, he is under the thumb of the Vatican.

Ileo, whom Kasavubu and the imperialists have made the head of the puppet government in Leopoldville, is also a protégé of the missionaries. So is Albert Kalonji, the head of the Kasai "state." As early as 1959 the missionaries exploited Kalonji's inflated vanity to split the Congolese liberation movement and defeat Lumumba whose firm patriotic convictions they feared.

These are only three examples of the many that could be cited.

Neo-Colonialists in Cassocks

The aim of the Church, which, with its skill at adapting itself to the circumstances, is turning from a faithful servitor of the old colonialism into an instrument of neo-colonialism, is to keep the Congolese within the bounds of the latter.

In view of the situation in the Congo the activities of the Catholic missionaries are a grave danger. The Church, which has kept its cadres intact, is perhaps the only organ-

ized force in the country. The clergy, ordered by the Vatican to remain at their posts, did so, with rare exceptions. The priests have stayed with their parishes and are continuing to teach at the mission schools; they visit their parishioners, publish local newspapers and bulletins and generally maintain close contact with the population which is very much under their influence.

It should be borne in mind that the population of the Congo is hardly in a position to resist the propaganda of the Vatican agents. The priests appeal primarily to emotion, capitalizing on the generally low cultural level. For instance, in order to whip up anti-Communist hysteria, they whisper that communism means nationalization of women, robbing parents of their children, abolishing all forms of property, and so on. The favorite method is to depict communism as a sort of hell and the Communists as the devil's disciples. However ludicrous this may seem, in the Congo with its backward, illiterate masses the effectiveness of this kind of propaganda should not be underestimated.

The Church Unmasked

It would be wrong to think, however, that the Church and its agents have an absolutely free hand in the Congo and can direct developments at will. The national-liberation movement has seriously undermined its prestige and influence. The policy of adaptation, of abjuring the old colonialism and of making a pretense of joining the liberation movement, came far too late and was not acceptable to all the missionaries. Many priests allied themselves openly with colonialism and gave their blessing to its crimes. Moreover, the secular activities of the missions were only too apparent. The huge estates and plantations, and the small and medium-sized industrial enterprises which the Church ran according to the laws of capitalist and colonial economy, tended to identify it with secular colonialism in the eyes of many Congolese. For the working people the capitalist exploiter in no way differed from the priest, and they fought equally against both. Many Africans quite correctly associate the illiteracy of their people and their exclusion from higher education with the policy of the Catholic clergy and their monopoly in the sphere of education.

Opposition to the Catholic Church among the Congolese is also engendered by its intolerance of the local religious sects. Over a long period the aspiration for freedom was manifested in religious trends and the

appearance of numerous sects. Many years ago Simon Kibangu, founder of one of the most widespread sects, whom the people of Bakongo and other western districts venerate virtually as a prophet, established a creed which, while deriving much from Christianity, was based on the local religious traditions. For the Congolese this creed—Kibangism—assumed the significance of a national religion.

The Catholic Church naturally waged a desperate struggle against Kibangism. The priests had no difficulty in convincing the colonial administration that the new religion was a danger to colonial rule and, therefore, should be suppressed. Simon Kibangu was arrested and sent to prison, where he died thirty years later. But Kibangism could not be stamped out. Though its influence is no longer so widespread, the Congolese revere the memory of its founder and have little doubt as to the role the Catholic Church played in his imprisonment and death.

If we have examined in detail the role of the Church and its link-up with neo-colonialism, we have done so because there is a tendency to underestimate this role which may have a major influence on the future of the Congo. To solve the religious issue requires both flexibility and resolution.

CONGO HORIZONS

History has still to say the last word on the Congo question. Which way will the scales tip? If we approach the question historically, there is no doubt that in the long run the just cause of its people will triumph. But it is not excluded that in the immediate future there may be temporary setbacks in the struggle for genuine independence.

At the moment it is hard to say which way things will go. Hence, instead of drawing conclusions, it will be useful to analyse both the strong points and the weaknesses of the Congolese liberation movement, and its enemies.

The penetration of neo-colonialism into the Congo is facilitated by the colonial structure of its economy. The key sectors are in the hands of the monopolies, whose domination can be abolished only by nationalization. And this even a genuinely national Congolese government can hardly do within the foreseeable future. Neo-colonialism has strong internal allies also in the managerial personnel of the large industrial, mercantile and financial undertakings. These allies in-

clude also the missionaries, whose influence and role have been discussed above.

The weak point of these reserves is that they are Europeans—or, to be more precise, non-Africans—which gives rise to distrust on the part of the Congolese. Hence the neo-colonialists are anxious to have at least a few local people as partners who could act as a screen for them and to whom they could, should the need arise, allot small shares of the profits.

Neo-colonialist penetration presupposes the existence of a local bourgeoisie. But there is no bourgeoisie in the Congo, nor can it be said that it is in the process of formation.

Perhaps a local bourgeoisie will spring up and establish itself? Hardly. The birth of a class, a long and gradual process, is possible only when the conditions are favorable. In the Congo there is practically no soil from which a native bourgeoisie could spring. The Congolese are denied access to trade, which is in the hands of either the Belgian companies or Portuguese, Greek, Italian, Lebanese and Syrian merchants. The emergence of a Congolese bourgeoisie was prevented or at least retarded by Belgian colonial policy. Today this policy has boomeranged.

It has been said above that neo-colonialism has been brought to the Congo by the rival imperialist groups, each of which has its own particular aims. Hence it is more than doubtful that the imperialists will be able to create a united bloc capable of pursuing a *clear-cut long-range policy* in their fight against the national-liberation movement.

Is this discord, the result of imperialist contradictions, an inevitable corollary of neo-colonialist policy? One should be cautious in replying to this question. It would be foolish to jump to the conclusion that the imperialist powers cannot find grounds for *temporary* agreements, all the more so since the Congo has already provided instances of tactical alliances on separate issues.

The success of the Congolese liberation movement depends largely on the scale and efficacy of international support. International solidarity, primarily support for the national-liberation movement by the world proletariat, is a powerful factor with which the enemies of the Congo have to reckon. This solidarity found expression in the reaction to the murder of Lumumba.

The people of the Congo have on their side the socialist countries and most of the neutral states. Thanks to the existence of

the socialist camp and its economic and political strength, the leaders of the Congo national-liberation movement have been able to tackle the main task facing their country—to consolidate independence and develop the economy. The socialist countries are an inexhaustible source of effective aid and support, for they consider it their duty to help the oppressed peoples who are seeking to free themselves from colonial slavery.

The solidarity of the African countries, especially those pursuing a consistent policy of independent development, is another source of strength. The struggle waged by the Congo is inseparably connected with the common struggle of the African peoples against colonialism.

The independent countries of Africa are vitally interested in supporting the Congolese patriots, for should they be defeated and the Congo become a bastion of imperialism in the heart of the continent, the national-liberation movement throughout Africa would be confronted with a grave threat.

So far, however, the aid given to the Congo by the other African countries has not been decisive. In the first place, their material and economic resources are too limited. Nearly all of them are fighting their own battles for independent economic development and are themselves in need of assistance. Second, many of them are entering into compromises with the imperialist countries and undertaking commitments detrimental to their sovereignty. For one thing, they are anxious to avoid any conflict with those imperialist powers that are the sworn enemies of the Congolese people, to spoil relations with countries from which they hope to receive economic aid.

Hence their vacillation and inconsistency and their support for U.N. measures obviously dictated by the imperialists. It will be some time before the majority of the African states will be able to take a truly independent stand in the world arena.

In the long run the destiny of the Congolese liberation movement depends on developments within the country itself. That it is a mature and growing movement is beyond all doubt. The struggle that has been going on for nearly a year has helped in this respect: alignments have become clearer and attitudes more definite, experience has been

gained and personnel trained and tempered. National consciousness is crystallizing, slowly perhaps, but surely. Tribal strife has not yet been overcome and will probably continue to make itself felt for some time, though it is ceasing to be the paramount problem. Lumumba's role in this respect was tremendous. He was the first to see, even before the proclamation of independence, the need for unity. Hence the course so firmly pursued by his party, the Congo National Movement, as well as his own fervent dedication to a united Congo. He became the symbol of a Congo battling for genuine independence and the complete eradication of colonialism. Preservation and defense of the Congo's independence — this is what Lumumbism signifies today.

Even its enemies do not deny the vast scope of this movement. A sizable part of the country has rallied to Lumumbism. The exceptions are Bakongo, South Kasai and South Katanga, i.e., areas where the colonialists have been able to find collaborators. And even in these districts the followers of Lumumba are numerous. The fact that Antoine Gizenga, the leader of the African Solidarity Party, who was born in Kwilu in Leopoldville Province, has been recognized as Lumumba's successor and has made his headquarters in Stanleyville, Orientale Province, is proof of growing national consciousness symbolized by Lumumbism.

Today we can safely affirm that the foundations of the Congo liberation movement are too strong to be undermined.

But while the potential strength of the movement is steadily growing, its organization lags far behind the needs of the day. In many places Lumumbism, purely emotional, is marked by passivity. It is neither an inspiration to struggle nor an organized force. Therefore, the task confronting the leaders of the liberation movement is to transform it, reinvigorate it, and give it organizational form.

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Neo-colonialism cannot win a decisive victory in the Congo. It has no future. Vigorous action by the people, a people united and assured of powerful international solidarity — this is the force that can and will solve the Congo problem.

The Peasant Movement in Colombia and the Communist Party

(From the History of the Liberation Struggle)

Gilberto Vieira

COLOMBIA, a South American Republic with a population of around 14 million, occupies a territory of over a million square kilometers much of which is still covered with tropical jungles and is so mountainous as to be sometimes described as a "petrified stormy ocean." Its natural wealth is in the hands of the U.S. monopolies and their partners — the big capitalists and semi-feudal latifundists. Industry, mainly light industry, is rather highly developed and employs about 270,000 workers.

A feature of political life in Colombia is the existence of two big traditional parties — the Conservative and Liberal — which have retained their influence on the people for more than a century. Vying with each other for domination, the two rival parties have at times clashed violently; at others, as at present, for example, they form a coalition in order to rule the country jointly. No other parties have been able to function in Colombia. The sole exception is the Communist Party which, ever since its founding in 1930 has been steadily gaining ground; the Party emerged into the open after the first period of illegality, but had to go underground again when it became impossible to continue functioning legally. At present the Party is semi-legal, although the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary circles at home are viciously attacking it and doing their best to suppress it.

In the past century the Liberal Party had been progressive in the sense that it took a stand against Negro slavery and the feudal privileges of the Catholic Church. The Conservative Party, on the other hand, being under the influence of the clericals and representing the interests of the semi-feudal strata, endeavored to preserve the social institutions of the Spanish colonial epoch. In the period 1931-1945, under the impact of the strike movement of the pre-war years and the mass actions which took place during the war, the Liberals, then in power, actively supported by the Communists, introduced labor legislation. In 1936 they adopted a

"land law" patterned on the principles of the bourgeois agrarian reform which, though it had never been carried out, had nevertheless sown illusions among the masses. With the development of capitalism and class struggle, the old top-level antagonism between the Conservatives and Liberals began to diminish, inasmuch as the U.S. monopolies, the big bourgeois and semi-feudal circles are represented in the leadership of both parties. At the same time, the masses who traditionally vote for the Liberals and constitute the majority of the population, represent a big democratic force. Within the Liberal Party itself there is growing friction between the big bourgeoisie and the revolutionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Pro-American Conservative Dictatorship and the Spontaneous Popular Revolt in the Towns

By 1946 the Liberal Party had abandoned its policy of democratic reform, with the result that it found itself in the throes of a crisis which culminated in a split during the presidential elections. The Conservatives seized the opportunity to regroup the reactionary forces and secure the election of their own candidate. Under the Constitution the President of the Republic has extensive powers. But before the reactionary Conservatives, who were strongly influenced by Franco Spain, could establish their rule, they had to destroy the bourgeois-democratic institutions.

The anti-democratic plans inspired by the U.S. State Department encountered strong resistance on the part of the popular movement. The working class retaliated with a wave of strikes, while the masses rallied around the national leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, who called for the return to power of the Liberals. When the icy blasts of the cold war began to blow, the Conservative government resorted to violence in an attempt to suppress the working-class struggle and used terror against the sections of the

peasants who were under Liberal influence to prevent them from taking part in the presidential and parliamentary elections. On April 9, 1948, during the Pan-American Conference, at which the U.S. delegation urged the adoption of an "anti-Communist declaration," Gaitan was murdered by hired assassins of North-American imperialism and domestic reaction.

Outraged by this dastardly crime, the people of Bogota and several other cities rose in a rebellion which assumed anarchistic forms. With the help of arms rushed in by the U.S. military from the Panama Canal zone, the Conservative President drowned the uprising in blood and appealed to the liberal bourgeoisie to join in the government so as to use its influence to induce the rebel detachments still offering resistance to lay down their arms. Since then, with brief interludes and retreats, the government has ruled by the fascist "fire and sword" method. Thousands of Liberals and Communists have been massacred. Armed gangs, with the support of the police, raided peasant areas considered to be Liberal strongholds. The violence in the countryside spread, as the latifundists saw in it a means to add to their semi-feudal possessions by seizing the peasant plots and buying up farms from frightened owners for a fraction of their value.

During the first postwar years the Communist Party experienced a profound internal crisis, the result of the revisionist tendencies engendered by the Browder line which gained the upper hand in the Party leadership especially during the Second World War. In 1947 the overwhelming majority of the Party membership condemned these tendencies, their views being embodied in the decisions of the Fifth Congress, whereupon, in violation of the principle of democratic centralism, the revisionists set up the "Communist Workers' Association." Their dogmatic adherence in the changed situation to "peaceful struggle within the framework of bourgeois democracy," sowed confusion in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. They ended up by becoming pawns of the big capitalists and the reactionary dictatorship in the anti-Communist campaign of the latter. In combating these revisionist tendencies, the Party was not able to avoid outbreaks of Leftist, sectarian sentiments, and, preoccupied with its internal problems, was unprepared to face the reactionary offensive.

Because of the terror, the Conservative government was able for a time to crush the struggle of the working class, split the trade

unions and set up a new trade union association, the Union of Colombian Workers, whose activities were controlled by the Church hierarchy. Moreover, the government at first succeeded in intimidating the peasants. By the end of 1949, however, a new, spontaneous form of resistance to the government terror sprang up, indicating the determination of some sections of the peasants to defend themselves by armed struggle against government violence.

Armed Peasant Resistance

In its manifesto of October 22, 1949, the Communist Party put forward the slogan of mass self-defense against the government terror. Later on, the Party, at the thirteenth plenary meeting of the Central Committee, urged the working people to "reply to the violence of the fascists by organized mass violence . . . through the medium of people's defense organizations in all the provinces threatened by the reaction."

With the misplaced fervor of a Don Quixote tilting at windmills, the "latter-day prophets" who have appeared on the scene in Colombia have denounced the call to mass self-defense, branding it as "pacifist" and "counter-revolutionary." But the fact is that this call was in line with the needs of the day, with the correlation of forces and the level of political consciousness of the people. The guerilla movement as a whole was primarily the expression of the peasants' impulse to defend themselves against the terror of the reactionary dictatorship. And although this movement helped in large measure to undermine these dictatorships, it was, nevertheless, unable to emerge beyond its original defensive framework.

When the fraudulent election of the reactionary Conservative Laureano Gomez to the Presidency banished all hope of a peaceful victory at the polls, the Liberals proceeded to delude the masses with the prospect of a military coup which would restore constitutional guarantees. These illusions on the one hand paralyzed the mass struggle, and on the other, set off a series of "coffee-house conspiracies."

Be that as it may, between 1950 and 1953 armed resistance to the government's "fire and sword" policy flared up in a number of peasant areas far removed from one another. In most cases these actions were suppressed by the police and the army, but in some areas the resistance spread and guerilla detachments sprang up. Faced with the spontaneous growth of a guerilla movement un-

der Liberal influence, the Communist Party which employed the tactic of mass self-defense in a variety of forms, gave its support to this movement and endeavored to direct it onto the right path, to combine the armed resistance with economic demands and dispel the illusions about a military coup.

The mass self-defense was successfully applied in a number of rural areas, in some cases as the conscious expression of Communist Party policy, and in others, on the initiative of the people themselves. Based on the broad mobilization of all the working people of the countryside, from the agricultural laborers to the rich peasants, and on the alliance between the workers and the small bourgeoisie in the villages and country towns, it was aimed at organizing armed resistance to attacks of all kinds, inasmuch as the dictatorship used armed raiders as well as the police and the regular troops. After the raiders had been repulsed and if they showed no signs of repeating their assaults, the peasants would return to their occupations but without disbanding their armed organization.

However, where the enemy offensive against the peasant self-defense detachments persisted and a permanent struggle developed, it became necessary to switch over to guerilla warfare. This was not easy because of the peasants' tendency to cling to their plot of land and defend it at all costs and their preference for local "positional" warfare even though it cannot be waged for any appreciable length of time. Some of the armed groups paid heavily for this mistake. The larger detachments — the target of the major offensive operations — gained successes by preserving their fighting forces, waging partisan warfare under favorable conditions and returning to previously abandoned territory whenever the situation permitted.

Along with propaganda and the line of mass self-defense the Communist Party sought to co-ordinate and direct the scattered guerilla detachments cut off from one another by thousands of kilometers of jungles and mountains, and also by the different views on the character of their struggle. At the same time, the Party was obliged to wage an ideological fight against Leftist tendencies — a task rendered extremely difficult by its illegal status in the towns and by the armed operations in the countryside. Some comrades made the mistake of trying to substitute for mass work isolated guerilla operations of an adventurist nature. There

were moments when even the Party leadership was influenced by these Leftist concepts.

After persevering efforts by the Communist Party, contact was established with representatives of most of the guerilla detachments, and a national junta was set up to co-ordinate the resistance movement. Early in 1952 the junta, in the shape of a broad united front, held a national conference of guerillas which was attended by delegates from the biggest units. The representatives of our Party helped to draw up a program of action. It envisaged combining guerilla action with the immediate introduction of democratic agrarian reform and the establishment of popular government, beginning with the creation of peoples' councils in the guerilla-controlled areas (already referred to by some delegates as the "liberated areas"). However, subsequent developments showed that politically the majority of the partisans were not mature enough for such a program. Only the most advanced sections of the guerillas, those under Communist influence, tried to carry it out, but the majority of the armed detachments under Liberal Party influence did not accept it. This led to serious disagreements within the co-ordination junta which ended in paralyzing it completely.

The character of the guerilla movement in Colombia and the political level of most of its participants becomes clear in the light of what happened after the coup d'état of June 1953 when Laureano Gomez was replaced by the army clique headed by General Rojas Pinilla. Once in power, the military lost no time in making political capital out of the illusions — so long and assiduously fostered by the Liberals — concerning the role of the army as the "savior" of the country. The long-suffering people were promised "peace, justice and freedom for all," thousands of political prisoners were amnestied and for a time elementary liberties were restored. However, the lifting of the state of siege and the holding of elections were made conditional on the guerillas ceasing their struggle and turning over their weapons to the army. The Communists from the very outset exposed the true nature of the military dictatorship. The latter, under cover of an anti-Communist campaign, seduced the Liberals with promises to include them in the Cabinet. The leaders of the Liberal bourgeoisie, resorting to the most unscrupulous methods, including bribery and deception, succeeded in persuading the army of the Liberal guerillas to lay down their arms. The staunchest

guerillas under Communist influence were thus isolated and placed in a difficult position. Things became worse when many of the Liberal guerilla leaders enlisted in the service of Rojas Pinilla and assisted the army in its operations against guerilla units.

Gauging the situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party at its sixteenth plenary meeting in August 1953 recommended to the guerilla movement "in the absence of attacks by the armed forces of the government, to consider the expediency of reorganizing into self-defense units in order to ensure the peaceful labor of the peasants, and to fight for the return of the land to those who till it, and to defend the rights of the people from all encroachments." Despite the difficulties, this policy was successfully carried out in a number of areas, although in some places the Communist guerillas were forced to retreat under the combined pressure of the army and the Liberal ex-guerillas. A few Communist-influenced centers of the guerilla movement were also preserved in the outlying districts which, during the subsequent struggle, became strongholds of armed resistance.

Taking advantage of the popular support it enjoyed during its first few months in power, the military dictatorship soon began to show itself as an instrument of the U.S. imperialists, the latifundist cattle ranchers and the big capitalists. In June 1954, when troops fired on a student demonstration in Bogota, many were killed and wounded. The illusions regarding the military dictatorship began rapidly to disappear. The Communist Party's demand that the state of stage be lifted and elections held gained more and more support and became the banner of a campaign which swept the entire country. Rojas Pinilla and his North American bosses saw that the only way to halt this campaign was to whip up anti-Communist feeling and to demonstrate by every means, fair or foul, that in view of the tension raising the state of siege would be a risky undertaking.

The Spread of Guerilla Warfare in the Countryside

The dictatorship launched operations against the peasant provinces under Communist influence. It began with the Villarica area, but when the guerillas, aided by the local population, repulsed the initial attacks of the army, operations were extended over a vast territory including Sumapaz and the eastern part of Tolima. This led to a revival

of the guerilla struggle which soon spread to other parts of the country.

Rojas Pinilla charged the Communist Party with organizing an armed uprising and his pocket-sized "constituent assembly" outlawed the Communists. These facts show that the Communist Party was the only political party which from the very outset exposed the military dictatorship and organized resistance to it. This, however, does not prevent the big Liberal newspapers now and again from accusing the Communists of "collaborating with Rojas Pinilla."

Beginning with the early part of 1955 a new stage in the guerilla movement set in. It began as a struggle of a self-defense nature in the Villarica region which, owing to the peasants' striving to protect their land, had been late in developing into guerilla warfare. In June 1955 government troops consisting of six battalions supported by aircraft and artillery and led by a U.S. military mission, launched the so-called operation Hiroshima, broke through the defenses of the Villarica fighters and penetrated into the interior of the province. Part of the Villarica fighters retreated waging defensive action to the south in search of a more reliable base, while the main force of the guerillas withdrew into the mountains of Sumapaz Province. In the meantime, opposition to the military dictatorship had been growing. The bourgeoisie balked at the high taxes they had to pay to cover the cost of the colossal machine of repression, and Liberal guerilla detachments were again formed in some districts.

With the experience of the past period behind it and with Communist influence gaining the upper hand, the guerilla movement rose to a higher political level. The eighteenth meeting of the Central Committee of the Party held at the end of 1955 noted that "the perspective is one of a growth of the armed resistance and the guerilla movement, which is warmly supported by the working class and the working population, and which enjoys the sympathy of some sections of the Liberal Party and its leaders." However, at this new stage, too, the Party did not succeed in uniting the guerilla movement and co-ordinating it on a national scale. Relations between guerilla detachments of diverse party affiliation were not always amicable, and the actions of numerous bandit gangs complicated the situation still more. Nevertheless, at the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957 the guerilla movement in the central part of the country began to grow by leaps and bounds. At the same time the big self-

defense units were preserved intact as a reserve force.

Although in the towns the democratic movement had been outlawed and the underground Communist organizations had been greatly weakened by the terror, dissatisfaction had steadily mounted and a joint movement of solidarity with the peasant guerillas sprang up in which the Communists worked together with some Liberal sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

At the beginning of 1957, the big bourgeoisie, whose interests were threatened by rivalry with bureaucratic capital which had the backing of the army clique, and who dreaded the prospect of a radical solution of the crisis, decided to combine all their forces. The Liberal leaders formed an alliance with the disgruntled elements in the Conservative Party who had lost their power as a result of the 1953 coup. To avoid the farce of re-electing Rojas Pinilla to the post of President, a so-called "civil front" was formed with a program providing for the restoration of constitutional law and democratic liberties. The Communist Party, calling upon the people to form a democratic front of national liberation, supported the minimum program of the "civil front."

Pinilla's insistence on being re-elected for another term, and the arrest in Cali of the symbolic candidate of the "civil front" touched off a student protest demonstration which spread rapidly throughout the country. When reprisals were taken against the students in several cities and the disturbances began to increase, the bourgeoisie took the bold step of declaring a general strike. With the vigorous support of the working people, it closed its factories, shops and banks, declaring that it would not open them until Pinilla ceased to usurp the post of President. However, seeing that the working class was beginning to exert a decisive influence on the course of the struggle in such important centers as Cali, and that the movement was spreading to all cities, the big bourgeoisie made a deal with the military command providing for the resignation of Pinilla and the transfer of the power to a military junta. The latter pledged to restore freedom of the press and to hold parliamentary and presidential elections. The fall of dictator Pinilla enabled the bourgeoisie to establish institutions with the help of which it hoped to soften some traditional contradictions, assure its class domination and prevent the further democratization of the country.

The military junta which formed a provisional government after the fall of Pinilla in 1957, tried to apply the same tactics with regard to the guerilla movement as the dictator had in 1953. It suspended all military operations against the guerillas and proposed that they lay down their arms. But whereas in 1953 the guerilla detachments which had not been attacked fell in with this proposal, this time not one of them surrendered, and all were unanimous in presenting demands which the authorities were forced to meet in the rural areas affected by government violence and military operations.

Tactics of the Communist Party in the New Conditions

During this new stage of relatively peaceful development the Communist Party concentrated on strengthening its positions in the towns and forming closer contact with the working class. At the same time it devoted much attention to work in the countryside, where it again decided to reorganize the guerilla detachments under its influence into bases of mass self-defense and groups of activists for organizing the peasantry. This process took place during the year when the military junta was in power (1957-1958) and in the first two years of the so-called "second (bourgeois) republic," although the treachery of the latifundists and the bourgeois-landlord government in using some former Liberal guerillas as instruments of terror against the peasant movement cost the lives of many peasant leaders and created some extremely explosive situations.

The need to convert the guerilla movement into a mass self-defense system arose again in 1957-58 because the vast majority of the people supported the bourgeois-led "civil front" in the hope that it would offer a peaceful way out of the "undeclared civil war," as one reactionary spokesman described the policy of the dictatorship responsible for the murder of 200,000 people and the armed resistance this policy engendered among diverse sections of the peasantry. The plebiscite held on December 1, 1957, was overwhelmingly in favor of the measures proposed by the big bourgeoisie in alliance with all the Conservative forces. Some of these measures were quite good, viz., the vote for women and the repeal of legislation passed by Pinilla's "constituent assembly." At the same time, however, an anti-democratic system was set up which ensured for the leading elements in the Conservative and Liberal parties the monopoly of political life. Posts

in the government and seats in parliament were distributed on a parity basis between representatives of these two parties with no reference to the wishes of the majority of the electorate. The minority parties, and primarily the Communist Party, were deprived of elementary political rights. This absurd system was later supplemented, with the approval of the parity congress, by an amendment to the Constitution, establishing a system of so-called "alternating presidents" under which members of the two traditional political parties hold the post of President of the Republic for alternate 4-year terms.

This system was publicized as a panacea for all the political ills of the country and even as an example for all the other peoples of Latin America. But the two-party parity system, which was projected for a period of 16 years, has proved to be an obstacle to the development of the country. The working people, exercising the elementary democratic rights wrested from the tyrannical governments, are fighting for higher wages and for guaranteed work. This applies not only to the working class, but also to a considerable section of the middle classes who are veering noticeably leftward despite the strikebreaker role played by the leaders of the two trade union centers*—both controlled by the government and by the United States Embassy. The peasant movement, despite the terror of the latifundists and the threats from the army, is standing firm. Politically, too, the revolutionary forces are growing; with the continued degeneration of the two traditional parties, torn by internal contradictions, the Left wing of the Liberal Party is gaining strength and the ranks of the Communist Party are swelling.

In their turn, the U.S. imperialists, the big bourgeoisie connected with them and the latter's allies also feel that a major political crisis is imminent and are searching for ways to avert it. The bourgeois agrarian reform which they are preparing in expectation of a 70-million dollar loan from the United States, is a plan for settling virgin land. The reform may provide for the division of some of the latifundia on terms advantageous to their owners and is designed to divert the attention of the peasants, who are fighting for land and for the abolition of the semi-feudal order in the countryside. Some minor changes in labor legislation and an ephemeral share in the profits of enterprises are also promised to the workers, but what

the authorities really want to do is to forestall working-class unity and destroy trade union democracy. The present government, which is of a moderate bourgeois trend, believes it necessary to make some concessions to the working masses and to preserve elementary democratic freedoms. But the tendency to establish a new dictatorship directed against the popular democratic movement is growing both within the government and outside it, under pressure from North American imperialism and under cover of a liberally financed anti-Communist campaign.

In this situation the Communist Party affirms that the concepts set forth in the Statement of the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in November last year fully correspond to its own political line and at the same time help to clarify it. "The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means," the Moscow Statement emphasizes. "This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country." But at the same time the Statement contains this clear warning: "In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism. The actual possibility of the one or the other way to socialism in each country depends on the concrete historical situation."

In the conditions prevailing in Colombia today, the Communist Party is showing the masses a peaceful way out of the profound political crisis that is now maturing by safeguarding civil liberties, strengthening the revolutionary forces and improving their organization and their leading role in the movement. At the same time, the Party stresses that the only effective way out of the crisis of the old system is to carry out the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. One of these is, for instance, the fight for a genuinely popular constituent assembly elected by proportional representation. But the directives issued by the twenty-fourth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our Party should be kept in mind. "The

*The Union of Colombian Workers and the Colombian Workers' Confederation.

democratic constitution, proclaimed by the people's constituent assembly, cannot replace the revolution of which the country is in dire need. The constitution can only be regarded as an instrument for expressing the will of the nation in the given situation."

The Party considers it its duty to continue its search for the most painless way out of the political crisis. But it is aware that the peaceful way it seeks does not depend on it alone, but primarily on the policy and actions of the ruling classes. If the latter, headed by the big bourgeoisie, persist in their efforts to hold back democratic development and again resort to a state of siege, to terror, the people will be forced to fight for their liberation by non-peaceful means. The Communist Party issues the serious warning that "a new terrorist dictatorship would be bound to evoke the most active resistance on the part of the people, with the application of all forms of struggle, including armed struggle."

