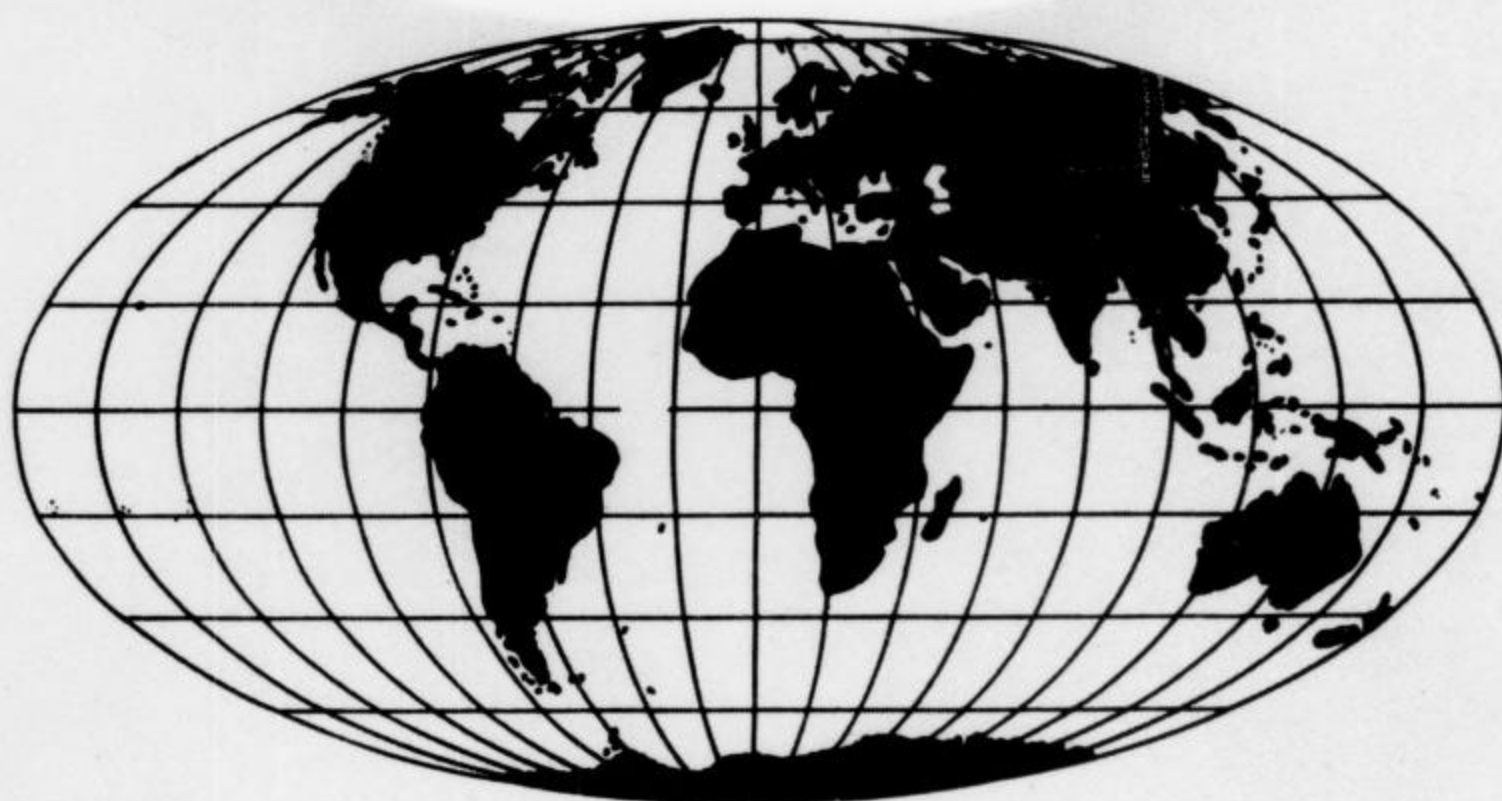


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

Concerning Revolutionary Situations

• —Santiago Alvarez

Paradox of the 'Open Society'

—Stanley Ryerson

VOL. 6, NO. 12

December 1963

35 CENTS

WHEN THIS ISSUE had already gone to press, the whole world was shocked by the news of the tragic death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States.

Communists, being utterly opposed to terror as a method of political struggle, are outraged by this foul murder, and extend their profound sympathy to the people of the United States.

The assassination of this outstanding statesman is a political act which benefits only those ultra-reactionary elements who are opposed to peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

Together with all sincere people everywhere, the Communists condemn the violence let loose by the reactionaries in the U.S.A.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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WORLD WAR II RESEARCH PROJECT

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE PROJECT

DATE: 10/10/45

BY: [Name]

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this project is to investigate the impact of World War II on the economy of the United States.

2. METHODS

The data for this project was obtained from the following sources:

(a) The Bureau of Economic Warfare, Department of War.

(b) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

(c) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

(d) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

(e) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

(f) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

(g) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

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(i) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

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(r) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

(s) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

(t) The War Relocation Authority, War Relocation Administration.

The Peaceful Way - a Form of Revolution

Luis Corvalan

THE Latin American democratic movement is following political developments in Chile with keen interest. There are two main reasons for this: the maturing of conditions for a revolutionary change and the fact that there is a real possibility of these changes being effected by peaceful means.

With the presidential elections scheduled for September 1964, the Popular Action Front, which consists of the Communist, Socialist and National Democratic parties and other organizations, is bending every effort to secure victory at the polls as the first step towards winning political power.

The election campaign is already under way. There are four candidates in the field: Salvador Allende, the candidate of the Popular Action Front, Julio Duran, the nominee of the Conservative, Liberal and Radical parties which constitute the ruling coalition, Eduardo Frei, of the Christian Democratic Party, and Jorge Prat, the nominee of the Right-wing Independents. If we were to judge by the results of the municipal elections held in April, the first three candidates might be expected to get 30, 47 and 23 per cent of the vote respectively. The appearance of the fourth candidate, who has no party backing, will, however, alter the picture somewhat. He is likely to poll anything from 5 to 10 per cent of the vote, mostly in all probability at the expense of Duran.

Needless to say these are only approximate figures. It should be borne in mind that the situation is still far from stable, that the distribution of the vote varies substantially from election to election, and that in presidential elections the tendency is for the demarcation line between the supporters and opponents of progress to be more sharply drawn.

That the aim set by the Popular Action Front is a realistic one can be seen from the following: a) Chile is experiencing a deepening economic crisis which can be solved only by radical measures; b) all the political concepts and economic panaceas of the ruling classes have done nothing to alleviate the situation, revealing the bankruptcy of these

classes and their system; c) the consequence is that the social contradictions, and primarily the contradictions between imperialism and the Chilean nation, are becoming sharper; d) the overwhelming majority of the population wants a change; e) the working class and other sections are fairly well organized and united; f) the international situation, thanks primarily to the growing strength and prestige of the socialist system, favors a revolutionary change.

The possibility of carrying out of a revolution and winning political power peacefully is determined by the following basic factors: a) the Popular Action Front is a closely united coalition of parties with an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal program in keeping with the objective requirements of social development and the interests and aspirations of the majority of the population and is in a position to unite, through militant mass actions, the forces needed for victory; b) in the conditions of growing mass struggle and polarization of forces, Chile's electoral system, its limitations notwithstanding, affords an opportunity to use the presidential elections to set up a people's government; c) the desire evinced by the majority of the nation for a change is associated with the conviction that the change, beginning with the establishment of a people's government, can be effected by peaceful means; d) the bourgeois-democratic traditions and the popular struggle to defend and extend civil rights are an obstacle to the ultra-reactionaries for they facilitate resistance to attempts at engineering putsches and involving the armed forces in adventures.

The direction in which the popular movement is developing and its scale may make it possible to use the coming presidential election to establish a national-liberation government by peaceful means. This, of course, is still only a possibility, for it is impossible to predict what will be the outcome of the struggle. Nor is there any absolute certainty that the elections will take place. Be that as it may this is the direction in which things are developing.

The dogmatists, with the unenviable sup-

port of the Trotskyites, are doing their utmost to discredit the Marxist-Leninist thesis concerning the peaceful way, shamelessly identifying it with revisionism and reformism and claiming that it is tantamount to renouncing revolution. Invective is hurled against those Communist parties which believe that it may be possible to effect revolutionary changes in their countries by peaceful means. It is nothing to them that these parties are leading the struggle waged by the masses for their demands, that by making this mass struggle the cornerstone of their policy the parties have made substantial headway, achieving success in building unity and in organizing and advancing the revolutionary movement; that these parties are the main force confronting the enemy and often the target of the enemy's heaviest blows. The dogmatists speculate on one thing only, that these parties are not waging an armed struggle on the barricades; they completely ignore the fact that the parties they criticize have always fought and are resolved to continue fighting by whatever means the situation demands—with or without recourse to arms—but always together with the masses.

The Communist Party of Chile, like all the fraternal parties, stands for revolution. In the present situation it is working towards this goal by peaceful means. Our Party holds that elaboration and implementation of the thesis concerning the peaceful way are only in the initial phase, that there is much more to be said and done on this score. We hold that a study of the experience of the parties is useful for all Communists, and that our own experience, too, may be a contribution to an examination of some of the questions involved.

The Peaceful Path of Struggle and the Elections

In our time situations may arise in some countries when election campaigns can be a means of winning political power.

In many cases the reactionary classes are unable to maintain their rule within the framework of bourgeois democracy. Because of this we see despotic regimes in many capitalist countries, an orientation on "strong-man" government, curtailment of democratic freedoms, the Communist Party and other progressive parties banned, reactionary changes made in electoral laws, and elections either postponed, turned into a farce, or declared null and void whenever the results go against the reactionaries.

The underlying reason for all this is the

rapid growth of popular democratic sentiment and the powerful influence exerted by the ideas of socialism, thanks to which the masses are slipping away from the grip of the reactionary classes and are likely to voice their desire for change through a general election.

Consequently, wherever the working class is able to build a broad popular front and preserve civil liberties and a more or less democratic electoral system, it is in a position to isolate the ultra-reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Communists use all elections to rally the masses. In the course of the election campaign and as a result of the vote a favorable situation may be created for the decisive victory of the working class and of the people generally in their struggle to win political power. In Chile, the Communist Party and its allies in the Popular Action Front, although they may be able to strengthen their position in Parliament (they now have 26 per cent of the seats), above all associate (but do not identify) their chances of victory with the presidential elections inasmuch as the executive branch, owing to its prerogatives, is the nerve center of political power in the country. Hence the presidential election activates the political forces as no other election does, and compels them to define their stand. In the event of no candidate receiving an absolute majority, the National Congress elects to the presidency one of the two candidates with the largest number of votes; if the choice falls on a democrat, a democratic government can be formed. Thus there is the possibility that the victory will be awarded to the peoples' candidate even if he only has a plurality, provided, of course, that the masses are behind him.

In all circumstances, however, elections are only a component of the overall class struggle waged by big sections of the population against the reactionaries. Were they regarded as something apart from the struggle of the masses, were the campaign reduced merely to boosting a candidate and a program, and if the immediate issues were allowed to overshadow the ultimate goal, then the danger of going off on a reformist tangent would be a very real one. The basic thing is and will always be the mobilization of the masses to fight for their vital rights, for economic and political aims in keeping with the requirements of the day. Elections can yield good results if the various aspects of the mass political struggle are combined in a single whole and if the ensuing conditions enable the popular discontent to find expression in the voting.

Needless to say, the peaceful way is not necessarily bound up with elections. After the February revolution in Russia Lenin envisaged the possibility of peaceful transition to the socialist revolution by advancing the slogan "All Power to the Soviets," and by winning the majority in the Soviets. But the way in which this majority for socialism was visualized was not the election of delegates in the manner prescribed by bourgeois law, but the naming of their spokesmen by the workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors in a revolutionary situation.

In a situation marked by deep political crisis the revolution may, then, take a peaceful course without the agency of elections. When the Communist Party of Spain posed the question of a peaceful nationwide strike with a view to overthrowing Franco, it did not have elections in mind, at least not at the initial stage, but the possibility of effecting revolutionary changes without recourse to armed uprising and civil war.

The Communist parties are opposed as a matter of principle to military coups, of which there have been so many in Latin America. They hold that seizure of power without the backing of the masses is adventurism. But they also regard this question in the light of the concrete situation. In the case of a *fait accompli* they approach it as such. If the coup serves reactionary ends, they oppose it. If it is carried out by the progressive capitalists or the small bourgeoisie and offers the slightest opportunity to make things better for the population at large, the Communists work to rally the masses to channel the regime along democratic lines. As a result the people, in given conditions, can by active political struggle bring about certain social changes without resorting to armed uprising or civil war.

All revolutions whether democratic or socialist, have certain common features on which their chances of victory depend. As regards forms, life has evolved a multitude of these and is bound to produce still more. Lenin said: "Marx did not tie his own hands, or the hands of coming leaders of the socialist revolution, as regards the forms, methods and ways of carrying out the revolution, for he knew full well what a multitude of new problems would then arise, how the entire situation would change in the course of revolution, how often and how radically the situation would change in the course of the revolution."

The same social processes assume different features in different countries. The differences

stem from the particular situations. Apart from there being the peaceful and the non-peaceful way, each of these, too, takes diverse forms. Revolutionaries cannot choose at will which way to follow, or the form of coming to power; the choice is determined by the specific conditions in which they work.

The Non-Violent Way is the Way of Mass Struggle

Maximum effort to rally the masses to fight for their economic and social demands, to safeguard and extend civil liberties and for other political aims, utilizing every opportunity for militant action and the rallying of ever bigger sections of the people around the working class—these are the general prerequisites of successful advance along the peaceful path to power.

As we have said, the presidential election campaign has already begun. But our people are not passively waiting for the results of the polling or are engrossed in electioneering alone. Between March and September this year the workers in seven branches of industry downed tools in strikes totalling 1,372,000 man-days. Squatters seized plots of land on which to build homes for themselves. Many demonstrations and strikes were held in protest against the government-sponsored bill aimed at curtailing freedom of the press (the "gag law").

The mass struggle ranges from strikes, sit-down strikes included, marches to the principal cities, street demonstrations and public meetings to seizure of parks and other Government-owned land and a variety of other methods of struggle. The peasants, too, use strikes and marches to the towns as a means of struggle, and sometimes they seize land. For students the usual thing is street demonstrations combined with sit-downs in educational establishments. In the provinces where the working people are particularly hard hit by the crisis there have been many general work stoppages and the national flag has been flown at half-mast as a token of protest. Members of the state-sponsored housing cooperative of whom there are about 86,000 have declared rent strikes. Small shopkeepers replied to the exorbitant taxation by closing their shops. In a word, all sections affected by the crisis are taking mass action; many of these actions are sporadic and uncoordinated, but there is also a good measure of unity. As a rule, methods of struggle typical of the working class are employed.

Needless to say, the mass movement has its ups and downs and suffers from a number of weaknesses. At times the diffusion of forces

and enemy intrigue make it rather difficult to organize and co-ordinate the struggle. Still, it has gathered momentum and is continuing to grow. The mass actions are steadily acquiring a wider scale and a greater degree of militancy.

Irrespective of the immediate aims of these actions, they all are part of the general political and social movement for the reconstruction of society by peaceful means. In this struggle the masses are learning to distinguish friends from enemies, and are coming to realize that their problems can be solved only through radical change, through far-reaching reforms and the establishment of a people's government.

Proceeding from the Leninist definition of what is meant by the "masses" in a pre-revolutionary situation, Comrade Orlando Millas in his report to the June 1963 meeting of our Central Committee stressed the need to rally the majority of the people to fight for their demands and the formation of a government of a new type. The election campaign, too, is a matter of rallying the masses. We have enlisted in this work far more people than the total membership of the parties affiliated to the Popular Action Front; in the election committees alone, tens of thousands of non-party people are working side by side with members of the various parties.

The plight in which our country finds itself stems from the structural crisis caused by the grip of the latifundists and the foreign monopolies on our economy. The situation is aggravated by the policy imposed on us by the International Monetary Fund. Consequently, the struggle is essentially of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly nature. From time to time there have been direct clashes with imperialism. This has happened each time the U.S. monopolies tried to lay hands on our soil or to evade taxes, and also when the International Monetary Fund wanted to devalue our currency. On these issues resistance to the imperialists acquires a scale extending also to the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. So far the repeated attempts made by the imperialists to gain control over Chilean oil have been frustrated.

In most cases the mass struggle proceeds within the legal framework which the working people have won in their struggle against capitalism, but very often it transcends these bounds. According to data given in a presidential message to the National Congress in 1962, more than three times as many factory and office workers took part in so-called unofficial strikes as in "legitimate"

stoppages. As for the seizure of lots for home building, this of course does not enjoy the blessings of bourgeois law the basic principle of which is protection of private property. The same applies to seizure of land by the Indians and the peasants generally. It should be mentioned that in recent years more than 100,000 families have obtained lots for home-building and nearly 240,000 hectares of land has been acquired by the peasants and Indians through struggle, including direct seizure of land.

In the course of this many-sided struggle the masses are consolidating their positions and laying the groundwork for further advance toward winning power by peaceful means. Besides gains there have, of course, been failures, and victory has alternated with compromise. But all these facts taken together show that the Chinese leaders have no grounds whatsoever for associating the peaceful way with reformism, or for qualifying it as lulling the masses and conciliation with imperialism and the home reactionaries.

The peaceful way, we repeat, is the way of mass revolutionary struggle. Seen in this light, it has nothing whatever in common with reformism; moreover, far from precluding compulsion it presupposes the use of some forms of coercion. The fact is that even calling on the masses to take action and any pressure exerted by the masses can be described as coercion; what is decisive is not the rights and wrongs of a situation, but who is the stronger. In upholding the peaceful way our Party aims at solving the tasks of the revolution without civil war or armed uprising. On the other hand, whether a struggle is revolutionary or not is not determined exclusively (and often not even mainly) by the number of violent actions, by the predominance or absence of armed struggle. Regardless of whether it proceeds along peaceful lines or not, it is revolutionary if it takes the form of mass action and if the aim is the winning of political power by the people and the revolutionary reconstruction of all spheres of life — in a word, if the object is revolution, not mere reforms.

The Choice of Ways

The manner in which the question of the peaceful way is posed today is finding more and more substantiation. This way clearly differs from the non-peaceful way only insofar as armed action is not the basic means of struggle. In each of these ways elements of the other may be employed, but in both cases (and this is most important) the same

general principles as regards the role of the masses, the working class and the worker-peasant alliance are valid.