As regards the role of the guerilla movement in the event of the ruling classes deciding to abolish all democratic liberties, this is defined in the brief historical essay, "The Thirty Years of the Colombian Communist Party," in these words: "The guerilla movement which at the present time has in the main been demobilized was a splendid

school for the people. Its lessons must be learned and assimilated by the Party. Should the democratization of the country be halted by the establishment of a reactionary and terrorist dictatorship in any form, the guerilla movement would be renewed. With its rich experience behind it, it will be no mere factor of spontaneous defense of the right to live, but will, without doubt, become the decisive revolutionary factor in the liberation of our people."

In reality, if such a situation should develop, the guerilla movement would assume tremendous significance provided it took into account the painful lessons of the past and combined its actions with the struggle of the working class and the urban petty bourgeoisie—the second decisive force in the "land of cities," as Colombia is called.

Hence it is not a matter of dogmatically offering the people a single way of struggle. The choice of the way depends on the actual situation and on developments at home and abroad. Our experience shows that in all circumstances the chief thing is mass action, that none of the legal forms of political struggle should be underestimated and that all methods—from electoral and parliamentary struggle to armed resistance to violence and terror—should be used.

Bogota, February 1961

Mercenaries of imperialism have invaded Cuba. The people of Cuba are repelling the invader. Progressive people everywhere say:

Halt the imperialist aggression!

H a n d s o f f C u b a !

Socialist Education of the Working Class in the GDR

Hans Schaul, Joerg Vorhoelzer

"I did not happen all at once. We grow a little every day, you, I and others like us—it is hardly noticeable, but we grow nevertheless. Not outwardly, for we are already adults, but in our hearts and minds. . . ." This is what Edith Kuehn, a woman worker, wrote in 1960 in the diary of her socialist labor team, describing the gradual process by which socialism is changing the outlook of men and women in our republic.

People in the GDR are beginning to work, to live and to study in a socialist way. The spirit of collectivism is becoming more and more the motive force of their social behavior. Nor is the change confined to the working class. It is becoming rooted also among the peasantry, the intellectuals and artisans. Even in the case of many of the small private owners and some proprietors of the still existing capitalist enterprises there are signs of a growing awareness that socialism offers them, too, a future worth living and striving for.

But of particular significance in the formation of socialist consciousness is the spiritual and moral growth of the working class, the first to cross the threshold of the new society, thereby leading the way for the other classes and social strata.

Thousands of facts drawn from our daily lives, instances of dedicated labor, of political maturity and devotion to socialism, are convincing proof that it is in the working class that the most perceptible changes are taking place. We take justifiable pride in speaking of this today as we observe the 15th anniversary of the merging of the Communist and Social Democratic parties and the founding of the Socialist Unity Party, whose leadership and educational efforts have resulted in these deep-going changes.

* * *

The socialist education of the working people in the socialist countries pursues one and the same aim and is based on laws common to all. This, however, is a complex process which does not conform to any ab-

stract pattern but develops in accordance with the specific features of each country.

The German Democratic Republic arose on the ruins of a major imperialist state in which the ultra-reactionary and aggressive elements of finance capital wielded power in the most blatant and barbarous form.

Under imperialism the productive forces in Germany had reached a high level of development; large production capacities and, consequently, a skilled working class, had come into existence. At the same time all the contradictions inherent in capitalism became aggravated to the extreme. It will be recalled that Lenin's analysis of imperialism was largely based on Germany, and that he placed great hopes on the ability of the German labor movement to solve these contradictions by revolutionary means. Germany was the birthplace of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism; their work, and also the activities of such men as Bebel, Liebknecht and Thaelmann, gave the working-class movement its scope and direction. Even the Hitler terror and demagoguery could not succeed in wholly destroying the socialist ideals of the German workers.

On the other hand, the long period of imperialist domination, especially in its most savage form — Hitler fascism — had a demoralizing effect on a certain section of the working class. The class consciousness of many workers was overshadowed by nationalism — the spiritual miasma of Nazism. Moreover, for a long time a process of impoverishment had been underway among the petty bourgeoisie, with the result that hundreds of thousands of them joined the ranks of the proletariat, bringing their petty-bourgeois outlook with them. It should be borne in mind that this urban petty bourgeoisie, with its particular ideology and psychology, philistine individualism and narrow-mindedness, made up a large section of the German population. It exerted a considerable influence also on the working class, thanks in no small measure to the long years of reformism and revisionism.

The primary task of the Party in the sphere of education after the liberation was to root out the moral and spiritual heritage of imperialism and fascism, in particular to overcome the influence of imperialist ideology on the working class. Only by eradicating nationalism, chauvinism and racism could the ideas of socialism, which unite the peoples, triumph. Of decisive significance in this battle for the minds of men was the elimination in the very first year after liberation of the split in the working class and the founding of the Socialist Unity Party, a militant Marxist-Leninist party.

The educational work conducted by our Party in the initial period was facilitated by the fact that the former ruling class had been discredited by the policy which led the country to disaster, and that its state and military apparatus had been destroyed. But the revival of the economic and political power of imperialism in West Germany and West Berlin gave rise to a situation in which socialism had to be built in close proximity to the arch enemy of the peace-loving nations of Europe. The need to wage a daily struggle against ideological subversion and against psychological warfare from across the open frontiers has laid its imprint on all our educational work. In these circumstances ideological work assumes exceptional importance, for unless the people clearly understand the policy of the socialist state and have faith in socialism, the poisonous influences of imperialism, which penetrate in a variety of ways cannot be counteracted.

The economic competition with West Germany, whose economy suffered much less from the division of the country and the disruption of the historically-conditioned economic structure, dictates the need for the political education of the masses to be closely linked with the economic tasks, and primarily with inculcating a new attitude to labor. For only by their production achievements, by their selfless labor, can the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the GDR overcome in the shortest possible time the consequences of the handicaps of the initial period and demonstrate the advantages of socialism. The working people are realizing this ever more clearly, as was evidenced by the initiative of the iron and steel workers who answered Adenauer's announcement that Bonn would cancel its trade agreement with the GDR by pledging to produce more steel, especially those grades for which we still depend on West Germany.

The socialist education of the working class has its problems. But however specific these may be, the building of socialism in the GDR accords with the general experience, with the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, which are being translated into life under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

* * *

The advent to power of the working class and the establishment of new property relations are but the first steps towards changing the thinking and the attitude of this class and, hence, society as a whole. While remaking social relations, the working people remake themselves, develop into men and women with a socialist outlook, with a high level of political consciousness and culture. This is a complex process, fraught with conflict and calling for great effort, determination, prescience and time.

It would be a dangerous illusion to assume that the socialist consciousness of millions of people can be moulded by means of lectures, articles and books, however admirable these may be. It requires the persistent efforts of society as a whole, from the central bodies of the Party, the government and public organizations down to the factories and farms where the millions of people live their daily lives.

The ideologists of imperialism are forever clamoring that we, Marxist-Leninists, do violence to "human nature," that we try to adapt it forcibly to the needs of the society to which we aspire. But what is this "human nature" that they are so concerned about if not the result of centuries of the "educational" efforts of the exploiting classes? Has individualism, an inalienable attribute of the bourgeois mentality, always been part of human nature? These and other features of a society based on exploitation—the worship of private property, greed, envy, submission to authority — are products of a system of oppression which forces man to wage a desperate struggle for existence. Moreover, these qualities were implanted by the entire machine of physical and spiritual oppression instituted by the exploiters.

To rid man of these humiliating and degrading things, new, socialist forms of social relations and the intense efforts of the whole of society are needed. But it is not only a matter of overcoming the harmful legacy of capitalism. The working class, which has taken power into its own hands, is faced with a whole range of new problems, demanding entirely new qualities, qualities that

could not be acquired by the working people in a society based on exploitation.

Socialism makes the workers the masters of the country; it releases them from the economic, political and moral shackles of imperialism; it removes the causes of crises and unemployment. Socialism thereby relieves the worker of fear of the morrow, gives him rights and liberties inconceivable under capitalism, and affords opportunities for the realization of such lofty ideals as peace, social security and well-being.

At the same time socialism imposes on the working people, primarily on the working class, the main responsibility for reaching these goals, and consequently makes heavy demands on the workers. In order to cope with its tasks as the ruling class, the working class must learn how to run the economy and the country, it must become proficient in science and technology, must assimilate and further develop all the good and beautiful things made by man. Modesty and tolerance with regard to those less advanced should be combined with competence and authority; the workers must learn to be an example to all others, they are obliged to acquire much knowledge and skill, and this presupposes systematic study; while educating themselves the workers must educate the whole of society.

The vanguard of the workers is the first to become conscious of the changed status of the working class and the responsibilities arising therefrom. Its job is to bring socialist ideas to the working class and to the millions of other working men and women. This is an educational process, part and parcel of the daily life of the people in their struggle for socialism, in which the soundness of our ideas is affirmed and reaffirmed by the direct experience of each.

The point of departure in this process is production. Whereas prior to the socialist revolution the essential task is to convince the workers of the need to take power, the awakening of socialist consciousness after power has been won involves tasks of a different nature. One of these is to bring home to the workers that it is in their vital interests to develop the economy with all speed in order to lay the foundation for socialism and, subsequently, communism. In taking over the economy, the working class assumes full responsibility for the operation of the enterprises. For the worker who under capitalism regarded his labor solely as a means of earning a living, the social signifi-

cance of labor under socialism becomes at once apparent. Out of this a new attitude to labor is born, a new, conscious self-discipline which presupposes a feeling of responsibility both for one's own labor and for the work of the enterprise, for other sectors of production and for the progress of society as a whole.

The imperialist ideologists and their reformist friends say that the working class is incapable of running the country. The Right-wing Social Democrats in West Germany, for example, in their "Win the Future" program (the "Z" Plan) say that the working class must first be taught how to steer the ship of state, how to handle the complex economic machine before undertaking to solve "the tasks of the future." If the working class were to adopt this point of view it would have to abandon the idea of socialism altogether. The Right Socialists do not take the trouble to explain just how the proletariat can be schooled for the role of the "ruling class" under a system of exploitation which impedes the political, economic, ideological and moral advancement of the workers as a class. The gulf between the state and the people, between culture and the masses, characteristic of imperialism, as well as the consequences of the age-old oppression of the working people under capitalism, can be overcome only when the working class, in close alliance with all people of labor, takes power into its own hands. This is fully confirmed by the experience of our own country.

From the sphere of production relations in the socialist enterprises, the multiform process of educating the working class gradually spreads to all other areas in the new society. Our Party has always devoted much attention to this process, striving to facilitate and hasten the moulding of the socialist consciousness and the new proletarian outlook. Summing up the experience gained in this respect, Walter Ulbricht in his report to the Fifth Congress of the Party formulated the basic principles of the ethics of the man of socialism in this way:

He stands for the international solidarity of the working class and of all the working people, for the indestructible unity of all the socialist countries.

He is a man who loves his country and who is always ready to dedicate himself wholly to the defense of the workers' and peasants' state.

He works to end the exploitation of man by man.

He works devotedly for socialism, for socialism means a better life for all.

In building socialism, he is motivated by the spirit of mutual aid and comradely cooperation, by respect for the collective and is heedful of its criticism.

He safeguards and adds to the public property.

He is a man who works better today than he did yesterday, he practices thrift and strengthens socialist labor discipline.

He brings up his children in the spirit of peace and socialism, to be well-educated men and women.

The morals of the new man should be unimpeachable and he should respect family ties.

He supports all peoples who are fighting for their national liberation and upholding their national independence.

Our Party has registered not a few successes in the socialist education of the working people. Some of these as well as the principles and methods by which they have been accomplished are discussed here.

* * *

To mould socialist men and women capable of coping independently with all the problems of social progress is one of the principal objectives of our work in the sphere of socialist education, the achievement of which is both possible and essential in the period of all-out socialist construction. The experience of all the socialist countries shows that there is only one way of tackling this task, namely, to draw the masses into the management of industry and direct participation in public and state affairs. Only in this way can they become imbued with a high sense of responsibility for the destiny of the country, with the attitude of genuine owners to production, to public property and to the state. The Socialist Unity Party has drawn liberally on this experience in its striving to bring the working people, and primarily the working class, as quickly as possible into public life and industrial management.

In the GDR today, as in the other socialist countries, the broad participation of the workers in public life is an accomplished fact. Industrial workers, peasants and intellectuals form the majority in the representative bodies at all levels. Suffice it to say that 286 of the 466 deputies in the People's Chamber are workers. There are also many other channels through which the workers

exert an active influence on public life: through public organizations (chiefly the trade unions), by participating in drafting laws and drawing up economic plans, through the various committees set up by the local authorities, through the National Front committees, etc.

The millions of working people involved in these forms of public activity at the present time are becoming increasingly conscious of the social purport of their efforts and dedicate these efforts to the welfare of the socialist society. At the same time, by participating in solving common problems, the worker becomes more alive to the advantages of the new system, he acquires a new attitude to labor and to public affairs, and with the knowledge that power is now in his hands comes a greater sense of responsibility. "Plan together, work together, govern together!" is the motto with which we are advancing along the highroad of socialist education.

A factor of inestimable importance for the socialist education of the working class is socialist democracy at the enterprises. In conformity with the principle of democratic centralism which we consistently apply and safeguard from distortion, the top executives, whom the workers' and peasants' power has put in charge of a given enterprise, are in duty bound to give free rein to the initiative of the workers, to draw on their practical experience and to take up their suggestions. The trade unions exercise their right to ensure the active participation of all the working people in running the enterprise.

A valuable form of this participation are the production commissions which are now a common feature of industrial life in our country. These are permanent bodies—organized by the trade unions and elected in the enterprises or in shops employing upwards of a hundred workers—which help to draw up production plans and ensure their fulfilment. Hundreds of thousands are now taking part in this work. Most of the members of these commissions, depending on the nature and specific tasks of the latter, are workers directly engaged in production, but they also include office employees and technical personnel, representatives of the Party and trade unions, the Free German Youth and the factory branch of the Chamber of Technology.

* * *

One of the most powerful instruments for the education of the new man is socialist emulation. To the superficial observer, social-

ist emulation may appear to be merely a competition between workers, something in the nature of a contest of producers. In reality, however, the true meaning of socialist emulation lies not in competition, but in co-operation, not in rivalry, but in mutual aid and, above all, aid by the foremost to the lagging in order to raise the latter to the level of the former. Herein lies the essence of all forms of socialist emulation, in which the purely economic and educational aspects are closely intertwined.

This is most strikingly demonstrated by the movement of the socialist labor teams which has assumed wide scope in the GDR in recent years. The initiator of this mass movement in our country was the Nikolai Mamai youth team at the electro-chemical works in Bitterfeld. In January 1959 this team challenged other workers to a competition for the honor of winning the title of socialist labor team (by February 1961 some 130,000 teams numbering 1,600,000 workers were taking part in this competition). The basic idea of this movement, the motto of which is "Work, study and live in a socialist way," is to realize in the daily lives of the millions the lofty ideals of socialism, the principles of the new attitude to labor, to one's fellow workers, and to society. Working toward these goals, the teams develop into truly socialist collectives, whose members help one another to discard outworn habits of thought and action, and work together to fulfil their common tasks.

The socialist labor teams have substantial production achievements to their credit. But no less significant is their contribution to the education of the socialist man. The brief history of the teams, carefully preserved in their diaries, furnishes graphic evidence of the profound changes that are taking place in the psychology of and relations between people.

Bernhard Buechner, a member of one of these teams, tells how its members have acquired a sense of responsibility to society. Two years ago when this particular group of young workers decided to become an exemplary labor team it was by no means a model collective. For many of them the question of the responsibility of the collective for the plant as a whole and for the consolidation of the workers' and peasants' state was an abstract concept having no direct bearing on themselves. "Then we began to study," says Buechner. "We studied not only technical but political literature as well. We

found that when you have a clear grasp of things, work goes better. We decided to read the classics as well. We read together, and later on we invited older Party members to tell us something about their experiences. Besides studying, we sought to induce the management and the trade union to pay more attention to our suggestions and criticism. In this way the young workers gradually began to realize that the power indeed belonged to them."

The motto of the teams "Study in a socialist way!" has had a great impact. It is self-evident, and our own experience has proved it, that the measure of success of all economic and technical plans is the extent to which they provide for raising the skills and general culture of the workers. Another important factor is continuous and diversified study as an integral component of socialist education. And not only because it presupposes assimilation of political knowledge, which is particularly essential in the conditions of open frontiers and a sharp ideological struggle with West German imperialism. Socialist society does not need robots, it needs knowledgeable, cultured men and women, capable not only of doing their own particular job well but of contributing to the solution of social tasks, of making full use of all the rights and opportunities afforded them, of adding to the material and spiritual wealth of society.

It is obvious that study, especially after working hours at the expense of time that could be used for recreation, is something that requires no little will power and self-discipline. You won't get millions of people to study merely by extolling its virtues. In this respect the socialist labor teams have rendered an invaluable service by spurring on the masses of workers and peasants to follow their example and scale the summits of knowledge.

The government is doing everything to satisfy this thirst for knowledge. Like the other socialist countries, the GDR publishes books — technical, political and fine literature—in huge editions. Facilities for secondary and higher education, including correspondence courses, are constantly being expanded. Several "industrial academies" attached to the enterprises have been opened, and TV programs on specialized and general subjects were started recently.

Another facet of the activity of the socialist labor teams highly appraised by the Party is expressed in the slogan: "Live in a

socialist way!" This implies establishing new, socialist relationships not only on the job, but, in personal life, and the rational employment of leisure. Our socialist labor teams give much attention to collective forms of recreation, to strengthening comradeship among the workers and drawing the members of the family into the collective. This has found an enthusiastic response among the working people. They see the absurdity of the assertion that the collective obliterates the individual, that it "regiments" people, robs them of their personality. On the contrary, they find for themselves that it is only in the collective that man can truly fulfil himself. As for individualism, philistinism and similar hangovers from the past, their displacement by the collective causes our people no regrets.

The social significance of this is obvious. It consists not only in that in so-called private life, where the influence of the collective is less marked, the survivals of the past cling with particular tenacity, sometimes begetting anti-social behavior. Socialist society is primarily concerned with the welfare and happiness of the working people. Hence it is in the interest of society that every individual be provided with opportunities for full relaxation and enjoyment, and that there should be good relations in the home, and between comrades and neighbors. These are not trifles; human happiness depends in large measure precisely on these things.

An important role in overcoming some of the old ways of thinking and behavior among both workers and intellectuals is played also by what are known as "socialist labor and research associations." These are panels of workers and engineers in a department, a factory, or in a group of enterprises, set up for the purpose of tackling such major tasks as factory modernization, mechanization or automation and improvement of quality output (we have over 35,000 such associations numbering some 285,000 people). Direct participation in solving these problems shows people how closely the labor of each worker, team, department or enterprise is interlinked with the national economy and with society as a whole, shows the advantages of socialist labor, which offers each individual every opportunity to develop his abilities.

One such association, organized by the workers and engineers in a nitrogen works in Bitterfeld, undertook to find ways of economizing labor through technical improvement. In the course of this work the association became a closely-knit collective in which new,

socialist relationships sprang up between the workers and the engineers. Today they are on the most intimate terms — "calling each other by our first names," as one engineer put it. In a country like ours with its numerous intelligentsia the relations between mental and manual workers is of first rate importance.

The force of example is basic in socialist emulation as a means of educating the workers. The significance of this is appreciated by many of our best workers, who are displaying much initiative in putting the best examples to practical use. New mass movements for boosting production have been initiated in this way.

One of these is the Seven-Year Plan Fund started by Joachim Litzenberg, team leader at the Ernst Thaelmann Heavy Machinery Plant in Magdeburg. At this plant, as at many others, the system has been that all savings, both planned and in excess of plan, effected as a result of efficient work of the best teams, were lumped together on the credit side of the factory's books. Moreover, savings in excess of plan, usually the work of the best team, were frequently used to cover losses elsewhere. This system not only helped the idlers and botchers to hide behind the achievements of others, it dampened the enthusiasm of the best workers and was anything but a help to socialist education. The Litzenberg team proposed that this system be abolished and a separate account of the savings kept by the workers themselves. They also proposed that a certain percentage be placed at the disposal of the enterprise, to be used for minor technical improvements, thus avoiding delays caused by paper work. The team's initiative received countrywide support and the Finance Ministry issued the corresponding instructions. This proved most beneficial, not only economically but also from the standpoint of education.

Speaking of the educational value of example, it is important to stress that care and thought must be taken in selecting examples worthy of emulation. Every day we see thousands of these examples, beginning with the "first-hour activists," who performed feats of valor when we were raising the country from the ruins, and ending with the mass movements for high output indices which are typical of the present period. The example of the best of these—Adolf Hennecke, Erich Wirth, Irmgard Richter — is being followed on a nationwide scale. But we must not stop here. Not a single labor exploit,

not a single conscientious action should be overlooked. Every factory should not only pay tribute to those who are renowned throughout the country but should honor its own top workers. Their example is most inspiring, inasmuch as it is there for all to see. "There is your workmate," it says, "he is one of you. Surely you can do as well as he." And in order to be able to discern in every aspect of daily life the shoots of the new, the examples which blaze the path to the future, it is necessary to be more attentive to people, to display interest in what they are doing and to broaden one's social and political vision.

Further, if personal example is to have educational value it must be properly encouraged. Socialism has everything needed for this. Honor and prestige in the socialist society indeed go to the best people, whatever useful labor they perform. Besides moral stimuli, it is important to encourage the best examples by the proper use of material incentives. For after all they pursue the same general aim — they reward conscientious labor for the good of society and punish the slackers and botchers, all who work badly and wastefully. Our Party considers the proper use of material incentives a task of educational, and not only economic, significance.

And finally, the good examples should be popularized. It is not enough to tell a man to follow his workmate's example. One must show him how this can be done and teach him to do likewise. There are many ways in which this can be done. Extremely effective, for instance, was the recent initiative taken by the Magdeburg trade unions in organizing groups of innovators to give practical assistance in introducing the methods of the best workers in the various enterprises.

* * *

While all these forms and methods of educational work stem from daily experience, they do not operate by themselves. The laws of the socialist revolution in the spheres of ideology and culture are given effect through the conscious efforts of the advanced section of society under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. In this respect the educational influence exerted by the workers' and peasants' government and public organizations on the everyday life of the country is of first-rate importance. That is why the Party lays so much emphasis on the need for a new, socialist style of work on the part of all our cadres. Directors of enterprises, chairmen of agricultural co-operatives,

heads of government offices and Party functionaries should work with people in a new, socialist way. Charged with the conduct of affairs of national importance, they must never forget that they are responsible for one or another collective, that the members of this collective see in them the living embodiment of the new, socialist power, the policy of our Party and government. This means that every executive must be a socialist educator as well.

Can it be said, however, that the essence of socialism is so manifested in every aspect of the daily leadership of all the offices of the socialist state, of the organizations and institutions in the GDR that it is perceived and appreciated by the workers, peasants and intellectuals and all other sections of the population? Unfortunately, not. There still are plenty of shortcomings in the work of our leading personnel (bureaucratic behavior, conceit, lack of politeness, tactlessness, etc.) which hamper this and thereby retard the spread of initiative. These regrettable phenomena must be eradicated once and for all. Walter Ulbricht, in the program declaration of the State Council of the GDR explained the political significance of this problem and showed how it could be solved. "He who wishes to convince people," he said, "must find the way to their minds and hearts. . . . He who knows life and is himself inspired by a sense of justice and socialist ethics, who shares the aspirations and interests of the working man, will always find the right words and the right note."

Thus the Party has focussed attention on one of the key problems: that of working with people in the socialist way. The exploiting classes spend vast sums on deceiving the people into believing that the system of exploitation means dignity for the down-trodden, justice for the disenfranchised, and freedom for the enslaved. The revolutionary working class, on becoming the ruling class and freeing itself and all other sections of society from the shackles of exploitation, brings the working people true humanism, justice and freedom. It is the task of the leading force of the new, socialist society to ensure that the dominant material relations are *correctly* reflected in the minds of men; in the policy of the socialist society there can be no divergence between words and deeds. And who can doubt that the functionaries of the working class in power are fully capable of giving effect to both the form and content of these principles in working with people.

This means, then, that Party functionaries, the leading personnel of the administrative and economic apparatus should explain and clarify the socialist ideas and tasks with patience and understanding. Any schematic approach that ignores the differences between people, their backgrounds, characters, specific professional and other interests and inclinations, any formal, or dictatorial attitude are harmful and can only retard the process of moulding the socialist consciousness.

If our cadres are to adopt the socialist style of work they must have a thorough understanding of the spiritual world of the people, they must strive to establish relations based on genuine mutual trust and must convince people by the force of their arguments. This, of course, by no means obviates the need to distinguish people of good will from enemies. With the latter we wage a resolute fight and shall continue to do so.

In order to cope with these tasks we also had to revise our methods of propaganda. At its meeting in December 1960 the Central Committee of our Party examined the urgent problem of perfecting our ideological work in the light of the Moscow Statement. It was pointed out that the propaganda conducted by the Party and mass organizations

can be effective only if it concerns itself with the people, their interests, thoughts and feelings, if it influences their attitude to labor, their thinking and behavior. "Only those propagandists who approach the inner world of man with warmth and understanding can educate the working people in the socialist spirit, inspire them to apply themselves with fervor to the solution of economic tasks."

* * *

The GDR still has many serious and complicated problems in the sphere of socialist education to solve in the process of building socialism. The attention of the Socialist Unity Party and of our government, of all forward-looking citizens of the Republic, is focussed on these problems. We can say without any exaggeration that the ideas of socialism have been embraced by millions of our working people and have become a mighty material force that will help the champions of peace in West Germany to triumph over the aggressive imperialist and militarist elements. Creatively applying Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the whole socialist camp to our own conditions, we are elaborating and perfecting methods of educational work that will, undoubtedly, help us to win new victories.

Among Our Contributors

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New Stage in the Struggle of the Latin American Peoples

Oldrich Belic, Rubenz Iscaro

A LATIN American conference for national sovereignty, economic independence and peace was held early in March in Mexico City. The conference was sponsored by three leading peace champions, General Lazaro Cardenas, ex-President of Mexico; Domingo Velasco, Socialist M.P., Brazil; and Alberto Cassella, public figure in Argentina. The rally was the first broad review of the forces participating in the anti-imperialist, democratic movement in Latin America. The composition of the delegations and the resolutions adopted reflected a new stage in the liberation movement on this continent.

Of significance was the fact that *all the Latin American countries*, including the colonies of the imperialist powers, were represented at this rally. That is why it spoke on behalf of the whole of Latin America.

Representatives of diverse political views took part in the conference. The speakers included A. Gomez, former Vice-President of Argentina; delegates from the Civil-Radical Union, the Popular and National Movement and the Progressive-Democratic Party of Argentina; the Left Revolutionary Movement and the Republican-Democratic Union of Venezuela; the Socialist parties of Brazil, Argentina and Ecuador; nationalists from Puerto Rico; Communists from Haiti and many others. The Cuban delegation was headed by Vilma Espin de Castro, leader of the Cuban Women's Federation and a prominent fighter against the Batista tyranny. The Mexican delegation was the most numerous.

The working class was widely represented, too. Delegates were sent by the United Trade Union Center of Chile, the Confederation of Working People of Cuba, the Federation of Bank Clerks of Peru, the Trade Union Federation of Panama, the Movement for Trade Union Unity and Co-ordination and the Railwaymen's Union of Argentina, the Federation of Educational Workers of Brazil, the Confederation of Working People of Latin America, etc. The youth and women's organizations, namely, the Union of Argentine Women, youth organizations of Panama, Salvador,

Mexico and Honduras took an active part in the conference. An outstanding role in organizing the conference and in its deliberations was played by Lazaro Cardenas.

While various views were expressed, the main thing was that the delegates found a common language, agreed on the basic points and adopted documents which no doubt will play a big part in the struggle of the Latin American peoples for sovereignty, economic independence and peace.

The Declaration unanimously adopted at the conference says:

"A new stage has begun in the liberation struggle in Latin America, the struggle for national sovereignty, economic emancipation and peace.

"Every day this struggle is being joined by ever broader patriotic and democratic forces battling against all that stands in the way of full development and utilization of the labor and material resources of our countries.

"We must put an end to the dependence characteristic of our countries which is in sharp contrast to the irreversible process of liberation and the prospects opened up before mankind by science and technology.

"The main force holding back the advance of Latin America is U.S. imperialism. Because of its close alliance with the oligarchies in our countries and the deadly consequences of its penetration into our economy and culture, it is the main reason for the general backwardness of Latin America.

"Defeat of imperialism is an important and essential prerequisite for any plan for the development of our countries."

The Declaration notes that U.S. imperialism has involved Latin America in the cold war, has imposed military pacts on it and has restricted its sovereignty and opportunities for economic development. The conference rejected the Monroe Doctrine and the policy of "joint defense of the Western Hemisphere," demanded the denunciation of all military pacts and the dismantling of U.S. military bases in Latin America, and called for a national, independent foreign policy.

Recognizing that the gains of the Cuban revolution show the way to get rid of foreign domination, that the revolutionary process in Cuba is a real contribution to the liberation struggle on the continent, the conference confirmed the readiness of the Latin American peoples to defend Cuba against any aggression because by doing so they will be defending their own future.

"Political independence is unthinkable without economic emancipation," reads the Declaration. Hence the need for far-reaching reforms in the socio-political and economic system in order to raise the exceedingly low standard of living and overcome the backwardness in science and technology.

The conference advanced a clear-cut program of reforms envisaging, above all, nationalization of the resources seized by the foreign monopolies, and a comprehensive agrarian reform which would not only abolish all latifundia and establish a new system of land tenure in keeping with the principle "land to the tillers," but would also introduce co-operative forms of growing and selling agricultural products, help in modernizing techniques, in government financing of agriculture, and enable peasants and agricultural laborers freely to form organizations of their choice.

The program also contains these points:

- guarantee the rights of the working people and respect the autonomy of the trade unions and trade union democracy, better housing, higher wages, equal pay for equal work for women, prohibit the use of troops and the police in labor conflicts and achieve trade union unity in each country and throughout Latin America as a whole;

- develop the power and heavy industries;

- fight against the monopolies — foreign and national;

- encourage economic co-operation between the Latin American countries;

- ensure free access of Latin American goods to all markets;

- technological and economic aid to the Latin American countries without extortionate terms.

The conference called for an end to the discrimination against eight million Latin Americans working in the United States.

Denouncing colonialism and expressing solidarity with the peoples fighting for political independence from imperialism, particularly the peoples of Congo, Laos and Algeria, and with the countries supporting this struggle,

the conference unanimously called for independence for Puerto Rico, the return of Latin American territories seized by the United States, Britain, France and Holland and the establishment of Panama's sovereignty over the canal zone.

Special attention was paid to the protection of civil liberties. The conference denounced the support of dictatorial regimes by the United States, decided to launch a worldwide campaign for repeal of the repressive laws in Paraguay, Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Argentina, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, and expressed solidarity with the Spanish and Portuguese political prisoners and exiles. It stressed the close link between the liberation process in Latin America and the strengthening of world peace, the fight for disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

"We are not alone," declared the delegates. "We are supported by the fraternal friendship of all the peoples who love freedom and peace. But the liberation for which we are striving depends mainly on our own forces."

An essential condition for the realization of these aims is unity. "*Close co-operation and solidarity between all the democratic forces in each country and between all Latin American nations will enable us to achieve these aims in a brief space of time,*" says the Declaration.

. . . A long road had to be covered, from the anti-imperialist leagues of the 'twenties to the People's Front and anti-fascist democratic alliances of the 'thirties and 'forties, to the continental congress for democracy in 1939 before Simon Bolivar's cherished idea of a congress of all the Latin American nations could be realized.

And true enough, the Mexico conference is not a fortuitous happening; it is a corollary of the liberation struggle of the Latin American nations, of which the most vivid embodiment is the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban revolution signifies the onset of a new stage in this struggle, the forerunners of which were the revolutionary regime of Arbenz in Guatemala, the peasant movement in Colombia (1948-1958), and to a certain extent the defeat of the old army by the revolutionary people in Bolivia in 1952. The rise of the world socialist camp, the disintegration of the colonial system and the weakening of U.S. imperialism have created extremely favorable conditions for the liberation struggle in Latin America.

Startling changes are taking place in the correlation of class forces in each country and on the continent as a whole. These changes are taking place unevenly. In some republics they have gone rather far, in others they are just beginning to make themselves felt. In what way are these changes manifested? First of all in the role the people now play in political life. The masses are the main force in the great battle for freedom now being joined on the American continent.

The working class, the organization and unity of which have grown considerably, is in the van of the fighters for freedom. Whereas until recently division in the working-class movement was typical for Latin America, today the picture has radically changed. Autonomous trade union centers have appeared in Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay. The trade union centers of Cuba and Venezuela and a number of trade unions of Brazil have withdrawn from the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor (ORIT), and the last pillar of this body—the Confederation of Working People of Mexico — is experiencing a deep crisis.

At the same time close contact is being established between the national autonomous trade union centers with a view to achieving trade union unity on an anti-imperialist basis throughout the continent.

The political maturity of the working class and its greater activity in the political life of its country enable it to fight for the leading role in guiding the liberation revolution and to consolidate the anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic front and on a more progressive basis than was the case, say, in the 'thirties and 'forties.

Thanks to the selfless efforts and active work of the Communist parties the worker-peasant alliance is growing stronger and the peasants are becoming better organized. National or local peasant organizations are being formed on a revolutionary basis in Venezuela, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil and other republics. The peasant organizations and the national trade union centers are co-ordinating their efforts. And while much has still to be done in this direction, progress is already evident.

At the same time a process of radicalization is taking place among the urban petty bourgeoisie, students and intellectuals who want an alliance with the working class. In Venezuela, Uruguay and Chile broad unity of

action between trade unions and student organizations has been achieved.

The changed balance of class forces is accompanied by a process of differentiation in the traditional political parties in Latin America. The old national-reformist parties which claimed to represent the working people, to be "multi-class" parties, to be the makers of the "national revolution," are in a state of decay. The most revolutionary of their members and voters are joining the Communists, while others are forming new political parties and groupings on an anti-imperialist agrarian platform (for instance, the Left Revolutionary Movement in Venezuela, the APRA Rebelde in Peru, the April-May Revolutionary Party in Salvador).

Having expelled the die-hard opportunists and pro-imperialist leaders, the Socialist parties in Latin America, opposing U.S. imperialism, are for solidarity with the Cuban revolution, and have denounced the leadership of the Socialist International and the AFL-CIO for their support of the colonialists.

With the active participation of the Communist parties a broad anti-imperialist front is being formed throughout Latin America. In Chile, for instance, the Popular Action Front, consisting of four parties, is a major political force in the country and in parliament. A. Palacios, the Socialist Party candidate for the Senate elections in Buenos Aires, defeated the nominee of the ruling party thanks to the votes cast for him by the Communists and their sympathizers. The election returns in these and other countries show, in the words of political columnists, that "the electors look to the Left" and that the Communist parties are becoming an effective force rallying all elements opposed to imperialism and the oligarchy.

The most popular movement in Latin America is the movement of solidarity with revolutionary Cuba. Tens of thousands of people have declared their resolve to defend this country against U.S. imperialist aggression. Mass demonstrations in support of Cuba and protest meetings against the aggressive policy of Washington are being held in the most distant parts of the continent. In the minds of the Latin Americans solidarity with the Cuban revolution is closely bound up with the fight for peace, national sovereignty and civil liberties in their own countries.

It can be said that the attitude towards revolutionary Cuba is the touchstone for all political leaders and parties of the continent. In no Latin American country is it possible

to win the support of the people by opposing, even in a disguised form, the Cuban revolution and its reforms.

It is not difficult to see that in its recent political moves Washington, taking into account the changed correlation of forces on the continent, is on the lookout for more effective ways of retarding the national-liberation movement in Latin America and reviving the decrepit pan-American system. This, in particular, is the purpose of Kennedy's notorious aid program for Latin America. Despite the publicity which this program has received in the U.S. press it has nothing new to offer. By making advances to the Latin American countries, the United States wants to create conditions for crushing the Cuban revolution.

Today not even the gentlemen in the State Department dare call for support of the few dictatorial regimes (although the USA is actively bolstering them up). Social reformists, known in the past as "fighters against imperialism," are advanced to the role of Wall Street salesmen.

A typical representative of these salesmen is V. R. Haya de la Torre from Peru. In the

camp of imperialist yes-men we also see Jose Figueres, ex-President of Costa Rica, Ramulo Betancourt of Venezuela and others grouped around the Washington- and Vatican-financed Political Research Institute in Costa Rica. To please the U.S. imperialists they split their parties, renounce their old programs and slander the Cuban revolution. In fact, they have nothing positive to offer, nothing but the tattered banner of anti-communism. It should be said that on the whole their influence is insignificant and is steadily diminishing.

The more far-sighted bourgeois politicians in Latin America, aware of the new correlation of world forces, seek an outlet in the neutrality policy successfully pursued by many African and Asian countries. This new development in Latin America will, possibly, play a big role in the destiny of the American continent.

True, the U.S. economic positions in Latin America are still strong and U.S. imperialism has retained not a few footholds. But the storm-clouds of the liberation struggle are gathering. . . .

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Closer to the Youth, Their Needs and Demands

*(Reviewing Documents of the Communist and Workers' Parties
of the Capitalist Countries)*

RECENT developments testify to growing activity among the youth. In Japan, South Korea, Turkey, Venezuela, Uruguay, Belgium and other countries young people have shown that they are a militant dynamic force, the initiator of mass actions. The secretariat of the Italian General Confederation of Labour points out that "the fervor and courage displayed by the working youth of Italy have inspired protest strikes and mass actions, demanding a socio-economic development policy, industrialization, agricultural reforms and full employment." Young people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are also to the fore in the fight for freedom and independence, for social and economic progress.

The growth of youth activity has focused attention on some weaknesses in the work carried out among the youth by the Communist parties and has accentuated the need to improve it. Now that more sections of the population are joining in active class struggle, says the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, it is of the utmost importance that the Communists should extend their work in the trade unions and co-operatives, among the peasantry, women, youth, in sports organizations, and among the unorganized sections of the population. "There are new opportunities now for drawing the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, for the grand ideals of communism."

The Communist parties in many countries have discussed ways and means of improving youth work at their congresses and Central Committee meetings, and have posed a number of problems concerning their work. Here are some examples.

A "Crisis of the Youth" or a Crisis of the System

Each generation finds itself in a definite set of conditions. The features of the times leave their imprint on the youth and are reflected in their psychology and in their outlook on things.

We are living at a time of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The socio-political map of the world is changing. Colonialism is on the way out, and on its ruins new sovereign states are arising. Class and ideological conflicts are becoming

sharper and the fight for peace and disarmament is spreading. The youth, clearly, cannot but be affected by these far-reaching changes.

In many countries young people between 15 and 30 comprise up to one-quarter of the population. In Britain, France, Italy, Sweden and West Germany young men and women of this group make up 35-40 per cent and even more of the labor force in industry. In the postwar years the proportion of youth among the working class has increased.

In the enterprises the spirit of rivalry and place-seeking is cultivated by the employer. The monopolies aim at inculcating the idea of "upholding the interests of their enterprise."

The instability and contradictions of the capitalist economy have considerably increased of late. The prospects for young people under capitalism are not too bright. There is large-scale unemployment in the United States, in Canada, Italy, South Korea and in some of the Latin American countries. In Japan large numbers of young men and women find it hard to get permanent jobs.

The conditions of the youth in agricultural areas are even worse. In many countries they are not organized. In most cases the hours of labor and wages are not fixed. Because of lack of prospects, and the bad conditions there is an exodus of young people from the countryside in search of work.

Normal conditions for intellectual development and for socially useful activity are wanting. Conditions are such that it is difficult for young people to live a purposeful life, inspired by lofty ideals and confidence in the future. The dog-eat-dog morals of capitalist society poison the minds of many youngsters. This, then, is the background to the outbreaks of rowdyism and juvenile delinquency. The ruling classes seize on this in their efforts to persuade the public that there is a crisis of the young generation.

To this the Communist parties reply that the crisis is not of the youth but of the social system, of the ideology and spiritual life of capitalism. By talking about a crisis of the youth the bourgeoisie seeks to smear the young generation, to justify reprisals against the democratic and revolutionary youth organizations and to breed hostility towards

the old generation. Behind it all is the inability of capitalism to solve the problems of vital concern to the youth—to give them better conditions, ensure peace and their future.

On youth conditions the Ninth Congress of the Italian Communist Party had this to say: "The unrest and elementary rebellion among the youth are a manifestation of their reaction to the way of life in a society which is deeply divided and does not impress the rising generation as having a purpose or being forward-looking and modern, a society in which education is separated from life and production, in which the upsets typical of the monopoly era lead to a crisis of the family, in which the ruling classes are trying to divert the youth from protest to technical pursuits, excessive individualism, and to cultivate irrational and mystical views."

Bourgeois propaganda and culture are corrupting the youth. From childhood they are educated in the spirit of hostility and suspicion toward others, in the spirit of militarism, chauvinism and scepticism. There are many ways of influencing spiritual life. Speakers at the Fifteenth Congress of the French Communist Party cited examples showing how the reactionary army officers, the church hierarchy and the demoralizing propaganda of the bourgeois press and cinema, all the forces of the past, combine their efforts to divert the youth from the struggle for their interests.

The need to extend ideological work among the youth and to combat bourgeois propaganda was stressed by the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain. "For us Communists," said Dolores Ibarruri, "the youth is not something unknown. It is a clear and shining mirror reflecting the social reality in which it lives, dreams, works and suffers. And if diseased sprouts begin to shoot from the midst of the young people it is not they who are to blame, but the atmosphere surrounding them"

"We are aware of the significance of the youth of today in the struggle against the dictatorship, and the part it will play tomorrow in building a new democratic and socialist Spain, and we have faith in our youth To make the activity of the youth more fruitful, so that their strength, energy and militancy will be channelled in the right direction, we must bring our ideology to the young people, teaching them at the same time to recognize and appreciate the rich Spanish culture as an essential element of moulding their Communist outlook."

New Opportunities, New Problems

Men and women of each generation come to Marxism and socialism in their own way. "Not infrequently," wrote Lenin in his article *The Youth International* in December 1916, "the middle-aged and the aged do not know how to approach the

youth in the proper way, for, necessarily, the youth must come to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers.*" This means, first, that, depending on various factors, the advance of the youth to socialism can be either speeded up or made more difficult and protracted. And, second, it calls for a concrete, flexible approach, for ability to understand the needs and aspirations of the youth, and to find ways and means of bringing them into action.

Many Communist parties stress in their resolutions that the youth cannot be expected to come to socialism of their own volition. The world Communist movement has become a powerful political force, a major factor of social progress. It is possible now to use new means of convincing the young people.

First and foremost, as some of the Party documents point out, the parties should be aware of the interests of the youth.

"We shall achieve much," said the Twentieth Congress of the Danish Communist Party, "if in the present political struggle we clearly formulate the problems facing the youth in order, on the one hand, to stress the responsibility of society for solving these problems and, on the other, to bring the youth into action."

A similar view was expressed at the Nineteenth Congress of the Swedish Communist Party. "To find the slogans and organizational forms which can rally and activate the forces of the youth — this is one of the tasks of the *entire* working-class movement If we work out a flexible organizational line, advance clear and correct slogans and tackle the youth problems, we shall have grounds for counting on success."

The economic, social and cultural problems facing the youth vary from country to country. Still, there are some which are common to all the capitalist countries.

Not the least important is that of *providing jobs for the young people*. As things are now under capitalism millions of school-leavers are unable to find work.

The Communist parties demand legal guarantees of the right to work for the millions of young people unemployed or engaged in seasonal jobs; relief for the unemployed youth; jobs according to skills; no discrimination in wages; improved legislation concerning payment for youth labor; an end to the exploitation of child labor.

Mechanization and automation and the intensification of labor bring with them new problems — *health protection* and shorter working hours. The conditions in modern enterprises cause nervous diseases and traumatism.

The Communist parties are insisting that automation should serve social progress and ease labor,

that the hours of work should be reduced without any reduction in wages, that safety measures be ensured at the place of work, that speed-up be combated, medical examinations carried out regularly and that there should be more time for recreation, sports and entertainment.

In most capitalist countries *technical and vocational training* of young people is neglected. Often one-sided, it is confined to acquiring only special know-how. And if minimum training is provided for boys, girls get none at all. In many enterprises the apprenticeship is deliberately dragged out, enabling the capitalists to exploit the apprentices as cheap labor.

The Communist parties stand for a radical reorganization of vocational training, for better general education and technical training in the basic industries, for better legal safeguards for apprentice labor, for allowances and wages for workers attending trade courses.

Also topical is *the question of general education*. While most children of worker and peasant origin hardly go beyond the elementary school, the children of the rich can study in specialized schools, colleges and universities. In Denmark, for instance, the students of working-class origin comprise six per cent of the total. In France the figure is only two per cent.

Many Communist parties have advanced at their congresses the following demands: legislative guarantee of the right to education; compulsory education free of charge; free access to education at all levels irrespective of sex, race or social status; the building of schools and colleges; scholarships for the greatest possible number of students.

The Communist parties stand for a democratic education. The conference of the Communist Party of Germany held in February 1960 enunciated the following points: education for a life in peace and freedom; falsification of history, militarist and revanchist propaganda to be banished from text-books and teaching at schools and colleges.

Work Among All Sections of the Youth

The Communist parties are working to build a mass youth movement and to overcome sectarianism. "The Party," declared the Seventh Congress of the Japanese Communist Party, "should endeavor to ensure that all young men and women take part in the movement for peace, independence, democracy and social progress, now making rapid headway among different sections of the youth."

The youth eagerly respond to the problems of the day and are ready to fight for the political and economic demands of the working class.

"The younger generation," says the Swiss Party of Labor in the program adopted at its Seventh Congress, "instinctively resists conservatism . . .

The working class must involve the youth in the work of regenerating and reconstructing society. It should educate them in the spirit of socialism, so that they devote all their strength to building the new world, the new society—socialism."

In order to bring the youth into action the work should be differentiated. The Communist parties pay special attention to *the working-class youth*.

The trade unions are schools of class education for the working youth. "Trade union organization among youth," declared the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Finland, "should be improved by explaining to the young workers the significance and principles of trade union work, helping to advance demands of the youth and developing the forms of trade union activity which interest them."

The Twenty-Seventh Congress of the British Communist Party pointed out in its resolution that unionization of young workers was a pressing matter. A form of organization is essential which would ensure them full democratic rights in voicing their demands, be instrumental in formulating union policies.

With a view to bringing the young workers into greater activity the Italian Communist Party and trade unions hold discussions in the factories and outside on youth problems. Through the trade unions, recreation, sports and other entertainment are arranged for the youth.

In Chile, the trade union youth committees and the United Trade Union Center arrange sports competitions, rallies, festivals, amateur art performances, etc. Similar committees function in other countries. For instance, a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party recommended to its branches "to extend the necessary assistance to the Communist Youth Federation in working among young people generally and the working-class youth in particular; the aim is to form committees to handle youth problems and to bring young people into the National Democratic Front."

In Uruguay the Communist Youth League has, with the aid of the Party, formed special groups in factories, in residential quarters and educational establishments for the purpose of carrying on sociopolitical, cultural and sports work. Girls are organized separately, with due consideration to their interests and requirements.

The Congresses and Central Committee meetings of many Communist parties pointed to the difficulties associated with work among *the youth in the countryside*, difficulties which are due to the fact that rural Party organizations are not as strong as in the towns, and petty-bourgeois views prevail among the peasants.

In Japan the rural youth have formed organizations known as "Seinendan." Influenced by the Left,

the "Seinendan" took part in the fight for peace and against the "security treaty." The Communist Party is campaigning to recruit the rural youth and the "Seinendan" activists into the Democratic Youth League. In France, the Communist Party conducts work among the young peasants through its rural organizations and the Rural Youth League.

The Communist parties devote close attention to students who are playing a growing role in the emancipation struggle of the working people, particularly in the underdeveloped countries. Giving due credit to this role, the Communist parties also point to some weaknesses in the student movement. They draw attention, too, to the favorable conditions which now exist for work among students. Monopoly rule creates objective conditions for rallying the different social forces under the leadership of the working class. Daily experience brings students to the realization that they can find their place in society only when an end has been put to the capitalist system which dooms them to difficulties in their search for jobs and leads to the stagnation of science and culture. The outstanding achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in science and technology, on the other hand, demonstrate the superiority of socialism and the soundness of the policy pursued by the Communist parties.

The forms of the Party's work among the students vary—discussions and seminars, lectures and rallies, Marxist classes and work in the democratic student organizations, distribution of Marxist literature, etc.

Communist Youth Organizations

The Communist parties pay special attention to enlarging the Communist youth organizations. The Communist youth organizations in Italy and France, for instance, have grown into mass organizations. They enjoy considerable prestige, publish youth papers and have branches in factories, in educational establishments and in the countryside. The aim of the Communist parties is to make all youth leagues mass organizations. This is hindered at times by the erroneous views which the parties have to combat. The Central Committee of the Venezuelan Communist Party, for instance, criticized the view held by some members of the Communist Youth League that their organization was a party in miniature. They duplicated the work of the Party, and even attempted to compete with it. Then there are Party members who regard the Youth League as a mere executor of the Party's will, a concept which detracts from the activity and initiative of the youth.

The Central Committee stressed that the League was an independent autonomous organization uniting young workers, peasants, students and profes-

sionals and working under the political guidance of the Party.

While sharing the policy and ideology of the Communist parties, the youth leagues have ample freedom of action and initiative in elaborating and carrying out their programs.

"In order to regenerate democracy," reads the resolution of the Eighteenth Congress of the Austrian Communist Party, entitled *For Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, "the young people should be given more responsibility and better opportunities to tackle and solve problems, so as to change the youth from an object of inquiry into a mobilizing and enlivening factor of democracy."

One of the Leninist principles of Party guidance of the youth leagues is that of ensuring their organizational independence. "... Unless they have complete independence, the youth will not be able either to train good Socialists from their midst or to prepare themselves to lead socialism forward."

At the same time the existence of the Communist youth leagues does not imply that Party organizations should not conduct work among youth themselves, that they should act only through the leagues.

The Central Committees of the Italian, French, Japanese and other Communist parties recommend to their Party organizations to criticize from the standpoint of Marxism the social structure of capitalism, by making comparisons with the successes of the socialist world, to combat anti-communism, to rally the youth against exploitation and oppression, to bring them into action for their vital demands, to convince them of the link between the economic and political struggle, to give their young members Party assignments, render material aid to the youth organizations, promote the circulation of the youth press, strengthen and extend the workers' sports organizations, to popularize the campaigns conducted by youth organizations—festivals, summer games, sports competitions, etc., to disseminate scientific knowledge and mould the outlook of the young people.

The Communist parties give active support also to the struggle waged by the other democratic and progressive organizations of the youth. The Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the USA stressed that the main attention of the Party at the present time "must be given to the existing youth movements and organizations, helping to build them on the basis of their own programs and striving to win them for united action for peace among all groups, and especially among working-class youth. Support should be extended wherever youth are setting up local councils for peace, friendship and exchange."

*Lenin, *The Youth International*.

In connection with the need for extending work among the youth the Communist parties are improving the education of the young members, raising their ideological level and drawing them into the activity of the mass organizations. In many Communist parties it is the rule that each young member should work in a youth organization. Everyday contact with the youth is a guarantee of the steady growth of the Party.

Extend the United Front

The Communist parties regard it as their major task to ensure the unity of the youth movement, and to rally its separate detachments into a combined democratic youth organization. They know that under capitalism youth organizations have a class nature and a certain party orientation. Proceeding from this they hold, however, that the young people have their specific problems and demands which are of a general democratic character and the struggle for which becomes anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary. The Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of Japan pointed out that a united youth front does not arise overnight, as the result of united action of the youth organizations, and that the Party should help the Democratic Youth League to extend and consolidate the unity of the youth movement.

In defining the tasks of the Communist Youth League the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist

Party of Uruguay stressed that the young Communists should find a common language with the Socialist Youth organization and work to build a united front.

The Communist youth enter into broad alliances with other organizations with a view to carrying out the common tasks of the youth. The youth movement includes groups differing in social status and political views. But all are equally interested in solving such problems as peace, education, equal pay for equal work, the right to leisure, etc. The aims of the youth can be achieved only by united youth action, actively supported by the working class and the peasantry. Steadfastly adhering to this line, the Communist youth, naturally, cannot relinquish their Party positions. "It is absolutely necessary," wrote Lenin, "to combine forces for joint action . . . This, however, does not obviate adherence to Party principle but rather *necessitates* it. Efforts can be united only when there is a *real* unity of conviction as to the need for the given action."

The resolution adopted by nearly all Communist parties note that though the Party organizations are now devoting more attention to the youth, the job of exerting a greater influence on the new generation, of improving methods and forms of work with the youth is still one of the big jobs facing the Communist parties.

Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party

THE Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party will take place over May 11-14, 1961, in the working-class town of Saint-Denis, not far from the capital.

Items on the agenda are the election of leading Party bodies and the Central Committee's report: "Alliance of the working-class and democratic forces against capitalist monopolies, for progress, freedom, peace and the re-establishment and renovation of democracy." The report will be delivered by Waldeck Rochet, member of the Political Bureau.

The Party's Fifteenth Congress was held in June 1959. The developments since then have fully confirmed its political analysis and its conclusions. The Sixteenth Congress will base itself on these in reviewing the Party's activities during the past two years.

In the spring of 1958 big capital, by abolishing the traditional forms of bourgeois democracy, hoped to weather the crisis of the colonial system and other consequences of the decline of French imperialism, strengthen its domination over the state machine, and use it to exploit the working class and other sections of the working people.

To this end big capital turned to its advantage the intensified activities of the fascist groups in the metropolis, the ultras in Algeria and the reactionary officers in the army. De Gaulle whom they placed in the saddle, was the chosen of monopoly capital, as his actions have amply proved.

The Communist Party made no concessions to the regime of one-man rule. It firmly pursued the line charted by the Fifteenth Congress, a line of developing popular political and economic struggles

and of converging them towards one objective: to sap the present reactionary system with a view to creating the conditions for restoring and thoroughly renovating democracy.

The policy pursued by the monopolies and their government of plundering the people aggravated the fundamental antagonism between the proletariat and the capitalists, as well as the antagonisms between big capital and the other non-monopoly sections — the peasantry, intellectuals, petty urban bourgeoisie and even some sections of the middle bourgeoisie.

This was reflected in the actions for economic demands, in the course of which tangible results were achieved. Strikes for higher wages took place in the private capitalist sector. Workers in the nationalized industries launched a struggle which was exceptional in its sweep, while the recent strikes of teachers and civil servants provided fresh evidence of their militancy and resistance to the attempts of the government, the employers and their "experts" to intensify the impoverishment of the working people and force them to bear the cost of the colonial war in Algeria.

As we know, this war has continued for more than six years. The action of the people of France, inspired primarily by the Communist Party, having merged with the Algerian people's heroic struggle for independence and with the support given by the peoples of the world, first and foremost the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, however, has compelled the de Gaulle regime to retreat. That was what happened on September 16, 1959, when de Gaulle was forced to recognize Algeria's right to self-determination. That is what happened yesterday when he had to admit the necessity of official negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic on conditions for self-determination.

This retreat is appraised by the Communist Party as a victory for the peace forces. At the same time the Party warns our people against harboring the illusion that peace can be achieved easily. The monopolies, who want to continue to exploit the natural resources of Algeria and the Sahara, have not abandoned their colonialist demands and hence the possibility remains that negotiations will be torpedoed anew.

More pressure, therefore, must be brought to bear on the government. The decisions of the French peace movement, which have the wholehearted support of the Communists, call for the establishment of a large number of committees of struggle for peace in Algeria, for more mass actions to make known the popular will for a negotiated settlement and the unconditional implementation of Algeria's right to self-determination.

By doing their best to end the war in Algeria, the people will facilitate their struggle on other sectors

of the peace front and strengthen their opposition to the anti-national policy of the de Gaulle government, which on all the major international issues is subservient to U.S. imperialism. This policy is making nuclear disarmament difficult and the French rulers have even gone to the length of granting the West-German militarists training bases on French territory.

The end of the war in Algeria would further the struggle for democracy, for it would give the most reactionary militarist and chauvinist forces less opportunity for maneuvering.

This is why the regime is trying to get public opinion to agree to the measures to consolidate the authoritarian institutions established after the 1958 revolt. This is what is behind the campaign now under way for the establishment of a presidential regime under which representative bodies would have still fewer powers than they have now, while de Gaulle, or his eventual successor, could do as he wished.

The Communist Party is strongly opposed to these plans. To the maneuvers of reaction it counterposes the program for restoring and renovating democracy elaborated at the Fifteenth Congress and submitted for discussion to all the republican forces in the country. The draft resolution of the Sixteenth Congress again advances this program, for it is as valid as ever.

To checkmate the policy of the monopolies, establish peace in Algeria, defend the freedoms still remaining, and restore and renew democracy, there must be an alliance of all working people and all republicans. The Communist Party, the party of the working class, is a resolute champion of this unity and never misses an opportunity to advance the cause of unity.

The Party has exposed all the maneuvers aimed at perpetuating the split in the democratic forces and, hence, at supporting the Gaullist regime. Thus it denounced the attempts made by the Social Democratic leaders and some leaders of the teachers trade union to form a so-called "third force" to divert the mass movement from its real objective — the fight for negotiations with the Provisional Government — to the path of engaging in ventures which would play into the hand of the de Gaulle rulers.

Experience has shown that if the intrigues of the enemies of the united front are to be exposed, and the socialist and bourgeois-democratic leaders forced to acknowledge the front, unity among the masses must be consolidated and developed. Unity of the working people, especially between Socialists and Communists, realized in action for economic demands, peace and freedom, a unity expressed in the mass organizations, above all in the trade unions and peace committees, is an essential preliminary for uniting the country's democratic forces.

These are some of the fundamental problems of Party policy covered in the draft resolution of the Central Committee which is now being discussed throughout the Party.

The pre-Congress discussion was preceded by a discussion on the profoundly erroneous, opportunist views advocated for some time by Comrades Laurent Casanova and Marcel Servien. Their views were an attempt to revise — on the basis of an incorrect assessment of the internal antagonisms of French imperialism and inter-imperialist antagonisms on an international scale — the analysis made by the Fifteenth Congress of the nature of the de Gaulle Government and policy. This was an attempt to question the Party's policy in the struggle for unity, and to accuse the Party leadership of interpreting and implementing this policy in a narrow way. This attitude harmed the ideological and militant unity of the Party leadership and the Party as a whole, inasmuch as it engendered factionalism.

The January and February meetings of the Central Committee brought these contradictions and their causes to light, and warned of their dangerous consequences. The Party unanimously approved the conclusions and decisions of the meetings and closed its ranks around the Central Committee and the Political Bureau headed by Maurice Thorez. The discussion strengthened the ideological and political unity of the Party, thereby enhancing its militancy and activity. The bourgeoisie, who had hoped that a "crisis" would develop in the Party,

were disappointed. The Sixteenth Congress will, undoubtedly, provide further proof of the Party's maturity and unity.

In the course of the pre-Congress preparations much importance has been attached to strengthening the Party and improving the activity of its organizations and leading committees. The role of branches at the place of work or residence in developing action by the working people and in leading this action was stressed. The attention of the members was drawn to the decisive importance of strengthening contact between the Communists and the people and on the need to discard sectarian narrow-mindedness which harms this contact. To enlist hundreds of thousands and millions of non-Party people in the struggle — that is the Party's task.

In the pre-Congress discussion, as in all their activities, the French Communists proceed from the Marxist Leninist analysis of the international situation made at the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Parties and, especially from the conclusion that socialism is now the decisive factor in the development of society.

Basing itself on the initial successes achieved in an extremely complex situation, conscious of the obstacles still to be surmounted, the French Communist Party goes to its Sixteenth Congress firmly resolved to begin a new stage in its struggle for peace, for restoring and renovating democracy.