It is equally clear that as the revolutionary process develops it may become expedient and imperative to go over from one path to the other. Hence the need to be prepared for all possible changes in the situation and to master all forms of struggle.

In some cases the dogmatists concur, if only formally, with the thesis concerning the peaceful way, but in doing so they insist, distorting the letter and spirit of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, that the choice depends solely on the actions of the enemy. "The path to socialism depends not on the proletariat but on the bourgeoisie," the leaders of the Communist Party of China declared in a recent letter to the Central Committee of our Party. This is a distortion of the same order as that contained in the collection of articles *Long Live Leninism!* concerning the problem of war and peace; the decision here, the symposium holds in effect, rests with the imperialist general staffs.

The 81-Party statement points out, firstly, that the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party, seek to carry out the socialist revolution by peaceful means and, secondly, that *in situations marked by fierce resistance on the part of the reactionary classes*, the sharpness and forms of the class struggle depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance offered by the reactionary elements to the overwhelming majority of the people and on the use of violence by these elements at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

But the choice of the way is not regarded as depending only on the volition of the enemy or his resistance. For the working class and the people generally, seeking to carry out the revolution by peaceful means, at the same time exert every effort to tie the hands of the reactionaries, to foil their designs and make it impossible for them to resort to violence; at any rate, they work to channel the struggle in the direction most advantageous for themselves.

The ruling classes in Chile are not at all certain that they will come out on top in the coming election. Hence, relying on their parliamentary majority, they are trying to push through the "gag law" and other undemocratic constitutional reforms. Moreover, in an exigency they may lend support to the Christian Democrat candidate in the hope that even if he does not completely satisfy them

this might prevent the revolutionary forces from coming to power.

The extreme reactionaries are staking on a coup, which they may well essay before the elections.

In the event of these maneuvers failing—and the people, naturally, are working to foil them—and in the event of the Popular Action Front winning the election, the reactionaries will no doubt resort to other machinations to prevent the formation of a people's government. And even if these obstacles are overcome, if the people win the election and set up their government, there will be other crucial tests ahead — counter-revolutionary attempts to regain power. Needless to say, the U.S. imperialists will have a hand in such maneuvers.

The road ahead is by no means free of obstacles. Hence, while constantly bearing in mind the possibility of developments taking a peaceful course, we are on guard against deluding ourselves into overestimating the chances.

Consequently, we must be prepared for every possible turn in the march of events. The Communists, Socialists and the other parties of the Popular Action Front and their presidential candidate emphasize this point, urging the people to be vigilant and ready to counter, using whatever means the situation may demand, every move the enemy may make to prevent or nullify, the people's victory, or to overthrow the people's government once it has been formed. There are, of course, many other aspects which the forces leading the mass movement must take into account.

But it is not only a matter of the popular movement being prepared for difficult battles and sacrifice. Things are not as simple as that. For the tactics applicable to future situations cannot be fully defined today. Possible changes in the enemy's positions may necessitate shifts from one type of struggle to another, depending on the situation, which also determines the immediate aims.

In 1939 the Rights enlisted a group of high-ranking army officers in a gamble aimed at overthrowing the government of Pedro Aguirre Cerda. This move was countered by a powerful upsurge of the mass movement, with the working class downing tools, coming out onto the streets and taking over key positions, and, together with other sections of the population, putting an end to the gamble.

In 1947 a situation of quite another kind arose. The U.S. imperialists took the offensive and secured the expulsion of the Communists

from the government which the Communist Party had helped to elect the year before. The Party and the working class was subjected to brutal repressions. The balance of forces temporarily shifted against the proletariat. Its trade union center was split and the Socialists and Communists could not get together. In those circumstances it would have been absurd to resort to large-scale armed action. The Party and the working class carried on a stiff fight, employing what might be called the tactics of rear-guard action to cover a retreat. These tactics, dictated by the conditions enabled the Party largely to maintain its contact with the masses so as to be able to return with them to the offensive.

This is added proof that any tactics are correct and any form of struggle acceptable if they accord with the situation and serve to enlist the masses in the struggle.

Neither a Mechanical Approach nor Subjectivism

The above-mentioned letter of the Communist Party of China to our Central Committee contains this passage: "In Latin America the 'peaceful way' which you advocate stands in sharp contrast to the revolutionary way of Fidel Castro and the other comrades who led the Cuban people to victory."

It should be said first of all that, unlike the dogmatists and the sectarians, the Communist Party of Chile, while supporting the Marxist-Leninist thesis concerning the peaceful way, holds that the choice of either the peaceful or non-peaceful path is the prerogative of the revolutionaries in the given country. In other words, our Party does not seek to impose any line of action outside the bounds of its own country. As the joint Soviet-Cuban statement issued in Moscow on May 23 this year by Comrades Khrushchov and Castro after the latter's visit to the USSR declares: "Elaboration of the practical forms and methods of struggle for socialism in each country is the internal affair of its people."

This position fully accords with the principle set forth in the 81-Party Statement that "all the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other."

The strategic and tactical line to be followed, including the way in which to carry out the revolution and the timing of the decisive battles, is, then, a matter for each

Communist Party, for the revolutionaries of each country, to decide. Revolutionaries in all countries of course may make mistakes in elaborating this line or in carrying it out. That danger exists. But since no one knows the situation they are working in better than they, they are less liable to err than the revolutionaries of other countries who may take it upon themselves to offer unsolicited advice. Moreover, the masses and their vanguard in each country can correctly determine their line, in the light of the laws governing the revolutionary process, primarily on the basis of their own experience.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China try to make it appear that they alone are the proponents of armed uprising, and that all the other parties advocate the peaceful way. No less dishonest is their attempt to counterpose our revolutionary process to that which took place in Cuba. But this is absurd. No Communist Party which accepts the thesis concerning the peaceful way repudiates the way of armed uprising *a priori*. More, there are parties which advocate armed action in their own countries but oppose the position of the Chinese leaders who deny the theoretical and practical validity of the peaceful way. The Paraguayan and some Central American parties are cases in point.

The Cuban revolution is of signal importance as a shining example of heroism and tangible proof that all the peoples of our continent can win their freedom if they wage a determined struggle, relying on international solidarity and above all on the support of the socialist camp. Steadfast support for the Cuban revolution is a vital cause of the peoples of our continent. And this cause is not helped forward but, on the contrary, damaged by those who speculate on tactical differences engendered by objective reasons to sow discord of quite another order.

The content of the revolution in all Latin American countries is, generally speaking, identical. All the peoples of the continent are bound to follow Cuba's example as regards liberation from imperialism, abolition of the latifundia and other fetters on the productive forces, implementation of the cultural revolution and paving the way to socialism. But as regards the forms and means of achieving these aims there are, and will continue to be, differences. All Marxists-Leninists agree that each revolutionary process has its own distinctive features.

Any tendency towards a mechanical copying of one or another revolutionary process or regarding it as a universal pattern is, at

best, subjectivism. Neither in the sphere of theory nor in their day-to-day activities can revolutionaries be guided by only good intentions without regard for the concrete conditions in which they are working. There can be no revolution unless the masses support it.

For the revolution to succeed both the objective and the subjective conditions must be ripe. The objective conditions are determined by social development, while the subjective—the ability and resolve of the masses to take action against the ruling classes in order to overthrow them—are shaped by the revolutionary movement itself, above all by its vanguard. Consequently, there is no justification for sitting back and waiting for the subjective conditions to mature of themselves. But neither can their maturing (as regards time and form) be accelerated at will, by ignoring the realities of the situation. These conditions will ripen only as a result of persistent work among the masses. It is equally clear that once headway has been made in this work and the masses realize, in the course of struggles for their demands, that everything hinges on winning political power and are prepared to make this their immediate aim, the maturing of the subjective conditions of the revolution can be speeded up. Mass struggle, it should be stressed, is the basic factor.

The Peaceful Way and the Policy of Unity

As we know, one of the new factors which make the peaceful way a tangible possibility is the ability of the working class of the various countries to rally the majority of the people around itself on the basis of a broad program of democratic reforms objectively aimed against the rule of imperialism and the monopoly capitalists.

Regardless of whether it opts for the peaceful or non-peaceful path, the working class pursues a policy of alliance with other classes and sections of society, a policy of unity with other sections of the people and strives to isolate its main enemies and neutralize the wavering strata. Without such a unity policy there can be no revolution.

This policy of mutual understanding, unity and alliance is of great significance and, what is most important, the opportunities for pursuing it are better when the revolution develops along peaceful lines. A wider range of forces can be drawn into the mainstream of peaceful revolution, including strata which tend to waver when faced with the prospect of a revolution through armed uprising and

are unlikely to join it except in an extremely acute revolutionary situation.

The Communist movement has accumulated much experience in the struggle for the unity of the working class and all other sections of the people, experience which is being steadily augmented by the parties.

Our experience confirms the basic concept that the most important thing is work among the masses, unity of action from below. It highlights the fact that we must continue to work for the fullest understanding at all levels. Among the leading groups in the non-proletarian democratic parties and other organizations the influence of socialist ideas and the repeated failure of policies aimed against mutual understanding with the Communists are making themselves felt and trends towards unity without discrimination are coming to the fore.

We Chilean Communists, while concentrating on mass work to achieve unity from below, also pay attention to promoting mutual understanding among the leaders. Such a policy helps to build unity at the rank-and-file level, cements unity among the parties and promotes the development of a united mass movement.

The unity achieved between the parties affiliated to the Popular Action Front, and above all between the Communists and Socialists, is based not only on a common program but on practical relations founded on equality, mutual respect and mutual aid. This finds supreme expression in the principle of unanimity in adopting basic decisions and in agreeing that the allied parties will enjoy representation proportionate to their strength in the government they are working to establish.

A coalition of different classes and sections of society such as the Popular Action Front contains diverse trends which give rise to certain differences of opinion. These differences are discussed frequently in a frank and comradely atmosphere. Invective has been ruled out and has been replaced by mutual examination of ideas and arguments. Many problems are solved in this way, but not all, for in many cases solution depends on the balance of forces in the Front and on the views of the masses on these issues. Hence the imperative need for independent work by the Communists among the population.

At the heart of the revolutionary leadership of the popular movement is the activity of the Communist Party, which is the main party of the Popular Action Front. Many aspects of this leadership are carried out

jointly by the allied parties, primarily by the Socialists and Communists. Often basic issues are solved through general agreement. As this process develops, the conditions may arise for united actions by the Socialists and Communists, including their joint leadership, resulting at some future date in the establishment of a united Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class.

It is essential further to extend the scale of the popular movement and to prepare it to repel whatever blows the enemy may level at it. Upon assuming power it will have to define the concrete forms in which to carry out its program and determine the order of urgency of the various measures, depending on the situation at the given moment. This in turn requires greater mutual understanding and a united line of action. An unreasonable attitude to these problems would be disastrous. The policy of joint leadership of the movement is a vital imperative which, far from negating the role played by the Communists, enhances it.

Like individuals, parties learn from experience and influence one another. Each of the parties in the Popular Action Front, and especially the Communists and Socialist parties, have learnt much from the social realities. The other parties have learnt much from us, as we have from them.

But until a united party of the working class is established, the existence of a mass Communist Party will remain the basic factor

on the political scene. Our Party is above all a party of the proletariat, the biggest and most experienced and militant party; it stands vigilantly on guard against bourgeois influence, and its cadres are trained in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology and proletarian internationalism. This makes it the basic force in the popular movement.

Not only the policy of our party but also its high degree of organization and its ideology are winning it allies. The consolidation and development of the people's unity directly depends on its influence. The growth and strengthening of the Party in all respects are not the result of egoistic ambition; it is an objective necessity of the social movement. The Party, fully aware of this, is working to expand its ranks.

Our Party has been, and continues to be, the basic factor paving the way to the victory of the people by peaceful means. Trotskyites and some petty-bourgeois elements with reckless leanings have sharply attacked the thesis concerning the possibility of the peaceful way. These attacks are buttressed by the actions of the Chinese leaders. Our Party was compelled to embark on an intensive ideological struggle, and the campaign has already had its effect; the main thing, however, is practical revolutionary activity, which of course is also part of the ideological struggle. Practice is the concrete manifestation of ideology, it is theory corroborated by facts, the decisive test of the correctness of a line of action.

Towards Unity of the Working Class

Pieter Keuneman

ON AUGUST 12, 1963, in the presence of what the capitalist newspapers in Ceylon ruefully conceded was a "massive" audience, a United Left Front agreement was signed in Colombo by the three Left parties in Ceylon — the Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP).

The newspapers also reported the "roar of jubilation," and the "thunderous applause" which greeted the signing of the agreement.

The streets of Colombo were decked with red flags and banners. Workers stopped work early to join the united demonstration that preceded the signing of the agreement. Many of the nation's best-known artists gave a

concert in honor of the event.

The impact of the agreement was immense. National newspapers published special supplements and articles. Even the speeches in Parliament that day, where the budget was under discussion, were devoted to assessments of the meaning of this event.

As the *Ceylon Daily News* commented editorially: "History was made at Independence Square yesterday."

The signing of the agreement marked a decisive step forward towards ending the disunity that has plagued the working class and socialist movement of Ceylon for the past 23 years.

It provides a real opportunity for a united

working class leadership of the struggle of the progressive forces of Ceylon to consolidate political independence, end feudal relations, destroy the stranglehold of imperialist monopolies over the national economy, secure economic independence and broad-based democracy, and lay the foundations for further advance to socialism along the non-capitalist road.

The Communist Party is especially happy at the formation of the United Left Front and we are grateful to the public tributes paid by the leaders of the other parties to the role played by our party in bringing the Front into existence.

Our party was born out of the split in the working class movement of Ceylon in 1940 when the socialist party that had emerged in the mid-1930s was disrupted by the introduction of anti-communism into it, leading to the expulsion of the Communists. Further splits took place later, leaving the working class politically disunited.

This split prevented the working class from playing the leading role in the national struggle for independence. The first socialist party, in which all socialist trends including the Communists worked, was formed in 1935 and was the first to proclaim the aims of national independence and socialism for Ceylon at a time when the bourgeois parties spoke only of constitutional advance towards "internal self-government" in collaboration with British imperialism. The numerous mass campaigns conducted by this party against imperialism and feudalism, its leadership of working class struggles against capitalist exploitation and its solidarity with the international struggles against colonialism, fascism and war, won it wide respect and support. But the split of 1940 robbed the working class of effective leadership of the national struggle.

One of the tasks that faced the Communist Party when it was founded in 1943 was to re-unite the working class movement so that it could rally around it all other anti-imperialist forces, especially the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie, to complete the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage of the revolution.

From 1943 to 1948 our party pursued this aim with varying degrees of success but, at the same time, made sectarian mistakes. The biggest success during this period was the establishment of joint action with the other working-class parties in conducting the historic general strike of May-June 1947 which paralyzed the colonial administration and proved decisive in the winning of political

independence shortly afterwards.

The transfer of political power from Great Britain to Ceylon in 1948 was accompanied by a bargain between imperialism and the Ceylonese compradore bourgeoisie which acted as a brake on further development of the freedom struggle. The parties of the Left emerged as a major force in the 1947 general election, but, with the rejection by the other parties of the Communist proposal for a united bid to form a government, a reactionary pro-imperialist government of the United National Party (UNP) was installed and proceeded to strike at the trade unions and to deprive over 200,000 plantation workers of their right to vote.

At this stage the Communist Party again renewed its call for unity. In 1951 it entered into an agreement with one of the other two Left parties and launched a united campaign to win the other Left party (LSSP) for the agreement.

On August 12, 1953, on the initiative of the Communists, the three Left parties launched a general strike and work stoppage during which the rural masses joined the urban and plantation workers against the pro-imperialist government. This struggle rocked the foundations of the government, forced its Prime Minister to resign and set off a chain of events that led to the rout of the UNP in the 1956 general election.

The sustained campaign for Left unity and the practical demonstration on August 12, 1953 of the power of unity produced a crisis in the LSSP between the rank and file, who demanded unity, and the leadership that persisted in sectarian policies. Following the defeat of the unity resolution at the conference of the LSSP, about one-third of the membership left that party and joined the Communist Party.

Despite its divided leadership, the Left movement still retained wide support and influence not only among the working class but also among the radical petty-bourgeoisie and sections of the peasantry. In 1951, however, the United National Party, which had hitherto combined compradore and national bourgeois sections in a single party, split. Mr. Bandaranaike led the national bourgeois sections out of the UNP to form their own party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).

In 1955, however, the main parties of the Left (including, for a short time, the Communist Party) made incorrect evaluations of the way in which the national struggle was developing and, in particular, of the role of national culture and languages in the strug-

gles. As a result, the Communist Party and other Left parties, failing to guide these actions along correct lines, found themselves isolated from the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry who rallied behind the banners of the national bourgeoisie. The united front formed in 1951 broke up and the MEP, which had entered into an agreement with the Communist Party, joined with Mr. Bandaranaike's SLFP and formed a coalition government with it in 1956.

Although the years 1956 to 1960 saw many important anti-imperialist and democratic advances, they were also years of maximum disunity of the Left. The MEP was in the coalition government of Mr. Bandaranaike. The LSSP was in opposition. The Communist Party pursued the policy of uniting with the government in the struggle for anti-imperialist and democratic advance and simultaneously struggling against the vacillations and retreats of the government under pressure from the imperialist and domestic reactionary forces and also against the Right-wing in the government who sought to use anti-communism in order to halt the democratic advance.

A basis for re-uniting the working class and Left movement appeared in 1959 and 1960 when the Right-wing of the SLFP, in alliance with reactionary forces outside, forced the expulsion of the MEP Ministers from the Cabinet, halted progressive advance and assassinated Mr. Bandaranaike. In this dangerous situation, the Left parties played an outstanding role in exposing the reactionary conspiracy, rallying the masses and the patriotic elements within the SLFP to fight against it, and frustrating the attempts of the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces to consolidate themselves in power.

The failure of the reactionaries led to the dissolution of Parliament and a general election in March 1960. The Communist Party proposed to the LSSP and the MEP that the Left parties should form a common front in this election but its proposal was not accepted. Even though the Left fought the general elections divided, they secured over 100,000 more votes than the SLFP and emerged as the principal force opposed to the UNP. The divisions in the Left and the manner in which the electoral system is weighted against the working class prevented the Left parties from getting more seats than the SLFP.

In the second general election in July, 1960, following the defeat of the minority UNP government, the Communist Party was able to conclude electoral agreements with the LSSP and also with the SLFP. The UNP was

defeated and an SLFP government, headed by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, was formed.