J.D.

Development of the Bolivian Revolution and the Party's Tactics

Bolivia has an area of slightly more than one million square kilometers and a population of three and a half million, the majority of whom are Indians — Quechuas and Aymaras. For three hundred years Bolivia, like the other Latin American countries, languished under the Spanish colonial yoke. In 1825, after a struggle lasting 15 years, she won political independence.

Up to the First World War British capital predominated here. After the war, with the spread of U.S. imperialist influence, a new stage set in, the stage of inter-imperialist struggle in the course of which the British monopoly was virtually ended. The war with Paraguay, caused chiefly by the rivalry between the North American and British oil monopolies, was the culminating point of this

struggle. The people forced the government to nationalize the oil fields, and the wave of nationalism which swept the country at that time has not yet abated.

The history of Bolivia is a history of landlord domination, penetration by British and, subsequently, North American capitalism, a history of inter-imperialist rivalry, of intensified domination by our "northern neighbor," the replacement of the power of the mining and landlord oligarchy by the power of the bourgeoisie. And lastly, it is a history in which the people are playing a growing role.

A landmark in our history was the victorious popular uprising which flared up on April 9, 1952. The failure of the coup d'état gave the masses the opportunity to arm themselves, and after a three-

day battle they overthrew the government of the landlords and big mine-owners, who were closely interlinked with and committed to imperialism, and placed the national bourgeoisie, represented by the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) Party, in power. Although the Communist Party took part in the uprising, its role was negligible. Our Party was founded only in 1950, after a long and painful process of embryonic development.

The masses, armed and fired with revolutionary fervor, forced the new government to carry out a number of radical reforms including nationalization of the mines, land reform, the universal franchise, educational reform, social welfare measures, workers' control over the nationalized enterprises and trade relations with Czechoslovakia. The army was disbanded and a workers' and peasants' militia formed. The country thus acquired a much broader democracy.

At the same time the ruling party found itself threatened, blackmailed and boycotted by North American imperialism. Under these circumstances the government displayed the duality, vacillation and indecision characteristic of the national bourgeoisie. While taking a stand against imperialism under mass pressure, it at the same time intensified its anti-Communist policy. The mines were nationalized, but the government has since guaranteed compensation to the owners. The agrarian reform law was formulated in radical terms, but its implementation has been retarded by bureaucratic hurdles. The universal franchise is distorted and doctored with the aid of an electoral statute specially designed for the purpose. The educational reform is being carried out under the virtual control of North American organizations which have been foisted on our country. The state oil monopoly, which existed for 25 years, has been abolished and oil concessions handed over to the companies which formerly operated them. The militia is being turned into an instrument for suppressing the workers and peasants and the popular movement generally. A new army has been created.

And yet, the overall situation is no longer what it was prior to 1952; the peasants have in some degree gained possession of the land and achieved a certain level of organization. Some forms of semi-feudal exploitation have been abolished. The former managers no longer run the mines, and where the labor organizations adhere to the correct line the workers' rights are respected more than before.

Thus, generally speaking, it can be said that a revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-feudal process began on April 9, 1952, but, owing to the political backwardness of the masses, the inexperience and immaturity of the Communist Party, the bourgeoisie gained the upper hand and deceived the people.

But though the gains won in the struggle against our people's enemies — the landlords and the North American imperialists — have been weakened and betrayed, no one will be able to stop the revolutionary ferment that has begun in our country.

The Bolivian people are confronted with the task of strengthening their unity and waging a determined fight for revolutionary socio-economic changes. In these circumstances the national bourgeoisie is faced with the alternative of being either with the people or against them. This is the choice it must make.

Alignment of Political Forces

The shock force of the reactionaries, who were ousted on April 9, 1952, is the Bolivian Socialist Falange (FSB), a fascist-type organization. Occupying the place in political life formerly held by the traditional parties (the Liberals and Socialist Republicans), it has the backing of the United States Embassy and influences some sections of the small bourgeoisie, the students, clerical workers, artisans and professionals. During the past eight years it has been engaged chiefly in plotting conspiracies. The failure of the coup engineered by the Falange prompted the reactionary circles to form another party which calls itself the Authentic National Revolutionary Movement (MNRA). Organizationally independent, this party has supporters in the government and among the ruling party. It is a party of ultra-Rights and its policy coincides in the main with that of the Falange. Both are the embodiment of local reaction and the mainstay of the U.S. imperialists.

The National Revolutionary Movement still has more influence than any other party among the urban petty bourgeoisie and a large section of the peasantry who believe that this party liberated them from feudal bondage, gave them freedom and land. Their backwardness and political inexperience prevent the peasants from seeing through the demagoguery and the defeatist policy of the bourgeoisie. However, experience is teaching them, and growing numbers are becoming disillusioned with this party. It is also worth noting that those MNR supporters among the national bourgeoisie who are linked economically with the manufacturing and extractive industries and whose interests are affected by government policy tend to be more independent and progressive.

Despite the fact that the MNR has broken with the ultra-reactionary section of the party, it still includes many vacillating elements and betrayers of the national interests. On the other hand, the progressive forces in this party often lack sincere, democratically-minded leaders. The National Revolutionary Movement can make a valuable contribution to the cause of upholding the country's

interests and the development of the revolutionary process only if it rids itself of pro-imperialist, pro-latifundist, wavering and treacherous elements, and if true patriots take over the leadership.

Other parties, such as the Social Christian and Left Revolutionary parties, although differing in traditions and character, do not play any significant role in the political life of the country.

Trotskyism is represented by several groups. Some of these have penetrated into the MNR and are undermining it from within. These groups have been functioning since 1930. While their influence is not considerable, at times and under certain circumstances they play their ugly role with relatively greater effectiveness than in other countries on the continent.

The Communist Party has to contend with many difficulties. It is subjected to continued repressions. Its members are persecuted and thrown into jail. Its press is discriminated against. Opportunist and sectarian tendencies have appeared, and still appear, in the Party. In 1952, for example, in connection with the victory of the uprising, the opportunist tendencies gained ground. Giving rise to a blind faith in the MNR and illusions concerning the government, and creating an atmosphere of false tranquillity, these tendencies hampered the work of the Party. It was only after they had been uprooted that the prestige of the Party and its influence among the masses began to grow. In 1956 the Communist Party took part in the presidential and parliamentary elections for the first time, putting up its own candidates and polling approximately 13,000 votes.

During the past two years, however, the Party has had to combat sectarian mistakes which arose in the course of the struggle against opportunism and were partly associated with the change in policy in 1960, when the Party decided to support the MNR candidate in the presidential elections. This move was dictated by the need to bring the Party into contact with those sections of the workers and peasants who supported the MNR candidate whose program, on the whole, was sound. It was aimed also at countering the anti-Communist campaign launched by the MNRA presidential candidate. In the complicated and contradictory situation prevailing in the country at the time, support of the MNR at the elections signified a sharp change in Communist Party policy. However it was not carried out resolutely enough since the Party was obliged to fight the sectarian tendencies in its own ranks. Nevertheless the Party withstood this crucial test, and showed that it was achieving political maturity.

The Situation in Bolivia Today

The economic position of Bolivia has deteriorated of late with the growing dependence on North Am-

erican capital. Prices are rising and real wages are continuing to fall; new contingents are swelling the army of the unemployed; smuggling is becoming a legal business; the agrarian reform is being delayed; agricultural output has dropped by 40 per cent as compared with 1953 and large numbers of peasants are migrating to the towns or abroad in search of work. At demonstrations and mass rallies tens of thousands of workers are demanding a change in government policy. During the past two years hardly a day has passed without a strike of workers, students or office employees. The peasant struggle, too, is growing.

The national industry is being curtailed under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, and nothing is being done to protect the small manufacturers who are unable to compete with the monopolies.

Two-thirds of the state budget, which amounts to barely \$30 million, is covered by permanent credits from the U.S. monopolies in the form of aid. The imperialist and domestic reactionaries are forcing the government to switch to the Right, while the masses in their turn want to take the road of national, independent and democratic development.

As the matter now stands, either the masses will strengthen their unity, isolate the traitors and defeatists and force the government to respect the nation's interests, or else the government will submit to imperialist pressure, abandon the country to the mercy of the monopolies and suppress the popular and democratic forces.

Time will once again show up the bourgeoisie in its true colors. The militant unity of the people will be cemented and the way will be paved for the next decisive leap forward in revolutionary development, for overcoming the resistance of the elements hostile to the people.

The struggle is steadily gaining momentum. Factory and office workers are striking for higher wages. Peasants are fighting for implementation of the agrarian reform law and for the expulsion of the venal trade union bosses. The government is retaliating by proclaiming martial law, restricting democratic liberties and arresting workers' and peasants' leaders.

Two factors play an important role in the political struggle now being waged in Bolivia. The first is the Cuban revolution which offers the masses a striking example of a genuine, consistent and far-reaching revolution. The other is Comrade Khrushchov's offer to supply our country with equipment for ore-concentration plants and smelters. This offer was made in the spirit of the previous USSR proposals to grant credits for the state-owned oil industry.

Thus, Bolivia today is in the throes of a mass struggle not only for particular demands but also for unfurling again the "April Banner" and forcing the national bourgeoisie to work in the interests of the nation.

What We Are Fighting for

In April 1959 the Communist Party held its first National Congress. Analyzing the objective conditions in which the Bolivian revolution is developing, the Congress outlined the following program of action: to fight for higher wages, for a higher standard of living, in defense of the nationalized mines and the state-owned oil company, for building ore-concentration and smelting plants, for liquidation of the monopoly enterprises, effective implementation of the agrarian reform, industrial development, for solution of local problems (water and electricity supply, municipal services, etc.), respect for democratic rights and liberties, for diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries and an independent foreign policy.

The Congress spoke of the need to expose, isolate and defeat the reactionary elements in the government, stressing that for this purpose their influence on some sections of the population should be combated.

To carry out these tasks it is necessary to unite the people, and primarily the working class, to extend the struggle of the peasants for their demands, develop militant actions of the urban petty bourgeoisie and draw into the struggle those sections of the national bourgeoisie which are dissatisfied with government policy. The Party's participation in the last elections was part of the process of uniting and rallying these forces, and the good showing which it made should be consolidated.

We should not hesitate to make common cause with the democratic and patriotic forces in the MNR, who are connected with the workers and peasants. We must form alliances with these forces in accordance with the principle: expose the enemy, fight him to the end, and while helping the ally to develop, at the same time criticize him and resist any effort to compromise with betrayers of the national interests. In its policy the Party proceeds from the possibility of the revolutionary, non-capitalist way of development for Bolivia.

The Communists realize that the Party itself is the decisive factor on which the success of the revolutionary process depends. To defend and strengthen the unity of the Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to raise its theoretical level, and to combat factionalism and every attempt to split the Party — these are the prerequisites for the successful development of the revolution. The Party is striving to establish closer contact with the workers and peasants, to extend its influence and raise its prestige.

History has confronted our Party, as it has the entire Communist movement, with the loftiest of goals — to lead the people to a better life. The youth of the Party cannot be an obstacle to this. The partisans who fought in the war of independence were young, so were Bolivar and Sucre, the heroes of the national-liberation movement. The people of Bolivia will carry forward the revolutionary process begun on April 9, 1952, defeat the enemies of the revolution, and oust those who are impeding it.

Mario MONJE,
General Secretary,
Central Committee,
Communist Party of Bolivia

Success of a Factory Branch

(Letter from Finland)

THE strands of economic and political power in our country are held by the 20 families who comprise the big Finnish cartel, in which the Rozenloef family plays first fiddle. Among the many industrial enterprises belonging to the Rozenloefs there is a big modern timber mill in Seikku, employing some 500 workers. Most of them work in shifts, and many live in the outlying villages.

Some ten years ago there was no Party organization in Seikku. The general opinion of the com-

rades was that the Seikku mill was a "dirty enterprise," a "hopeless place" for Party work, that the workers there allowed "the boss to rule the roost." This sentiment prevailed because the Seikku workers never elected Communists or People's Democrats to the board of the hospital fund, to the mill committee or the trade union committee. Everywhere the workers were represented by Social Democrats whose policy was that of currying favor with the employer.

Things are different today. Last year, three out of the six members elected to the hospital fund were Communists, and four of the five members of the mill trade union committee. The chairman, secretary and treasurer of the trade union branch and the main factory representative are all members of our Party. In short, Communists have been elected to all the key posts.

How did this come about? Confidence in the Communists grew from year to year. Of decisive significance in this respect was their firm stand in the struggle for better conditions. The Communists never came to terms with the employer but insisted that whenever a decision is taken the interests and views of the workers should come first, that no agreement should be concluded behind their backs. Experience gradually convinced the workers that the Communists were the most active, vigilant and vigorous, that they carry out their work in conjunction with the workers.

Winning this confidence was not an easy matter. The many prejudices were aggravated by the Social Democrats and Communists calling each other names. The members of our Party earnestly reacted to the call issued in 1954 by our Central Committee to the working people, "unite for action"; the call was discussed on numerous occasions and its ideas and propositions were applied in deciding the various issues. Of course, we were unable to implement straight away the Central Committee's call for closer contact among workers of different views. But we displayed patience and perseverance and established closer contact with the workers. The Social Democrat "leaders" in the mill worked hard for the policy of their party leadership which was aimed against the unity and interests of the workers. They turned a deaf ear to the workers, and the workers began to lose faith in them.

Name calling, intolerance towards workers of different views were classified by the Communists as manifestations of Leftism, leading to isolation from the masses. Had things gone the same way as they had in the past, the Communists might have degenerated into a small, isolated group. No worker should be elbowed aside because of his particular views. There should be a comradely attitude to all workers, irrespective of their politics. This does not mean that there should be no criticism of all standpoints and actions that are injurious to the workers.

Last autumn when the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders formed a new trade union in the mill with a view to dividing the workers, only 20 joined. On the other hand, the old trade union recruited 118 new members in a brief space of time. In this way the workers gave their answer to the splitters and the anti-Communists.

Today the workers, guided by their class interests, act in unison on all the major issues. This is a result of the persistent work carried out by the Communists. In 1951 a Party group consisting of four members was formed in the mill. The next year their number doubled and it became possible to organize a branch. Today this branch with its 21 members displays much initiative. Meetings are held both inside the factory and outside; the topics discussed at these meetings include factory matters and general problems from which conclusions are drawn. The members express their views on all points bearing on the workers' conditions—wages, the rights of the factory representatives, strengthening the trade union organization, combating speed-up, etc.

By way of example, I shall cite a case which is typical of the activities of the Communists. In February 1960 when the management announced that 30 workers would be laid off, the Party branch promptly intervened—all the workers were informed of the situation and they agreed with the Communists. And so the administration, upon encountering the united resistance of the workers, retreated. Another six workers whose places we were unable to safeguard, were given jobs in the other enterprises of the concern.

It is difficult to overestimate the role played on behalf of the workers by our district newspaper *Satakunnantyo*, which is sold in the mill by nine activists. The paper exposes the designs of the administration and the public is always aware of the attitude of the Communist Party. It keeps the readers informed about the decisions taken by the trade union organization. The mouthpiece of the Seikku workers, it discusses their difficulties, fights for their interests and shows them the way forward. This is of special significance because the local Social Democratic paper, which preaches class peace, whitewashes the conditions in the mill.

The Party branch is working under extremely difficult conditions. The employers have forbidden political discussions, meetings, leaflet distribution, etc., in the enterprise. The administration gives every encouragement to those who, for a pittance, are prepared to betray their comrades and blurt out all they know. In these circumstances one has to be very flexible. But because of the close contact between the Communists and their work-mates, the employers have not had much success.

Another of our difficulties is that for years the intake of new workers has been mainly from the countryside. The rural youth, naturally, have no clear idea of the struggle waged by the working class. Their views are restricted and bear the hallmark of petty-bourgeois concepts. Hence it is most important to conduct explanatory work among them in a clear and convincing manner.

But only those who themselves have a profound knowledge of Marxism can do this. During the past four years a class organized by the Communist Party branch has been held in which a dozen comrades have studied political economy, the history of the Finnish working-class movement and aspects of working-class ideology. This year these comrades are attending a Party district school and meet one evening a week to study the theory and tactics of the international Communist movement, using as a textbook the *Foundations of Marxism-Leninism*. Regular study helps the members to overcome the difficulties encountered in their practical work.

The Communists hold talks on current affairs and also on the economic, social and cultural progress in the socialist countries. Attention is paid to the mutual visits of heads of government and to their significance in preserving and strengthening peace. Lunch-hour discussions have proved

very effective. Party members prepare themselves thoroughly for these discussions and study the materials in our press. They explain what socialism means to the ordinary men and women, to the people. As a result, the workers now have a better understanding of the ideas of socialism. Many of the workers and engineers in the mill have visited the socialist countries, and their impressions have been most useful in overcoming the prejudices. Rarely does one meet people in Seikku nowadays who would sneer at the socialist countries or talk nonsense about the conditions there.

The work carried out by the Communists in the timber mill is an example of how the advanced workers of our country are fighting for the reconstruction of society.

Leo MARMIO,
Secretary of the Satakunta
District Organization,
Communist Party of Finland

The Stand of the Moroccan Communist Party

FOLLOWING the death of King Mohammed V all political parties of Morocco defined their policies for the future. The views expressed by some parties reflect in one way or another the desire of the people for unity and the struggle for democratic reforms. All the political forces now have to reckon with the resolve of the people. This explains, in particular, why King Hassan II recently offered the post of Minister of Agriculture to El Hadi Messouak, a member of the still banned Communist Party.

Bearing in mind the new situation in the country the leaders of the Communist Party addressed a letter to the King which has received wide publicity. Expressing sympathy over the death of King Mohammed V, they wrote: "The Party to which we belong is a genuinely national party, a party which emerged from the midst of the people not in any casual way but in response to the imperative call of history, in response to the requirements of socio-political development of the country, in response to the wish of the people.

"In its theory and practical activity our Party bases itself on a scientific ideology which you do not deny and which you recently described as 'an ideology worthy of respect'.

"It is a theory which has demonstrated its value and its superiority and which has already made it possible to solve the most difficult problems in all spheres of life; it has enabled governments and countries to work miracles by bringing people from

slavery to freedom, from humiliation to dignity, from poverty to prosperity, from weakness to respect. This is our ideology and it is the ideology of the future.

"Our Party is made up of tried and tested fighters who fulfil their duty under all circumstances, despite the difficulties; it consists of persons who are devoted to their country, who selflessly serve the people, the working class and the poor peasantry and who do so not for the sake of reward or praise."

The Party, the letter goes on, decided not to accept for its member a post in the government. "We did this, however, not in order to evade responsibility but so as not to deepen the division of the national forces and in order to build a general alliance. Such is the desire of the tens of thousands of our countrymen—workers, peasants and intellectuals—who repose their trust in our Party and who approve and support our activity."

The letter raises the question of the right of the Communist Party to legal status. "Bearing in mind our loyalty to principle and our firmness in deciding matters, our rejection of any opportunism and flattery, we can affirm that the participation of the Party in deciding the most varied questions would be a guarantee of the correct orientation of our country.

"By way of example, we recall our attitude to the national alliance. For many years we have been urging all parties, all national organizations

and all patriots opposed to imperialism to form a national alliance and through our common efforts achieve complete national independence in order to take the country along the road of reconstruction and progress.

"For us it was painful to see division instead of an alliance, ruin and insult instead of fearless criticism and constructive opposition. But not for a single moment did we give up hope, nor did it ever enter our minds to relinquish the struggle. And today we are glad to say that the movement for unity has not ceased with the death of King Mohammed V.

"Participating in this movement we, insistently and with enthusiasm, have renewed our call for unity, and demonstrated that unity can be achieved only by all the anti-imperialist organizations joining forces, that it will be firm and effective if it is

based on a program meeting with the approval of all and in line with the interests of the country and the aspirations of the people, a program which we have formulated in the following four points: 1) withdrawal of all foreign troops including U.S. and Spanish troops; 2) liberation of all the areas and towns of our country still under occupation; 3) a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage; 4) a national economy free of the grip of foreign monopolies, nationalization of the basic industries and a far-reaching agrarian reform in favor of the poor peasantry.

"This, in our view, should be the program of the new government which would represent the combined national forces, using all the prerogatives of power within the framework of democratic freedoms, and which would carry out this program within time limits fixed in advance."

Democracy and Management

THE development of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union has introduced much that is new in the relations between administrators and personnel. In recent years regular production commissions have been a feature in the enterprises and the functions of the trade unions have been extended. The unions now play a much bigger role in industry. The commissions run by the local Party organizations with the object of checking on the work of the management are a good form of public control, one in which tens of thousands participate.

Needless to say the steady democratization of public life makes new demands on the leading cadres. The recent discussion in the newspaper *Kommunar* (Tula Region) on the style of managerial work is typical of the spirit of the day. The subject was discussed concretely, the activity of definite people was analyzed. Letters poured in. Workers, foremen, Party secretaries and factory managers criticized shortcomings in methods of management and expressed warm support for new features which they consider should be popularized.

The Influence of the Collective

I. Tishin, shop foreman in a plant making harvester combines, made some interesting observations. The conditions now obtaining, he said, compel the manager to work in a new way and to take cognizance of the views of the workers. But it often happens that people accustomed to act on their own reduce things to a purely formal manifestation of democracy—they hold meetings, and listen to the proposals of subordinates for appear-

ance's sake. At heart, however, they are indifferent to other people's views. To this shop-window democracy the author counterposes the style of work of V. Usov, the factory's deputy chief engineer. Usov is always approachable and his advice on production or personal problems is often sought by workers. "And people see that he is not playing at being the democratic, accessible executive. He really does listen carefully to any criticism and suggestions, goes into them thoroughly and takes whatever steps are necessary."

The author cites examples showing that the true Soviet executive does not abuse his right to issue orders or inflict punishment; he knows how to speak frankly, in a heart-to-heart way, and to make a man see things in the right light.

An interesting article was sent in by S. Sadovsky, manager of the Stalinogorsk Chemical Plant. Basing himself on the experience of this big enterprise, Sadovsky comes to the conclusion that "it is those managers who belittle the role of the collective in running the enterprise who have the gravest shortcomings. This, in my view, stems from an incorrect conception of the principle of one-man leadership.

"Some think that this principle will suffer if the collective has too much of a say in production affairs. How wrong they are! If a manager confers with the people before issuing orders, he obtains a better idea of how matters stand and is much more likely to make the right decision. This approach, moreover, encourages initiative in the workers, and adds to their responsibility for carrying out measures which they themselves helped

to draw up. And the manager who succeeds in stimulating the activity and initiative of the working people attains the aim of one-man leadership. Broad participation by the collective in running the plant consolidates one-man leadership and enhances the prestige of the leader."

The article contains many facts. Most instructive are those showing the important part played by the collective in tapping internal reserves. All the workers took part in accelerating new production processes and in modernizing the machinery. The net result was a realistic plan to more than treble output by the end of the seven-year plan. It was found, moreover, that the funds allocated for capital expenditure could be substantially reduced.

Many of the letters speak of the relations between manager and personnel. M. Uspenskaya, secretary of the shop organization of the Party in the Kislotupor Works, criticizes those managers who regard their personnel "merely as the executor of their will. The role of this type of manager is reduced to issuing orders and instructions. They are not popular and under their leadership the work lags and no heart is put into it."

The author also writes about the style of work of A. Kalashnikov, a shop superintendent, who, in contrast, never misses an opportunity to consult with the Party bureau, the trade union organization and the personnel generally. It is not because he is afraid of assuming personal responsibility for his decisions that he does this, but because he is sure that the workers will make good suggestions and help him.

The Manager Should Be an Educator

I. Shoshin, fitter in a radio factory, entitled his contribution "I like working with him." Shoshin paints a true-to-life portrait of G. Korostylev, a man who had worked his way up to superintendent of a big shop. Shoshin, who regards Korostylev as a real leader and comrade, makes it clear that in Soviet society these concepts are inseparable. "The superintendent knows everyone by name. Some people think that is because he has an exceptionally retentive memory. But my view is that it's simply a matter of being attentive to one's workmates. To know people, to know how to approach every worker — that is the bedrock of success in running a shop or factory . . .

"The workers speak to him about their personal affairs and production matters. And they sometimes criticize him, because the work of even the best of managers is not without shortcomings. We all know, however, that our superintendent harbors no vindictive feelings because of the criticism levelled at him, which cannot be said of some hidebound executives. He takes the criticism in the

spirit in which it is meant, so as to eliminate the shortcomings."

A feature of the contributions is that their authors do not just moralize in speaking of the qualities desirable in an administrator. They have the interests of the factory at heart and show that it is those who rely on the collective that have a feeling for the new and want to improve production.

Many said, too, that the manager should also be an educator.

B. Kalinichev compares the methods of work of two shop superintendents at the Kosogorsk Iron and Steel Works. They are of the same age, grew up in the same town and went to the same school. Both are Party members and like their job, into which they put their heart and soul. But one of them, the author thinks, is rather utilitarian in his attitude: he is not at all interested in educating the people with whom he works and his indifference towards any initiative they may display dampens their interest in the job. The other considers he has to be an educator as well as a manager. There is the joy of creative labor in his shop. He organizes groups for exchanging experience and assimilating the new technology; he himself conducts study groups with the foremen and often reads lectures.

This interesting exchange of views in Tula is but one example of the importance of public opinion in moulding and developing the right qualities in administrators. The Party organizations actively guide the process. Many of them are stepping up the work of training personnel. In reporting back to Party or trade union organizations and workers' meetings administrators, as a rule, focus attention not only on production results, but on the methods by which these results are achieved, as well as on the style of work. Meetings of leading cadres discuss themes such as: "The kind of man a Soviet administrator should be," "The Leninist principles of economic management," "Efficiency and initiative," "Simplicity and modesty," "Principles and honesty."

New People Are Coming to the Fore

The Central Committee of the CPSU attaches importance to the participation of leading cadres in mass political work, not only because this raises the level of propaganda, but also because it makes for the growth of the cadres themselves, improves their style of work and their knowledge of people and of life. Over 250 factory managers, chief engineers, shop superintendents and other leading personnel conduct propaganda work in Tula.

With the extension of democracy new forms of work have emerged which bring the leading personnel into closer contact with the working people and place them under constant public control.

What are known as political days have become a feature in the Tula region. Once or twice a month the managers speak to the workers on pressing questions of factory life and general political themes. The talks are not, as a rule, reports in the usual sense of the word, but are comprehensive replies to questions posed in advance.

Also popular are "question and answer evenings," and periodical reports to the people. A particular subject may be dealt with, say, technological progress, the daily round, the public services and amenities, etc. Among the speakers are chiefs of the local education and health departments, the chief architects and the heads of other organizations.

The composition of leading personnel has changed greatly during the past few years. Young people who are good organizers are being promoted more boldly. Before the revolution there were in Russia only 290,000 people with a secondary special or higher education. The 1959 census shows that this figure has risen to 13.4 million — a 46-fold increase. These are not a privileged section of the community. They are workers and peasants and children of workers and peasants—a considerable and ever-growing section of the population, from which leading personnel closely linked with the people are promoted in a democratic way.

M. FYODOROV

Pages from History

Glorious Harbinger of a New Society

The unforgettable Paris Commune, which lasted from March 18 to May 28, 1871, illumined, like a flash of lightning, the future of the working-class movement and of all mankind. The international Communist movement widely commemorated the ninetieth anniversary of the Commune, the prototype of the dictatorship of the working class, paying tribute to the Paris Communards and drawing lessons from their experience, an experience which opened a new epoch in the working-class struggle.

At a commemoration meeting in Paris, Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, spoke of the international significance of the Commune, which taught the proletariat concretely to pose and solve the problems of the social revolution. "Our Party," he said, "is continuing in other conditions the struggle begun by the Communards in 1871." Celebrations and meetings were held in many towns in France, Britain, the Argentine, Italy and elsewhere. Scientific conferences in the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries discussed problems arising from the experience of the Paris Commune.

The heroic revolutionary spirit displayed by the Paris proletariat in the struggle to achieve their noble aspirations," wrote the newspaper *Jenminjhpao*, "was a splendid example for the world proletariat. The valuable experience of the revolutionary practice of the Paris Communards has become the property of the entire international Communist movement."

A number of important works, numerous new documents and materials on the Commune have been published recently. The first part of a two-volume work entitled *The Paris Commune of 1871* appeared a short time ago in the Soviet Union.

The new publications on the subject in France include the books *A L'Assaut du Ciel*, by Jacques Duclos, and *La Commune de 1871*, by Jean Brutot, Jean Dautry and Emile Tersen.

We publish below an article by Emile Tersen, one of the co-authors of the latter book.

★ ★ ★

The glorious harbinger of a new society was how Karl Marx described Paris and its Commune. "Its martyrs," Marx wrote, "are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to release them."*

The banner unfurled by the heroic workers of Paris on March 18, 1871, inspired and continues to inspire the proletarians of all countries to rise against capitalism.

The Commune's first and, in many respects, decisive contribution to the working-class movement was the fact of "its existence." The Commune cannot be regarded as an "accident," or a "deviation" — two explanations which are no explanation — it was an event that simply had to happen. In fact it was so much the natural thing that it was actively supported by other groups of the population or, at the least, enjoyed their tacit agreement. "The working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of public initiative, even by the bulk of the Paris middle class—shopkeepers,

handicraftsmen, merchants—by all but the wealthy capitalists."**

And if the Commune was, to use Marx's words, "the conquest of political power by the working class"*** this conquest should have manifested itself in two ways: qualitatively and quantitatively.

The Central Committee of the National Guard, which exposed the Versailles provocation of March 18 and liberated Paris, consisted in the main of workers. The writer Jules Vallès noted with surprise on March 19: "I am flabbergasted. . . . Today half a dozen youths in heavy boots and woolen caps, without a single shoulder strap or decoration, are in session as a government in a richly ornamented hall." The fact that "youths in heavy boots" whom today we would call "activists," handled matters until they were taken over by the Commune Council, attests clearly to the maturity of the proletarian forces.

The elections held on March 26 brought 28 workers into the Council of 86. This unprecedented pro-

**Ibid.

***Karl Marx, *The Seventh Anniversary of the International*.

*Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

portion was remarkable in itself. Even more remarkable was that the men in question were experienced and had played an active part in the working-class organizations, in particular, the *Chambres Syndicales* and in the French sections of the International.

Workers, however, were in a minority in the Commune Council, and this had its consequences later. But the forces which supported the Commune, which sought to consolidate and which fought for it to the last, consisted almost wholly of workers.

The Paris sections of the International, revived after the period of disorganization following the war and the siege of Paris, likewise consisted of workers.* Also proletarian were the 34 *Chambres Syndicales* and some 50 co-operative societies. Most club members, whose motto was "education of the people by the people,"** were workers. Since working-class papers in those days were rare and short-lived, most newspapers had columns for workers' news items and had worker-correspondents — which compared with the future worker-correspondents of the period of the Russian revolution in 1917.

Nearly all the armed forces of the Commune were recruited from the working class. The bourgeoisie, naturally, looked on service in the National Guard with repugnance and hated the Commune, with the result that there was a steady flow of deserters (who were treated all too leniently) and absconders who fled to Versailles, where an attack was being prepared against Paris. The workers remained on the battlefield. From first to last they knew what they were fighting for. A count of the wounded and captured during the first clashes (April 2-3) showed that nearly all were factory or office workers. A list compiled by General Appert of the Communard victims of the Bloody Week (21-28 May) attests to the same thing. With the precision of a military mind, Appert even broke them down according to trade, thereby making a valuable sociological contribution to our knowledge of the Commune.

It was the workers Camelinat, Theisz, Combatz and others who restored the municipal services disrupted by the Versailles saboteurs. In the Commune Council the working-class representatives concentrated on economic and social problems, displaying a much greater practical approach than the petty-bourgeois intellectuals who were in the majority, and also a simplicity, directness, common sense and selflessness — a completely new element in politics. The jeweller Léo Frankel, head of the

Commune's Labor and Exchange Committee, drew up a special program which he began to carry out, short-lived though the proletarian power was. Frankel was the first working-class Minister of Labor in history.

Despite the ideological confusion and the absence of a workers' party, the views expressed by the proletarians in their clubs and bulletins, in the press and in the resolutions of the trade union chambers, reflected the "onward march" to which the Commune should have paid more attention than to the personal squabbles and the desire "to begin history anew." That was what Marx wanted to say when in a letter to Frankel and Varlin on May 13 he wrote: "It seems to me that the Commune is wasting too much time on trivialities and personal quarrels. It is clear that, in addition to the workers, other influences are at work."

The workers, undoubtedly, were fully capable—despite much wavering and many mistakes—of managing the affairs of state, and of assessing them soberly in order to find the right solution. Even the enemy, self-confident and hidebound though he was, had to admit that. A Versailles colonel remarked when Antoine, a member of the Central Committee, was shot: "This man was a worker and he wanted to run the country." These words, their cynicism apart, express the fear of the military bureaucrat, the defender of the bourgeois order, who feels instinctively that it is about to crumble.

At the end of May when the struggle was over, when the punitive detachments had done their dirty work, and the columns of prisoners were being escorted to Satory, there to await death, the galleys and exile, Versailles was convinced that once again it had won the battle. "They no longer talk about socialism," Thiers declared, "and how right they are. We have settled accounts with socialism." Flaubert, expressing the view of the bourgeois intellectuals, observed: "As for socialism, it, as you see, has died for a long time." (He made the reservation: for a long time, but not forever.) In 1872 Gambetta, the father of opportunism, made the absurd statement: "There is no such thing as a social question." But notwithstanding all that was said, Eugène Pottier, author of the *Internationale*, was right when he wrote:

And yet,
Look, my friend,
The Commune lives!

Yes, despite its short life and defeat it is an historical fact that "the Commune was the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to *smash* the bourgeois state machine and constitutes the political form 'at last discovered' which can and must *supercede* the smashed machine."* With all its short-

*It should be noted that because of Blanquist and Proudhonist leadership these sections were prevented from becoming the ideological and political staff of the proletarian revolution of 1871.

***Le Proletaire*, May 15, 1871.

*V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

comings and mistakes the Commune will for decades remain an example and an invaluable experience. It will, Lenin said, be a guide for all of us.

* * *

The basic analytical and critical study of the Commune was made by Karl Marx. As a participant in the events Marx "was not only enthusiastic about the heroism of the Communards who, as he expressed it, 'stormed the heavens.' Although it did not achieve its aim, he regarded the mass revolutionary movement as an historic experiment of momentous importance, as an advance of the world proletarian revolution, as a practical step that was more important than hundreds of programs and discussions. Marx conceived his task to be to analyze this experiment, to draw lessons in tactics from it, to re-examine his theory in the new light it afforded."*

He did this mainly in his *The Civil War in France* — the Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. The Address was first published in English on June 3, 1871. A second edition appeared at the end of June, and a third in 1872. A German translation by Engels appeared in the *Leipzig Volkstaat* (June 28-July 29). A French translation was published by *Internationale*, organ of the Belgian section of the International; and 9,000 copies in booklet form came off the press in the French language in June 1872. Thus thousands of copies of *The Civil War in France* were sold in Western Europe within a year of the defeat of the Commune. Marx defined three features of the Paris Commune. Many of its root causes made it a national movement. Its aspirations, composition and the tasks it set forth made it a working-class movement, the harbinger of the new society. And its spirit and influence made it an international movement; as Frankel said on March 1, before the uprising: "Our way is the international way, and we must not depart from it."

Marx, it should be said, did not make any strict distinction between these three aspects, which he summarized as follows:

"If the Commune was thus the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national Government, it was, at the same time, as a working-men's Government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labor, emphatically international. Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world."**

He analyzed in detail the shortcomings of the Commune, which were largely responsible for its defeat. He regretted that an excess of respect for

*Ibid.

**Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*.

formal democracy — the unrepudiated heritage of petty-bourgeois concepts — minimized the importance of the Central Committee set up by the people. The Central Committee surrendered its powers too soon to make way for the Commune. "Again from a too 'honorable scrupulosity!'"* He reproached the Central Committee and the Commune for being tardy in developing military activity. In his opinion the Commune allowed itself to be lulled by notorious "conciliators," thereby enabling Versailles to reinforce and re-group its troops. He believed, not without reason, that they were to "blame." "They should have marched at once to Versailles. . . . They missed their opportunity because of conscientious scruples. They did not want to start a civil war . . . "**

Marx foresaw the disastrous consequences of the delay early in April: "If they are defeated, only their 'good nature' will be to blame."*** And, he stressed, the demoralizing effect of the trends then current (we are obliged to use this word as there were no real parties as such in the Commune). The "Proudhon ignoramuses" were, he believed, the most fatal to it, and history has confirmed that he was right.

The exiled Communards likewise studied and analyzed the experience of the Commune. Most of this work was done by those who had emigrated to England. This was because Marx was then living in London. The emigres often visited him at Haverstock Hill, which became an international information center on the 1871 movement. Marx gave the emigres all the material and moral support he could. On August 8, 1871, the Communards Longuet, Vaillant and Theisz became, on Marx's proposal, members of the General Council of the International. Influenced by Marxism, with which few of the emigres were familiar, many re-examined their previous views and became critical of the Proudhon theories which had proved so disastrous for their cause. In the battle with Marxism the old theories lost out. And because the supporters of these theories were loyal to the Commune they, in Engels' words, "did the opposite of what the doctrine of their school prescribed," a doctrine which showed itself to be utterly bankrupt. On the other hand, scientific socialism kept pace with the economic development. Engels wrote later, in October 1884: "The Commune became the grave of the old specifically French socialism and simultaneously the cradle of international communism then new to France."****

* * *

Bourgeois historians have found a convenient explanation according to which the working-class

*Marx, Letter to L. Kugelman, April 12, 1871.

**Ibid.

***Ibid.

****Frederick Engels, Letters to A. Bebel, October 29, 1884.

movement showed no sign of life for a decade or so after May 1871. But it would be wrong to affirm that there was no working-class struggle in France during that time. There were many difficulties, of course: a long period of reprisals, martial law, press censorship, police surveillance, and the Dufaure Law of March 14, 1872, which prohibited workers from combining in organizations. The workers continued to express sympathy with the Commune, however: they collected funds for the families of those who had been shot and for the emigrants, circulated leaflets and posters (packing them in goods), placed wreaths at the scene of the shootings, in particular at the wall of the Père-Lachaise cemetery. Needless to say, this was all done illegally.

In 1876 the government decided to send a workers' delegation to the exhibition in Philadelphia. The members of the delegation were elected at factories and nearly all of them turned out to be former Communards or sympathizers. This enraged the police and at the same time showed that the working class had preserved its militancy.*

These actions, though important, had as yet no practical significance; they were given impetus by the partial amnesty of March 3, 1879, and the general amnesty of July 11, 1880. The amnesties restored thousands of experienced fighters and professional revolutionaries to the French working-class movement together with relative freedom of action.

The important Marseilles Congress (October 23-31, 1879), convened on the initiative of Guesde between the two amnesties, was held openly under the banner of the Commune. An address received by the Congress from a group of Communards then residing in London, eloquently attests to this.

"The Commune bears many of the traces of former movements," said the message. "This revolution, which was forced upon the people at a most unpropitious time by the opponents of emancipation, is in some of its particular manifestations a matter of chance, of improvisation. Yet, when examined as a whole and from the standpoint of its idea, it is an historic fact of tremendous significance. It signifies the conquest of political power by the working class. Neither victory nor defeat changes the matter. Everyone now knows that to emancipate the proletariat it is not enough simply to seize the bourgeois apparatus of politics — the expression of economic bondage — it must be changed from top to bottom." The restrained yet clear words of the address show that the reminiscences of the best Communards had passed through a filter of reflection in exile and bore the imprint of the Marxist analysis of the May events.

*The chairman at a meeting of the Military Council on December 2, 1876 — a colonel of the French army — which was trying the Communard Baron said: "The views of the accused are the same as those he had in 1871."

But a real, well-organized workers' party was needed to effect the change — that was the lesson of the defeat of the Commune. The logic of history led to the formation in Marseilles of the Socialist Workers' Federation, in other words, of a French working-class party. And it was not fortuitous that its first representative in the Paris municipality, elected on June 13, 1880, from the Père-Lachaise area, was the shoemaker and Communard Trinquet.

That year for the first time meetings were held in memory of the fallen Communards. A meeting took place at the graveside of Flourence on April 3, the anniversary of his death; and another was organized at the Wall of the Communards on May 23. This date is still pregnant with meaning. It can be said that since 1880 the Commune — one of the great events in history — and the working-class movement have become one.

* * *

"... The working class," wrote Marx on May 13, 1879, "was on the side of the Commune from the beginning."** Its support was expressed in two ways. First, in concrete activity: Communards had in their ranks proletarians from a number of countries (Poles first and foremost, Russians, Italians, Hungarians, Belgians and others). Second, ideologically, because many, Most, for example, realized at once that "the battle that had begun there would attract the attention of the proletarians of all countries" and that "the Parisians are in the van of the great battle for socialism."***

The vagaries of the battle were followed minutely by the working class of all countries — both in those with a developed class consciousness and those where, as in Hungary, it was just awakening. The defeat of the Commune was regarded as a defeat for the world proletariat. March 18, 1872 — the first anniversary of the Paris uprising, was celebrated in Belgium, Spain, Switzerland and Germany. It was clear that "the blood of the Commune had watered the soil for socialism both in Europe and in America." (Lafargue.)

Despite its mistakes, the Commune became, as Lenin put it, the outstanding example of the greatest proletarian movement of the nineteenth century. Its anniversary has always been celebrated with fervor and enthusiasm. Speaking about the Commune on March 18, 1886, Engels said: "Millions of workers, from the proletarian miners in California and Averone to the convict miners in Siberia, cry in one voice: 'Long live the Commune! Long live the international unity of the world proletariat!'"****

The work of the founding members of the Socialist parties then coming into being in most coun-

*Karl Marx, *Letter to Frankel and Varlin*, May 13, 1871.

***L'Internationale*, Brussels, June 11, 1871.

****Le Socialiste*, No. 31, March 27, 1886.

tries was bound up with memories of the Commune, with studying its experience. After Marx' death in 1883, Engels continued to explain the meaning of the Paris Commune. The concluding words of his introduction to the 1891 edition of *The Civil War in France* are well known: "Of late, the Social Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

After Engels' death (1895) and generally by the turn of the century, the Paris Commune had been more or less forgotten. True, people continued to think of the Commune of yesterday, but they never bothered to think what the Commune of the morrow would be like. Some even tried to kill it anew, strewing it this time with flowers.

Fortunately, at the other end of Europe, in Russia, there were people who also waged a struggle and had not forgotten the Commune. The forward-looking men and women in that country— though Narodism and its aftermath had retarded their advance — could not but display a lively interest in it. The workers of Odessa, for example, sent greetings to the French workers on March 18, 1878, in which they declared their solidarity with the Paris Commune. It is understandable, therefore, that in his work in organizing the proletariat and building a party which would lead it and express its interests, Lenin should refer to the historical experience of 1871, basing himself on the works of Marx and Engels and bearing in mind the new conditions then rapidly developing.

It suffices to leaf through the *Rabochaya Gazeta* for April 1911, many pages of which are devoted to "the Commune fighters," to read Lenin's article

"Karl Marx," written in 1914, his symposium *Marxism and the State*, 1917, and other works, to see that Lenin everywhere refers to the experience of the Paris Commune in order to draw not only theoretical but also practical conclusions from it. This new attitude was not at all to the frustrated liking of those who wanted the Commune to be nothing but a venerated memory. More remarkable still is the profound analysis made by Lenin in his *The State and Revolution*, written shortly before the October Revolution, that is, on the eve of an historical period which was to prove decisive. "The Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917," he wrote, "in different circumstances and under different conditions, continue the work of the Commune and confirm the historical analysis given by Marx, that product of his genius."*

Thus the contribution made by the Commune has its place both in history and in the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism which, while utilizing its experience, avoids unnecessary fetishism and, taking cognizance of the changes wrought by time, guards against any slavish imitation ("under different conditions," as Lenin rightly noted).

The basic contribution of the Commune is that in substance it integrates with the Great October Revolution. "The Russian revolution," wrote Maurice Thorez, "continued the work started by the heroic pioneers in 1871. It has established a victorious Commune on one-sixth of the earth!"** Today the powerful socialist camp with a population of nearly one thousand million, is heir to the exploits, and continuer of the glorious tradition of the Paris Commune. There can be no doubt that the ideals of the Communards will, in the near future, triumph all over the world.

*The reference is to the February Revolution.

**Maurice Thorez, *Fils du Peuple*.

Exchange of Views

What Are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class?

Contributions in this issue are by: the Marxist Study Center (Canada); V. S. Semenov, a sociologist, and L. A. Leontyev, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences (both from the Soviet Union).

MARXIST STUDY CENTER (Canada)

AS a general observation, we should like to emphasize the value of this kind of exchange of views. This is particularly so for the participants, who clarify their positions on basic questions in the light of present-day conditions.

Definition of "Working Class"

A definition of this kind is not simple. A well-rounded picture of a complex phenomenon like the modern working class is insufficient. What is needed is to concentrate attention on its main aspects or essence to enable any accurate statistical analysis. In the past, this side of our definition has not been given enough attention. As a result, when faced with the bourgeois morass of statistical information we have not always been successful in proving our points statistically.

By "working class" we understand those who sell their labor-power to and are exploited by the capitalist owners of the means of production. In our opinion it is correct to emphasize the distinction between factory workers, the industrial "core" of the class, and other sections of it which are in various degrees removed from large-scale machine industry — including clerical and technical workers. But we cannot agree with the position taken by our friends from *Economie et Politique*, that it is unscientific "to combine industrial and clerical workers into a single class" (WMR, No. 12, 1960, p. 68). If clerical workers are wage-earners who sell their labor-power and are exploited by the capitalist owners of the means of production, then surely they belong to the working class.

The real and important difference between productive and non-productive labor certainly has a bearing on the problems of working-class con-

sciousness and struggle; but it is not, in our opinion, the yardstick for setting boundaries to the working class. To exclude all wage earners who are not production workers, to put them in the category of potential allies of the working class would, it seems to us, lead to mistakes, and would hardly help us in combating the ill-founded attempts by the bourgeoisie to claim these workers as "members of the growing middle class." The crux of the matter, of course, is not tactical but theoretical, and it would seem that references by Marx to the exploitation of clerical workers, to the existence of various groupings within the working class, bears out the position we are taking.

The change in the make-up of the working class in the direction of a greater increase of clerical workers as compared with industrial workers, is an expression of the specific way in which the working class in the Western countries is growing today, under the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism. In other words, the general law of the proletarianization of the population now is expressed, not so much in terms of an increase in industrial workers as in an increase in clerical workers; but it is still a process of the proletarianization of formerly non-proletarian members of the population: farmers, self-employed people, self-employed professionals, etc. The law of the proletarianization of the population does not imply that the new members of the working class must of necessity become factory workers. Indeed, technological development requires more clerical workers than formerly, as is shown in the Canadian automobile industry where an absolute increase in the number of workers includes a decrease in the number of those engaged in actual production. The same is true also of the petroleum industry and transportation.

See Nos. 5, 9, 12 (1960) and No. 4 (1961) for previous contributions.

Clerical workers are also increasing in number both because of the parasitism of monopoly capitalism, e.g. the army of people engaged as wage-workers in selling and advertising, and because of the assumption of functions by the State and corporations which formerly were carried out by self-employed people. If the French comrades' point of view were to be accepted, this growing number of wage-earners could not be characterized as other than members of the middle strata, whereas the fact is that large numbers of them are being

squeezed by monopoly out of the middle strata and into the ranks of the working class.

Trends in Canada

An approximation to the size of the Canadian working class and its expansion since the war can be gleaned from the government *Labor Force Surveys*. We say "approximation" because the government statistics lump together managerial and non-managerial employees, and exclude redundant workers. It is therefore necessary to introduce certain corrections. We then get the following table:

AUGUST NUMBERS (in 000's)

	1946	1960	Increase	% inc.
Paid workers in civilian labor force	3,272	5,065	1,793	55
Less managerial	145*	233	88*	61*
	3,127	4,832	1,705	55
plus "without jobs and seeking work"	118	322**	204	189
Total:	3,245	5,154	1,909	59

Not only has the working class of Canada increased substantially in numbers in the postwar years. It has also increased relatively, to the total "labor force," from 65 per cent in 1946 to 78 per cent in 1960.

It is impossible, from the statistics available, to break down the adjustments to the "paid workers" in our figures for the elimination of mana-

gerial staff or the addition of unemployed, by industry. However, reference to our first table building up the figure for the working class shows that this is not greatly different from the government's reported number of paid workers in the civilian labor force. This latter figure can be broken down by industry and sex; so this is used in what follows:

AUGUST FIGURES (in 000's)

	1946		1960		Increase	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Resource development (agriculture, mining, forestry)	298	30	334	30	36	—
Manufacturing	879	237	1,166	311	287	74
Construction	201	4	398	10	197	6
Transportation (including storage and communication)	280	42	364	65	84	23
Public utilities	28	2	66	4	38	2
Total material production	1,686	315	2,328	420	642	105
Trade	286	171	533	276	247	105
Finance (including insurance and real estate)	63	50	104	106	41	56
Services	387	314	639	659	252	345
Total non-material production	736	535	1,276	1,041	540	506
Grand total	2,422	850	3,604	1,461	1,182	611

From an analysis of these figures a number of significant facts and trends emerge:

1. Employment in the resource industries was

*Estimated.

**In 1960, 29,000 were "not at work due to temporary layoff" (the 1946 figure is not available).

practically stationary; there was a big relative expansion of employment in construction and public utilities; a relatively moderate increase took place in manufacturing and transportation.

2. There was a big relative expansion of em-

ployment in the non-material sphere, particularly in the service industries: whereas the number employed in the material production sphere increased by 34 per cent, the number in the non-material sphere rose by 82 per cent — a two and a half times greater rate of increase.

The relative shift of weight to the non-material sphere may be expressed in several ways:

(a) of the total increase in employment nearly 60 per cent was in the non-material sphere;

(b) in 1946 there were 64 workers in the non-material sphere for every 100 workers in material production; in 1960 there were 84 workers in the non-material sphere for every 100 workers in material production;

(c) in 1946, 61 per cent of all workers were in material production; in 1960 only 54 per cent.

3. As in the other highly industrialized countries, female participation in the labor force has been rising steadily. Whereas the proportion of women in the Canadian working class was 26.8 per cent in 1946, it had risen to 28.7 per cent in 1960. Of the total increase in the Canadian labor force since August 1946 of 1,909,000 some 618,000, or about 32 per cent, were women. The participation rate of the female population over 14 years old in the working class (employees less managerial staff) has increased from 19.8 per cent in 1946 to 25.1 per cent in 1960. Male workers are predominantly in material production, female workers are in the non-material sphere; five-sixths of the increase in female employment since 1946 has been in the non-material sphere. The portion of the "labor force" made up of women seems to be substantially smaller in Canada than in either the United States or Britain.

Where Did the 1,900,000-odd Addition to the Canadian Working Class Come from?

The general picture of the source of increase in the postwar period is probably something like this:

45 percent from working class natural increase in Canada (including the 90,000 workers of Newfoundland which entered Confederation in 1949),

30 per cent from shift into working class from farmers and other formerly self-employed,

25 per cent from inflow of workers from abroad.

Obviously the magnitude of "replenishment" of the Canadian working class represented by immigrants is of special significance. After the war,

*In the earlier postwar years, some of the most fascist-inclined immigrants were recruited to break strikes and intimidate progressive activities. Employers, of course, have sometimes succeeded in dividing the newcomers from indigenous workers and have used the former to hold back union organization and hold down wages. It appears, however, that the longer the newcomers are in Canada, the closer they tend to identify themselves with the working class, and some of them have made important contributions to working-class solidarity.

the Canadian government and employers actively recruited immigrants in Europe, and screened them carefully to make sure no one with progressive connections or tendencies got in.* A considerable number of engineers and technicians came from Britain, many into the expanded military aircraft industry after the outbreak of the Korean war. But the great majority of immigrants from D.P. camps, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, etc., were channelled into unskilled, low-paid jobs in the service industries, resource industries and construction.

At the other end of the scale, there has been a continual drain of highly skilled technicians, engineers and professional employees to the United States.

Productive and Non-Productive Workers

While both productive and non-productive workers are part of the working class, the non-productive workers have specific features which make it more difficult for them to realize their objective class position. Since they participate in the realization and division of surplus value created elsewhere, it has been easier for the capitalists to create illusions among them to the effect that their special social status distinguishes them from the rest of the workers, and it is more difficult for them to appreciate the tremendous creative force of unified working-class action.

The rapid growth of non-productive activities in recent years needs careful study. Why has the capitalist class apparently fostered a development which means increasing the number of contenders for shares of total surplus value? It would seem to be to their advantage rather to hold back the expansion of non-productive activities. Yet this parasitic development appears to be forced by the monopoly stage of capitalism. The reasons as we see them are these. Competition between monopolies more and more takes the form of (1) seeking to win advantage in more effective exploitation of productive workers, which means increased non-productive staffs; (2) manipulating demand by massive and continuous advertising, etc., which expands non-productive staffs; and (3) administering pyramiding credit, again forcing increased non-productive employment. Is it a contradiction to the parasitic nature of expanded non-productive activities that workers have forced expanded social security programs in the postwar years, which also add to the total of non-productive workers? Of course, this growth of the non-productive sector has increased the burden of exploitation which has been the lot of production workers. But could the production workers have succeeded in obtaining for themselves the share of surplus value which has been distributed to non-productive workers? Probably not.

In any event, an obvious result of the growth of the non-productive sector has been to maintain, if not to deepen, the division in trade union organizations between productive and non-productive workers. Also the greater difficulties of developing the class consciousness of non-productive workers may have been a factor in promoting tendencies in Communist practice either in the direction of sectarian neglect of work with them or of opportunist blurring of class questions.

Mechanization and Automation

Here there seems to be some confusion in that a number of the contributors treat automation simply as a further step in mechanization. But automation is not just "more mechanization," a change of quantity. It is a qualitative change. The process of mechanization simply means the breaking down of work done by human hand or brain and substituting mechanical ways of doing each task or succession of tasks. The mechanized process, although it uses far fewer workers, still requires a good deal of human attendance to stop, start, adjust, control, and so forth. Mechanization breaks down work into simpler elements and so downgrades skills. The essential new element in automation is that a whole program is given to the machines, which then adjust and correct themselves to follow the program implicitly. But the application of computers to the solving of problems involving many variables is not automation. Neither is the installation of bookkeeping equipment that still has to be fed information in some form prepared by humans. Both of these are examples of mechanization, not automation.

The widespread application of automation to industry will have revolutionary effects akin to those of widespread use of nuclear energy — when it comes. The amount of congealed labor (of hand and brain) stored up in the equipment of an automated factory will be fantastic. In other words, the output of the factory per man-hour will be extremely high — which obviously points to the possibility of a very much higher standard of liv-

ing with a greatly shortened work week, and a still greater proportionate increase in the number of "clerical" workers. But in our opinion, the skills required at that time will not be less, but much greater than at present. The design and construction of the machines, the programming, and the actual supervision of the automated processes will be highly skilled jobs, involving considerable nervous fatigue and requiring much more scientific and technical knowledge.

In Canada there is actually little real automation yet. A processing industry like oil refining provides one of the easiest fields for automation and new refineries now being planned are reported to be well automated.

Some Conclusions

In conclusion, we would observe the following:

The working class in Canada has grown in the postwar period—both absolutely and relatively. This growth is finding expression in stronger moves toward labor political action.

Changes in the structure of the working class point to the need for particular attention to political work among certain categories: women workers, working-class housewives, immigrant workers and those employed in the non-material sphere.

The steady expansion of the working class and "proletarianization" of farmers and other formerly self-employed people should not lead to feelings of complacency. The increased effectiveness of media of mass communication in the capitalists' hands, together with the rapid growth of the section of the working class which subsists on a share of the surplus value produced by others, increases the difficulty of developing their class consciousness.

Technological change, while cramped by monopoly-capitalist relationships, none the less is seriously affecting certain areas in the economy; and more study of it is needed, linked closely with the working out of programs in defense of labor's interests in each industry, and with the overall fight against unemployment which is bound to rise thanks to automation.

V. S. SEMENOV (USSR)

THE exchange of views in your journal has posed the question, a rather important one from the standpoint of both theory and practice, of the concept of the working class and its boundaries at the present time.

The Concept of "Working Class"

Some of the contributors extended the working class to include in it engineers and technical

personnel, office and shop workers and part of the professionals.

It is difficult to agree with this interpretation, and for the following reasons.

It is common knowledge that the chief sign of the class to which a person belongs is his relationship to the means of production. But this sign is a long way from being the whole answer to the question about ownership or non-ownership

of means of production. For Marxism understands the criterion of relationship to the means of production not in an abstract but in a concrete way. Engels, for instance, pointed to two main features of the proletariat: 1) alienation from the means of production; 2) sale of labor power. But the founders of Marxism-Leninism never confined their characterization of the working class to these two features alone, since these are typical for all wage workers—both factory and office workers, including civil servants. Along with these general features, Marx and Engels often pointed to the *specific features* of the proletarians. Their views enable us clearly to distinguish between industrial workers and clerical-professional personnel within the *general category* of wage workers

In *Capital* Marx explained that the specific thing in the relationship of the worker to the means of production was his direct unity with them, i.e., as an *immediate producer*.^{*} This means the worker produces commodities which the capitalist can sell but which embody more labor than he has paid for. In other words, what is specific in the relationship between the worker and the means of production is that he *produces surplus value, capital, for the capitalist*.^{**} Describing the essential features of the working class Marx wrote: "Our 'proletarian' is economically none other than the wage-laborer, who produces and increases capital, and is thrown out on the streets, as soon as he is superfluous for the needs of aggrandisement of 'Monsieur capital' . . ."^{***}

Basing ourselves on this statement, it is possible to define the working class as follows: *The working class under capitalism is a class of wage-workers deprived of the means of production, a class which sells labor power to the capitalists, and directly produces for the latter surplus value, capital.*

Do these *specific features* characterize the relationship to the means of production of engineers, technicians, office and shop workers, civil servants and professionals? No, they do not.

Office workers include bookkeepers, accountants, cashiers and other categories exercising the functions engaged in bookkeeping and kindred jobs. They do not produce surplus value, nor do they increase capital. On the contrary, they subsist on the share of surplus value created by the industrial workers. "Production and bookkeeping in the sphere of production remain as much two different things as the cargo of a ship and the bill of lading."^{****}

Shop workers, like the factory workers, are wage-laborers. But what distinguishes the one from the other is that "the commercial worker produces

no surplus value directly."^{**} Hence it is absolutely beyond my comprehension that the contributors Ardayev, Weber and Solodovnikov, while admitting that commercial workers and generally those engaged outside the sphere of material production "produce neither value nor surplus value"^{***}, nevertheless place them in the category of working class.

In contrast to the clerical and commercial workers, engineers, technicians and other specialists engaged in production take part in producing surplus value for the capitalist. But insofar as this category is concerned, we come up against the following problem. On the one hand, they, like factory workers, are wage-earners and create surplus value, capital. But on the other hand, they perform a function directed against the workers, namely, they help the owner of capital to organize the most effective exploitation of the working class with a view to obtaining the maximum profit. It is precisely for this purpose that the capitalist hires both engineers and technicians. As distinct from the worker at the bench the latter are not united directly to the means of production, nor do they use them.

Careful examination of the *specific relation* of clerical and commercial workers as well as engineers and technicians to the means of production shows that in this main and decisive respect these categories differ essentially from the working class in capitalist society. They are not directly united to the means of production, produce no surplus value, or else they discharge exploiting functions and, for these reasons, though they are hired employees, they do not belong to the working class. The same applies to civil servants and professionals, and for the selfsame reason. They belong to the middle sections, subsisting on a share of total surplus value. Hence teachers, too, should not be identified with the working class as is the case in your First Comment.^{***}

Certified engineers, technicians, clerical and commercial workers, civil servants and professionals form in their totality a category of salaried workers. Situated between the two antagonistic classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—insofar as the main class feature—the relationship to the means of production—is concerned, the intelligentsia can be identified with the middle, or intermediate, sections of capitalist society.