Supported by the Left, Mrs. Bandaranaike's government at first pursued the line of weakening the economic and political positions of imperialism and compradore capital. But later, towards the end of 1961, it began to reverse this trend, began to compromise with the foreign and domestic vested interests, to vacillate and retreat; it clashed with the working class and the Left parties, and began to rely more and more on emergency powers and on the support of the armed forces.

This policy paved the way for an attempted coup in February 1962, which was averted owing to vigilance of the Communist Party and the Left, and to the prompt action taken by the government when the plot was discovered. But this did not prevent the government, under the influence of reactionary pressure, from introducing in the middle of 1962 a budget which made substantial concessions to foreign and local vested interests while at the same time cutting subsidies and striking at the living standards of the people.

In August 1962, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a call for the unity of the Communist Party, LSSP and MEP on the basis of a common program which would also command the support of other progressive sections including those within the SLFP. Our party also published its concrete proposals in regard to such a program.

From past experience in the fight for unity we realized that unity could not be immediately established by top-level discussions between the respective party leaderships. The Left parties had 23 years of disunity behind them, and the difficulties could not be overcome in a short time. But the need for unity was urgent, especially as the vacillations and retreats of the SLFP government and its attacks against the people were causing demoralization among the progressive forces. This demoralization was skilfully seized upon by the UNP and the forces of the Right to win popular support. By pretending to be a "reformed" party and advancing demagogic slogans, the UNP was able to win over politically inexperienced sections, especially among the youth, in the absence of a united alternative leadership from the Left.

Working for unity and popularizing our program, our Party sought to develop united actions with the other Left parties on concrete issues. The united fight of the Left parties both in Parliament and outside in August and September 1962 won the support of progressive sections in the SLFP and com-

pelled the government to withdraw several of its budgetary proposals. During the Caribbean crisis in October 1962 the Left parties conducted a mass campaign in support of Cuba. In November and December 1962 the Left parties entered into various electoral agreements for the local elections.

These united actions, in which our Party took the initiative, helped to dissipate past suspicions to some extent and to create a favorable climate for Left unity. The results of the local elections at the end of 1962, when the UNP won a sweeping victory, also underscored how vitally urgent unity was.

In December 1962, the conference of the MEP opted for an agreement between the Left parties. A similar position was adopted by the LSSP in January 1963.

In February 1963 the U.S. government struck a blow at Ceylon's sovereignty and sought to interfere in its internal affairs. Parliament had earlier decided to set up a Petroleum Corporation and had begun to import oil products from the USSR, the UAR and Rumania. Some of the equipment for the new Corporation had been taken over from the American and British oil companies and Parliament had laid down by law the methods of compensation.

In retaliation, the U.S. government demanded that compensation be paid immediately to the oil companies and that the amount should be determined by U.S. law and not by Ceylon. This would have meant Ceylon having to pay Rs 44 million for equipment worth, at the most, Rs 17 million. When the government, in response to the protests of the people, refused, the U.S. government cut off its so-called "aid" to Ceylon.

In this situation, our party proposed, and other Left parties agreed, to launch a united campaign in defense of national sovereignty and for the nationalization of the foreign oil companies. Despite vacillations and retreats by the government, the Left parties continued with their campaign and eventually succeeded in compelling the government to agree to take over the entire internal distribution of oil products from January 1, 1964.

The united campaign of the Left on this question continued from February to May 1963. During the course of the campaign the question of a united front on a common program came more and more to the forefront. The masses were drawn into the struggle for unity and responded with enthusiasm.

The united May Day rally in Colombo marked the close of the second stage of the unity campaign and the beginning of the third

stage. Ceylon had never witnessed such large crowds or so much enthusiasm. The May Day procession was headed by the leaders of the Left parties, and over 80,000 persons marched through streets which were lined with cheering people. Over 150,000 attended the rally, which was the largest political manifestation in the recent history of Ceylon.

Following May, discussions between the three parties began on questions of a common program. The discussions continued for nearly three months during which many differences were frankly discussed and resolved. Agreement was reached early in August and the signing of the agreement fixed for August 12, the 10th anniversary of the great strike and work stoppage which helped to topple the UNP government.

The fight to establish a United Front encountered opposition not only from the reactionary parties and the monopoly press but even from sectarian elements in the Left movement, many of whom were influenced by the erroneous views advanced by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. The elements branded the United Front policy as "opportunistic" and asserted that unity was useless until such time as all the parties accepted Marxism-Leninism. Instead of seeking unity to lead the struggles of the masses, the sectarians wanted the Left parties to fritter away their energies in an ideological debate. None of this, however, prevented the formation of the United Front.

The agreement signed by the three Left parties consists of two parts. There is a 10-point program of immediate demands of the workers, peasants and the people and the three parties agree to "rally the masses in their organizations and around the Front in the struggle" for these demands.

The agreement also includes a general program. It declares that the Front will "rally and lead all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and socialist forces in Ceylon in the fight to establish a government that will give effect" to this general program.

The agreement makes it clear that the ULF is not confined to the members and supporters of the three parties. "The United Left Front," it says, "appeals to all sections and organizations who support the general program and the demands set out above to rally round the Front in the fight for their vital interests and for the establishment of a new government that will ensure a truly independent and prosperous Ceylon and lay the foundations for a genuine socialist society."

The 16-point general program set out the

aims which must be accomplished to complete the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage of the revolution. Among these are the declaration of an independent Republic; a democratic constitution, democratic administration, and democracy in the armed forces and the police; nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, the import-export trade and foreign-owned plantations and industrial and commercial establishments; planning; closure of imperialist subversive agencies; the demands of the workers, peasants and other social strata; proposals in relation to education, national languages and cultures; proposals for a just settlement of the problems of the national minorities; support for national liberation struggles and all measures for peace and disarmament.

The ULF agreement has been generally welcomed in other progressive circles. Many of the SLFP Members of Parliament, functionaries and rank-and-file have welcomed the formation of the ULF.

The Front has already brought about a change in the political scene. It has halted what was called "the drift to the Right," has given the progressive forces a new orientation and a new program, as well as a new and dynamic leadership. It has compelled the SLFP government to introduce further radical measures such as the nationalization of insurance and internal distribution of oil.

The formation of the Front has also helped

to bring about greater unity in the trade union movement. A sign of this was a conference of the main trade union centers, representing over a million workers on September 29, which adopted a common program of demands covering the entire movement.

Since its formation, the Front has conducted campaigns in support of the struggles of the people of South Vietnam and was able to get Ceylon's Parliament to adopt its resolution calling for the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. A campaign to bring down the prices of essential goods and for other demands of the 10-point immediate program has been launched. Work is underway to establish united front committees on a regional and district basis.

The Front has given new hope and confidence to those to whom its appeal is addressed—namely, in the words of the agreement, "all those working to consolidate national independence in all spheres, to solve the economic crisis and the urgent problems of the people and to lay the foundations for a socialist society." It provides a new path for the progressive forces of Ceylon and enables the working class to exert more effectively its influence and leadership over national struggles and the direction of national affairs. The Communist Party, which celebrated its 20th anniversary this year, is happy that its long and arduous struggle to re-unite the working class of Ceylon has begun to bear fruit.

Concerning Revolutionary Situations

Santiago Alvarez

THE rule of the monopoly bourgeoisie—the main enemy of peace, democracy and social progress—can be abolished only by a revolution carried out by the working class in alliance with all other sections of the working people. But revolutions are not made to order, nor are they imported; they are the product of the overall development of the class struggle and are governed by objective laws. Moreover, revolutionary upheavals leading to the victory of socialism spring from revolutionary situations.

Lenin's views on what constitutes a revolutionary situation provide revolutionaries with a theoretical instrument for scientifically assessing the objective and subjective preconditions for revolution. At the same time the

steadily accumulating experience, while confirming Lenin's views, points to the need to develop them further, to enrich and deepen them with a view to their differentiated application in keeping with the conditions in each country.

We all know that the objective conditions in which the revolutionary movement is developing today are becoming more and more varied. This is due both to the broadening of the front of struggle against imperialism, for socialism, and to the fact that the specific features of this struggle in the various countries are becoming more and more clear-cut. Today, when the problems of revolution leading to socialism are becoming practical issues of the day in a steadily increasing

number of countries with vastly differing conditions, one can hardly define the concept of the revolutionary situation in the abstract, disregarding the distinctive features of the given country or area. In our opinion it would be useful to examine the specific aspects of the maturing and development of the revolution by groups of countries with similar socio-economic structures and historical traditions.

In this article we examine some of the problems pertaining to revolutionary situations in the developed capitalist countries, mainly those of Western Europe. Needless to say, the laws governing revolutionary development are manifested in a different way in, say, the Scandinavian countries than in southern Europe, just as there are bound to be differences between France and West Germany, and so on. But for all that we believe that a common denominator can be found for the maturing of revolutionary situations in this part of the capitalist world.

I

In speaking of a revolutionary situation, Marxist-Leninists have in mind that socio-political state of society preceding a revolution when the ruling classes can no longer rule in the old way and the ruled no longer wish to live as they did before, a situation when a national political crisis affecting both the exploiters and the exploited and characterized by a sharp upswing in the activity of the masses sets in. A revolutionary situation develops as a result of the extreme aggravation of contradictions in a society divided into antagonistic classes. The rise of such a situation in one or another country is an indication that the *objective* (socio-economic and political) preconditions of revolution are ripe.

All this is basic to the Leninist theory of revolution. Underestimation of these fundamental propositions leads to political mistakes. Even if it is true that the capitalist system is experiencing a deep-going general crisis, this, as we know, is not sufficient grounds for concluding that a revolutionary situation has matured in a country. The maturity of the material prerequisites of socialism and the existence of the objective conditions for the socialist revolution in a given locale and at a given time are by no means one and the same thing.

The material prerequisites of socialism have long been present in the developed capitalist countries, but the working class and the working masses generally have still to win

victory over monopoly capitalism. That they have not done so has puzzled some people, causing them to be sceptical about the revolutionary potential of the masses in the West. And, as we know, there are also politicians—they include the leaders of the Communist Party of China—who on these grounds completely deny that there is any prospect of the Western countries making independent revolutionary progress towards socialism.

A concrete Marxist analysis of the complex problem of the rise of revolutionary situations in these countries is clearly essential. Mere declarations to the effect that the revolution is necessary are no substitute for such an analysis. If we are guided by the Leninist method we cannot but note first of all that in many Western countries things are different today from what they were half a century ago. Not to see this and to try to solve problems by mechanically copying the experience of the past is to lose the capacity to influence the march of events.

Revolutionary situations develop under the impact of the most diverse economic and political factors. It is particularly important to realize that some of the causes engendering revolutionary situations now play a smaller role than before, that they are being replaced by new factors, that the very process of the maturing of such situations is being modified and the rate at which they ripen is substantially changing. In the past revolutionary situations arose, as a rule, in connection with extraordinary social upheavals reflecting all the contradictions of the given society, such as devastating economic crises, brutal repression against the masses and, most frequently, wars. This was the case with the situations preceding the Paris Commune, the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 in Russia, the revolution of the thirties in Spain, and the people's democratic revolutions of the forties.

This does not mean of course that, as some dogmatists affirm, war always tends to "unleash" revolution. It is common knowledge that in many countries neither local imperialist wars nor any of the two world wars led to revolutionary situations; indeed, in some instances they retarded the revolutionary process. Marxists have never regarded war as a necessary condition for the maturing of a revolutionary situation. They have always fought to prevent the outbreak of imperialist war. "Socialists," Lenin said, "have always condemned wars between peoples as barbaric and savage." But at the same time, when there was no tangible possibility of preventing war, the Marxists took full cognizance of the

effect imperialist wars could have on the shaping of revolutionary situations.

In the present conditions, world war, which would inevitably develop into a *thermonuclear* war, would in no way accelerate social progress; on the contrary, it would retard humanity's march towards socialism. Today peaceful coexistence of the two systems—this new form of class struggle on an international scale—can be said to be a condition for the transition to socialism. The development of world socialism in depth and breadth, limiting the sway of the laws of imperialism and modifying their manifestations, makes it possible to avert military conflicts between states. And this, in turn, may substantially alter the future course of the revolutionary liberation struggle, the forms and progress of which in the past were largely connected with conditions engendered by war.

Also a number of new internal developments in the imperialist countries has affected some aspects of the class struggle. In particular, the concessions the bourgeoisie has been forced to make, and no doubt will be forced to make in the future under pressure of the masses and the impact of the worldwide competition between capitalism and socialism, and the resultant improvement in the working people's standard of living—these changes make it less likely that there will be any sharp increase in misery and want which many regarded as an indispensable symptom of revolutionary situations.

On the whole it would seem that the objective conditions of social development in the imperialist countries tend to *lessen to some extent the role played by the special explosive factors* concentrated in point of time and associated with critical international contingencies. Operating in the same direction are the traditional "local" attributes of the developed capitalist countries (the strength, experience and resourcefulness of the ruling class, the deep-seated socio-political traditions, the old and deep split in the labor movement) which Lenin had in view when he said that it would be harder to begin the socialist revolution in these countries than in Russia.

Yet Western Communists have every reason to be optimistic about the prospects for the revolutionary reconstruction of society. The conditions of capitalism and the progress of the class struggle are constantly creating new opportunities for revolution, for new factors engendering revolutionary situations. And while the Communists do not exclude the possibility of extraordinary developments, they are not sitting back with folded arms

waiting for them to take place. They carry on an incessant offensive against capitalism, utilizing the forms of mass movement prompted by the day-to-day struggle.

The Communist Party of Spain, too, while working to overthrow the Franco dictatorship and to win democracy, does not associate success in this struggle with war or other upheavals of that nature. We are exerting every effort to end the dictatorship through struggle waged by the working people themselves and thereby to help tip the scales in Europe in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

II

"Marxists," Lenin said, "cannot limit themselves to pleading the 'necessity' of new mass actions, they must first show what are the causes (if there are such) of a new revolutionary crisis." What, then, are the objective processes which can at present give rise to such crises in the developed capitalist countries?

A feature of the present stage of the world revolutionary process is the growing influence exerted by *external* factors on the conditions in which the class struggle is waged in one or another capitalist country. Big revolutionary movements have always inspired the working people of other countries with added enthusiasm and renewed faith. The example of the October Revolution of 1917 is indicative in this respect. The powerful impetus which the national-revolutionary war waged by the people of Spain in 1936-39 gave to the anti-fascist movement in Europe and on the American continent, the wide response evoked, especially in Asia, by the victory of the Chinese revolution, and the revolutionizing influence of the Cuban revolution on the peoples of the Latin American—and not only Latin American—countries, and of the Algerian revolution on the African peoples, are common knowledge.

Above all it should be borne in mind that the mass struggles of today are taking place in a situation when the socialist world is becoming the decisive factor of human development. The rapid socio-economic progress of the socialist countries, their scientific and technological achievements, especially in space exploration, the extension and deepening of socialist democracy and the steps taken by these countries in the sphere of foreign policy to avert thermonuclear war—these enhance the prestige of socialism in the eyes of the peoples and create more favorable conditions for revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries.

But important though the external, international conditions are, *the internal conditions in the given country*, the sharpness of class contradictions and the intensity of the class struggle at home, *are always decisive in shaping a revolutionary situation.*

The objective basis for the growth of revolutionary processes in the imperialist countries is the constant deepening of the contradictions of imperialism. In this third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, these contradictions, aggravated by the technological revolution of our time, acquire new features, are manifested in specific forms and find their common expression in the growing contradiction between the handful of monopolists in power and the overwhelming majority of the people. This contradiction impinges on all the basic aspects of life in the capitalist countries, engendering a number of constant factors which tend to accelerate the revolutionary process.

The contradictions between labor and capital are growing. Utilizing the achievements of modern science and technology to further their own ends, the monopolies are devising new ways of exploiting the working people. Growing mechanization and automation are accompanied by further intensification of labor, making chronic unemployment more painful.

The danger of war is a source of anxiety. The more aggressive groups of the monopoly capitalists are stepping up the arms drive, working against detente and pursuing an adventurist policy fraught with the danger of a nuclear war threatening the very existence of modern civilization.

Authoritarian trends are gaining ground among the ruling class, which is bent on emasculating democratic institutions, seeking to reduce the democratic rights of the working people to a fiction or to abolish these rights altogether.

At the same time the national sovereignty of most capitalist countries is threatened in one or another way and to one or another extent by capitalist integration, by military-political blocs and by military bases abroad.

More and more sections of the population are rising to combat the political and economic offensive launched by the monopoly capitalists. The very logic of social development draws them into the struggle against monopoly domination, and this has a direct effect on the ripening of revolutionary situations.

III

There can be no doubt that now, as in the past, *acute political crises stemming from the actions of imperialist forces* may give rise to revolutionary situations in the Western countries. We have in mind such things as sharp deterioration of international relations fraught with the danger of nuclear war, the threat of reactionary coups, encroachments on national sovereignty, attempts to start colonial wars, and so on.

It may well be that any immediate danger of nuclear war would cause a leftward swing among the masses and impel them to direct action against any irresponsible brinkmanship by the ruling monopoly circles. Did not the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism during the Caribbean crisis stimulate the political activity of the masses in many countries, Spain included?

Under certain conditions police terror or other reactionary sallies are likewise apt to evoke mass resistance leading to major upheavals. In the Spain of the mid-thirties the immediate danger of fascism largely predetermined the rise of a specific kind of revolutionary situation which provided the objective basis for the resistance offered to the fascist rebellion in the summer of 1936 and the subsequent development of the people's democratic revolution during the three years of anti-fascist war. We have had instances of the threat of neo-fascism or of a reactionary coup evoking massive resistance on the part of the people, witness the impressive anti-fascist actions in Italy in June and July 1960 which foiled the designs of the reactionaries and toppled the Tambroni government, the mass action taken by the working people of Paris against the police provocations on February 13, 1962, the struggle of the Japanese people in 1961-62 against the so-called Political Violence Bill, and the present democratic upsurge in Greece—the people's reply to the terror unleashed by the reactionaries and which led to the fall of the ultra-Right government.

* * *

The growth of state-monopoly capitalism and the technological revolution have modified the *operation of the socio-economic factors*, which now take new, specific forms.

Lenin, as we know, associated the heightening of the activity of the masses with the growth of the poverty and want of the oppressed classes. He advanced this view at a time of world war and postwar dislocation when in most countries in Europe millions of people were experiencing privation. The

thesis, however, should be examined concretely, in historical perspective, taking into account, on the one hand, the changes in the forms of capitalist exploitation, and, on the other, the changed conditions of the reproduction of labor power. The requirements of the working people are an historical category which changes with the passage of time. Hence the thesis concerning the extreme worsening of the conditions of the masses as a symptom of a revolutionary situation should be interpreted in the light of present-day realities.