The Historical Role of the Proletariat Follows From Its Place in Production

The working class plays the decisive role in the development of both capitalist and socialist society.^{****} Whence this role of the working class

^{*}Cf. *Capital*, Vol. I; Vol. II.

^{**}*Ibid.*, Vol. I.

^{***}*Ibid.*

^{****}*Ibid.*, Vol. II.

^{*}*Ibid.*, Vol. III.

^{**}W.M.R., No. 9 (1960), p. 71.

^{***}W.M.R., No. 5 (1960), p. 52.

^{****}Cf. V. I. Lenin, *A Great Beginning*.

and, generally, its innate attributes and features?

Certainly not from the desire of the Communists, nor from some concocted theory. This follows from *objective conditions*, and above all from the specific place held by the working class in capitalist production. "The assumption that all 'toilers' are equally capable of doing this work would be an empty phrase, or the illusion of an antediluvian, pre-Marxist Socialist, for this ability does not come of itself, but grows historically, and grows *only* out of the material conditions of large-scale capitalist production. The proletariat *alone* possesses this ability at the beginning of the road leading from capitalism to socialism."^{*}

The proletariat alone is directly united with all the basic means of production, above all with large-scale machine industry. Lenin wrote: "The proletariat economically dominates the center and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism."^{**} And, as Marx and Engels demonstrated in the *Communist Manifesto*, the growth of large-scale industry generates the historical mission of the proletariat.

The numerous sections of salaried and professional workers are, like other working people, being oppressed and exploited by capital. They can, moreover, be exploited to an even greater degree than the proletarians. But this does not determine their class distinctions, objective features and role in social development. Once the salaried workers are not directly united with the means of production and do not produce surplus value, the growth of large-scale industry, objectively, does not develop in them the same capabilities, aspirations and features as it does among the proletariat. Consequently, the capability of waging an independent struggle for putting an end to exploitation, of taking conscious and organized action, a capability objectively inherent in the working class alone, cannot be attributed to them. That is to say, theirs is not that historical mission which is the calling of the proletariat. "The overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the proletariat, as the particular class whose economic conditions of existence train it for this task and provide it with the opportunity and the power to perform it. While the bourgeoisie breaks up and disintegrates the peasantry and all the petty-bourgeois strata, it welds together, unites and organizes the proletariat. Only the proletariat—by virtue of the economic role it plays in large-scale production—is capable of acting as the leader of *all* the toiling and exploited masses, whom the bourgeoisie exploits, oppresses and crushes not less, and often more, than it does the proletarians,

but who are incapable of waging an *independent* struggle for their emancipation."^{*}

It is clear, then, that to identify with the working class the salaried and professional categories signifies attributing to the latter features and capabilities which *objectively are not inherently theirs*, but are the prerogative solely of the working class. How, otherwise, should we treat the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the working class being the leader of all the working people? To incorporate the clerical and commercial workers, the engineering and technical personnel, i.e., practically all working people, into the concept of the proletariat signifies, in fact, abandoning Marxist concepts since in this case they would lose their meaning. And what about the essential distinctions between manual and mental labor under capitalism which are abolished only by socialism and communism? Does this mean that these differences can be erased by capitalism? And, furthermore, what about the Marxist-Leninist concept that the intelligentsia "is not an *independent* economic class" (Lenin) but an intermediate between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? And what about the intelligentsia and office workers under socialism? If under socialism we identify them with the working class, we shall be left with only the working class and the peasantry. And if this were so there would be no need to bother about overcoming the distinctions between manual and mental labor.

This enumeration of the problems that arise when most salaried and professional workers are identified with the working class, shows that, if this really were the case, we would *have to revise the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory*: the motive forces of the revolution, the dictatorship and hegemony of the proletariat, the class structure and class struggle, the antithesis and distinctions between manual and mental work, etc. But the grounds for a revision of this kind are wanting.

Furthermore. In recent years, as we know, the Communist parties in the capitalist countries have accentuated the need to step up the struggle to win allies for the working class, primarily from among the peasants, intellectuals and office workers, since in the aggregate the middle sections add up to between 40 or 50 per cent of the labor force in these countries. The same task is posed in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Parties. What then? It would appear that now the working class has practically nobody to fight for, since most of the middle sections are incorporated into it. For in Britain and in the United States the petty bourgeoisie account for a mere five and 12 per cent respectively of the labor force.

^{*}Ibid.

^{**}V. I. Lenin, *The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.

^{*}V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, Chapter II.

This shows that if we were to accept these extended boundaries of the working class, it would be necessary to re-examine the strategy and tactics of the modern Communist movement, which are based on the objective distribution of the class forces and, in particular, on the growth of the professional and salaried strata and their social and political significance.

Our impression is that some of the contributors want to enlarge the composition of the working class by incorporating in it most salaried and professional workers, and they do so from a desire to "support" Marxism which, they believe, predicted a steady numerical and relative growth of the working class under capitalism, which today is not the case in many countries. In reality Marxism-Leninism never envisaged such a simplified blue-print of the development of the working class. The founders of Marxism pointed out that there was a tendency in the working class for the industrial proletariat to grow and for the agricultural laborers to decline numerically. Hence the proportion of the working class as a whole in the social structure somewhat diminishes. In the United States the proportion of the urban and rural proletariat, respectively, in the total labor force was (in per cent) in 1870—28.0 and 29.0 (total 57.0), in 1910—41.1 and 14.5 (total 55.6), in 1950—43.8 and 4.3 (total 48.1). But these changes in the working class do not weaken it, on the contrary, it gains immeasurably in strength since it is the industrial proletariat that plays the decisive role in history.

Besides, the size of the proletariat is by no means the main yardstick of its strength and its historical role. When in the mid-19th century, Marx and Engels pointed to the proletariat as the decisive force of social development, the industrial proletariat in the leading capitalist countries accounted for not more than 15-30 per cent of the total labor force, while peasants (including farm laborers), were about 70 per cent or more. Marx and Engels drew their conclusion not from the proportion of workers to the entire population, but from the place which the proletariat occupied in capitalist economy, from its immediate union with large scale capitalist industry. Lenin wrote that "the strength of the proletariat in the historical movement is immeasurably greater than the share it constitutes of the total mass of the population."* It depends not so much on its numbers as on its place in the economy, its contact with the masses, the degree of its organization and class-consciousness.

And if Marx, Engels and Lenin spoke about the might of the working class when the industrial proletariat comprised but 15-30 per cent of the

overall labor force, what is its strength today when in the leading countries it accounts for some 50 per cent? According to official statistics, the working class in the United States accounted, in 1950, for 48 per cent of the labor force (including 44 per cent industrial workers), and in Britain, in 1951, for 55 per cent (51 per cent in industry). There is not, therefore, any need artificially to incorporate into it professional and office workers. The working class is now strong enough to fulfil its historical mission of grave-digger of capitalism and builder of socialism.

What Changes Have Taken Place in the Status of Professional and Office Workers?

As was the case a century ago, professional and office workers continue to remain outside the working class as far as their social character is concerned. But in recent years quite substantial changes have taken place in their status. And these changes are the soil on which the attempts are being made to enlarge the working class by incorporating into it professional and office workers.

The basic change in the status of the workers, on the one hand, and of professional and office employees, on the other, is that *their conditions are becoming more and more identical* and, what is more, some of the lower-paid office workers are worse off than factory workers. Much has been written about this in Marxist literature. But does this entitle us to speak about the fusing of factory and office workers into a single class? Can income, material conditions or the place held in the system of distribution be taken as the criterion of class status? For it is precisely this measure of approximation of factory and lower-paid office workers that gives currency to the bourgeois-reformist "distribution" theory, the myth of an overall "middle class," to the theory of the "disappearance of classes" under capitalism.

Approximation of the conditions of factory, office and professional workers does not signify fusing into a single class, but objectively, it paves the way to a stronger alliance between factory and office workers, for joint anti-monopoly action, because lacking independent interests and unable to pursue an independent class policy, the office and professional employees, when their conditions become similar to those of the workers, begin to display more support for the struggle of the latter.

There is also an approximation in consciousness and ideology between factory and office workers. But this is a result not only of the similarity in their material conditions but also of the monopoly-sponsored policy of aggression and reaction, of the arms drive and war preparations, of making inroads into democratic rights and liberties, which affect equally both factory and office workers.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

Definite changes are occurring in the working conditions of many office employees and professionals. It is true that in many respects their jobs are being mechanized. But the point is whether these changes affect their relationship to the means of production, thereby transforming them into workers, or whether they do not affect their relationship to the means of production and, consequently, leave office workers outside the class boundaries of the proletariat.

It can definitely be said that no changes have taken place in the conditions of work of commercial workers that could turn them into immediate producers, creators of surplus value. True, the existence of big department stores makes it easier to unite and organize these workers, but that is all it does. As for the clerical workers, they, too, have not been aligned with the means of production. Because bookkeepers, accountants, cashiers, etc., now operate business machines, including computers, they have not become either production workers or creators of surplus value. What does bring them closer to the workers is their better technological knowledge, but by no means an analogous relation to the means of production.

More important and far-reaching changes are taking place in the conditions of work of engineers and technicians. Today at some of the highly mechanized and automated plants in the capitalist countries, as the First Comment quite correctly states, engineers and technicians, supervising an automated line, are, first, directly united to the means of production and, second, lose the function of supervising the workers because the engineer "may not have a single worker under him."*

What should our attitude be towards these engineers and technicians?

Under socialism the answer is simple: the worker operating a machine or an automated line, and the engineer and technician supervising the line become a new type of socialist worker, performing

both manual and mental work, with the latter having priority. But this is possible only under socialism where engineers and technicians do not carry out exploiting functions, where every effort is made to remove the distinctions between physical and mental labor.

But under capitalism there remain a certain number of workers of the old type in the automated plants, and these plants need more maintenance personnel, specialists in regulating machine-tools, electrical gadgets, etc. And in relation to these workers, the engineers and technicians cannot but retain their exploiting functions. In this connection it is interesting to note what the journal *Die Arbeit* (Austria) has to say on this score: "Clearly, the technological progress will accentuate the antagonisms between mental and manual labor, because a process of differentiation is under way between semi-skilled and unskilled, on the one hand, and the leading technicians, on the other. . . . Technicians and engineers are becoming bosses' men and, with the sharpening of the class struggle, enter into conflict with the workers."*

We see, then, that no change has taken place in the relationship of clerical and commercial workers to the means of production, at least no changes which would make it possible to identify them with the working class. As to the engineers and technicians, this is a matter that necessitates further serious and all-round discussion. But it seems to us that only socialism, and only at its higher stage, will finally abolish the distinctions between the engineering and technical personnel and the workers. This, however, will be a gain for socialism, not capitalism. And no matter how advanced the technological equipment of some of the enterprises in the capitalist countries may be, these social problems will not be resolved. Without a socialist revolution capitalist society is incapable of resolving the antagonism between manual and mental labor, of abolishing the essential distinctions between these two kinds of labor.

*W.M.R., No. 5 (1960), p. 55.

*Ibid., p. 47.

L. A. LEONTYEV (USSR)

Questions on Which There is Unanimity

To judge by the discussion, it can be said that in all capitalist countries, as a general rule, the numbers of wage and salaried workers are growing, both in absolute and relative terms. Equally unquestionable is the fact that the number of wage and salaried workers in the non-production sphere is increasing more rapidly than in the production sphere. And lastly, the number of

salaried workers is, in most cases, growing faster than the number of wage workers.

Nor is there any essential difference of opinion as regards certain pronounced tendencies which have partly asserted themselves. It can hardly be denied that the irresistible technological advance is causing significant changes in the status of factory and office workers. As a result of all-round mechanization, and still more as a result of

the marked tendency towards automation, combined with the growing application of chemical processes in industry, the number of workers needed to produce a definite quantity of output is substantially diminishing. This is seen in the redundancy in enterprises switching over to automation, in the rise in structural unemployment in the United States and other countries. At the same time, technological progress signifies a relative increase in the personnel of designing bureaus, technical research offices, laboratories, experimental installations, etc. In office work and banking operations, in trade and in the various services the changes wrought are equally profound. Electronic computers and other efficiency devices are rendering the labor of a large body of clerical workers redundant.

Salaried Workers With and Without Quotation Marks

But if the factual aspect of the question leaves little room for doubt, some of the conclusions drawn from these facts have evoked considerable differences of opinion. One of these controversial conclusions concerns the question, to which class do the salaried workers belong—to the proletariat or to the intermediate strata? As I see it, the formulation of the question itself requires clarification before a correct answer can be found.

Official capitalist statistics and bourgeois science, as we know, lump together under the general term "salaried workers" an extremely heterogeneous category ranging from charwomen, watchmen and messengers all the way up to the directors of big firms formally working on a salary basis. Under the heading of civil servants we find postmen, telegraph operators and some railway workers, on the one hand, and the top bureaucracy, on the other. Indiscriminate usage of terms such as these gets us nowhere.

In this connection it will be in place to recall how Marxism-Leninism exposes the bourgeois apologist concept of the peasantry. As we know, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists and politicians depict the peasants as a homogeneous mass embracing the entire rural population, from farm laborers to capitalist employers. To this method of distorting reality Marxism-Leninism opposes a scientific analysis of the agricultural population according to the following class groups: 1) the farm laborers, comprising the rural proletariat, 2) the poor peasant semi-proletarians, 3) the middle peasants—small commodity producers, and 4) the kulak upper strata—the rural bourgeoisie.

When we speak of salaried workers, including intellectuals, a similarly concrete analysis of the status of the different segments of this stratum is, in my opinion, essential. It is necessary to

exclude from this stratum a number of categories of salaried workers about whom there is no doubt as to which class they belong to. For instance, capitalist managers, company directors and members of supervisory boards of share-holding companies, industrial executives in the big plants, etc., while formally paid a salary, are actually an integral part of the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie. They participate either directly or indirectly in ownership of the means of production, their income is one of the changed forms of surplus value.

Further, sections of the bourgeois intellectuals, whether professionals or also formally working for a salary, should be excluded from the category of office workers. This applies to a large section of top executives, army officers, persons employed in the capitalist state machine (the police, judiciary, government officials, etc.), in the propaganda apparatus (the church, press, radio, etc.), some sections of the legal profession, members of the art world, etc., closely linked with and in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

What remains of the salaried workers when these sections are excluded? The mass of rank-and-file office workers in industry, transport, communications, trade, the banks, offices, scientific institutions and the various services.

The Right Way and the Wrong

In order to place this extensive stratum of salaried workers in any specific class we should analyze not only the actual status of its different groups but—and this, I believe, is most important—we should determine the basic premises that could be a guide in examining the different cases. In seeking to establish these basic premises we turn primarily to Marx, Engels and Lenin, to their analysis of classes in general, and the classes in capitalist society in particular. For, as distinct from the bourgeois apologists and their reformist and revisionist friends, we believe—and we have good grounds for doing so—that the theory of Marxism-Leninism alone is a reliable compass in studying the complex processes of our time.

I think that the differences on this particular question are due in large measure to the fact that we tend to forget the point made by Engels in the preface to Volume III of *Capital* where he warns against the false assumption that Marx wishes to define where he only investigates, and in general against looking for ready-made definitions suitable for every occasion. "It is self-evident," wrote Engels, "that where things and their interrelations are conceived not as fixed, but as changing, their mental images, the ideas, are likewise subject to change and transformation; and they are not encapsulated in rigid definitions, but are

developed in their historical or logical process of formation.”*

Needless to say, this observation applies in full measure not only to Marx's works but to those of Engels himself and also of Lenin. If we really wish to understand the classics of Marxism-Leninism on the question that interests us, we cannot take phrases or arguments out of their context and treat them as hide-bound definitions. We must take the “mental images” of things and their inter-relations not in fixed form but in the process of “change and transformation” as applied to concrete reality. It is perhaps worth recalling that it is the former way which the opponents of Marxism-Leninism so readily choose. On this flimsy foundation they erect an edifice of “contradictions” in the theory of scientific communism, closing their eyes to the all-important fact that these contradictions are to be found not in the doctrine but in reality. The second way is undoubtedly the more difficult, but it is the only fruitful one.

Marx Foresaw the Expansion of the Working Class

To return to the question, let us illustrate the point by the following example. Marxism affirms that the basis for the division of society into the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the production of surplus value. The proletariat is a class of wage-earners who sell their labor power to the capitalists, who in turn use that labor power to produce surplus value. But these undisputed premises are not rigid definitions, they are rather concepts which are continuously enriched by the increasingly exhaustive research into the developing process of capitalist production.

Marx begins his analysis of the process of the production of surplus value, by taking the individual worker as the personification of wage labor, and after studying the development of capitalist co-operation and division of labor, he proceeds to examine the “collective laborer” all of whose organs consist of particular laborers participating in production.** With the transition from the manufactory to large-scale machine industry “a radical change takes place in the composition of the collective laborer, a change of the persons working in combination.”***

From this it is clear that Marx examined the concept of collective laborer, as of all categories of capitalism — and not only capitalism for that matter—on the historical plane. If one looks beyond the words to the meaning behind them it should be clear that with the development of capitalism the concept of collective laborer, and hence of the working class, is inevitably extended. For in order

to understand the significance of Marx's “collective laborer” concept and the relation it bears to the concept “working class,” we have only to remember that the struggle associated with the legislative determination of what is a working day is seen by Marx as “a struggle between collective capital, i.e., the class of capitalists, and collective labor, i.e., the working class.”*

The development of the social division of labor and social production inevitably leads to the participation in the production process of a vast number of workers of various trades and professions. New branches are continuously springing up in which wage labor is employed, and the various auxiliary branches of production, without which production could not go on, are enormously expanded. It is precisely here that the labor of the main mass of the salaried workers exploited by capital is employed.

What Are the Criteria for Defining the Composition of the Proletariat?

In his critique of political economy, Marx naturally dwells on the concept of productive labor upon which classical bourgeois political economy laid such emphasis. Marx's views on this question are of particular importance for us inasmuch as this concept has a direct bearing on the question of the composition of the proletariat — the class of wage-workers under capitalism. For Marx this was not a hard and fast concept. On the contrary, it is developed and enriched as he goes more deeply into the subject.

At the first stage, analyzing the labor-process abstractly, apart from its historical forms, Marx gives the following definition: “If we examine the whole process from the point of view of its result, the product, it is plain that both the instruments and the subject of labor are means of production and that the labor itself is productive labor.” But, as if to guard against possible misunderstanding, he immediately makes the reservation that “this method of determining, from the standpoint of the labor-process alone, what is productive labor, is by no means directly applicable to the case of the capitalist process of production.”**

And indeed as he examines the question further, Marx explains that under capitalist production when the product becomes a social product, produced by the collective laborer (i.e., the product of the labor of a combination of workmen, each of whom takes only a part, greater or lesser, in the manipulation of the subject of their labor), the concept of productive labor and its agent, the productive laborer, is inevitably extended. “In order to labor productively, it is no longer necessary for you to do manual work yourself; enough, if you are an organ

*Capital, Vol. III.

**Capital, Vol. I.

***Ibid.

*Ibid.

**Ibid.

of the collective laborer, and perform one of its subordinate functions. The first definition given above of productive labor, a definition deduced from the very nature of the production of material objects, still remains correct for the collective laborer considered as a whole. But it no longer holds good for each member taken individually.”*

Marx then observes that, on the other hand, the notion of productive labor becomes narrowed. Inasmuch as capitalist production by its very nature is the production of surplus value, that worker alone is productive who produces surplus value for the capitalist and thus works for the self-expansion of capital. This is followed by an example which has a direct bearing on the question we are now examining. “If we may take an example from outside the sphere of production of material objects, a schoolmaster is a productive laborer when, in addition to belaboring the heads of his scholars, he works like a horse to enrich the school proprietor. That the latter has laid out his capital in a teaching factory instead of in a sausage factory, does not alter the relation.”**

In this connection Marx refers the reader to Vol. IV of his work which treats of the history of the theory. And indeed, in *Theories of Surplus Value* the thoughtful reader will find some extremely valuable explanations showing the criteria Marx used in defining the composition of the proletariat.

Examining the duality of Adam Smith's concept of productive labor — in some cases the economist regarded as productive the labor that produces surplus value, and in others, the labor contained in the commodity — Marx points out that materialization of labor should not be understood in the Scottish sense as Smith understood it. The commodity, he reminds us, is the elementary form of bourgeois wealth; hence, he declares, the interpretation of productive labor as commodity-producing labor is far more elementary than the definition of productive labor as labor which produces capital.***

Continuing his analysis of productive labor as labor producing surplus value for the capitalist and working for the self-expansion of capital, Marx notes elsewhere that with the development of capitalism, when large numbers of workers collectively produce one and the same commodity, the relation between the labor of one or another worker and the object produced is bound to vary considerably. From his thesis concerning the collective laborer Marx draws the conclusion that “all these workers taken together (Marx here refers to such categories as navvies, workers supervising other workers directly engaged in production, engineers who work “chiefly with their brains,” etc.—L.L.) as a single collective producer, represent the living machine for the manufacture of these products,

in the same way as — taking the production process seen as a whole — they exchange their labor for capital and reproduce the capitalist's money as capital, i.e., as self-expanding, self-augmenting value.”*

According to Marx the gulf between various forms of labor, and particularly between mental and manual labor, characteristic of capitalism, and the distribution of these forms of labor among different people does not prevent the material product from being the *product of the collective labor* of all these people. This circumstance, Marx goes on to say, in no way prevents the “relation of each of these people individually to capital invariably remaining the relation of the wage worker, the relation of the *productive worker*, in its specific sense. These people not only *directly* participate in producing material wealth, but they exchange their labor *directly* for money as capital, and hence they not only reproduce their wages but directly create surplus value for the capitalist. Their labor consists of paid labor plus the unpaid, surplus labor.”**

The Army of the Working Class and Its Separate Detachments

Thus, if instead of taking a few isolated quotations torn from their context we follow Marx's reasoning on this question we will see why such terms as “proletariat of mental labor,” “the commercial proletariat,” the “banking proletariat,” “the stiff collar proletariat” (*Stehkragenproletariat*) have so long become common usage in Marxist literature.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing is that *the proletariat in the Marxist-Leninist sense includes all categories of wage earners who, deprived of the means of production, are obliged to sell their labor power and are exploited by the capitalist employers (including the bourgeois state as the collective capitalist), creating surplus value, and hence, working for the self-expansion of capital.*

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that the proletariat is not cut off from the other classes by some sort of wall. Its ranks are constantly being replenished by the ruined small producers in town and village; on the other hand, there is a negligible section of the proletarians who “move up” into the ranks of the middle classes, though their number is steadily dwindling.

But it is not this fluctuation alone that is important. The proletariat, while constituting a single class entity as far as its basic and decisive class characteristics are concerned, naturally consists of many different sections. Only by some curious lapse of memory is it possible to equate the industrial proletariat with the proletariat as a whole. True, in

*Ibid.

**Ibid.

***Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*, Part I.

*Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*.

**Ibid.

common usage a general term is frequently applied to the principal and decisive aspect of a given subject. For example, in speaking of the bourgeoisie we usually mean not the entire bourgeoisie, the big, middle and petty bourgeoisie, but only the big and middle capitalists. Similarly, the word "proletariat" is often used to denote the principal and decisive detachment of the working class — the factory worker. But this should not blind us to the fact that besides the industrial proletariat there are other detachments of the wage-earning class: agricultural workers, i.e., the rural proletariat, the clerk and banking proletariat, and the proletarians of mental labor. Incidentally, the gulf between manual and mental labor, widened by capitalism, should not be understood in the sense that physical labor alone is the lot of the wage worker, while mental labor is the function only of the bourgeoisie. As the bourgeoisie becomes a parasitic class divorced from production and superfluous to production, it is virtually alienated from practical participation in labor. The function of mental labor, on the other hand, is imposed to an increasing degree on the salaried workers exploited by capital.

Needless to say, proletarian status and proletarian consciousness are not one and the same thing. Experience shows that the level of class consciousness, organization, revolutionary activity, etc., is not the same for all sections of the proletariat.

The nature of the relations with other classes and the degree of susceptibility to alien class ideology also differ. We know that these differences exist also between the proletariat of the various countries, but it has never occurred to anyone to assert on these grounds that the wage-earner class in one or another capitalist country is not the proletariat.

All the differences between the various sections of the proletariat are the inner differences that exist in any complex social unit. They are inevitable historical differences. In other words, with the development of capitalism, the relations between one or another detachment of the working class are bound to change. These changes are taking place in modern capitalism, and, judging by the tendencies already apparent, will continue to take place. A direct result of technological progress at present is the increasing proportion of the engineering and technical personnel as compared with manual workers. This was mentioned by Khrushchov in his speech at a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU in June 1959, when he urged the need to revise some old conceptions. Speaking of automation, he observed that the ratio between the workers operating the automated line and the specialists who made it may prove to be 1:10. Of course, automation under capitalism differs in many fundamental respects from automation under

socialism. Nevertheless there can hardly be any doubt that the tendency toward a change in the ratio between the workers of various categories operates in capitalist society as well.

Under the complex impact of the two different factors — growth of capitalist parasitism, on the one hand, and growth of the social division of labor on the other — the proportion of the workers in the non-productive spheres, and especially in the services, also increases at the expense of the workers engaged in the productive sphere.

It is on the basis of these changes that the bourgeois opponents of Marxism who include the salaried worker in the "middle class" category say that the Marxist theory of the polarization of classes in capitalist society will not hold water. To answer them by arguing that Marxism does not postulate that with the development of capitalism the working class grows and a polarization of classes takes place would be doing Marxism a dubious service to say the least. But the attacks of the opponents of Marxism fall completely flat when countered with the real Marxist concept of the proletariat as a class embracing different groups of wage workers exploited by capital.

Does this mean that the "middle" or "intermediate" strata have disappeared in contemporary capitalist society? There are no grounds for such a conclusion. In the intermediate category, which occupies, as it were, the middle position between the two poles—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—Marxism places the small commodity producers of town and country, i.e., the bulk of the peasantry, the small artisans, shopkeepers, etc. The large numbers of what are known as professionals, who under capitalism live not by the sale of their labor power, but by the sale of the "commodities" they produce or services they perform, in the sphere of music, teaching, the services of the medical practitioner, the lawyer, etc., belong to the same social category.

From the heterogeneous composition of the proletariat an important conclusion, and one which does not usually evoke disputes among Marxists, can be drawn; that the principal detachment of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism is the industrial proletariat. Tempered in the crucible of large-scale machine industry, it emerges as the natural leader of the other categories of wage workers exploited by capital. It is the industrial proletariat, headed by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist Party, that is destined at the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism to unite all the other sections of the proletariat and rally around itself the broadest sections of the population to fight against the monopolies, for the general democratization of economic and social life, viewing the struggle for democracy as an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

Reviews

A Marxist Book on Africa

AMONG the more valuable of the recent works on Africa is the book written by the British Communist Jack Woddis, and published at the end of 1960 under the title *Africa—Roots of Revolt**. The author has made a serious study of the voluminous writings on Africa. In addition to original research, the author has made use of government reports, documents and other sources of information. Equally important is his personal contact with progressive African leaders.

While the book concentrates largely on "Africa south of the Sahara," particularly the part under British rule, Jack Woddis tells us that this does not mean that he is "subscribing to the view that there are two Africas with no interests in common." For him Africa is a single continent, and "the cause of the Algerian people concerns the people of Ghana and Kenya, just as the cause of the African people in the Union of South Africa is supported by the people of Tunisia and Morocco."

The book was at the printers during the stormy events of 1960 when a number of African countries gained political independence. This, however, does not signify that it is in any way belated. On the contrary, it is quite topical.

Woddis examines most of the basic issues which face the African peoples today. He deals with land robbery, the poll-tax, forms of forced labor, the problem of migrant labor and the decay of the old tribal society, gives powerful answers to those who talk about an African "industrial revolution," which allegedly has taken place under colonial rule, exposes the color bar and the slander that Africans are incapable of becoming skilled workers, and shows how the African peoples are standing up against imperialist domination.

Land Robbery

The author begins by saying that "land and its ownership is a touchstone for the African national movement" (p. 1). While the system of land ownership differs in various parts of the continent, the general trend is European ownership (i.e., monopolies, big companies and individuals) of most of the best land. In places like the Union of South Africa the Europeans own 89 per cent and in Southern Rhodesia and Swaziland — 49 per cent of the land.

*Jack Woddis, *Africa — Roots of Revolt*, Lawrence & Wishart, London 1960, 285 pp..

The seizure of African land and the destruction of traditional African agriculture have been accompanied by a decline or even elimination of village crafts and industries which find themselves unable to compete with imported foreign goods.

The land robbery, it can be said, is explained by the desire to take land because of the minerals it contained and the crops that could be grown on it (it should be noted that only a small proportion of the land reserved for Europeans is, in fact, used by them). But the main reason for its seizure was to ensure cheap African labor for the European mines and farms. This is the essence of the primitive accumulation in Africa.

One English writer, Basil Davidson, in his *The African Awakening* describes the result in these words:

"Whole territories, such as Nyasaland and Ruanda-Urundi, have become little more than reservoirs of migrant labor; and their consequent impoverishment is visible for all to see. Nothing in all Africa is sadder . . . than the great Native Reserves of the Transvaal and the Cape Province" (p. 23).

Perfectly understandable, therefore, is the bitter hostility which Africans feel towards those who have robbed them of their land and also why the land question has become a dominant point in the programs of all African national movements.

Tax on African Heads

Land robbery, however, was not sufficient to force the Africans to work for Europeans, and the poll-tax was imposed then. This is levied on every African male over 18 years of age (sometimes 16) irrespective of income. To pay this tax the African has to grow cash crops, or go to work for wages. All kinds of barriers are enforced to make it difficult for Africans to grow cash crops in competition with Europeans. Woddis quotes from an "African Labor Efficiency Survey" which says:

"When Europeans began to build the railway inland from Mombasa to Uganda, they were unable to induce Africans . . . to undertake the manual work involved . . . When taxes were imposed on the African, first the hut tax, then the poll-tax, work for money became a necessity on his part" (p. 49).

Evidence given by Europeans to Commissions of Inquiry on labor problems urged that "native

taxes should be raised to increase the labor supply" (p. 50), and one British Governor in Kenya declared: "We consider that taxation is the only possible method of compelling the native to leave his reserve for the purpose of seeking work" (p. 50).

Added to the poll-tax are local taxes: hospital tax, education tax, services levy, pass fees and other fees.

Thus the Africans were robbed first of their best land, then herded in reserves, deprived of their cattle, prevented from growing certain cash crops; and then the poll-tax forces the African to work for wages. Abolition of taxes is a major demand of all the mass anti-colonial movements in Africa—Sierra Leone 1898, Natal 1906, Kenya 1920's, Nigeria in the 1930's, and Northern Rhodesia in the 1940's. Widespread resistance movements have been witnessed recently in Sierra Leone, Uganda and other colonies.

Forced Labor

If none of these methods were adequate to compel Africans to work for Europeans, then forcible methods were used. Though the International Labor Office records that all countries except Portugal have ratified the Geneva Convention against Forced Labor (1930), this Convention has so many exceptions that the imperialists are still able to institute forced labor in many forms. Old and new methods of forced labor are still in operation in many parts of Africa—for "emergencies," for "essential" services, and other undertakings.

Compulsory labor is still encountered in Uganda and other British territories, until recently in French territories and in the Belgian Congo and the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi. The use of prison labor is a common practice in British colonies in Africa. Not so long ago slave labor was used by some private companies in Nigeria and there was traffic in slave girls, the girls being sold from Eastern Nigeria to other regions of West Africa. Forced labor in Angola is practised on such a considerable scale that Davidson describes it as "the flywheel of the country's whole economy" (pp. 68-69, 71).

Concerning the So-Called Industrial Revolution

Woddis supplies ample proof to refute the claim that an industrial revolution took place throughout the African continent under colonial rule. This "industrial revolution" has been compared with that experienced by Britain at the end of

the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, and later in other European countries.

Apart from the Union of South Africa (and to a smaller extent in Southern Rhodesia) there has been no large-scale industrial development in recent years in Africa south of the Sahara. This is confirmed as a result of an investigation in 1956 by the United Nations, expressed in a publication entitled *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara*. Two or three quotations will suffice to make the point clear:

"Industry of any kind, in the sense of production with power-driven machinery and a considerable labor force, is very recent and still confined to a few widely dispersed centers . . . The vast majority of industrially manufactured goods are still imported from overseas . . ." (p. 110).

This publication goes on to point out that industry in tropical Africa, apart from mining, "is mainly concerned with initial processing of agricultural produce for export, the plants for which are again dispersed in comparatively small units on plantations or in the ports or rail centers of the various territories" (p. 110).

Taking the process of production as a whole this United Nations memorandum comes to the conclusion that "industry in Africa has accordingly been built up with comparatively low mechanization and high consumption of low-paid unskilled labor . . . In urban areas the effect in general has been to produce large floating populations with low and insecure incomes, little differentiation in skills and education, and very limited means for material and social advance" (p. 110).

The African Working Class

The colonial economy has determined the composition of the working class in Africa.

Woddis expresses the view that it is somewhere between 10 and 12 million in number. It might be more, for this is the number actually at work at a given time. As a big proportion is migrant and seasonal labor he estimates that the majority of adult African males have had some experience of wage labor, if only for a few months.

As to the comparative figures of their occupations there are no official figures, except for selected territories. The table (below) for 16 countries, mostly tropical Africa, shows the distribution of African wage earners by principal occupations:

Territory and Year of Reference		Extractive industries	Manufacturing	Building and construction	Transport	Commerce	Domestic and other services	Public administration	Total
French West Africa									
	1954	12,419	30,779	42,670	33,134	51,210	21,123	107,626	298,961
French Equatorial Africa									
	1953	20,333	12,188	22,089	14,292	12,626	15,329	16,800	113,657
Sierra Leone	1954	4,901	— —	10,963	5,004	4,962	2,688	11,162	39,680
Gold Coast	1952	41,037	11,776	44,700	18,511	23,498	18,328	33,352	191,202
Nigeria	1952	57,688	17,923	35,392	42,335	20,579	13,129	53,181	240,227
Belgian Congo	1954	103,518	167,312	128,915	84,468	77,399	318,741	— —	880,353
Angola	1953	21,809	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	21,809
Mozambique	1953	5,025	29,866	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	34,891
Madagascar	1953	12,920	25,312	11,138	7,677	16,900	36,997	55,343	166,287
Southern Rhodesia									
	1951	63,805	55,729	48,971	17,813	— —	131,033	— —	317,351
Northern Rhodesia									
	1953	46,100	18,650	25,500	8,150	6,810	73,820	37,450	216,480
Nyasaland	1953	— —	1,400	4,300	5,800	1,800	3,200	19,100	35,600
Uganda	1954	7,922	24,414	45,448	7,625	6,245	28,486	48,408	165,548
Tanganyika	1954	15,453	19,669	16,373	34,262	11,428	50,946	76,334	214,465
Kenya	1954	5,448	42,754	19,411	34,355	22,080	44,274	103,709	272,031
Union of South Africa									
	—	491,000	436,029	107,593	98,367	109,600	830,900	— —	2,074,389
Total		910,278	893,801	563,463	401,793	365,137	1,588,994	562,465	5,285,931

This shows that the biggest number is in "domestic and other services" (p. 119), in other words, attending to the wants of the Europeans, and the second biggest in mineral extraction. From this the author draws the conclusion:

"The main characteristics of the African working class are those of a colonial working class within the sphere of a colonial economy and scarcely touched by the breath of industrialization. It is a working class which is mainly unskilled, largely migrant and only partly urbanized. It works in mines, farms and plantations producing the goods which the imperialists require for export. It works on the railways, roads, docks and airfields in order to transport the wealth from Africa to the West, and to distribute the manufactured goods sent in from the West for sale on African markets" (p. 121).

The scale of migrant labor is immense. In 1957 more than two-thirds of the African miners in the Union of South Africa came from other territories. After the mining disaster in Coalbrook in January 1960 it was revealed that only two of the 429 who lost their lives resided in the Union of South Africa. Nearly half the African workers in Southern Rhodesia and most African workers in Uganda are immigrants. Taking Africa as a whole the majority of those employed in the mines are migrants.

"In Africa," says Woddis, "migrant labor lies at the very heart of the labor system" (p. 105). This is an effective way of ensuring a constant supply of cheap labor force for the imperialists. Woddis cites a case, "typical of many," of the wanderings

of a man of 53 who had a working life as a migrant worker from the age of 16. During the 37 years he had worked as railwayman, miner, domestic servant, builder, delivery boy, steelworker and electrician, finding employment in Cape Town, Benoni, Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Pretoria and South West Africa. Thirteen times he returned home and on sixteen occasions he took up fresh employment

While, on the other hand, labor migration has prevented the emergence of a permanent, stabilized, modern proletariat—and this has meant a weakening of the working-class movement—on the other hand it has resulted in the majority of African males, in large parts of Africa, having experience of wage labor.

In many cases the workers have joined trade unions, taken part in strikes, become members of political parties, taken part in political processions and demonstrations. They have become new men, with enlarged horizons, an awareness of class interests and class solidarity, and a new national consciousness. On return to the villages they have taken with them their new-found knowledge and experience.

One of the biggest arguments of the apologists for colonialism is that the African worker is unskilled, and that low wages and bad conditions are due to his "low standard of efficiency." The author probes deeply into this charge and proves the opposite. African industrial skill is at a low level because wages and conditions are low.

Fact after fact is presented to show that the colonial rulers prefer to have an ample supply of cheap African labor rather than to introduce mechanical labor-saving devices. Industrial skill needs a minimum level of education but in the greater part of tropical Africa 95 per cent of the population is illiterate.

At the same time a growing proportion of Africans are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled work, but not at the European wage-rate. The monopoly firms welcome African skilled labor, but do not relish paying skilled-wage rates. This is borne out by experience in the Union of South Africa, in both Rhodesias, in Kenya, and elsewhere. Basil Davidson gives his personal experience of Africans doing skilled jobs "without its ever being recognized that they do them, so that they are not paid for doing them" (p. 163). In the Union of South Africa the African workers descend the mines several hours *before* their European supervisors and do all the skilled jobs without supervision—but without the European rate of wages.

Government commissions, medical experts, United Nations investigators, etc., have had to admit that the wage of the African workers is not enough for the bare necessities of life. He usually receives for a day's work less than a British worker is paid for an hour. Low rates of wages have continued over long periods of time, but taxes and prices have gone up, which means that real wages have declined.

In Kenya in 1954 the Carpenter Commission reported that very few witnesses were prepared to say that the minimum wage was adequate to cover the cost of living of a single man living under urban conditions—let alone a married man! (p. 188). The International Labor Review (July, 1958) point-

ed out that minimum wages in Africa were fixed "to maintain the standard of living of the worker alone, and would not meet the cost of maintaining a family" (p. 189). In Southern Rhodesia in 1958 the Plewman Commission declared: "... it is always the single adult laborer who provides the foundation of the wage structure" (p. 191). The 1958 Minimum Wage Order in Nyasaland states openly that it "does not take into account the worker's family responsibility" (p. 191). In actual fact, wages in most cases are below the basic needs even of a single worker.

Wage increases have been won by the struggles of the African workers. Woddis says that "the experience of Africa, like the experience of workers in all countries under capitalist rule, shows that it is not higher productivity which brings higher wages but the workers' struggles" (p. 181). Trade unions are growing in number and in strength, and the monopolies have been forced in many cases to make wage concessions.

For Woddis, then, the extreme backwardness of Africa is explained by the brutal exploitation of its peoples by the imperialists, and the roots of revolt in Africa lie in the desire of the awakening African peoples to get rid of this intolerable yoke. What is more, he makes the point that Africa, having broken the grip of imperialism, has all the resources for rapid industrialization, and the ability to travel quickly towards prosperity for its people.

Having dealt in this book with the roots of revolt in Africa the author is now working on a second book to appear in 1961 on the growth of the national-liberation movement and the problems facing the new independent African states. The political calibre of the first book makes one look forward eagerly to the next one.

Idris Cox

Capitalism in the Shadow of Doom

IN our turbulent times, when the pillars of the capitalist world are crumbling away and the new, socialist society is growing stronger, more and more bourgeois ideologists are beginning to ponder over the future of society.

They are ready to agree that all is not well with capitalist society, that it is caught up in a maze of contradictions. The optimism of the ideologists of the rising bourgeoisie for whom everything was for the best in this best of all worlds, has all but lost currency. On the contrary, confusion has beset the ideologists of moribund capitalism. Sensing that there is no future for capitalism, they preach pessimism, renunciation of the very concept of histor-

ical progress. Montaigne, the French philosopher, once observed that a man caught in a hailstorm thinks that the whole hemisphere is in the grip of the tempest. So it is with the bourgeois thinkers, who, animated by hatred of socialism, identify the inevitable collapse of capitalism with the end of civilization.

But if some of them pour their impotent hatred of the progressive forces into vicious slander of communism and the socialist countries and, contrary to common sense, take up the cudgels in defense of the capitalist system, there are also those who, though they too reject socialism, have not lost all sense of reality in appraising the potentialities

of capitalism. And a few actually admit its contradictions cannot be solved. It is primarily as an example of this type of sober thinking that *The Future as History*, by the American bourgeois economist Robert L. Heilbroner, is worthy of note.*

The End of Bourgeois Optimism

The book as a whole could well be called a farewell to the bourgeois philosophy of historical optimism, a dirge to the ideas of social progress under capitalism.

Heilbroner associates his rejection of the historical optimism characteristic of the bourgeois ideologists of the past and his lamentations concerning the "tragic" march of history with the decline of capitalism in general and American capitalism in particular, with the end of capitalist supremacy on the world arena. "No more than thirty years ago," he says, "the United States represented a form of economic and political society whose prospects and permanence were unquestioned. Today we find ourselves in a position of defensive insecurity. Who would have denied the brilliance of the outlook for the United States during the first quarter of the 20th century? Who can confidently assert as much in the century's middle years?" (p. 14). And saddest of all, from Heilbroner's standpoint, is that the decline of capitalism is not fortuitous, not the result of Communist "machinations" as the official propagandists claim. Things are much more serious than that.

According to Heilbroner, three main social forces determine the face of modern history. The first is technological progress, which has assumed especially frightening forms in the engines of war. The second is the revolutionary ferment in the colonies and underdeveloped countries. And third, the global movement toward socialism and communism. None of these is accidental or transient, but rather the inevitable product of historical development.

It would be too much to expect a profound, comprehensive analysis of these forces from a bourgeois economist. Dealing with the social consequences of technological progress, he mostly dwells on the technology of war, and only indirectly touches upon the root problem of the growing contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production in capitalist society. Of the national-liberation movement of the formerly backward peoples he speaks with an air of lofty superiority, permitting himself such crudities as the statement that a country entering the mainstream of free development displays a "schizophrenic attitude towards the world" (p. 80). Though conceding the achievements of the Communist movement, he speaks, contradicting both the facts

and himself, about the "utopianism" of Marxist theory (p. 43), and so on. But for all his methodological limitations and ideological prejudices, he makes many valuable admissions.

The basic feature of the social development of our times is the coexistence of and competition between the capitalist and socialist countries. Heilbroner simply cannot grasp the fact that the coexistence of two systems is the natural result of the unevenness of the historical process, owing to which the new social system, before it becomes universal, exists side by side with the old for a time. For him the correlation of military strength is the decisive thing. But the narrowness of his approach notwithstanding, he concedes that peaceful coexistence is inevitable. "The technology of war makes it impossible to contemplate the 'elimination' by force of Russia, or what is more important, of communism," he says. "Our 'coexistence' with Russia and with communism is in no sense a matter of rational political 'choice', but is at bottom a necessity imposed by technological realities" (p. 64).

Heilbroner is well aware that things are going awry for capitalism, that it cannot compete with socialism, unless it goes through some radical reorganization. And he is equally aware that capitalism cannot reconstruct itself. To save dying capitalism, revolutionary measures are needed, and the capitalist system is simply incapable of taking such measures because it is counter-revolutionary through and through, and all the revolutions of our time, as Heilbroner admits, are taking place under the banner of socialism. Being neither fatalist nor pessimist, he calls for efforts to save capitalism, to "improve" it as much as possible. But he has little faith that this can be done; he does not see the social forces that could do this, hence the duality of his conclusions.

On the one hand, he suggests rejecting the historical optimism and faith in progress which were characteristic of the bourgeoisie in its heyday. Let us face the coming storm, placing our reliance solely on our own patience and understanding — this is the final chord struck in this book.

On the other hand, he speaks out against the pessimism, stressing that the dramatic events of our time have their positive aspects too — the awakening of new nations, accelerated industrialization, etc. Thus the "blind and often brutal impact of the historic forces of our day" point in the direction of progress in spite of everything. "Only in our present situation, the West is no longer the spearhead of those forces, but their target. What is at bottom a movement of hope and well-being for the inarticulate and inadequate masses of mankind is a fearful threat to the deli-

*Robert L. Heilbroner. *The Future as History*, New York, 1960, 217 pp.

cate and now gravely exposed civilization of the articulate and advanced few" (p. 206).

In reality the only threat to Western civilization comes from capitalism. And Heilbroner, though he senses the doom of the capitalist system, cannot bring himself to renounce it, and this imparts a pessimistic ring to the book as a whole, despite the reservations with which it ends. Inasmuch as it is *bourgeois* society that is in question, this minor key is fully justified. The limitations of its author's concept notwithstanding, the book contains striking evidence in support of the thesis that the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism are insoluble. This makes it instructive reading for those who still cherish illusions about the stability of capitalism and who have doubts as to the outcome of the peaceful competition of the two world systems. That socialism will win in this contest is clear beyond all doubt to all consistent progressives. But for an advocate of capitalism to admit the unsoundness of the system championed by him is highly symptomatic.

Time Against Capitalism

Criticizing the policy of military gambles, and regarding prolonged coexistence of capitalism and socialism as inevitable, Heilbroner at the same time admits that time is against capitalism. This is evident primarily in the spread of the national-liberation movement.

The author feels that the colonial system cannot be preserved any longer, and notes that it brought immeasurable misfortune to the peoples. But the disintegration of the colonial system not only reduces the monopoly profits. With a note of alarm Heilbroner observes an "economic movement leftward" in nearly all of the emerging states (p. 76). And this movement is not fortuitous. Capitalist private property, "economic individualism," cannot ensure the high rate of industrial development needed for the backward countries to overcome their appalling poverty and ensure genuine independence. Hence, "every emergent nation, in beating its way to progress, must adopt a greater or lesser degree of centralized control over its economy, and the lower down on the scale is its starting point, the greater does that degree of control tend to be" (p. 82). This gives rise to corresponding tendencies in political life and, what worries Heilbroner in particular, growing sympathy for the socialist countries. "... Two peasant countries in the twentieth century have succeeded in making the convulsive total social effort which alone seems capable of breaking through the thousand barriers of scarcity, ineptitude, indifference, inertia. These are the Soviet Union and now... China" (p. 86).

Heilbroner is well aware that the bourgeois propaganda to the effect that the cost of this effort

has been too high cannot influence the toilers in the colonies since in the final analysis the only alternative to this revolutionary method of industrialization is a slow, gradual evolution which would spread out their poverty and suffering over generations.

It is not only in the former colonies that the influence of socialism is growing. Heilbroner frankly admits that capitalism has lost its dynamic, that to all intents and purposes it has played out its historical role. "Over the larger part of our history," he says, "we have faced a future in which our own form of economic organization, capitalism, was the triumphant and dominant form of economic and social organization in the world. This is no longer true. Today and over the foreseeable future, traditional capitalism throughout most of the world has been thrown on a defensive from which it is doubtful that it can ever recover. As a capitalist nation we are no longer riding with the global tides of economic evolution, but against them" (p. 94). One does not often find candor like this in bourgeois literature. Heilbroner admits that even "within the capitalist powers themselves, the unquestioned supremacy of the old capitalist ideologies have been challenged by a new set of guiding ideas" (p. 96).

Where does this challenge come from?

Primarily from communism. As already mentioned, Heilbroner hates communism and never misses an opportunity to attack its "cruelties," "indifference to personal liberties," and so on. But for all that he cannot but admit that the bourgeois propaganda about the Communist movement being a diabolical, destructive force is absurd. He even agrees that communism plays a progressive role, though limiting this to the sphere of industrialization in the underdeveloped countries (p. 98). Concerning the complaints of the "humanist" critics of communism, he observes that capitalist industrialization took a heavy human toll, and that the negative notions about communism current in the West due to hostile propaganda (incidentally, he himself does not question their verity) are "not so much the face of the new world as the shadow of the old" (p. 99). And indeed was not the revolutionary violence to which the dictatorship of the proletariat had to resort a response to the violence perpetrated by the bourgeoisie? Does not responsibility for the hardship and sacrifice involved in the industrialization of a backward country rest at the doorstep of those who retarded its development and who sought to perpetuate its backwardness? And, lastly, was not the source of the primitive accumulation of capital (and also of the capitalist industrialization) the plunder of the small producer, the wholesale expulsion of the peasants from their land, the blood and sweat of the enslaved peoples, whereas the sole source of socialist industrialization

is the free labor of people who have thrown off the yoke of capitalist slavery?

The weakening of capitalism, on the one hand, and the example of the rapid economic development of the socialist countries, on the other hand, make for the growth of socialist tendencies also in the capitalist countries of Europe. However, Heilbroner's assessment of the new phenomena in capitalism is far from scientific. The author is aware of the vagueness of the "socialist" program of the European Right-wing Socialists and even notes their conservatism (p. 110), but for all that, like other bourgeois economists, he exaggerates the role of planning and "collectivist" tendencies in countries like Britain and Sweden. In his view the West European nations are at the halfway house. "If they are no longer identifiable as the capitalisms of twenty years ago, neither have they attained an organization of society which would correspond to the socialist aspirations of twenty years ago. Instead we find the 'socialist' mechanisms of planning being used to buttress an essentially capitalist social and economic structure . . ." (p. 111). Heilbroner leaves the question open as to how long this "halfway" condition can last and to what it will eventually lead, but he is aware that the sympathies of the masses are shifting more and more to socialism and communism and that the negative propaganda of anti-communism is doomed to failure.

In the Citadel of Imperialism

Such is the general picture of the world as Heilbroner sees it, and it is against this background that he examines the prospects of American capitalism.

In his opinion, and in this he is, generally speaking, right, the American citadel of capitalism is far stronger and more stable than the position in which the European allies of the USA find themselves.

The driving force of American capitalism and the reason for its position in the world is the "enormous economic momentum" which has ensured the USA a relatively high standard of living. In this respect Heilbroner takes an optimistic view of the future. But even if he proceeds from the favorable premise of a high rate of economic development in the USA, he sees major difficulties ahead.

First of all he does not conceal the fact that statistical averages showing the rise in the standard of living cover up a shocking inequality in the distribution of income. And how can one speak of "democratization" of capital if in 1955, according to the official figures cited in the book, less than one per cent of American families held more than four-fifths of all the privately owned stock?

How can one speak of a "revolution" in income if the personal fortune of the millionaire Paul Getty estimated at 700 million dollars, is the equivalent of the personal assets of 200,000 fellow citizens in the middle-income brackets, or of some 350,000 households in the lower brackets? Confronted with facts like these, Heilbroner rejects the myth of "people's capitalism" and admits that the essence of capitalism has not changed.

But the point is not only this inequality, which is a legitimate reason for dissatisfaction among the majority of the population. The book shows that even granting a further rise in the standard of living as a result of the growing productivity of labor (and the author has no doubts on this score) American capitalism faces other problems of the first magnitude.

American economic development during the past decades has been lopsided and determined not so much by the intrinsic potentialities of capitalism as by the armaments drive. The military budget holds a central place in the U.S. economy. "Today the Department of Defense and its subordinate branches employ a larger number of civilian workers than the entire Federal government of a generation ago" (p. 66). The author cites data showing that the armaments drive is the sole refuge sought by the American economy from depressions and crises. But what about the future? The armaments race bring with it curtailment of civilian production, rising taxes and a declining standard of living. Another problem is the unemployment caused by automation. In early 1959 industrial production had regained its 1957 level—but it was turning out the same flow of goods with some 750,000 fewer employees. Therefore, contrary to the soothing assurances of the official propaganda, "there is no sign that this endemic weakness of capitalist growth has been removed. On the contrary there is every evidence that our growth is still subject to severe and possible protracted intermissions" (p. 138).

Moreover, the present rate of U.S. economic development is clearly insufficient to compete successfully with the Soviet Union. Comparing statistical data, Heilbroner arrives at the conclusion that if the present rates are maintained in both countries, the USSR will soon catch up with the USA not only in the output of steel and other items, but also as regards the general standard of living. Then, as the USSR outstrips the USA, revolutionary moods will grow among the American working people. "The patience of the unemployed, who waited through ten years of the Great Depression for 'normal conditions' to reappear, is a display of social docility not likely to be repeated" (p. 148). Consequently, the internal instability of capitalism, the pressure of the competition with

the USSR and the fear of a revolutionary explosion make it imperative to restrict private enterprise and go over to centralized planning.

Unlike many other bourgeois economists, Heilbroner realizes that the elements of planning and state capitalism in themselves do not change the essence of the capitalist system. Yet they cannot but impinge on the interests of the capitalist proprietors and so encounter stiff opposition from them. A new contradiction arises: the exigencies of life demand socialization of the means of production and centralized planning, but capitalism cannot take this course without violating its own fundamental principles and rejecting the ideology of "economic liberalism" — its main ideological weapon against "totalitarianism."

Besides, even a rise in living standards under capitalism engenders contradictions. Under capitalism the sole labor stimulus is economic compulsion, the necessity of earning a livelihood, and Heilbroner is alarmed by the possibility of this incentive being weakened by any growth of affluence. He finds that the U.S. is experiencing a definite shortage of people willing to do the "dirty work" of domestic servants, cleaners, or laborers, most of whom are recruited from the oppressed national minorities—Negroes, Mexicans, etc. And this problem may become more acute in the future. With the weakening of the economic pressures new forms of social discipline and control unknown to capitalism are needed. Naturally, Heilbroner raises this question in a highly abstract way. The capitalist discipline of hunger has not lost its sway over the working people, nor is there any sign of this happening. And yet the question is not pointless. It is not by chance that in the West the growth of the productive forces and of the national income is paralleled by the rising curve of nervous disorders and juvenile delinquency. The absence of moral stimuli to work — and a society based on exploitation cannot produce any—makes human existence hollow and meaningless. Capitalism, with its inherent individualism and primacy of the private interest, offers no perspective for the development of human personality. This is one of the reasons for the moral decline which is the lament of the bourgeois sociologists.

Technological progress under capitalism intensifies this "alienation" of man, crushes his personality and robs him of the joy of life. "In the end the question is: Who is to be master, man or his machines? As long as control over technology rests primarily on economic calculation, the victor is not likely to be man" (p. 161). American capitalism is becoming more and more entangled in insoluble inner contradictions. Nor is its position any better on the world arena. First, capitalism cannot solve the problem of the underdeveloped countries. On the basis of statistical data, Heilbroner draws the conclusion that while the discrepancy between the economic levels of the USA and the socialist countries is being reduced, the gap separating the non-socialist underdeveloped countries from America is increasing. "For if Russia is today growing roughly twice as fast as we, we are growing at least twice as fast as India, most of South and Central America and Africa" (pp. 163-164). This holds out the prospect of a strengthening of the Left and socialist movements in the backward countries as the only way of ensuring rapid economic progress.

The American imperialists are trying to find a way out by backing corrupt reactionary governments and trying to buy over nations with hand-outs of economic aid. Heilbroner, however, sees that neither of these means can save the situation. Military-feudal regimes cannot hold out forever, and the American "aid" is far too insignificant. "In no backward nation in the world are we responsible for the commencement of an ascent in any degree comparable to those which are taking place under communist guidance" (p. 165).

By showing that capitalism has no future, Heilbroner, involuntarily, also shows the inevitability of historical progress. History cannot be blamed for having turned against the bourgeoisie; the facts of life cannot be examined through the prism of senile debility. The blind alley in which capitalist society finds itself is but proof of the onward march of history which sweeps from its path all that is reactionary and moribund. Capitalism is being replaced by the new, socialist system, and this fortifies in the minds of the masses the historical optimism which bourgeois ideologists can no longer display.

I. KON

Against the Persecution of Democrats

MIAMI FABRICATIONS

ILLUSTRATED magazines in Latin America recently carried a photograph of a figure smiling coyly in the embrace of Richard Nixon, ex-Vice-President of the United States. No, it was not a Hollywood star, but Manuel Prado, one of the biggest bankers and landowners in Peru and its present President. This gentleman, always eager to please, has undoubtedly endeared himself to Washington. Prado worked hard, if unsuccessfully, to get the Latin American countries to join NATO. Assigned the job of entangling them in a military venture against revolutionary Cuba, Prado hopped from one capital to another—and was everywhere shown the door. Only the military dictators of Nicaragua and Guatemala showed any sympathy. And so the “Siamese twins” — anti-communism and fabrications — have been called in to help whip up public opinion.

In Lima, Prado gave comfort to a gang of Batista supporters whom he supplied with arms. These mercenaries thereupon raided the Cuban Embassy. Having received \$171 million in loans from the USA, Prado broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba, which act, he said, was justified by the “discovery” of a “communist conspiracy” in which the Cuban Embassy was involved. The wicked Communists, said Prado, were plotting a coup d'état in Peru and intended to do away with the President, the Premier, the ministers, army and gendarme officers, and Haya de la Torre, Right-wing leader of the national reformist APRA Party (who was then living in Italy). A long list of Peruvian personalities who, it was alleged, were involved in the plot and had received money from the Cuban Embassy, was put before Parliament. The list included the names of people who had died before the Cuban revolution (Benito Montesinos, for example). The Chamber of Deputies, however, expressed confidence in the deputies listed among the “conspirators.” By doing so it rejected Prado's fabrications. The government, unable to substantiate its charges, had to admit that they had been founded on documents received from Miami (USA) which the counter-revolutionaries had allegedly seized during the attack on the Cuban Embassy in Lima. The “documents,” then, turned out to be a crude fabrication concocted by the North American intelligence agency in the swamps of Florida.

In an attempt to extricate itself from this predicament, the Prado government rushed out a report

on “Communist infiltration” into Peru,* based on a fabrication by the Associated Press in the guise of a warning from the International Labor Organization on “Communist infiltration into the Western Hemisphere” (as a matter of fact the “warning” came from a branch of the AFL-CIO, the so-called Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor). This was a good enough pretext for pushing through, contrary to parliamentary procedure and behind closed doors, Law No. 13488 banning the Communist Party and envisaging from two to 10 years' imprisonment for anyone “encroaching on the democratic organization of the republic . . . or seeking forcibly to destroy it” and draconic punishment for anyone “attacking the military establishment or its auxiliary forces.”

The Communist Party of Peru stated that this law which is unconstitutional, in effect turns the country into a police state, paving the way for a military dictatorship. A statement issued by the Council of the Law Faculty of the University of San Marcos, signed by distinguished lawyers, points out that the law infringes “certain legal standards recognized or established by the state Constitution for all citizens, which guarantee equality before the law, the right to association, freedom of conscience, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press.” Members of the Bar in Lima declared that under the anti-Communist law persons charged with political crimes are in a worse position than criminals.

The Peruvian parties, including the Socialist, Christian-Democratic and the Popular Action parties, and many trade unions have condemned the law. A statement issued by the Christian-Democratic Party, for instance, pointed out that the anti-Communist law encroaches on freedom of thought, and hence is a weapon for victimizing people for their ideas, inasmuch as it metes out punishment not only for definite crimes but prohibits the Communist doctrine. The trade unions and the Peruvian Peasant Confederation in a call to the people declared that the law is aimed at preventing the people from getting back their oil, and the peasantry from carrying through a genuine agrarian reform. Demonstrations against the law and for oil nationalization were held in the departments of Arequipa, Cuzco, Puno and others.