Real wages of the working class in the Western countries have grown in the past decades. But it would be utterly un-Marxist to conclude from this that the working class is becoming "bourgeois." How can the workers' higher living standard be qualified as a sign of "embourgeoisement" when this improvement has been won in unceasing struggle against the bourgeoisie?

Moreover, as Lenin pointed out, poverty may acquire incredible proportions without any heightening of revolutionary activity on the part of the masses because of lack of class consciousness, inadequate organization, etc. It is common knowledge that the struggle for economic and political demands is headed, as a rule, not by the lowest-paid workers. In Spain, for example, the miners are by no means in the lowest wage bracket, yet it is they who are in the forefront of the fight against Franco. It is not only dire need that spurs on the worker to fight for a radical improvement in his conditions but the realization that he is being exploited, that he is the creator of all values, and that socialism is the most just and humane form of social organization.

Consequently, despite the rise in the living standard in a number of developed capitalist countries, the economic struggle has been growing in recent years, acquiring a new quality. This is connected with the intensification of exploitation which, as pointed out above, is taking increasingly varied and ingenious forms in the present conditions of state-monopoly capitalism and imperialist integration. Intensification of labor and the growth of monopoly profits have greatly outstripped the increase in real wages. Mechanization and automation as well as structural changes in industry are increasing the insecurity of the worker and causing chronic unemployment and downgrading of skills. Moreover, the tightening of the monopoly grip on the various spheres of the economy is accompanied by a deterioration of the

position of large sections of the urban and rural middle strata.

The monopoly offensive is encountering growing resistance on the part of the masses, especially when it impinges on the standard of living. Moreover, a number of socio-economic processes under way in modern capitalism, in particular those connected with the technological revolution, facilitate the workers' struggle for their rights. The growing militancy of the workers is evident from the sharp increase in the number of strikers: in 1958 13.5 million people downed tools in Western Europe, the United States and Japan, and in 1962, up to 44 million.

The strike struggles fought in recent years in France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Spain, West Germany, USA, Britain and elsewhere are known to all. Many of these actions, such as the Belgian general strike and the strikes of the Italian metal-workers, French miners and Spanish miners and metalworkers, were of a definitely anti-monopoly and political nature.

The present upswing in the strike movement in a number of capitalist countries indicates that the trend is for the day-to-day socio-economic mass struggle to become a *decisive factor of revolutionary development*. The scale of this struggle as such, its unitarian and increasingly political nature (under state-monopoly capitalism practically all large-scale economic struggles acquire political significance), and the constant extension of the range of the demands put forward by the masses tend to advance the socio-economic struggle of the working people to a higher level, to deepen its social content. Extension of the rights of the trade unions in the enterprises, the guaranteed right to work (in connection with rationalization and automation), nationalization, democratic management of the nationalized enterprises and industries, etc., are coming more and more to the fore. Consequently, the struggle now often revolves around demands the realization of which presupposes deep-going social changes undermining the positions of the monopolies to one or another extent—demands essentially of an order that the Communists formerly thought possible to advance only in revolutionary situations or in the course of the socialist revolution itself.

The economic, political and spiritual yoke of the monopolies, which lays its imprint on all aspects of the life of capitalist society, is becoming more oppressive, and is evoking the growing resistance of the masses. The strike struggles of the working class consti-

tute, so to speak, the core of a much broader social movement stemming from deep-seated and inevitable processes at work in bourgeois society. The powerful anti-monopoly actions of the peasantry in Italy, France and other countries, the growing participation in strikes of engineers and technicians, professionals and even civil servants, the mass movements for the reorganization of the school system, rent strikes in cities, protest campaigns against the manipulations of the monopolies, mass actions against the high cost of living and for higher pensions, struggle against government interference in the cultural sphere and for bigger appropriations for science, actions for better municipal planning and improvement of transport services in the interests of the working people, and for the specific demands of women and youth—all merge with the strikes of factory and clerical workers, flowing into a *single stream of democratic socio-economic struggle*. Even if this process is so far fully in evidence only in some Western countries, elements of it exist everywhere.

* * *

The socio-economic struggle of the people intertwines with the democratic political movements. We have already mentioned the significance of mass action in defense of peace, national sovereignty and democratic rights. It should be stressed, however, that this struggle is not only a response to the offensive of the reactionaries. The people are with growing frequency taking the initiative, demanding curbs on the monopolies, calling for disarmament, abolition of military bases and military blocs, and the extension and regeneration of democracy. The peace marches in Britain and elsewhere, the struggle for the right of the Negro people in the United States, which has acquired a revolutionary character, the fight for trade union rights and the rights of the national minorities in Spain, the movement for regional autonomy in Italy, the democratic struggle in France against the Gaullist "striking force" and to abolish one-man rule, the movement for a federal structure in Belgium and the anti-fascist actions in Greece and Portugal are but a few examples of the growing militancy.

The anti-monopoly front is broadening out, extending its impact to more and more aspects of the life of society. Foreign-policy issues and questions connected with economic integration, the allocation of state investments and the cooperative movement, promotion of sports and combating crime, control over

the mass information media and the functioning of judicial bodies—in all these areas the democratic forces put forward their alternative to the solutions offered by the monopolies.

Thus, socio-economic and political movements capable of causing deep national crises spring up from day to day from all the pores of capitalist society and need not necessarily be connected with extraordinary contingencies. There is reason to believe that this trend will be accentuated by the peaceful coexistence of the two systems.

Given the conscious activity of the revolutionary forces, the mass actions for vital demands, for the extension and regeneration of democracy, agrarian reform, nationalization of basic industries, effective participation of democratic organizations in economic planning and other radical reforms combine into an all-embracing movement for a democratic alternative to monopoly policy and rule. Provided its gains are taken as a point of departure for new demands and new mass actions, and with the steady growth of the role of the working class and the strengthening of its positions in all spheres of socio-economic and political life, this movement *can, under certain conditions, become the decisive factor giving rise to a revolutionary situation*. Indeed, this trend may subsequently become the highroad of the revolution itself. We Spanish Communists draw inspiration from this perspective in our struggle against the Franco dictatorship. It is along these lines that the program of our Party envisages both the winning of democracy and the transition to socialism in Spain.

IV

It will be seen, then, that there are different ways of advancing towards the revolution in the conditions of imperialism. A revolutionary situation may be brought about by the worsening of the conditions of the working people (especially when this coincides with other processes operating in the same direction), an acute threat of war or fascism, attempts to put through reactionary laws, savage repressions against the working people, etc. We have experienced these things in the past.

But today there is also another tangible possibility—that the main impetus to the development of a revolutionary situation will be given not by the actions of the ruling classes but by the movement of the masses. We can foresee that the working class and its allies, encountering stiffening resistance

from the monopolies as the fight for democratic reforms goes on, will awaken to the fact that the capitalist system is incompatible with their interests, with the interests of all working people and of the nation as a whole. The masses will come to see the inadequacy of partial solutions and realize the need for all-out effort to abolish capitalism and replace it with socialism.

At the same time far-reaching socio-economic and political reforms won through mass struggle will restrict the power of the monopolies, whose attempts to go over to a counter-offensive are bound to activate the masses. As a result, the positions of the democratic forces opposed to monopoly rule will be reinforced. This, it may be assumed, will lead to the simultaneous maturing of a "crisis of the lower strata," who no longer want to live in the old way, and who will strive for radical change, and a "crisis of the upper strata" who will find it increasingly difficult to govern in the old way.

Revolutionary situations of this type are mostly connected with the "ordinary" rather than the "extraordinary" course of events. In these circumstances mass action in the initial stages is aimed not at doing away with the foundations of the existing system at once, not at the immediate abolition of the bourgeois regime, but at far-reaching changes affecting various aspects of the capitalist system. In all probability the "crisis of the upper strata" too, will not take such violent forms as before.

A revolutionary situation which takes shape in this way will hardly crystallize and develop into a revolution as rapidly as revolutionary situations of the classical type. The process will most likely be a prolonged one. Consequently the demarcation lines between successive phases of the revolutionary process—between the political crisis and the revolutionary situation, between the revolutionary situation and the revolution, between the stages of the revolution itself, etc.,—will be less sharply drawn.

But the end result will be the transition from capitalism to socialism. Moreover, it may be anticipated that after the working class and its allies have won power, less time will be needed in the Western countries to build socialism.

This of course is merely an attempt to deduce the future from present trends. Needless to say, revolutionary situations are bound to develop in an endless variety of ways; there will surely be sharp and unexpected turns in the march of events. "Marxism,"

Lenin said, "under no circumstances limits itself to the forms of struggle possible and existing only at the given moment, but recognizes the inevitability of new forms of struggle unknown at the given period arising with changes in the situation."

V

When examining the question of the revolutionary situation, one should not overlook the *subjective factor*, which in the Marxist sense comprises the level of consciousness of the masses, the degree to which they are organized, their readiness to take resolute action to ensure the triumph of the revolution, and the guidance given by the revolutionary organizations. The conscious element now clearly plays a far greater part in shaping revolutionary situations than before. Formerly, when spontaneous factors predominated, the "stimulators" (wars, crises, etc.) had such a violent impact and the aims were so obvious that revolutionary situations developed even when the vanguard played no effective role.

Today the new objective factors capable of leading to revolutionary situations in the developed capitalist countries (the question of war and peace, the influence of the socialist system, the consequences of the technological revolution, the sharpening of the class struggle in connection with the defense of democracy, social progress, more ingenious methods of monopoly exploitation, etc.) will do so, as a rule, only when combined with the subjective factor. This is because of those features of the class struggle in the West noted above. The objective conditions for revolution can hardly materialize without effective activity on the part of the conscious revolutionary forces which formulate the demands of the masses and give them purposeful direction, unite the diverse areas of struggle and the various sections of the working people, focus attention on the ultimate goal and link this goal with the current stage of the struggle, and lead the masses from one stage of the struggle to another until the socialist aim is achieved.

With the attainment of a sufficiently high level of maturity of the subjective factor, what is called the political army of the revolution is formed. Emphasis must be laid on the fact that of prime importance for the rise of revolutionary situations in the West European countries is broad unity of the workers and other democratic forces, which now are under the ideological influence of three principal trends—the Communist, Social Democratic and Catholic. Promise in this

respect is held out by recent developments in the Social Democratic and Catholic labor movement in a number of countries (marked growth of class consciousness, participation in united actions, strengthening of the Left and weakening of anti-communist trends). The achievement of working-class unity in the struggle for the immediate and especially the ultimate aims would raise the activity of the masses and the degree of maturity of the subjective factor of revolution to a qualitatively higher plane.

One prerequisite for revolutionary situations in the imperialist countries and the condition for non-violent revolution is the enlistment of greater numbers (as compared with revolutionary situations in the past) of conscious participants in the movement. We have in mind, first, the enlisting in active political struggle of the less advanced sections of the proletariat and semi-proletariat, and, second, the broadening of the social base of the socialist revolution. Now with the majority of the population exploited by the monopoly capitalists, organizing mass actions implies rallying not only the working class and the semi-proletarian peasants but also other sections of the peasantry, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers, intellectuals and, in some cases, part of the middle bourgeoisie, as well as the women and the youth generally who are confronted with their specific tasks and problems. In this way will be built up that preponderance of strength which will tip the scales in favor of the people and against the monopolies and which, as we know, is essential for the victory of the socialist revolution in the West. The high proportion of the working class in the population of the developed capitalist countries will, obviously, facilitate this task.

The correct choice of tactics by the political vanguard of the working class is of utmost importance in building the political army of the revolution. Lenin in his time showed how necessary it was for Marxists to adapt their tactics to every change in the situation as the crisis matures. For although the objective conditions of a revolutionary situation may crystallize, a blunder in policy, including dogmatic theoretical concepts and sectarian practices, may retard the ripening of the subjective conditions. More, erroneous tactics ignoring the objective reality (be they Left-recklessness, Right-opportunist, or wait-and-see tactics) can cause revolutionary activity to decline and weaken the organization of the masses. On the other hand, militant action by a vanguard utilizing the new objective

conditions and possibilities can accelerate the growth of a political crisis into a revolutionary situation and hasten the maturing of the subjective prerequisites of the revolution.

We Spanish Communists, for example, have seen from our own experience that had we continued a policy of civil war instead of basing our anti-Franco struggle on a policy of national accord as we do now, the position of Franco and his dictatorship would be stronger than it is today. The big strikes of recent years, the peasant actions, the struggle waged by the students and intellectuals and the opposition movement among other sections of society would have been ruled out; at any rate, developments would not have gone nearly so far as they have today.

In examining the problem of the revolutionary situation the question arises: Would not even isolated outbreaks of armed action sharply accelerate the crystallization of conditions for such situations? This is a complex question which can be answered only in the light of the specific conditions of each country. A deeper analysis of the experience gained in this sphere would of course be of interest, but this can hardly be done within the bounds of the present article. The question we wish to pose is this: when the objective conditions for revolution are ripe, can armed struggle (isolated guerilla actions or rebellions) create the subjective conditions? This, too, clearly depends on the conditions in the given country. The most effective tactics are those which bring the largest numbers of people into the struggle. But one thing is indisputable: unless the objective conditions exist, there can be no revolution; it cannot be brought about artificially.

Our Party has gained considerable experience in this respect. For a number of years (in the forties) it concentrated mainly on supporting the guerilla movement which sprang up as a result of the civil war and the Second World War and enjoyed the backing of the peasant masses for some time. But then the break-up of the anti-Hitler coalition and the beginning of the cold war had negative repercussions also in Spain. Because of this, after 1945 the guerilla movement was unable to create the subjective conditions for an anti-Franco revolution since the objective conditions for such a revolution no longer existed. This we discovered later, in 1948. But today, in the course of a complex and, owing to the conditions, necessarily slow process, the objective conditions for putting an end to the dictatorship are coming into being, and on this basis the subjective factor

too is maturing. None of this could happen if we had continued the guerilla war.

The foregoing leads to another question: would not the continuation of the old tactics wherever the revolutionary struggle has suffered defeat tend to slow down revolutionary development? The answer, we believe, should be in the affirmative, inasmuch as underestimation of the objective conditions in which the struggle is waged invariably leads to losing contact with the masses.

VI

When the situation is ripe for revolution things may take either a peaceful or a non-peaceful course. There may also be combinations of the two, with either peaceful methods or armed action predominating at the various stages.

Clearly, there is a direct connection between the new ways discussed above in which revolutionary situations may develop in the Western countries and the prospect of the revolution being carried out by peaceful means. Half a century ago Lenin, stressing the close link between the forms of revolutionary struggle and the socio-political structure of society, said this concerning the slogan of insurrection: "The more complex the social system, the better the organization of state power, and the more perfected the military machine, the more impermissible is it to launch such a slogan without due thought."

The peaceful way has nothing in common with pacifism which repudiates militant action by the masses. As applied to the struggle to overthrow Franco, we Spanish Communists envisage it as a mass strike movement and a mounting wave of street demonstrations culminating in a nation-wide strike. Hence we are working to organize a general political strike, towards which the recent miners'

strike in the Asturias and Leon was an important step. Our concept of the national strike is a concept of a militant nation-wide offensive against the dictatorship differing from the classical armed insurrection and civil war only insofar as armed struggle is not the basic form of action.

But for all that we do not rule out the possibility of armed struggle becoming the decisive factor if the objective conditions call for such action and we are left no other alternative. But in all circumstances we regard armed action as a form and the culmination of mass struggle on the broadest scale.

The Communist parties of the capitalist countries are aware that it is the class struggles of today that determine the pace and perspectives of the advance towards socialism. Organizing the masses for more and more militant actions and working for the unity of all democratic forces, the parties not only hasten the advent of revolutionary situations but also create the most favorable conditions for ensuring the victory of the socialist revolution by peaceful means. Needless to say, the Communists know full well that the realization of this possibility depends also on how desperately the monopoly capitalists will resist and the forms this resistance will take.

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In this article we have endeavored primarily to examine the *perspectives* of revolutionary struggle in Western Europe. To some these perspectives may seem extremely remote. We, however, do not share this view. It should be added that a break-through at one of the weak links in the chain of imperialism in this area may accelerate the development of revolutionary situations in a number of West-European countries. In our opinion Spain is one of the links liable to snap.

Italian Workers and Peasants versus the Monopolies

Arturo Colombi

THE Italian economy is going through a period of far-reaching change marked primarily by the rapid expansion of industry. Industrial output more than doubled between 1953 and 1962, and the national income increased almost twofold. Industry and

services have provided roughly three million new jobs within the ten-year span. Italy has become a major industrial producer with a high productivity of labor and plant on a par with the most up-to-date in Europe. The capitalists describe this as an "economic

miracle," but, be that as it may, there has been no comparable social progress. The main contradictions of society, far from being solved, have actually become more acute. The reason for this is that the economy has remained in the grip of monopolies.

Agriculture Under the Heel of the Monopolies

Underlying the rapid accumulation of capital which has spurred on industrial development is the plunder of all sections of the working people. The enormous profits which have enabled the monopolies to modernize industry accrue from the sweat not only of the working class, but of the peasants and of the population of the South, whose meagre incomes are being ruthlessly slashed by the bourgeois government. The contradictions rending Italian society, and especially the agrarian question and the problem of the South, have been exacerbated.

Monopoly development, which subordinates agriculture to the interests of the monopolies and the agrarian capitalists, has increased the disproportion between farm income, on the one hand, and the income of the industry and services, on the other. (The underlying factor here is the growing discrepancy between the productivity and profit levels in industry and agriculture.) As a result a crisis of the antiquated structure of land and agrarian relations has set in, painfully impinging not only on the sharecropper and small tenant farmers but also on the small and middle peasants. The gap between the capitalist farms and the peasant farms as regards production cost and productivity of labor is steadily widening, and the latter are unable to hold their own in a market economy subordinated to the monopolies.

Rejection of the old agricultural policy based on tariff safeguards for grain growers and increasing "liberalization" of trade (in connection with the Common Market) under pressure from the monopolies, which are becoming more and more intertwined on an international scale, have upset the equilibrium in Italian agriculture. The peasants were completely unprepared for this abrupt transition from predominantly autarchic subsistence farming to competitive agriculture of which the need to reduce production costs and specialization are the iron law. Lacking the means to change over to cultivating new crops and unable to afford machines and fertilizers or to set up associations capable of equalling the efficiency of the capitalist

farms, the peasant proprietors find themselves in a critical situation.

The *landless* peasants (sharecroppers and tenant farmers), who are tied hand and foot by onerous contracts completely out of step with the times, have been hit the hardest. Besides burdening these groups with parasitic forms of ground rent, these contracts are a serious obstacle to any increase in output and productivity of labor and are the prime reason for the low income of the tillers of the soil.

The change in the agricultural policy of the ruling groups in Italy was due to a shift in the balance within these groups (the monopolies gaining the upper hand) and also to the fact that the old policy could not ensure a farm productivity conforming to the new market conditions. To ensure a rising output and to compete on the foreign markets, large-scale industry needs an abundance of cheap labor, an expanding market in the countryside for manufactured goods, and cheaper food. The new farm policy shaped by the leading groups of monopoly capitalists and implemented by the ruling capitalist party is designed to meet these requirements. The aim is to make agriculture more competitive, and this is to be achieved by Government aid mainly to those enterprises, sectors and areas where capitalist productivity and profit are, or promise to be, the highest. At the same time this policy means leaving to the mercy of fate not only the hundreds of thousands of agricultural laborers whose expulsion from the production process is a condition for the growth of capitalist productivity, but also hundreds of thousands of peasant farms classified as of secondary importance which are doomed to be eliminated to make room for big capitalist farms.

In pursuance of this political line, the Government has extended financial aid, in the shape of both direct investments and credits, mainly to the capitalist farms, most of which are located in the more developed areas in the plains or in the coastal strip (one-fifth of the 20 million hectares of cultivated land is in the plains and four-fifths in mountainous or hill country). Thanks to the state, investments output in the capitalist sector has increased considerably, although the inertia, conservatism and lack of enterprise displayed by many landowners accustomed to living in the towns on the rent obtained from their holdings continue to act as retarding factors. The more advanced capitalist farms are completely mechanized; there is also more spe-

cialization on these farms, especially in fruit and vegetable growing. Livestock farming, however, is in the throes of a deepening crisis. In grain growing the number of wage workers has decreased by 35-40 per cent, while productivity of labor and overall output have increased. Production costs have thus gone down; consequently, with the capitalist farms producing at a competitive cost and selling at protectionist prices considerably in excess of world prices, the landowners are raking in lush profits. As a matter of fact, the profits of the big capitalist landowners in the irrigated areas of the Po Valley are, on the average, no less than those obtained in industry. The price paid for the growth of monopoly in agriculture, is met by the taxpayers and the peasants.

Two Aspects of Agrarian Development

Although the average annual rate of growth of gross farm output amounted to about 2.8 per cent in the given ten-year period, this does not mean that agriculture forged that much ahead throughout the country; it merely testifies to the advance registered in the cultivation of certain crops in particular areas where capitalist farms predominate. In some districts the annual growth is as high as six or seven per cent, equalling the growth of industrial output. This increase in the capitalist sector is accompanied by the economic decline of other areas and the ruination of hundreds of thousands of peasants. Indeed, the prosperity of the capitalist undertakings and the ruination of the peasants are the two sides of monopoly development in agriculture.

Rapid economic decline and social break-up in the countryside are very much in evidence in the mountainous and hill regions as well as in the barren, drought-stricken districts of the inland South (central and southern Apennines and the foothills of the Alps). Limited employment opportunities, low incomes and primitive living conditions are driving the peasants off the land. Roughly 40 per cent of the peasant families are no longer able to make a living from the soil. Necessity compels the peasant youth to look for work on capitalist farms, in the building trades or in industry.

The rapid and chaotic resettlement of the rural population is one of the most dramatic manifestations of the crisis of our agriculture. The tractor and the combine are forcing agricultural laborers to move away from the developed areas. Doomed to semi-unem-

ployment and destitution in primitive conditions, the agricultural laborers and landless and poor peasants of the South are fleeing to other parts of the country. Sharecroppers, weary of the fetters of archaic contracts which convert their unpaid labor into rent for the parasitic landowner, have joined the migration from the land. The same applies to the small peasant proprietors who either lack the means to modernize their farms or, having invested everything they have, discover that the resulting income does not cover the expenses. This exodus, accelerated by the expansion in industry, is assuming proportions of a wholesale flight. Whereas in 1951, 42 per cent of the total labor force was engaged in agriculture, by 1962 the percentage had dropped to 25; in 1962 alone more than 331,000 farm laborers and peasants left the land. The agricultural labor force has shrunk from about eight million to 4,941,000. Moreover, it is primarily the young and able-bodied who are leaving.

As a result of this flight approximately 1,000,000 hectares of farmland have been abandoned. In the districts most affected by the exodus what might be called an "agrarian reform in reverse" is taking place—the big capitalist farmers are buying up the abandoned land for a song and setting up, with state aid, big, highly productive but mostly extensive farms.

With a view to expanding the market for manufactured goods and preserving a mass base for the bourgeois regime in the countryside, the government's agrarian policy is designed to foster a stratum of well-to-do peasant farms capable of achieving a satisfactory standard of capitalist productivity as a "safety zone" around the big capitalist farms. However, this process is encountering practically insurmountable obstacles raised by the domination of the industrial and trade monopolies.

The Monopolies Are the Common Enemy of the Workers and Peasants

All peasants who buy farm machinery and implements and produce for the market are fleeced in the most outrageous way by the monopolies, and primarily by the Federation of Agricultural Consortiums (Federconsorzi), a finance organization linked with the monopolies which has grown enormously in the recent period and plays a dominant role in the sale of manufactured goods to the countryside as well as in wholesale buying, processing and distribution of farm produce.

With the monopolies ruling the roost, the peasants have little freedom of action on the market; the terms are dictated to them both when they buy means of production and when they sell their produce. Fertilizers, pesticides, farm machines and implements are all manufactured by a few giant monopolies, such as Montecatini, Edison and Fiat, which control the market and fix prices. Although productivity of labor has risen much more in industry than in agriculture and has greatly cut production costs of machines and fertilizers, the monopolies have raised prices. That the price rise has hit the farming population hard can be seen from the fact that in 1960 the price index for industrial goods was 82.7 times and for agricultural produce 60 times the 1938 index. The bigger farm output achieved through more extensive use of machinery and other technical means has thus largely benefited the industrial monopolies.

The peasants are at a disadvantage not only as buyers but also when they sell their produce to the food-industry magnates (sugar refineries, canneries, creameries and cheese factories). The monopolies dictate the areas to be planted to the various crops, the conditions of sale and the prices. The squeeze on the small producers is evident also on the general farm produce market where, owing to the monopoly or purely Camorrist* set-up the peasant gets about one-third, or at best half, of what the consumer is charged. Moreover, the situation is steadily worsening: the gap between what the peasant gets and what the consumer pays has increased by 75 per cent within the space of a few years. The industrial and trade monopolies thus encroach on the interests of both the peasant producer and the consumer; they are the main cause of the rising cost of living.

In these circumstances the bourgeoisie is finding it increasingly difficult to whip up antagonism between the worker-consumer and the peasant producer of food, both of whom are aware that the monopolies are their common enemy. The press controlled by the big landowners and the corrupt leaders of the Smallholders' Organization, which is linked with Federconsorzi, claim that the working class with its strikes and wage claims is responsible for the high prices of the technical equipment needed by the farmers. But this propaganda is no longer effective. The direct clash of interests between the peasant producers and the food-process-

ing monopolies tends to awaken the peasants politically. Indeed, it has become increasingly common for the producers of sugarbeet, tomatoes, milk, tobacco, etc., to coordinate their actions with the workers of sugar refineries, canneries, creameries and cheese factories. This new awareness helps to bring the working class and the peasantry together in joint struggle against the monopolies, thereby opening new opportunities for strengthening the alliance of the two classes. And this alliance is the principal condition of success in combating the monopolies and agrarian capitalism while working towards the ultimate goal of socialism.

Movement for General Agrarian Reform

The monopoly trend in agriculture derives from the objective laws of capitalism and the agrarian policy of the monopoly-controlled government. But these harsh laws and this official policy come up against the resistance of all those whose economic interests and social aspirations are trampled upon by the monopolies. To the line of the latter which encroaches on the interests of millions of peasants and is an affront to their social dignity, the Communist Party counterposes the alternative of a general agrarian reform which would give the land to those who till it and advance agriculture generally by strengthening the peasant farms (both the old and the new) economically and technically through state aid and opportunities for co-operation in voluntary associations.

Immediately after the war the idea of "winning" a plot of land in itself held a powerful appeal for the peasants in a country like Italy with its millions of wholly and partly unemployed. The yearning for land stemmed from the sheer necessity of securing a crust of bread for one's children. Today the situation is somewhat different. Unemployment and semi-unemployment have not disappeared, but no longer are they as painful as they used to be. The peasant to all intents and purposes can choose between work in agriculture and work in industry. He, of course, prefers to remain on the land, but only on condition that his labor brings in returns that would enable him to improve his life. Because of this the agrarian reform movement supplements the slogan "the land to those who till it" with the demand for state aid in the shape of investments and credits with a view to increasing farm productivity and incomes by introducing modern techniques, mechanizing farm work, expanding

*Extortioner.—Ed. Note.

the cultivation of the more valuable crops, promoting fruit and vegetable growing, livestock raising, wine growing and other branches capable of making the peasant farms more profitable. The fight waged by the landless peasants thus becomes linked with the struggle of the peasant proprietors to place their farms on a technically modern and economically sound footing.

The sharecroppers' struggle for security of tenure and the winning of legal guarantees against eviction (the cases in which the landowner can annul a sharecropper's contract are now stipulated by law) fall in line with the overall fight for agrarian reform. The same can be said of their movement for the right freely to dispose of the fruits of their labor, to establish cooperatives of their own and to operate their farms without interference on the part of the landowners, the right to ownership of everything they have created by their own labor (irrigation installations, etc.), priority right to buy the land they till, and the allocation to them of no less than half of the state funds granted for the sharecropping areas, i.e., demands the realization of which would weaken the power of the landowner and strengthen the position of the sharecropper. The fight for these immediate demands is extremely acute. This fight, moreover, is not only a purely economic struggle; it is interwoven with the fight for land which can be won only on the political plane. In this struggle a bond is being formed with the Catholic peasants who, increasingly, are siding with our Party on these issues.

The Policy of Alliance is Becoming Reality

It is symptomatic that the representatives of the General Confederation of Labor, the Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Labor Alliance, opposing the government-sponsored agrarian bill in the Economic and Labor Council, have submitted joint amendments which coincide with the general line of the agrarian reform bill recently put forward by the General Confederation of Labor. Even more significant is the fact that all three organizations jointly sponsored in September last year a 48-hour strike in support of these demands. That the powerful General Confederation of Labor, to which the majority of the agricultural laborers and sharecroppers belong, cooperates in the National Committee of Struggle for Agrarian Reform with the National Peasant Union and the National Association of Agricultural Cooperatives, is of the utmost importance in build-

ing an alliance of workers and small peasant proprietors. This committee and similar committees in the regions and provinces have sponsored impressive demonstrations not only in all agricultural centers but also in the principal towns, including Rome. The Rome demonstration was attended by peasants from all parts of the country. In Florence, Bologna and other cities the Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor and leaders of the Peasant Union addressed peasant audiences running into tens of thousands. On repeated occasions the workers in the provincial and regional capitals downed tools as a token of solidarity with the peasants and took part in demonstrations for agrarian reform. In other words, the policy of alliance between the working class and the working peasantry is being translated from a theoretical formula into dynamic reality. This gives added strength to the movement for agrarian reform while deepening the political consciousness of the workers and peasants and enhancing the role played by the working-class movement in national life.

The working class is aware that the struggle for a radical agrarian reform is one of the most important components of the overall struggle for the structural renovation of Italian society on an anti-monopoly footing. As for the agricultural proletariat, the sharecroppers and the small tenant farmers, they realize that working-class support opens to them the tangible prospect of becoming the owners of the land they till, a prospect which in conjunction with the establishment of voluntary economic associations holds out a promise of higher income and decent conditions. Consequently, all these millions of working people with splendid traditions of organization and militant, class-conscious struggle both for trade union demands and for land are joining forces in the fight for agrarian reform. They are resolved to put an end to the monopoly ownership of land and to curb monopoly policy in the countryside. Even the "flight from the land" has not weakened the solidarity and militancy of the agrarian reform movement, for although many agricultural laborers and sharecroppers have moved to the cities to become factory workers their place has been taken by the other sections of the peasant population now joining the common struggle.

The millions of small peasant proprietors who mostly belong to Catholic organizations are another major force in the countryside which can be enlisted in the fight for agra-

rian reform. The policy of subservience to monopoly interests and concentrating state investments in the capitalist sector pursued by the Christian Democrats, whom this section of the peasantry have traditionally considered their party, encroaches on their interests and threatens their property. Consequently, the people on whose vote the Catholic party has largely depended are awakening today to the fact that this party has betrayed them by jettisoning its peasant traditions and using its position as the ruling party to carry out monopoly policy. And as this betrayal sinks in, the Catholic peasants are realizing more and more that unless a radical change takes place in economic policy they, too, will be forced to search for a livelihood as wage workers. They have no liking for this prospect, and their struggle to avert it objectively coincides with the movement for agrarian reform and with the struggle waged by the Communist Party, the most resolute champion of a policy of safeguarding and strengthening peasant ownership.

Much has changed in recent years in the countryside in general and in the Catholic peasants' way of thinking in particular. The ruthless laws of capitalism, the fight waged by the agricultural labourers and sharecroppers against the monopolies, and the agrarian policy of the Communist Party have all helped them to realize that anti-communism is a cover for conservatism and merciless exploitation. The myth invented by the bourgeoisie that the Communists are the expropriators of the peasants is disproved by the facts; the peasants realize that it is not the Communist revolution but the monopolies and the agrarian capitalists who are threatening their holdings. Hence nothing has come of the attempts to use the Catholic peasants as a striking force against the workers. Anti-communism has suffered failure; the Catholic peasants are hearkening more and more to the Communists and joining in actions initiated by them. In the recent parliamentary election a substantial part of the small peasant proprietors throughout Italy voted Communist for the first time, adding their support to that constantly given to the Communist Party by the agricultural proletariat and the sharecroppers. This was one of the reasons for the Party's success at the polls on April 28, 1963.

The shift of the Catholic peasant vote from the Christian Democrats to the Communists is not only a reflection of support for the policy of agrarian reform and defense

of the peasant economy and peasant ownership, but also an indication that this section of the rural population is joining the fight for democratic freedoms and, in particular, for a policy of peace, of which the Communist Party is the most consistent champion.

The Perspectives

The growing impact of the movement for agrarian reform on the Catholic peasants opens up new perspectives. The struggle is gaining in scope, drawing in powerful social, trade union and political forces which, in alliance with the entire working-class and democratic movement, can give effect to an anti-monopoly alternative and, consequently, solve the problem of agrarian relations in a democratic way. It is not only the peasants whose interests are affected and who are waging the battle. This is a national struggle of great importance also for the working-class movement. Thanks to the work done by the Communist Party to ensure theoretical clarity on the peasant problem, the working class is deeply aware of the necessity of alliance with the peasantry and is working effectively to build this alliance. The working class is becoming increasingly conscious of the role it is destined to play in the common struggle—the role of leader in uniting the peasant masses and all other working people in a great movement for national regeneration.

The program statement adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party points out that the peasants, in the present conditions of monopoly rule, are objectively interested in the socialist reconstruction of society. They see more and more clearly that monopoly domination deprives them of all prospects of social progress and economic independence, curtails their incomes, dooms them to poverty and eventual ruin, with a status of lumpen-proletarians as their ultimate lot. As their eyes are opened to these realities, the peasants are coming to see the need for far-reaching changes in the economic and social system, changes of which the working class is the champion. The joint struggle of the working class and the peasantry against the monopolies and the agrarian capitalists accelerates the maturing of the peasants' political consciousness.

Both the general aims of the struggle for socialism set forth by the Communist Party and its practical work in the countryside are directed at making the peasantry an effective motive force of socialist revolution in Italy.

Economic Aspects of the Paris - Bonn Axis

Henri Claude

THE Paris-Bonn axis took official shape in the treaty signed on January 22, 1963. It is widely believed that as far as the French side is concerned this action merely reflected de Gaulle's personal viewpoint. In point of fact, however, the matter concerns the political orientation of the top groups of French finance capitalism, which, ever since 1955, i.e., long before de Gaulle's advent to power, had been angling for a closer tie-up with the West German monopolies.

Towards Closer Collaboration

The French-German Economic Committee, an official body entrusted with the job of investigating the possibility of long-term economic cooperation between France and Federal Germany was set up in 1955, and this was followed in 1956 by the opening of the French-German Chamber of Trade. In 1957 a sub-committee of representatives of French and West German private industries was formed within the Economic Committee with the purpose of paving the way for the participation of West German capital in African investment. In November of the same year a Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas and member of the sub-committee said: "In my view collaboration of France and Germany is indispensable . . . It is essential that the peoples who have a say in running the economy of our two countries should know and understand each other and should forget the old prejudices which have so often divided us." The spokesman submitted a plan for merging the atomic and aircraft industries of the two countries, for joint participation in African enterprises and creating a consortium with a view to capturing foreign markets. Speaking at the Hanover Fair in April 1958, H. Davezac, now President of the General Union of the Electrical Engineering Industry, made an official bid for an agreement on cooperation with FRG industrialists in the European Economic Community. During these same years important agreements were entered into between the leading French and West German commercial banks.

It was not fortuitous that this idea of rapprochement with the German bourgeoisie

should come to the fore in 1955-58. For this was a period of boom in France, with rates of growth exceeding those in the Federal Republic. It was then that the basic features and trends of French imperialism came into bold relief. This imperialism had lost its role as "money-lender," had become "industrialized," and was anxious to play a leading role among the capitalist powers. Having lost considerable spheres of investment in Eastern Europe and the Far East after the Second World War, the French bourgeoisie was compelled to reinforce and expand its industrial base in order to survive on the capitalist market which had shrunk geographically. The spread of state-monopoly capitalism, the super-exploitation of the working class, the taxation of the middle strata, the robbery of the peoples still under the colonial yoke, the "compensation" obtained by the capitalists from the state after the Communists had been expelled from the government, the return of capital from Syria and later from Vietnam—all enabled the monopoly bourgeoisie to accelerate the process of capital accumulation and to expand the productive forces to a certain extent. At the same time they launched out on exploitation of the newly-found mineral wealth in the Sahara and other parts of Africa (bauxites in Guinea, iron-ore in Mauritania and Gabon, phosphates in Senegal and Togo, copper in Mauritania and manganese in Gabon and the Ivory Coast). Before 1953 capital investments were mainly channeled into heavy industry, especially iron and steel, and after 1953 predominantly to new branches: new sources of fuel (natural gas, uranium, oil), the chemical industry and electronics.