*Archives of the Secret Police show, according to this report, that “international Communist propaganda” brought into the country between January and August 1960 included books with the titles *Arteriosclerosis and Coronary Insufficiency*, *The Structure of the Sun*, *Acclimatization of Plants*, *Soil Nutrition of Plants*, *New Research on the Arctic*, and so on. (*La Cronica*, Lima, January 6, 1961.)

The McCarthy-like law is aimed not only against the Communists. A witch-hunt began after the arrest of Raul Acosta, General Secretary of the Communist Party. Premier Beltran's newspaper is calling for a purge of the teaching staff in the universities. The Socialist Party has exposed the activities of the International Petroleum Company, a North American oil monopoly which, through its government agents in Piura, is trying to apply Law No. 13488 to the trade union leaders it dislikes.

The atmosphere in Peru is not unlike that which obtained before the advent to power of the military clique in 1948. But times have changed. Experience has taught the people. The country is in ferment and there can be no doubt that the volcano of popular indignation will erupt and bury the oligarchy. Be the reprisals what they may, the people of Peru will get back their national resources, uphold civil rights and win a better life.

Libertad ROSENDO

A LETTER FROM PRISONERS IN CORFU

DEAR FRIENDS,
Writing this letter from dungeons in Corfu, we send our warmest greetings to your readers.

There are still some 2,000 patriots and democrats languishing in the prisons and concentration camps in Greece. Most of us have already served 16 years. Sixteen long years behind prison bars! A whole life in prison! And only because we love our country and fought for our people. Just because we shed our blood defending our country during the German-Italian fascist invasion of 1940-41 and fought in the National Resistance—the glorious epic of our people.

After the Anglo-American intervention, the Resistance fighters were subjected to repression, while those who serve alien interests and who represent the reactionary oligarchy and monopolies, have been helped to come to power. These traitors are selling our country to the foreign imperialists. They allow U.S. militarists to build rocket bases on our territory and prevent us from establishing friendly relations with our neighbors, thus dooming our people to poverty and slavery. While the traitors amnesty German war criminals and release them, they are persecuting the National Resistance fighters and keeping them in prison.

Dear Friends,

The 16 years of malnutrition and torture have gravely affected our health, so much so that each of us is suffering on an average from four or five ailments. Death is a frequent visitor; and there have been cases of our comrades "being released" just before dying.

But though bodily health may be undermined, there is no force on earth that can make our spirit

falter or shake our convictions, for our hearts are inspired by the noble ideals of peace, national independence, democracy, social justice and progress. We are inspired by the struggle waged by our own people and others, echoes of which reach us through our prison walls. The support of friends helped the political prisoners and exiles in the concentration camps to hold a 48-hour hunger strike last December in protest against our unjust and illegal incarceration.

The venal regime is suffering from an acute and incurable crisis. The patriotic and democratic unity of our people is growing and their struggle gaining momentum. People of good will are campaigning hard for our release.

In this hour we again appeal to world public opinion which has spoken on our behalf more than once since 1945, and which time and again has restrained the hand of the executioner, and we call on all the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world:

Raise your voice once again to save the 2,000 Greek patriots, National Resistance fighters who for the past 16 years have been suffering torment in prisons and concentration camps!

Raise your voice again for a general pardon and democracy in Greece!

With warm greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Political prisoners in Corfu

(The signatures of 192 prisoners follow)

January 1961.

SUPPLEMENT

to "World Marxist Review," No. 5, 1961

The Socialist Countries In the Year 1960

(Review of National Economic Development)

THE data published in the socialist countries on the development of the national economy for 1960 are convincing evidence of the rapid growth of the economic might of the socialist world system. Another step has been made towards solving the historical task — to outstrip the capitalist world system first for volume of industrial and agricultural production, and afterwards to overtake the more developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living.

The fact that in the capitalist world the rate of growth of industrial production in 1960 was considerably less than in the previous year adds to the

significance of these figures. There has been a decline in production and certain crisis phenomena in the chief capitalist country, the United States, while serious economic difficulties have been encountered in other capitalist countries. The unstable economic development and periodic recessions to which capitalism is a prey are unknown to socialism; socialism opens up boundless opportunities for expanding the productive forces, for cultural advance and raising living standards.

This is confirmed once again by the data on the development of the socialist economy for 1960.

INDUSTRY

Plans Fulfilled

In 1960, as in previous years, the planned targets of industrial production were reached and exceeded in all the socialist countries.

For the Soviet Union, 1960 was the second year of its seven-year plan. The growth of industrial output for the year, set at 8.1 per cent, was actually close to 10 per cent. In two years (1959-1960) gross production of industry increased by 22.1 per cent as against the 17 per cent envisaged by the seven-year plan. During this period industrial output to the value of 11,300 million rubles (in the new currency) was produced in excess of plan, including 6,600 million rubles in 1960.

In the Chinese People's Republic the main industrial production targets of the second five-year plan for 1962 were reached in 1959. In 1960, the third year of the second five-year plan, the working people of China registered new successes—the annual plan for the production of the basic industrial items was fulfilled and in some branches, over-fulfilled. The volume of industrial output last year was nearly three times that of the final year of the first five-year plan.

In 1960 Albania and the Korean People's Democratic Republic completed their five-year plans, and Hungary, Mongolia and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam their three-year plans. The gross out-

put of Albania during the five-year plan (1956-1960) increased 2.2 times. In the Korean People's Democratic Republic the five-year plan (1957-1961) was completed one year earlier than scheduled, and for gross output of industrial production, already in 1959. The overall industrial output of the republic in 1960 showed a 3.5-fold increase over 1956; in Hungary roughly 40 per cent, in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam 4.2 times and in Mongolia 63.8 per cent as compared with 1957.

The Bulgarian People's Republic fulfilled its three-year plan ahead of time, the plan being carried out in the main in three years. Industrial output last year topped the figure set by the five-year plan for 1962. The annual output plan was fulfilled 102.3 per cent, the above plan output amounting to over 1,000 million leva in value (in factory prices as of April 1, 1956).

Annual plans of industrial output were successfully carried out also in the German Democratic Republic (100.4%), in Rumania (103.6%), in Poland (103.8%) and in Czechoslovakia (101.2%).

High Rate of Development

The industry of the socialist countries in 1960 continued to develop at a rate unattainable for capitalism, as can be seen from the following figures:

Rate of Growth of Industrial Production in the Socialist and Capitalist Countries
(in %)

Socialist countries	Average annual rate for 1951-1959	Growth of output for 1960	Capitalist countries	Average annual rate for 1951-1959
For all countries	13.7	app. 13.0	For all countries	4.8
Including:			Including	
The USSR	11.9	10.0	The USA	3.9
Chinese People's Republic	28.4	40.0 ²	Britain	2.7
Poland	13.1	10.9	France	6.3
Czechoslovakia	10.8	11.7	Federal German Republic	9.4
German Democratic Republic	11.6	8.3	Italy	8.3
Hungary	10.2	12.0 ²	Belgium	2.8
Rumania	12.8	16.9	Greece	8.8
Bulgaria	14.4	13.4	Sweden	2.5
Albania	20.6	11.2	Netherlands	5.3
Korean People's Democratic Republic	22.7	16.0	India	5.0
Mongolian People's Republic	17.7 ¹	27.6		
Democratic Republic of Vietnam	— —	47.5 ²		

¹For 1957-1960.

²Average annual rate for 1958-1960.

Heavy Industry in the Lead

The socialist countries adhered to their policy of priority development of heavy industry and primarily of means of production. In the USSR, with a general increase in industrial production of 10 per cent in 1960 as compared with 1959, output of means of production rose by nearly 11 per cent, and consumer goods by more than seven per cent. The task set by the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU to give priority to the use of the more economical types of fuel is being successfully carried out. The share of oil and gas in the total volume of fuel production reached 38.2 per cent as against 34.5 per cent in 1959. The increase in power output in the past year was more than 27,000 million kwh, which is more than the total power generated for the country as a whole in 1935.

The Chinese People's Republic, which held ninth place in world steel production in 1957, and fifth place in coal output, has now moved up to sixth place for steel and second place for coal.

Output of heavy industry in Hungary during the three-year plan period (1958-1960) increased by 49 per cent, and of light industry, by 34 per cent. Output of the means of production in the Korean People's Democratic Republic showed a 3.7-fold increase in 1960 as compared with 1956 and that of consumer goods, a 3.3-fold increase.

In Poland output of the means of production increased for the year under review by approximately

11.5 per cent, and consumer goods by about 10.3 per cent; for Czechoslovakia the corresponding figures were 13.1 and 9.6, and for Albania, 13.4 and 9.6 per cent.

Rate of growth in the machine-building and metal-processing industries was likewise high. In the USSR output in these two branches in the past year exceeded the 1959 level by 16 per cent, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy by 10 per cent. In Poland, output of machine-building rose by 16 per cent in the past year; in Czechoslovakia, by approximately 15 per cent; in the GDR by 10.4 per cent; in Bulgaria by 23.9 per cent, and in Rumania the output of the machine-building and metal-processing industries increased by 22 per cent. The proportion of machinery and other equipment to the total volume of industrial production in 1959-1960 was about 33.7 per cent in Czechoslovakia; 31.7 in the GDR; 27.6 in Poland, and 25.7 in Hungary. In the Korean People's Democratic Republic the machine-building and metal-processing industries showed a 9.7-fold increase in 1957-1960. More than 3,000 tractors and over 3,000 lorries were produced in 1960.

The chemical industry, particularly plastics, artificial and synthetic materials, was considerably expanded. In the USSR, where the chemical industry registered a general increase of 12 per cent in 1960 as compared with 1959, the production of synthetic resins and plastics increased by 13 per cent, artificial and synthetic fibers by 18 per cent.

Chemical-industry output in Poland increased by 20 per cent as compared with 1959, including a four-fold increase in artificial rubber. The output of chemical goods in Rumania rose by 16 per cent, in Bulgaria by 17.7 per cent, in the Korean People's

Democratic Republic by 10 per cent, and in the GDR by 7.3 per cent.

In all the socialist countries there was an increase in the output of such key items as power, coal, pig iron, steel and cement, as can be seen from the following table:

Production of Basic Items of Industrial Output

Country	Electric power (1,000 million kwh.)		Coal (millions of tons)		Steel (millions of tons)		Pig Iron (millions of tons)		Cement (millions of tons)	
	1959	1960	1959	1960	1959	1960	1959	1960	1959	1960
Total	418.2	—	1,320.5	1,427.3	92.7	105.0	76.9	—	73.3	—
Including: Soviet Union	265.1	292.0	506.6	513.0	60.0	65.3	43.0	46.8	38.8	45.5
China	41.5	—	347.8	425.0	13.4	18.4	20.5	—	12.3	—
Poland	26.4	29.3	108.4	113.7 ¹	6.2	6.6	4.4	4.5	5.3	6.6
Czechoslovakia	21.9	24.4	80.2	84.3	6.1	6.8	4.2	4.7	4.7	5.1
GDR	37.2	40.3	217.1	225.4 ²	3.2	3.3	1.9	2.0	4.2	5.0
Hungary	7.1	7.6	25.3	26.5	1.8	1.9	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.6
Rumania	6.8	7.6	8.0	8.2	1.4	1.8	0.9	1.0	2.9	3.1
Bulgaria	3.9	4.6	15.3	17.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	1.4	1.6
Korean People's Democratic Republic	7.8	9.1	8.9	10.6	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.9	2.3
Albania										
Democratic Republic of Vietnam										
Mongolian People's Republic										
	0.5	0.6	3.0	3.5	—	—	—	—	0.4	1.1

¹Including 104.4 million tons of hard coal.

²Brown coal only.

Taking the socialist camp as a whole, output of power in 1960 increased by 12.6 per cent as compared with 1959, coal eight per cent, steel 13.6 per cent, pig iron 15.6 per cent and cement 11.9 per cent.

The growth of heavy industry provided the material base for modernizing and expanding production capacities in the light and food industries, for the increased output of consumer goods. In

1960 as compared with 1959 output of the textile industry in Poland increased by five per cent and of the food industry, by nine per cent; in Bulgaria by 9.1 and 11.1 per cent respectively. In the GDR light industry output rose by 5.3 per cent, that of the food industry by four per cent, while in Rumania the corresponding figures were 24 and 13 per cent.

**Output of Basic Consumer Items in
Some of the Socialist Countries**

Country	Cotton textiles (in millions of sq. metres)		Footwear (millions of pairs)		Sugar (millions of tons)	
	1959	1960	1959	1960	1959	1960
USSR	4,978	4,800	389.5	418	6.0	6.4
Poland	594	665.6	77.2	82.2	0.9	1.38
Czechoslovakia	429	445	87.3	92.9	0.7	0.9
Hungary	227	240	17.7	21.3	0.3	0.4
Rumania	218	248	28.3	30.2	0.24	0.39
Bulgaria	178	218 ¹	7.8	7.5	0.13	0.17

¹In linear metres.

The volume of industrial production in 1960 as compared with prewar showed a nearly sevenfold increase for the socialist camp as a whole, whereas in the capitalist countries the increase was less than 2.5-fold. According to preliminary data, the socialist countries produced last year about 36 per cent of the world industrial output.

Technical Progress

For the socialist countries 1960 was a year of continued technological progress. Good headway was made in the mechanization and automation of production processes and in introducing new types of machines and new technology in all branches of the economy.

In the USSR some 2,500 new basic types of machines and more than 500 types of mechanisms and instruments for automation of production processes were designed and put into production. More than 2,800 automated and semi-automated production lines were installed. A total of 2,500,000 inventions and rationalization proposals, yielding an annual economy of about 1,400 million rubles (in the new currency), were introduced. At engineering plants some 70,000 machine tools, forge and die presses, foundry, woodworking and other machines were modernized. At iron and steel works the open-hearth furnaces yielded more than 1,000,000 tons of pig iron and 1,700,000 tons of steel additionally. The efficiency index rose 2.4 per cent for blast furnaces and 2.7 per cent for open-hearth furnaces.

Further progress was made in the peaceful uses of atomic energy and space research. Supreme testimony to the high level of Soviet industry and technology was the construction of space rockets and the first manned flight into outer space in April 1961. Earlier in the year a heavy artificial earth satellite was placed in orbit and a guided

cosmic rocket carrying an automatic space station launched from it in the direction of Venus.

The material and technical base of industry in the Chinese People's Republic was strengthened. Compared with 1957 the number of machine tools in operation more than doubled, as did the number of engineers and other technicians. A broad movement developed for revolutionizing technology, mainly through complete or partial mechanization and automation of production processes.

In Czechoslovakia the giant K-800 rotor excavator with a capacity of 1,900 cubic meters per hour successfully passed its tests. The first Czechoslovak mobile gas-turbine power plant with a capacity of 2.5 mgw was built.

The German Democratic Republic began production of the R-12 electronic computer and new super-sensitive instruments including electronic microscopes for nuclear research.

Poland started serial production of some 80 new types of machines and other industrial and transport equipment, and also put out about 110 experimental models of basic machines. The metallurgical industry made considerable progress. At the present time it has in operation 25 blast furnaces, 89 open-hearth furnaces, 66 coke batteries and 62 rolling mills. Power consumption per worker increased throughout Polish industry from 7,183 kwh in 1959 to 8,000 in 1960, or by 11.4 per cent.

In Bulgaria more efficient utilization of power capacities resulted in a more than 377 million kwh increase in power output over the previous year. Automation of hydroelectric and thermal power plants continued. Blast-furnace efficiency went up; average consumption of coke per ton of pig iron declined compared with previous years. In the non-ferrous metal industry more metal per ton of ore was obtained in the production of both copper matte and electrolytic copper.

New technological methods and rationalization suggestions were widely introduced and production launched of new types of machine tools, other machines, equipment and materials in the other socialist countries as well. In the Rumanian People's Republic, for instance, 35,000 inventions and suggestions for improving production processes were introduced.

Productivity of labor continued to rise in all the socialist countries. In the USSR it rose by more than five per cent in the course of the year while a shorter working day was introduced in all branches of industry. Taking into account the shorter

working day, the hourly productivity of labor increased by more than 10 per cent.

In the course of the year labor productivity in industry increased by 10.8 per cent in Poland, 6.9 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 8.2 per cent in the German Democratic Republic, 11 per cent in Rumania, 2.7 per cent in Bulgaria, six per cent in the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and 9.7 per cent in Albania. The increase of overall industrial output in all the socialist countries was due mainly to the higher labor productivity. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, it accounted for 62 per cent of the increase.

AGRICULTURE

The Success of Lenin's Co-operative Plan

Last year witnessed big qualitative changes in agriculture in a number of socialist countries. As the Statement of the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out, "in recent years all the People's Democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale co-operative farming on socialist lines."

1960 saw the completion of socialist co-operation of agriculture in the German Democratic Republic. By June the socialist sector accounted for 96 per cent of the land in agricultural use.

The reconstruction of agriculture along socialist lines has in the main been accomplished in Hungary. One million two hundred thousand peasants have joined producer co-operatives and more simple forms of co-operation. About 90 per cent of the crop area is cultivated by the socialist sector. Of this area the state farms cultivate 14 per cent, the producer cooperatives 72, and the more simple forms of co-operation three per cent.

Socialist production relations have also triumphed in the Mongolian countryside. With the completion of co-operation of the arats a single socialist economic system has been established. Agriculture is the principal branch of the national economy in Mongolia, and stock-breeding is the principal branch of agriculture. Last year 77 per cent of the cattle were commonly owned and 23 per cent in the hands of co-operative members.

Socialist agriculture has been further strengthened and developed in the other countries, too. In Czechoslovakia the socialist sector accounts for 88.1 per cent of the farm land, in Rumania 81.6, and in Albania 86.9 per cent. In Democratic Vietnam 84.9 per cent of the peasant households have joined co-operatives.

By the end of last year Poland had 2,091 producer co-operatives. The number of agricultural mutual aid groups is growing. By September 1960 it had reached 22,500 with a membership of 591,000 and was seven per cent higher than in September of the previous year.

More Machines

More machines were supplied to agriculture last year. Soviet agriculture received 266,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), 55,000 grain harvester combines and 66,000 lorries. During the three-year plan Hungarian agriculture was supplied with 19,000 tractors, 2,100 grain harvester combines, 19,000 tractor-drawn ploughs and other machines; at the end of last year the tractor fleet consisted of 40,000 units. In Rumania agriculture received some 11,500 tractors and 5,480 combines. In the German Democratic Republic the socialist agricultural enterprises had at their disposal 72,200 tractors, 6,300 potato-picking machines and many other machines which made for a high level of mechanization of farm work. In Poland the tractor fleet was 78,000 (in terms of 15 h.p. units).

1960 was a year of extensive mechanization of agriculture in the Korean People's Democratic Republic. By the end of that year agriculture had 12,500 tractors, 839 lorries and 49,000 tractor-drawn implements. The amount of field work done by the tractors was double that of 1959.

In Czechoslovakia the agricultural co-operatives continued to purchase machinery from the machine and tractor stations. The co-operatives bought on favorable terms 9,320 tractors, 2,222 grain combines, 2,372 silage combines, 5,360 binders and 2,160 potato-picking machines. Besides, they purchased newly made and imported machines—14,691 tractors, 1,416 grain harvester combines and 739 potato-picking machines.

Growth of Output of Socialist Agriculture

Thanks to the achievements of co-operation, mechanization and improved methods of farming, agricultural output in the socialist countries rose despite adverse weather conditions in a number of countries.

According to preliminary data the overall harvest of grain in the Soviet Union last year totalled 8,131 million poods* and exceeded by 445 million poods the 1959 figure. Cattle herds and the productivity of animal husbandry are increasing. The 1960 milk production was 61.5 million tons, whereas in the United States it was 56.9 million. Output of butter amounted to 848,000 tons, or four kg. per head of population, whereas in the United States the respective figures were 665,000 tons and 3.7 kg.

In Czechoslovakia agricultural output grew approximately seven per cent, with the output of crop-raising by 12 and animal husbandry by 1.2 per cent. The 1960 output of wheat, rye, barley and corn was 4,723,000 tons as against 4,586,000 tons in 1959. Yields of cereals rose considerably. The per hectare yield of wheat was 2,310 kg., rye 2,050 kg., barley 2,470 kg. and corn 3,040 kg.

According to preliminary data, the output of Hungarian agriculture between 1958-1960 surpassed by 11-12 per cent the average for 1955-57. Between 1957-1960 the state purchases of agricultural products went up by some 15 per cent, but for food, grain, pork and some other basic products the figure was below the planned target.

Some 9.8 million tons of cereals, 3.4 million tons of sugar-beet and 522,000 tons of sunflower were gathered last year in Rumania. Compared with 1959, the area under corn for silage increased 2.3-fold, while the yield of this crop rose to 4.1 million tons against 1.6 million tons in the previous year.

The German Democratic Republic also made advances in agriculture. The grain yield exceeded the 1959 figure by 12.7 per cent. The per hectare yield of grain crops averaged 2,750 kg., with that of winter wheat 3,560 kg., sugar-beet 29,840 kg., potatoes 19,250 kg. and corn for silage and green fodder 34,840 kg.

The 1960 agricultural output in Poland was 5.4 per cent higher than in 1959. The country harvested 14,242,000 tons of wheat, rye, barley and oats, 10,220,000 tons of sugar-beet and 37,766,000 tons of potatoes. Per capita production of these crops rose from 388 kg. in 1938 to 479.5 kg. in 1960, or 23.6 per cent. Adverse weather in the autumn of 1959 caused a fall in the yields of winter crops, but the 1960 yields of spring crops exceeded the 1959 level by 15 per cent. The head of cattle rose by 4.1 per cent and that of pigs by 12.5 per cent.

1960 saw an increase in crop yields and harvests in Bulgaria. In the space of one year the head of

cattle in the socialist sector went up by 15 per cent, while the production of milk grew 20 per cent, wool 10 per cent and eggs 2.5-fold.

1960 was also a decisive year in the advance of farming in Mongolia and in meeting the grain requirements from home production. Compared with 1959, the crop area increased 62.1 per cent and reached 265,500 hectares; 256,500 tons of grain were grown in the country, which makes 268.5 kg. per head of population.

In the Korean People's Democratic Republic the 1960 output of grain was 3,803,000 tons, or 1.4 times the 1949 figure and twice the 1946 figure.

During the past three years the annual output of rice—the main crop in Democratic Vietnam—averaged 4,740,000 tons, or 22.5 per cent more than in the first year of the rehabilitation period and almost double the 1939 figure; 345.5 kg. of rice per capita was grown—more than in any other country of Southeast Asia. Big advances have been registered in branches which are new for Vietnam: cattle-breeding, forestry and in growing industrial crops. Compared with 1957, the area under industrial crops has increased by 32.5 per cent. The country has 2,350,000 draft animals, and 3,648,500 pigs, or 1.5 times more than in 1939.

Accompanying the growth of agricultural production in the socialist countries is a considerable rise in the state purchases of crop and animal products.

The ninth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party pointed out that the 1960 plan for agricultural production was not fulfilled "because the country suffered the most severe natural calamities in a century following up the serious natural calamities of 1959.

"In the past three years, however, the organization of the people's communes has steadily improved and become more firmly consolidated. Rural water conservancy work has made tremendous progress with an increase of more than 300 million mu in the effectively irrigated area in three years. There has been a definite improvement in the technical equipment for agriculture with a roughly ninefold increase in irrigation equipment and an approximately threefold increase in the number of tractors in three years. The 'Eight-Point Charter' for agricultural production has been enriched and developed in the course of extensive practice. All this has not only mitigated the loss caused by the severe natural calamities in the past two years, but also provided favorable conditions for the expansion of agricultural production in the future. The great achievements of our country during the past three years show that the Party's general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's communes suit the realities of China."

*one pood = 16 kg.

THE RISE IN LIVING STANDARDS

Growth of the National Income

The rapid growth of production ensures a steady rise in the living standards of the people. This is reflected above all in the growth of the national income. The national income in the socialist countries is wholly at the disposal of the working people, whereas in the capitalist countries the lion's share of it is appropriated by the exploiting classes. In 1960 the USSR national income was eight per cent higher than in 1959 and amounted (according to preliminary data) to 144,000 million rubles. In Poland the national income went up by five per cent, in Hungary about seven per cent, in Rumania more than eight per cent, in Bulgaria approximately seven per cent, and in the Korean People's Democratic Republic 10 per cent.

The growth of the national income has made it possible to increase savings for expanding socialist production and improving well-being by raising wages and increasing public consumption funds.

Rise in Real Wages

Real incomes in the Soviet Union (per worker) rose five per cent.

The average monthly wage in the socialist sector of the Polish economy amounted to 1,660 zlotys—an increase of 2.4 per cent. In the Korean People's Democratic Republic the earnings of factory and office workers were six per cent higher than in 1959, or grew 2.3-fold compared with 1956. In the space of one year real wages in Bulgaria rose by eight per cent.

In Czechoslovakia the monthly wage averaged 1,348 crowns—three per cent more than in 1959. The rise in living standards was due in large measure to the eighth reduction of retail prices (on April 24, 1960) when the population gained about 1,800 million crowns in a year.

A number of measures effected in Rumania in 1959-60 with a view to improving the payment of labor resulted in a substantial increase in earnings of all factory and office workers. Real wages were roughly 11 per cent higher than in 1959 and approximately 18 per cent higher than in 1958.

In Hungary, compared with 1957, real wages and salaries per worker (including the share of workers in the profits of enterprises) went up 10-11 per cent.

Expenditure on Social and Cultural Needs

The well-being of the people in the socialist countries is determined, in addition to rising wages, by vast state allocations for social and cul-

tural needs (education, health services, pensions, etc.).

In the Soviet Union 24,500 million rubles were spent last year on education, health services, social security and other payments—the corresponding figure for 1959 was 23,000 million rubles.

Compared with 1959 the allocations for pensions in Poland grew roughly eight per cent, while the average monthly pension increased by five per cent. Expenditure on industrial safety measures and for ensuring sanitary conditions of labor went up by five per cent. During the three-year plan in Hungary the cost of services and public payments per head of the population rose 17-19 per cent.

Last year old-age and disability pensions and widows' pensions were increased in Czechoslovakia. Charges for electricity and for children attending creches and kindergartens were reduced. School pupils received text-books and school aids free.

Total expenditure on social and cultural needs made up: in the German Democratic Republic 18,900 million marks, an eight per cent increase compared with 1959; in Rumania 13,700 million lei—a 13 per cent increase. In Albania this expenditure rose six per cent and in the Korean People's Democratic Republic 20 per cent.

The health services have improved in all the socialist countries. Compared with 1959 the number of hospital beds in the Soviet Union increased by nearly 123,000, the sanatoria and rest-homes catered for an additional 12,000 people, and the number of doctors rose by more than 20,000. In 1960 there were 3,800 more hospital beds in Poland, and 2,500 more hospital beds and 1,500 more doctors in Hungary. State expenditure on free medical treatment and recreation in Mongolia rose by 15.4 per cent, compared with 1959. The number of doctors rose by 18 per cent. There are now 9.2 doctors per each 10,000 of population.

More Homes

Home-building continued to make headway in the socialist countries. At the expense of the state and the savings of the population 2,400,000 modern flats with a total of some 85 million sq.m. of floor space were commissioned in the towns and workers' settlements of the Soviet Union—the figure for 1959 was 2,237,000. Collective farmers and teachers, doctors and other professional people in rural areas built 625,000 houses.

In Czechoslovakia 76,300 flats were built and in Rumania 28,000 flats with a total floor space of 830,000 sq.m. Budgetary appropriations for housing in Rumania were increased by more than 1,500 million lei, or 50 per cent more than in 1959. Fac-

tory and office workers in the Korean People's Democratic Republic received 2,190,000 sq.m. of floor space, or 32 per cent more than in the previous year. The working people in the German Democratic Republic received 64,700 new flats and in Democratic Vietnam—over 140,000 sq.m. of floor space.

During three years Hungary spent on housing roughly 10 per cent of all the capital investment in the national economy; 130,000 flats were built. In Mongolia, 69.7 per cent more investments were made in housing last year than in 1959. In Poland the population received about 405,900 new dwellings, including 296,700 in the towns.

Growth of Trade

The growth of cash incomes and of the output of consumer goods made for the extension of retail

trade. In the Soviet Union trade turnover amounted last year to 77,700 million rubles—an 11 per cent rise compared with 1959. The volume of retail trade in the German Democratic Republic grew 7 per cent, in Bulgaria 11.6 per cent, in Rumania 16 per cent, in Albania 3 per cent, in North Korea 3 per cent and in Mongolia 12.7 per cent. During the three-year plan in Hungary trade rose 28 per cent. In Czechoslovakia retail trade went up by 7.4 per cent, and personal consumption—approximately 9 per cent.

* * *

The results of economic development in 1960 show that the working people of the socialist countries are successfully coping with the task of advancing the national economy.

CORRECTIONS

The following corrections should be made in the Supplement to No. 1, 1961, "Economic Development of the Socialist Countries":

Footnote No. 2 in the table, "Share of the Socialist Sector in the Economy in 1959-1960 (per cent)" and footnote No. 1 in the table, "Producer Co-operation of Agriculture (per cent)" relating to China, should read: "Number of peasant households belonging only to people's communes in 1958."

In the table, "Per Capita Output of Coal," the growth of coal output in China in percentage of 1950 was 688, not 661 per cent.

The 3rd and 5th lines from the top in column 1 (p. 104) read that in 1949-58 overall output of the machine-building industry in China rose nearly 40-fold. More exact data show that it increased nearly 41-fold. The 3rd and 6th lines in column 2 on the same page should read: "Output of the chemical industry in China had increased 26.8-fold by 1957 (compared with 1949)."

In the table "Growth of the National Income" footnote No. 1 referred to China by mistake.

In the table, "Capital Investments in the National Economy" the figures for China include only the capital investments from the state budget.

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