The big bourgeoisie, however, had not enough capital to develop the more up-to-date branches of industry or to exploit African resources. Moreover, the home market was too small to absorb the output of the mines and modernized plants. This suggests the path of imperialist integration. On the other hand, the French bourgeoisie could not undertake large-scale integration in view of the strong positions held by the U.S. and British monopolies. Hence there arose the

French concept of integration, i.e., an integration confined to the countries of continental Europe and the African territories under the political domination of France and in close cooperation with West German capital. The choice of the FRG was dictated by both economic and political considerations.

Its general industrial superiority notwithstanding, the Federal Republic has several vulnerable spots resulting from the defeat of Hitler in 1945, in particular the proscription on certain kinds of output. In a number of branches this changed the balance in favor of the French monopolies (aircraft, atomic power* and aluminum production**) or at least improved their position vis a vis Federal Germany (iron and steel, chemicals). Politically speaking, Bonn could pursue its "positions of strength" policy in regard to the socialist German Democratic Republic thanks solely to the political and military support of France. In exchange the French finance oligarchy expected to obtain economic concessions, including a market for the output of the African mines, for the tropical goods which the French market cannot consume, and also for the produce of France's agriculture which suffered from a crisis of overproduction in 1958-59. French capitalism sought to become the privileged supplier of these goods by ousting from Western Germany the corresponding U.S., British and Latin American goods. It sought, moreover, to balance the overall industrial power of the Federal Republic by the political and economic weight of its African possessions, especially in view of the commissioning of the recently discovered power resources there. In exchange for the penetration of West German goods and capital into the franc zone the French bourgeoisie hoped to receive support for its system of political domination in Africa.

The forces which pressed more vigorously for closer cooperation with Federal Germany included the uranium, natural gas and oil monopolies and their associated branches (atomic, electronic, oil and chemical), the companies processing African industrial and agricultural raw materials, the aircraft, aluminium and glass firms and the firms pro-

ducing synthetic textiles.* Specially interested were the Lorraine iron and steel companies which, by establishing themselves in the Ruhr, formed the industrial backbone, as it were, of the Paris-Bonn axis. To these can be added the firms dominating the various branches of the processing industry, which were ready to come to an agreement with their West German partners on eliminating the numerous small and medium-sized enterprises and forming amalgamations with a view to waging a struggle for the external markets against their British, American and Japanese rivals.

It was this conglomeration of industrial and commercial interests linked with the big banks and forming the dominant groups of French capitalism (groups such as the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Rothschild, Union Parisienne and Schneider) which advanced the idea of a "Common Eurafrican Market" under French-German aegis which, in the words of de Gaulle, would be "based on a might and a prosperity similar to that of the United States," and in which they would play first fiddle.

The French monopoly bourgeoisie trembles with delight at the prospect of laying hands on the modern power sources. Commenting on the discovery of Sahara oil in 1956-57 *La Vie Francaise*, mouth-piece of the financiers, wrote: "The significance of the new discovery transcends the purely economic bounds. It will give us, it will restore to us the right to make our voice heard and above all in Europe. If we succeed in drawing the Germans, the Italians and others into the exploitation of the Sahara resources our entry into the Community will make sense."

It was these interests and ambitions that found expression in de Gaulle's claim to a leading role in Europe and in establishing closer economic and political ties with Bonn.

The Development of Franco-German Economic Integration

The situation which had taken shape in 1958 created the economic conditions for the agreement on political and economic cooperation concluded by de Gaulle and Adenauer on January 22, 1963. Recent years have seen an expansion of trade between the two countries, an increase in the number of agreements concluded between their enterprises, and inter-penetration of firms: French firms into West German firms and vice versa in France and in the franc-zone countries.

*French capitalism holds first place in continental Western Europe for output of uranium—1,500 tons (1962 figures) plus the output of the Moutana deposits in Gabon. In 1962 France owned 9 of the Common Market nuclear power stations compared with the FRG's 4 and Italy's 3.

**In 1961 the Pechiney-Ugine group together with its subsidiary Alucam produced 321,000 tons of aluminium; West German production was 173,000 tons.

*The Rhône-Poulenc group which practically monopolizes the French synthetic textiles industry also controls several West German companies.

Having by far outstripped its rivals, Federal Germany has become France's principal trading partner. In the first quarter of 1963 it accounted for 21 per cent of the French imports from countries outside the franc zone, and absorbed 20 per cent of the French exports to the same countries. As regards trade between the EEC countries, West Germany supplies 50 per cent of France's imports and absorbs 44 per cent of its exports to these countries. France, on its part, is the biggest buyer from, and the second biggest (after the United States) supplier to, the FRG.

The cooperation between the firms of the two countries has been greatly developed and in the most diverse forms.

The agreements against external rivals are concretized in the defense treaties aimed at protecting the EEC (as in the case of the chemical, iron and steel and paper trusts which have entered the lists against their American, British, Japanese, Canadian and Scandinavian rivals) and in creating consortiums charged with the task of seizing external markets, as is the case with the monopolies producing equipment for industry, which seek to obtain contracts from the newly-emergent countries. Some of the Franco-German consortiums have obtained the right to build fertilizer factories and power plants in the UAR, installations for processing liquid fuel and gas supplies to Lisbon, electrification of the Portuguese railroads, an iron and steel combine in Brazil, an oil refinery in Iran, a dam in Iraq and oil extraction in Argentina.

Agreements closely linking the firms of the two countries are numerous:

a) Trade agreements between the firms concerning mutual support of their products for sale in the EEC or in other countries. For example, a French firm distributes the products of a West German firm in France and vice versa. In third countries they have common representatives.

b) Agreements on technical cooperation in making certain products, similar to the one concluded between the French trust Trefimetaux and Siemens-Schuckertwerke for electric cable.

c) Agreements on specialized production between firms producing the same kind of goods.

d) Amalgamation of production capacity for the manufacture of costly output, as is the case, for example, in aircraft manufacture and especially production of military aircraft. French company jointly with a

West German firm is making the transport aircraft Transall for NATO; another group of firms has designed and made the submarine chaser plane "Atlantic." Federal Germany takes part in financing the construction of a vertical take-off aircraft made by the French firm, Snecma. In 1963 the French commissariat for atomic energy entered into agreement with Siemens-Schuckertwerke for making nuclear reactors.

The opening of joint subsidiaries by firms and the almost complete fusion of companies are also commonplace.

Joint subsidiaries are being formed by the leading firms in the concentrated sectors of the economy (chemical industry, electronics and banking). Companies combine part of their capital for special work. By way of example we can mention the European Society of Industrial Development which is owned, on a parity basis, by the Deutsche Bank and Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas; the European Consortium for the Development of Africa belonging to the Banque de l'Indochine and the two biggest West German banks; the Dispersion Plastique — a subsidiary of the French Kuhlmann and West German Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik.

The almost complete fusion of two firms, which however preserve their juridical independence, is as often as not one of the variants of a joint subsidiary, inasmuch as these firms are themselves subsidiaries of the financial groups. For example, the machine-tool company Ch. Berthiez has entered into an agreement with the West German Schiess firm (heavy machine tools) providing for a common designing bureau and specialization. Moreover, each company has a share in the capital of the other and is represented on the other company by two administrators. The Berthiez-Schiess group, it is believed, will become the principal West European producer of heavy machine tools.

This inter-penetration of capital has assumed a specific aspect in France's former colonial possessions where it serves the interests of neo-colonialism. As early as 1957 West German monopoly capital reached into the oil and mining companies set up by the French in Africa. When the subsidiaries of the French banks in Africa were transformed into local banks of the newly-independent states, capital from the FRG starting from 1962 began to take part in them alongside American and Italian capital.

The French companies which have entrenched themselves in the economy of Federal Germany, are reinforcing their positions.

The leading place among them belongs to the glass industry headed by the St. Gobain and Boussois companies, which control most of the West German production of insulating material as well as plate and window glass. The principal petroleum trust of France, *Compagnie Française des Pétroles*, founded a subsidiary in the Federal Republic, which had a network of 500 service stations at the end of 1961, and in the following year it established a subsidiary in common with a West German group, which enabled it to double the number of stations. Michelin, the principal tire manufacturer in France, resumed production in its factories in Western Germany and have doubled production capacity so as to cover 10 per cent of the demand of the West German market. At the same time subsidiaries have been created by other big companies: Berliet (lorries), Arthur Martin (kitchen-ranges and other utensils), Bull and CSF (electronics), Stein and Roubaix (powerful boilers and industrial furnaces).

Parallel with this current of capital, a second current is flowing from Western Germany into France, although it should be said that the first prevails over the other. Thus, after he had transferred the mine Harpener to the French group *Sidex*, the German magnate Flick reinvested part of the money thus obtained into the big enterprises of the *Neuves-Maisons-Châtillon* firm.

Before the formation of the EEC the export of West German capital to France was rather feeble, but after 1958 it mounted drastically and in 1962 reached the sum of DM 276.3 million. The bulk of this money is ploughed into the joint Franco-German enterprises, into French firms under the control of the West German capitalists, or into purely West German subsidiaries. In 1963 most big West German concerns had subsidiaries in France designed to sell their products and ensure maintenance at the time of exploitation. It is, as a rule, the big and middle West German firms that build their factories in France, predominantly in the east of the country, in particular in Alsace whose economy tends to integrate with that of the FRG.

As we see it, the process of integration of French and West German capitalism, which lies at the bedrock of the Paris-Bonn axis, has two contradictory and inseparable aspects. On the one hand, the integration goes farther than the usual agreements on carving up the markets and transcends the boundaries of the cartels that existed before 1939;

it is characterized by accelerated centralization of capital and by the trend in the direction of mergers. The various agreements concluded by the firms pave the way to still closer integration. But on the other hand, the monopoly groups are developing independently and seek to reinforce their positions as is evident in the parallel process of implanting subsidiaries in the Common Market. The two imperialisms — French and West German — maintain their independence and are not merging to form some kind of French-German super-imperialism.

These two contradictory aspects of the same process are reflected on the ideological and political plane in two concepts which divide the French champions of European integration. The concept of a "federated" or "supra-national" Europe corresponds to the merger trend; the concept of a "confederated Europe" or a "United States of Europe" accords with the second trend. The two trends express the same reality and this makes for their unity; what is in question is the attempt to re-carve the European and African markets in the conditions of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

In the past French and German capitalists resorted to armed struggle for markets and sources of raw materials. Today, faced with the growing might of the socialist world system, they realize that internecine war would signify an end to capitalism in Europe, hence the striving of re-carve markets without recourse to war. The new redivision is taking place in conformity with the steadily changing balance of forces.

A study of the Paris-Bonn monopoly integration shows that this is not an harmonious union but a struggle for domination; in the final analysis it implies not an easing but an aggravation of the contradictions, posing the question of who will gain the upper hand.

The Development of the Contradictions

French imperialism believed that the fuel and mineral resources of Africa would enable it to play the leading role in the alliance with Bonn. It seriously hoped to keep the African peoples in the so-called "French-African community" headed by de Gaulle, and to crush the struggle of the Algerian people for national freedom. But this "community" fell apart, Algeria became independent, and the result was a heavy blow to the "Eurafrican" concepts of the French bourgeoisie.

Finance capital and the mining trusts sacrificed agrarian colonialism in the Evian agreements in order to preserve the Sahara

oil and gas. It was believed that by 1965 oil extraction would reach 50 million tons, but in 1963 only 25 million tons will be produced and the figure for 1965 will be 27-30 million. Moreover, Sahara oil has a rival in Middle Eastern oil and in the newly discovered oil fields in Libya where cost of production is lower than in Algeria. Export of Sahara gas to the Ruhr now seems doubtful in view of the discovery of immense gas deposits in Holland, controlled by Esso and Shell. Today the de Gaulle government can only hope to use Sahara gas in the south of France.

However, by far the main obstacle to realization of these plans is the desire of the people of Africa to put an end to their backwardness through industrialization, to process in their own countries the raw materials now exported to Europe by the oil and metallurgical monopolies, to discontinue extraction of raw materials by foreign capital. The national forces in Africa will do away with the foreign capitalist plunder of their countries and put an end to the deals concluded at their expense by French imperialism with the West German imperialists.

Another obstacle is the fact that the partner of the present rulers of France in the Paris-Bonn axis, possessing greater economic might, has its own imperialist claims. Whereas the correlation of forces still favors some of the French monopolists, the general situation is totally different and is steadily changing in favor of Federal Germany. The latter's industry produces roughly as much as France and Italy taken together, and its reserves of gold and foreign exchange are 42 per cent greater than those of France.

Of the 15 bigger monopolies in the EEC 11 are West German, but no French monopolies figure among the big fifteen. If we compare the business activity of 100 biggest French and West German enterprises, we shall see that the latter's business is between 40 and 195 per cent greater than that of the French enterprises.

As for the particular branches of industry, the situation is much the same. With the exception of oil, aircraft, aluminium and glass, German superiority is obvious. This shows that in the struggle for hegemony in Europe, the Bonn imperialists have better chances, and this cannot but aggravate the contradictions between them and their French partner.

As for the concept of an autarchic Common Market including former African possessions of French imperialism and in which

Federal Germany would absorb the tropical products and raw materials as well as the agricultural surpluses of France itself, this concept conflicts with the interests of West German capitalism.

The potential of the West German processing industry far exceeds the possibilities of the market which corresponds more to the possibilities of French industry. Whereas the EEC and the franc zone account for 53.5 per cent of French exports and 51 per cent of the imports, two-thirds of the trade of Federal Germany is with third countries: EFTA, the British Commonwealth and the underdeveloped countries, including those in Latin America. Things are the same in regard to capital exports: between 1952 and 1961 51 per cent of the capital of Federal Germany was channeled to the American continent, mainly Latin America and Canada, and less than 5 per cent to Africa, chiefly the Republic of South Africa and Liberia. This is in the interest of West German capitalism whose manufactured goods find a market in countries from which it can import raw materials at the lowest prices. This flow of goods could not effect in the same measure those African countries in which French capitalism is solidly established.

Interests also clash in the sphere of agriculture, particularly with the French importers of tropical goods who would like to resell these products in Europe at prices higher than world prices. The agriculture of the Federal Republic is distinguished for its narrow specialization, its internal market is protected by customs barriers and high prices, but at the same time it imports large quantities of agricultural produce from underdeveloped countries, from the British Commonwealth and the United States at prices lower than on the world market. In exchange the FRG supplies **machines and manufactured goods**, trade which is of great significance in ensuring equilibrium in its economy. Concessions to France would disrupt West Germany's present economic balance, and result in the loss of **certain markets** for manufactured goods and in higher prices for food.

French capital has a stake in weakening the positions of the rival industry of the Federal Republic. The existence of agricultural surpluses creates no small financial difficulties for France. The French bourgeoisie would like to get Federal Germany to take these surpluses but at prices higher than the world prices, which would raise the labor costs in that country, raise the price of West German manufactured goods and thus weak-

en their competitive power.

All these contradictions featured in the heated debates that preceded the signing of the Treaty of Rome. The treaty, let it be recalled, was concluded on the basis of the following bargain. Western Germany at that time relinquished the "free trade area" formula, even though it gave it preference, and opposed the incorporation of Britain into the EEC. For political reasons it accepted the French formula of the "Common Market," since it thereby obtained a free hand in the matter of rearmament and support for its territorial claims. As the director of the Volkswagen firm put it, "the Common Market follows from a political concept for which we must pay a high price." But the French side, too, had to make concessions. True, it secured a single customs tariff for all members of the EEC against third countries, but it was fixed at a level much lower than that it had anticipated. France had also to agree to concessions in regard to the priority purchase of African tropical goods which it had required of the FRG. In signing the Treaty each side linked with it its particular plans: France regarded the formation of the EEC confined to the six countries as being final, while the Federal Republic saw it as but a first step towards a wider integration.

With the strengthening of the political tie-up between de Gaulle's France and Adenauer's Germany, these contradictions, far from being softened, sharpened. *In the measure that it extracted more political concessions from France, German imperialism felt its hands freer to play a game of its own.* In 1958 when Britain tried to torpedo the French concept of the Common Market, Bonn did not prevent de Gaulle from opposing this move because at the time France's political commitments were decisive for the Federal Republic. On the contrary, in January 1963, after the treaty on the Paris-Bonn axis had been signed and the FRG had obtained satisfaction on the political plane, the views of the partners drastically diverged during the voting (which took place a few days later) on Britain's entry into the Market.

As regards the common agricultural policy it was only on January 14, 1962, that a difficult compromise was reached: only for some kinds of produce (cereals and grain produce, fruit, vegetables, wine and sugar) was agreement reached, while for others, negotiations were to be held later. Federal Germany reserved its right to trade in these goods, both

today and in the future, with other countries. It continued to buy grain in countries of which it was a traditional customer, and the 4 million tons of grain surplus from France's 1962 crop were disposed of only thanks to purchases by other countries. Having bought a large part of its meat supply outside the Market, the Federal Republic covered only 2.5 per cent of its needs by imports from France. Ever since the failure of the Brussels talks on Britain's entry, an almost non-stop struggle has been going on between the representatives of France, who insist on giving effect to the agreements of January 14, 1962, and of the FRG, who invariably put a spoke in the wheel.*

A similar policy is pursued in regard to industry where West German monopolies take independent action which as often as not runs counter to the interests of the French monopolies. The strongest industrial groups in the FRG, especially the electro-technical and motor-vehicle companies, pursue their own policy of expansion ignoring joint action proposals made by the French companies. The repeated calls made by H. Davezac at the Hanover Fair have not been answered.

The hopes for cooperation — under French leadership — in branches in which French capitalism secured relative superiority after the Second World War, have only been partly realized.

To overcome their difficulties the electro-technical monopolies in Federal Germany accepted the technical aid of the U.S. monopolies with which they have formed mixed companies such as Interatom. This enabled the German side to obtain American techniques for the production of reactors for nuclear-powered ships.

The West German aircraft industry, after extensive cooperation at the time of preparing the Rome Treaty and in the immediate period of its operation, began to show a tendency toward independent development. For example, the Federal Republic sent engineers to work in the Snecma factory which produced a plane with vertical take-off, and afterwards secretly built one plane of this kind itself. Last May *Usine Nouvelle* bitterly commented: "The announcement that two German firms participating in constructing Transall have published specifications about the VJ-101 vertical take-off plane came as

*In April 1963, Federal Germany proposed a "calendar" which would in fact block the agricultural negotiations for one year. Defying the agreements signed on January 14, 1962, it insisted that the status-quo concerning prices for cereals should be prolonged for another year.

a surprise to France."

Federal Germany refused to buy a French-made tank for its armed forces deciding instead to produce its own tank equipped with British weaponry thereby disappointing French hopes for a big sale of tanks. In Africa, where the West German iron and steel monopolies have not played any major part in the mining companies controlled by French capital, they are exploiting deposits outside the franc zone and without the participation of French firms. In 1963, for example, the firms Bochumer Verein and Phoenix-Rheinrohr founded, with the participation of Italian capital (the Finsider group), a company for exploiting the iron ore deposits in Liberia.

After the termination of the war in Algeria the West German bourgeoisie showed a desire to use the neo-colonialist policy of the Common Market in its own interests. Beginning with 1962, simultaneously with the penetration of West German banks into the banking community of the African countries, the Federal Republic granted big loans to the governments of Morocco, Tunisia, Senegal, Upper Volta, Guinea, Togo, Mali and Madagascar, thereby facilitating the flow of its industrial plant into these countries. French industrial interests, which had banked on preserving their privileged positions in their former colonies thanks to the credits granted by the French government to the newly-emergent states, are beginning to be disappointed. The press has complained that these funds have been spent on local administration and for basic equipment "thus opening the doors to new demands which are met through foreign aid in the shape of direct material supplies, very often extended on account of loans that are to be reimbursed" (*Usine Nouvelle*, July 19, 1962).

On their part, the West German industrialists, according to the DPA agency, are displeased because they are not selling enough in Africa, although "the Federal Republic accounts for 34 per cent of the fund for the association of African countries" (*Usine Nouvelle*, May 16, 1963). Such are the facts of life. The Paris-Bonn axis cannot prevent the growth of the French-German contradictions. It shows that the two imperialisms can find real grounds for accord only against their common enemy — socialism.

The Anti-National Policy of the French Big Bourgeoisie

The growth of contradictions between the partners in the Paris-Bonn axis sheds light on the futility of the claims made by the

French bourgeoisie and on the profoundly anti-national attitude of those of its groups who shape the policy of the country. The economic superiority of the Federal Republic leads to the transformation of the Paris-Bonn axis into a Bonn-Paris axis by means of which aggressive West German imperialism will command the destiny of France, and not of France alone. The treaty of January 22, 1963, was a major step in this direction. This treaty was not an accident or an error of judgment, it was the logical consummation of the integrationist policy of the powerful French monopoly groups.

In signing the Treaty of Rome the French bourgeoisie hoped to play the leading role in Europe jointly with Bonn, since the lag in some branches of industry in France would be compensated by the political weakness of the FRG. But what is one of the main reasons for this weakness of the Bonn government? The reason lies in its reactionary policy of revenge, a policy "from positions of strength" in relation to the GDR, and this weakness has forced it to seek help from other imperialist countries.

The people of France are now enmeshed in a reckless policy which is linking our country ever more closely with the revenge-seeking Federal Republic, preventing a peaceful settlement of the German question or the solution of the disarmament problem. For in addition to the desire to hold the people in check, it is continuation of the cold war and hatred of socialism that underlines the temporary compromise of the French monopolies with Bonn. De Gaulle has brought this policy to its logical conclusion, having signed the treaty with Adenauer on January 22, publicly eulogizing Bonn imperialism and accelerating the creation of his "nuclear striking force."

Although Bonn clearly prefers U.S. atomic weapons to those France would like to sell it, this by no means minimizes the responsibility of de Gaulle and the French bourgeoisie who are paving the way to the nuclear arming of the Federal Republic and who sabotage disarmament by refusing to sign the Moscow test-ban treaty. This adds to the danger of a thermonuclear war which, were it to break out, would signify the total destruction of France. This, then, is the result to which the reckless and criminal policy of the French monopolies will lead unless our people put an end to it.

One has to recall Munich to find an example of such a glaring betrayal of the national interests. The only difference is that in 1935-39 the French bourgeoisie encour-

aged German imperialism to seize positions beyond its own frontiers: occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, *anschluss* with Austria, and the seizure of Czechoslovakia and Poland. Today this bourgeoisie opens its own market to West German products, allows the economic integration of Alsace with Germany, and grants on its territory training bases for the Bundeswehr which regards France as its rear-lines stronghold. This difference is proof of the continuity of a class policy running counter to the interests of the people of France, it is proof of the decline of imperialism; this is a refurbished Munich at the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism as a whole and of French imperialism in particular.

But the new situation also enables the people of France and of Federal Germany to find a way out. Inasmuch as the world balance has changed in favor of socialism, the trend which in the past led from Munich to war, can be reversed. The objective changes make it possible for the masses not only to see the danger in time but also to avert it.

To befuddle the French people into accepting the new Munich the de Gaulle propaganda has recourse to jingo arguments, harping on the theme of "France's grandeur", the guarantee of which, we are told, is the creation of a French-German super-power that would speak to the USA as an equal; at the same time it poses as a champion of French-German reconciliation. On this demagogic foundation the de Gaulle Government seeks to achieve the "unity of the French people," to lead both the right and the Left. But this propaganda will not stand up to the facts, i.e., the real possibilities of French imperialism; it cannot reconcile the people of France and Germany by reviving militarism.

The reconciliation of the two peoples presupposes ending the things that have been

left over from the last war, the signing of a peace treaty with the two Germanies, turning West Berlin into a free city, recognizing the German Democratic Republic, the reuniting of Germany on a peaceful foundation, disarmament and peace. But the Elysée treaty, the creation of de Gaulle's "nuclear striking force" and support for West German militarism are the very reverse of this.

The fundamental contradiction of the Paris-Bonn axis is in its being completely at variance with the national interests of the French and German peoples. This is beginning to be felt by the masses. Although the Elysée treaty was ratified by Parliament, it was opposed not only by our Party but also by the Socialist Party which, remaining a supporter of the Common Market, nevertheless voted against the treaty. The voting showed the soundness of the judgment of the Communist Party in not making united action with the Socialist Party conditional on the attitude of the Common Market. It justified the tactics and strategy elaborated by the last congresses of our Party, which consisted in rallying the masses against the consequences of monopoly integration, showing them at the same time the need to curb the power of the monopolies. While exposing the nationalist demagoguery of de Gaulle and working to enlist the masses for the struggle for renunciation of the nuclear striking force, whether "national" or "multinational," for denunciation of the Elysée treaty, for peaceful coexistence and general, complete and controlled disarmament, the Communist Party proposes to the democratic forces the nationalization of the big banks and firms in the atomic, iron and steel, oil and chemical industries, that is, nationalization of exactly those capitalist groups which in France bear the main responsibility for the Paris-Bonn axis.

The People of Cameroun Continue the Struggle

Abdoulaye Koné

THE coming decade will see a new Africa, an Africa free of the last vestiges of foreign rule and advancing along the high-road of economic independence. The national-liberation movement in Africa will finally triumph over the dark forces of imperialism.

But a long and difficult struggle still lies ahead. As the struggle for national independence and democracy gains ground the imperialists endeavor to consolidate their positions not infrequently by force. Armed aggression, subordinating national armies to

Western military experts, and establishing military bases are combined with the insidious policy of economic, technical and cultural "aid." In some countries the colonialists have installed puppet dictators based on the feudal forces linked up with foreign imperialism, and on the new bureaucracy. As can be seen from recent developments in Togo, Senegal and Dahomey, military cliques, interfering more and more in political life, are plotting coups. The present situation in Cameroun is typical of the way imperialism combines naked force with neo-colonialism.

Stranglehold of the Imperialists

The Federative Republic of Cameroun was founded on October 1, 1961. Cameroun is a big exporter of cocoa, coffee, bananas, cotton, groundnuts and rubber; it is rich in iron, copper bauxite, tin, gold, diamonds and oil, and has considerable hydro-power resources. This provides favorable opportunities for developing the aluminum industry. A plant producing 48,000 tons of aluminum annually, is already operating in Edéa. Cameroun is the biggest aluminum producer in Africa and ranks fifth in the capitalist world after Canada, USA, Norway and France.

This wealth, however, does not belong to the people of Cameroun. Ninety per cent of the agricultural production is monopolized by the imperialists. The colonialists have concessions in the most fertile areas of the country where the export crops are cultivated. The Cameroun peasants, having no access to the world market, sell their crop to wholesalers, to the European plantation owners or to commercial companies which resell these products at a handsome profit. Foreign-owned trusts monopolize not only the sale but also the production of agricultural products. The middle and poor peasants who make up 80 per cent of the population lack the means with which to cultivate export crops and hence are able to produce only enough to meet their minimum needs.

Since independence the imperialists have tightened their hold on the economy and in many respects Cameroun is now more oppressed than it was before. The standard of living is steadily declining, whereas the profits of the banks, mining companies and commercial firms are steadily rising. The country is in the grip of an economic crisis. Epidemics, child mortality, alcoholism and poverty are widespread. But the biggest scourge is unemployment.

The French imperialists and their West German and North American allies are not

confining themselves to the economic domination of Cameroun. NATO experts are aware of its strategic significance for continuing neo-colonialist slavery in Africa. Cameroun may be said to be the gateway to the heart of Africa. With the key positions in their hands, the NATO powers hope to maintain their military influence over most of the newly - emergent African countries. And France, with the backing of her NATO partners, holds the key position in all spheres.

In the agreements concluded between the governments of France and Cameroun after the establishment of independence, it is stated that "the Republic of Cameroun declares its wish to develop in close cooperation with the Republic of France and with the other countries in the franc area." The same agreements state that "Cameroun and France agree to coordinate their trade policy in relation to third countries." The de Gaulle government has worked out a plan for joint colonization of Cameroun by the member-countries of the European Economic Community. The so-called agreement on cooperation signed recently in Yaoundé, legalized the economic plunder of Cameroun by France and the other EEC powers. Cameroun will now not be able to trade with countries outside the EEC, and especially with the socialist countries.

Aggressive War and the Fascization of the Country

President Ahmadou Ahidjo, a puppet of French imperialism, has leased land to France and to NATO for military bases. The French militarists have a 99-year lease on the port and airfield at Douala. The French government which for many years now has been waging an aggressive war against the Cameroun people has intensified military operations.

After the end of the war in Algeria hundreds of the "ultras" arrived in Cameroun. Foreign Legion units include former SS men. The so-called "Cameroun Army," formally controlled by the puppet government, is, in fact, under the French High Command and, like the French Expeditionary Corps, is used against the people.

Under Ahidjo's rule Cameroun has become a police state. Political parties and other democratic organizations have been banned. Prisons and concentration camps are filled with patriots, including scores of political and trade union leaders—men who battled for national independence and democracy.

A curfew has been imposed in Douala, Yaoundé, N'kongsamba and in other towns.

Groups of more than two are forbidden on the streets. Political prisoners are denied the right to legal defense; they are tortured and subjected to inhuman treatment. The virtual invasion by "ultras" from Algeria has made life impossible in Cameroun.

The rural population in a number of areas has been forced into fortified villages known as "resettlement camps." In the Ndé Department, for example, some 50,000 peasants in the so-called restricted zones have been forced into such camps.

The heads of executed patriots are placed on public view for the purpose of intimidating the population. Hordes of mercenaries consign villages to the flames. On February 1, 1962, 26 patriots were slaughtered in a gas-van. Bans are imposed on the local press. Foreign lawyers and journalists are not allowed to enter the country.

Union of the Peoples of Cameroun— Organizer of the Resistance

To fight against the despotic regime of tyranny and against the French military aggression, the patriotic forces have united in the Cameroun national-liberation army which is resisting a more than 100,000 strong army of repression.

The communiques issued by the headquarters of the national liberation army regularly report the losses inflicted on the enemy in killed, prisoners, and military equipment. Many areas are under the control of the national-liberation army. In some of these the invaders dare not move beyond the administrative centres.

The armed struggle is headed by the Union of Peoples of Cameroun. The Union was founded in April 1948 by the national hero Ruben Um-Hyobe. It has been waging a struggle against French colonialism ever since. In 1955 the colonialists staged a massacre in Cameroun, in which 5,000 people were slaughtered. In July of that year the authorities banned both the Union and all the organizations affiliated to it. Thousands of activists were arrested and thrown into prison or concentration camps. Ruben Um-Nyobe, general secretary of the Union, was murdered in 1958. In 1960 its chairman, Felix Noumie was poisoned. This heavy loss and the exceptionally difficult condition in which the Party has had to carry on its struggle naturally affected the organization.

The Party was betrayed by a group of renegades who decided to make their peace with Ahidjo and formed a so-called "legal" Union of Peoples of Cameroun headed by

the traitor Mayi Matip. But the venture fared badly. On January 15, 1962 this group convened the Third Congress of their "Union." The majority of the 800 delegates, however, being true patriots, condemned the Ahidjo dictatorship and the aggression of French imperialism, and demanded genuine independence. Enraged, the authorities dispersed the congress.

This experience showed that cooperation with the dictatorship is utterly out of the question. Indeed, what talk can there be of cooperation when not only any independent action, but any idea that does not suit the ruling circles, is suppressed? Hence, for the Cameroun people and its vanguard party, the UPC, armed struggle is the most effective means against French imperialism and its puppets.

Needless to say conditions of illegality create difficulties for the Party. Most of its leaders are forced to live abroad or in the areas controlled by the partisans. Then there are the difficulties as regards the ideological training of Party officials and propaganda among the people. The less stable people in the Party have succumbed to these difficulties which, in some cases, have led to the formation of isolated groups and to sectarianism.

One such group was formed in Accra by Kingué Abel who scorned the revolutionary experience gained by fraternal parties in other countries. Abel opposed everything new and, in particular, waged a vendetta against intellectuals. He tried to keep as many people as possible abroad, which actually led to the suppression of the revolutionary struggle inside the country. For a long time he held up the aid sent to the national-liberation army by other friendly countries. When the opposition was still legal Abel rejected the idea of an alliance with the petty bourgeois parties for a joint struggle in defense of democracy. He refused to cooperate with the Democratic Bloc headed by André-Marie Mbida who criticized the despotic methods of Ahidjo and who is now, after the dissolution of the party, in prison. Abel intensified his disruptive activities after Ernest Wanda, leader of the Union, left Accra in 1961 to head the struggle in the partisan areas.

Another faction is headed by Osende Afana, who at one time functioned as the Union's representative in the Cairo Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization. At gatherings of the nationalist parties and organizations of Asia and Africa,

Afana always preaches Leftism and talks about "Soviet revisionism."

These factions have caused the Party considerable harm. They show what grave damage can be done to the national-liberation movement by an adventurist and sectarian policy. At home this policy isolates us from the masses, narrows the front of struggle against imperialism, loses us allies. On the international arena the absence of realism isolates the Party from the revolutionary world movement, deprives it of popular support, narrows the movement of solidarity with the peoples fighting for their liberation.

Thanks to the efforts of the Union, a Revolutionary Committee was formed in September 1962 made up of tried leaders wholly devoted to the cause of the revolution. The formation of the Revolutionary Committee has thwarted the designs of Afana who had hoped to head the Union and to divert it from the right road. At present Afana and Ntumaza, chairman of the United Cameroon Party (an affiliate of the Union in the former British Cameroons) are trying to form a new party. They are, in effect, playing into the hands of imperialism.

In April 1963 when the People's Assembly of the Union met in the partisan area it reaffirmed the revolutionary principles of the struggle and condemned the splitters. The Assembly resolution states: "After the physical destruction of Ruben Um Myobe and Felix Moumie, two leaders of the Union, the imperialists and their agents realize that assassination is not an effective method of defeating the Cameroun revolution. Hence, they are resorting to another method, that of sowing confusion and disagreement inside the Union, resorting to factionalism, and enlisting the aid of political riff-raff."

The Current Tasks and Political Line of the UPC

The new leadership of the Union faces difficult and pressing problems. The prime task is to secure the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Union, resolute action against opportunism, both of the Right and Left varieties, and the working out of a correct revolutionary general line. The Revolutionary Committee is taking steps to improve the ideological training of the members, to equip them with the necessary theoretical and practical weapons so that the Union can successfully carry out its function as vanguard of the Cameroun revolution.

The second task is to create a powerful mass movement, a broad national front of

all anti-imperialists. In the past the Party concentrated wholly on the partisan struggle, relying on the working class and on its alliance with the peasantry; as a result it did not pay sufficient attention to establishing a political front to support the national-liberation army.

At present the Party is working on plans for a national front of struggle against neo-colonialism, and for democracy and progress. The Union is uniting people from all walks of life under the watchwords: "land to the peasants," "work for the unemployed," "better conditions for the working people," "freedom and democracy for the people."

Our Party believes that the road to our ultimate goal—socialism—lies through a national front and a state of national democracy, essentially anti-imperialist in character. The Party, fighting for a democratic alternative, is compelling the reactionaries to make concessions. Thus, under the pressure of the struggle, Ahidjo had no choice but to sign the Charter of the Organization of African Unity which, in our opinion, serves the interests of the people of Africa, promotes their struggle for African unity and for peace.

The Union has a clear stand on the question of war and peace. We regard the neo-colonialists as warmongers; they uphold the interests of imperialism in Africa and the establishment of military bases there. These bases are a constant threat to the security and sovereignty of the people. By waging armed struggle against neo-colonialism the Cameroun people are making their contribution to peace. On the other hand, by their advocacy of general disarmament, of prohibiting nuclear testing whether in the atmosphere, in outer space, underground, or under water, by supporting the struggle for nuclear energy to be used solely for peaceful purposes, the struggle for peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems, our people are acting in accordance with the principles and resolutions of Bandung, they are performing their international duty.

That is why the people, headed by their party forced Ahidjo, contrary to the will of his masters, to sign the Moscow test-ban treaty. We sincerely believe that this treaty, although it does not fundamentally settle the question of peace and disarmament, is a first step towards that end and as such should be welcomed by all peace-loving peoples. Regarding the struggle for peace, for general disarmament and peaceful coexist-

ence as one of their principal tasks, the Cameroun people at the same time fully appreciate the fact that peaceful coexistence and disarmament will facilitate their struggle for democracy, for a truly independent national economy and for a higher standard of living.

The fact that today we are waging armed struggle in the country is not because we want to see blood flow. We are staunch supporters of peace and a peaceful settlement. But our people have been forced to take to arms because the imperialists and their agents have imposed an armed struggle upon us. We will cease fire the moment the following conditions are met: withdrawal of the military bases and the French occupation troops, freedom for the political prisoners

and the closing of the fascist system of concentration camps, restoration of all democratic rights, annulment of the reactionary laws and decrees, denunciation of the unequal treaties imposed by France.

We call on all anti-imperialists in Africa to support these just demands of our people. We call upon the people of the world to show solidarity with the people of Cameroun who are battling for freedom, to force the French imperialists to relinquish their aggressive war and to release the thousands of patriots languishing in prisons and concentration camps. We are confident that, with the support of the fraternal peoples and countries, our people will win the day, that peace and happiness will finally come to the long-suffering land of Cameroun.

The Paradox of the "Open Society"

Stanley Ryerson

EVER SINCE Man, living in class society, became conscious of oppression, the thought of a condition without oppression, wholly free, has stirred the hearts and minds of the oppressed. It is characteristic of an oppressive society in decline that it should strive to stave off extinction by every imaginable means. One such means is demagoguery and deception, which monopoly capitalism, making full use of the "streamlined" means of modern mass communication, has cultivated to a quite remarkable degree. And a vital ingredient in its method of mass deception is a wonderfully brazen, utterly shameless pretence that monopoly-capitalist society is, in very fact, the "condition without oppression" which is mankind's ancient dream.

"Ours," say the ideologists of the monopolies, is an "open society". And what, pray, is an "open society"? According to Karl Popper, the philosopher who has done much to put the phrase in circulation (it originated, apparently, with Bergson), the term "open society" stands "for the rule of reason, for justice, freedom, equality, and for the control of international crime." (Karl R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, London, 1945.)

It takes considerable gall for anyone to equate the foregoing description with state-monopoly capitalism. But since the gall is evidently more than sufficient, and swarms of eager spokesmen of big business proclaim in chorus that theirs is the Open Society, it may

be well to examine the matter more closely.

I. Prison or Promise

The United States and Canada, for example, are countries ruled by a handful of extremely powerful corporations. Rule is exercised through a system of bourgeois-democratic institutions (which engender a deceptive sense of "rule by the majority") with a machinery of government that ensures the predominance of the monopolists (whose will, though that of a minority, effectively prevails).

Nothing has changed (unless it be for the worse) in the essential falsity of the politics of Big Business, since the Canadian commentator Bruce Hutchison wrote over a decade ago:

"For all the modern means of mass communication, government is becoming more and more a mystery . . . If we agree that government is beyond the capacity of ordinary men elected to govern, it . . . means that we have built a society which cannot afford democracy as we have understood that term." (*Macleans Magazine*, June 15, 1950.)

The stultification of bourgeois parliamentary institutions to which Hutchison refers (as "between government and governed," he writes, "the line of communication is growing thinner and weaker all the time") is simply the political counterpart of the process where-

by this is becoming more and more a "closed" society. At the root of this process is of course the relentless growth of capitalist monopoly, embracing all the ramifications of the state machinery and all areas of social life.

In a situation where, according to A. A. Berle, "about two-thirds of the economically productive assets of the United States, excluding agriculture, are owned by a group of not more than 500 corporations," the reality of politics is, first and foremost, the reality of "established political power": the power of the ruling corporations. As one recent observer has noted: "The rulers of the corporate system are not genuinely elected by anybody, and they are not answerable for the exercise of their more important powers to any elected officials. The privacy of this private government serves mainly to ensure its authoritarian nature . . . the corporation is an authoritarian form of industrial government in a purportedly democratic society." (David Bazelon, in *Commentary*, Oct. 1962.)

In this far from "open" society, even its executive officers feel "shut in." Or so the arch-conservative *Harvard Business Review* would have us believe. Its November-December 1962 issue carried a heart-rending outburst by the prominent anthropologist Margaret Mead, under the touching title: "Must Capitalism Crawl?" According to Miss Mead, Americans dwell in "a closed, competitive world" (more vulgarly and popularly known there as "the rat-race"). Even business administrators who, the author complains, "should be our boldest, most adventurous thinkers, feel trapped. Continuous competition within a closed system results in greater and greater standardization of behavior, product and imagination."

This "closed system," the author goes on to say, is stifling the freedom of scientific communication: consider "the great mass of technical experimentation that is being carried on and is published openly in Soviet journals. Conversely, within the United States, each company keeps its processes a secret . . ."

Even in the presence of the cosmos, when the windows of the world are "opening" wide with the beginning of cosmic flight, Margaret Mead laments that Americans have the feeling they are "fenced in." This spiritual claustrophobia she attributes to the presence of a profound sense of insecurity—a feeling "that we are in danger." "There is the obstreperous optimism of the Soviet Union—the Russians' certainty that history is on their side and that they will soon be moving mountains,

changing the courses of rivers, and making journeys to Venus. Given our determination to be the exact opposite of the Soviet Union, history then is not on the side of the United States, Americans cannot move mountains, etc."

We shall return to the question of the crisis of confidence at work in the "seats of the mighty" in North America. First, though, let us consider some further items of evidence concerning the pretence about the "open" character of this society; and then examine some of those elements of bourgeois liberties that are relevant for working-class struggle.

Poverty, too, is a kind of prison. A report from the city of Vancouver, on Canada's West Coast (in the *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, May 4, 1963) states that a quarter of the population are living "on the ragged edge of poverty": this, in the metropolis of one of the most prosperous of Canadian provinces.

The situation in this respect is the counterpart of that in the United States. According to W. H. Ferry of the Fund for the Republic: "As of mid-1959 the poorest one-third of Americans own 1 per cent of the wealth of the United States. The next 23 per cent up the scale owns 5 per cent. Thus, well over half the population owns 6 per cent of the wealth of the United States. The richest 1.6 per cent own nearly one-third of the country's material assets."* Not long ago the Conference on Economic Progress published exhaustive data showing that two-fifths of the entire U.S. population live in conditions of either deprivation or outright poverty. For by far the greater part of the remainder economic insecurity is, in varying degree, an ever-present disquiet. (And, as someone has asked: "In what sense is the anxious man a man who is free?")

"Only a minority of Americans have so far been successful in achieving the status of first-class citizens." The judgment is that of a commentator in the *New York Times Magazine* Nov. 4, 1962. Such is the distribution of wealth, says the author, that "most Americans are on the bottom half of (the) income pyramid . . . At least half the population earns less money than it thinks it needs for a decent standard of living."

The "pyramid" is not only that of income-distribution. Inequality in housing, in health care, and in education is all-pervading. In the most populous Canadian province, Ontario, a news item reports: "LACK OF MONEY BARS UNIVERSITY TO STUDENTS." A survey conducted by the Ontario College of Education

*Bazelon, in *Commentary*, Oct. 1962.

shows that whereas 65 per cent of "upper class" families (managerial, professional) attend university, no more than 30 per cent of sons of working-class families (workers and employees) did so. "Sons of rich men are more than twice as likely to go to university as sons of poor men," according to the report; and "many intellectually capable students cannot afford the higher education" for which they are qualified. (*Toronto Star*, Jan. 8, 1963.)

Instead of the "broadening-out of opportunities" and the "evening-out of economic status" which we are told by many liberal apologists of capitalism is taking place in the "open society," the fact is that the rigidities of class structure are hardening in the period of state-monopoly capitalist rule.

Two surveys by bourgeois sociologists in the U.S.A. show results which, though slightly divergent, none the less point to an essentially identical conclusion. One showed that in a lifetime of employment, "seven out of ten manual workers stayed where they had started" (i.e., without changing their occupational status or level of qualification), while for 8 out of 10 "white-collar" workers the same was true. The other survey, covering wage-workers as a whole, indicated that 9 out of 10 such workers remain without any change in status. (M. Lerner: *America as a Civilization*, p. 470.) The conclusion that Lerner draws from these data he states somewhat coyly: "There are evidences," he says, "that the class reality of America is moving steadily away from the image of the classless idea." Well! That's one way of saying it, certainly!

About another feature of this "open" (!) society Lerner speaks a shade more forthrightly: "The Negroes are the real outsiders of American life . . . a pariah caste, kept in subjection by law, social custom, terrorism, and fear" (*ibid.*, p. 514). The term "outsiders" itself perhaps betrays a certain viewpoint—or illusory "vantage-point." To perceive what is involved, as seen from the "inside," listen to the novelist James Baldwin speaking of the position of his people (in *A Letter from a Region in My Mind*): The American Negro, he says, finds himself "trapped, disinherited, and despised, in a nation that has kept him in bondage for nearly 400 years and is still unable to recognize him as a human being . . ." "Black men here are not yet free . . . the price of the liberation of the white people is the liberation of the blacks — the total liberation, in the cities, in the towns, before the law, and in the mind."

Claims of racial superiority, of one race over another or others, are "a recipe for murder." "The brutality with which Negroes are treated in this country simply cannot be overestimated, however unwilling white men may be to hear it." And Baldwin concludes with reason: ". . . there is simply no possibility of a real change in the Negro's situation without the most radical and far-reaching changes in the American political and social structure."

The "open society" is said to stand for "the rule of reason . . . justice, freedom, equality . . ." The position of the American Negroes testifies to the worth of such pretensions. The unreason of rabid racism; the "justice, freedom and equality" conjured up by the picture of police-dogs being set upon Negro children in Birmingham, Alabama, by obscene white-supremacist gangsters clothed in the respectability of "officers of the law"; the throwing of bombs into Negro churches—these things damn beyond redemption the pretence of the "open society."

II. Psyche and the Market

Central to Popper's counterposing of "closed" and "open" society is the contradiction between the collective and the individual. When he refers to "the significance of some collective or group without which the individual is nothing at all," one already senses a certain note of anxious (or querulous) individualism. "I use the term 'collectivism'," writes Popper, "only for a doctrine which emphasizes the significance of some collective or group, for instance the state (or a certain state; or a nation; or a class) as against that of the individual." "In what follows," he writes, "the magical or tribal or collectivist society will also be called the *closed society*, and the society in which individuals are confronted with personal decisions, the *open society*." (*The Open Society and Its Enemies*, Vol. I, pp. 178, 152.)

Here at once we confront the unstated but unmistakable inference that there exists *either* personal freedom *or* the general interest of a collective or community: but not both! They are (allegedly) incompatible! This assumption underlies much of bourgeois social thought; it manifests itself in a sort of obsessive individualism.

Two things should be noted about this fixation on the individual. For one thing, it is rooted in and is the expression of the private market relationships of capitalist society. In a recent conservative tract Milton Friedman of Chicago repeats the well-worn argument

that "capitalism is a necessary condition for political freedom" . . . "a society which is socialist cannot also be democratic, in the sense of guaranteeing individual freedom." He insists that "there are only two possible ways of coordinating the economic activities of millions. One is central direction involving the use of coercion—the technique of the army and of the modern totalitarian state. The other is voluntary cooperation of individuals—the technique of the marketplace." (*Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962; pp. 8, 10, 13.)

For "voluntary cooperation" only the capitalist marketplace will do: all else is servitude! But of the fact that behind the marketplace stands the factory, and the involuntary servitude of wage-labor for the profit of capital—of this, not a word!

Prof. Friedman carries his compulsive individualism to the point where he denies the very possibility of any collective, community or even national interest. He takes vehement issue with a phrase employed by President Kennedy in an address to the nation ("Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.") Says Friedman with evident indignation: "Neither half of the statement expresses a relation between the citizen and his government that is worthy of the ideals of free men in a free society." Why is this so? Because there is no such thing as a common interest over and above the assorted private interests of individuals! "To the free man, the country is the collection of individuals who compose it, not standing over and above them . . . He recognizes no national goal except as it is the consensus of the goals that the citizens severally serve." (Pp. 1-2.)

This is the ultra-individualism of the ultra-Right. In more "diluted," subtle forms it pervades much of "liberal" capitalist ideology as well. It rejects "any organic interpretation of collective activity (or) of the State . . ." It denies the existence of class rule and class relationships. It sees "self-interest" as the essential "motivating force in all human activity," with "the furtherance of individual or private interest" as the "natural" universal aim. (Cf. Buchanan and Tullock: *Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*, Michigan, 1962, pp. 11-27.)

One does not have to be a starry-eyed idealist, nor need one deny the fact of the presence and potency of individuality, to reject the foregoing approach as being fundamentally anti-social.

On the one hand, this pathological individu-

alism finds its *rationale* in the relations of the capitalist market, which is after all its birthplace. On the other, it seeks justification in elaborate theoretical constructions that cluster about the concept of the "free and unfettered" human soul. Psyche, seemingly, is an incorrigible individualist. The "psychological school" of "theorists of freedom," even when they make certain concessions to the pressures of social reality, cling nonetheless to the idea of the unassailable centrality of the individual soul.

Thus Erich Fromm concedes that in "market society" (a euphemism for capitalism) "the 'freedom' of the individual is largely illusory": the laws of the market operate behind the individual's back, "hence he believes that he is free, when actually he is not." (*The Sane Society*, N.Y., 1961, p. 88.) But this admission does not lead Fromm to the conclusion that only a fundamental change in the real framework of this illusory freedom—i.e., in the social, class structure—can resolve the problem of freedom. Rather, the problem is transplanted into the realm of Psyche. Marx's error, according to Fromm, was that he "did not recognize the irrational forces in man which make him afraid of freedom, and which produce his lust for power and his destructiveness." The crux of the matter becomes that of inducing in people "a moral change within themselves . . . a new moral orientation without which all political and economic changes are futile." (*Ibid.*, p. 264.)

Far be it from us to deny the importance of factors of personality in the individual, which are not "automatically" and at once resolved by a basic change in the social structure. On the terrain of ethics and intra-personal relations, within the larger setting of socio-political relationships, there is still work under way (or yet to be done) by Marxists. Fromm's error, like that of the other subjective sociologists, is in his denial of the decisive role of social structure and class relations, in his exaggeration of the role of the individual psyche. What this leads to is a kind of moralizing "social therapy," dealing with the "psychological state" of the worker in the capitalist factory, as a substitute for an attack on the property-structure, the production-relations, the *exploitation* which is the real framework, the real setting, and the real problem.

So the "free and unfettered" Psyche finds herself in reality tethered in the marketplace; and the "open society" of bourgeois individualism turns out to be the closed prison of

capitalist exploitative relationships. Hence, the label "open society," reveals itself as merely an effort at embellishment of the outworn system of capitalism, in the very stage of its existence when it is becoming less and less "open," and ever more closed-in and confining.

So rudely disillusioning is the day-to-day reality that an entire zone of the current ideological debate is taken up with it. As the "open society" becomes an ever more "closed" society, and as the contradiction between the extravagant claims and the facts of life becomes more glaring, the apologists of capitalism become more and more restless. At a Conference on Democracy held at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, (whose proceedings appeared in *Democracy Today*, N.Y. 1960), questions were raised about "the ambiguities present in common conceptions of democracy, and the difficulty in relating abstract conceptions to the day-to-day realities of going systems".

In the opinion of two of the leading participants, "the focal problem stems from an apparent contemporary sense of discrepancy between ideal and practice".

A "gap" is perceived as existing between the classical "image" of democracy and present reality, in which "democracy's historical ties to class interest . . . are exposed, its concentrated power in massive corporations is laid bare, its group conflict is apparent, and its portent of new elites is loudly proclaimed". The result is pessimism, a kind of "psychological funk" . . . "This is particularly so when we face the contest for uncommitted minds against world communism, with its revolutionary *élan*." The authors have no hesitation in stating that underlying their entire collective discussion is "the diagnosis that the source of our anxiety about democracy lies in a sense of discrepancy between image and reality"; the problem involved is "the outcome of the confrontation of democracy and communism in world politics".*

III. The Reality of Some Illusions — and the Problem of Overcoming Them

The fetters that bind Psyche in the marketplace are invisible, intangible; the social structure that houses an immense operation of exploitation of wage-labor is cunningly

*The convenient arrangement whereby capitalism is equated with 'democracy' is by now a built-in component of the folklore of the "open society." According to T. D. Weldon (*The Vocabulary of Politics*, p. 86), the arrangement makes it easier to "steal 'democracy' back from the Communists." "'Democracy', 'capitalism' and 'liberalism'," he declares, "are alternative names for the same thing."

camouflaged. As Marx pointed out in *The German Ideology*, the worker, remembering the serf, has the illusion that he is free because he moves in a realm of contingency and chance: the forces that enslave him, he does not see. "This right to the undisturbed enjoyment, upon certain conditions, of fortuity and chance, has up till now been called personal freedom . . ." (*German Ideology*, p. 75, International Publishers, N.Y.)

American workers in 1962 were busily engaged in making a present to their corporate employers: a modest "gratuity" of some \$77 billion (profit before taxes and "depreciation" allowance).^{*} But this philanthropy on the workers' part was largely unconscious. The relationship of exploitation is disguised as a "free contract". Its counterpart in the political structure is the illusion of "majority rule".

The figures on corporation profit are tucked away in government surveys; the wage-packet (while one has the job) is present and tangible, and so are the consumer and "consumers' durable" goods to be had for cash or on credit. This latter aspect of the situation is, of course, limited by the existence of very large areas of poverty and deprivation.

In an exhaustive study of a limited cross-section of industrial and office workers in an Eastern U.S. small industrial town, Prof. Robert E. Lane (Yale) has probed what he calls "the latent political ideology of the American urban common man" and the ways in which this ideology "supports or weakens the institutions of democracy". Lane's sample cross-sections is hardly representative, but his findings are nonetheless symptomatic of very widespread attitudes. Noting that these attitudes are "conservative in their implications", Lane observes that "it is as important to explain why revolutions and radical social movements do not happen as it is to explain why they do".

Among the points that emerge in the "latent ideology" of these skilled factory operatives and employees, according to Lane, is the fact that "people tend to care less about equality of opportunity than about the availability of some opportunity"; and this tendency, he observes, can hardly result in a stimulus to class conflict: "The more emphasis a society places upon consumption — through advertising, development of new products and easy instalment buying — the more will social dissatisfaction be channeled into

^{*}U.S. Dept. of Commerce *Survey of Current Business*, Nov. 1962, p. 27; annual rate, estimate based on first six months of 1962.

intra-class consumption rivalry instead of inter-class resentment and conflict . . . The more emphasis a society places upon consumption, the more will labor unions focus upon the 'bread and butter' aspects of unionism, as contrasted to its ideological elements." (*Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does*, N.Y. 1962, pp. 79-80.)

The material basis for this "emphasis upon consumption" is of course the development of the productive forces, of large-scale machine industry. It has been estimated that in the U.S.A. in 1850 the sources of "energy for work" were apportioned roughly as follows: men, 15 per cent; animals, 79 per cent; machinery 6 per cent; whereas a century later the proportions were respectively 1, 3 and 86 for men, animals, machinery.

The thing that in the long run is bound to sharpen unbearably the conflict between image and actuality, in the minds of the masses of the people, is the self-same productive power that engendered the so-called "affluent society" itself.

Automation and cybernetics are threatening the "American system". By their promise of a further drastic expansion of productivity, they threaten the outworn socio-economic framework of North American society.

The example of the U.S. Census Bureau, which required the services of 4,100 statisticians to tabulate the 1950 census data, but for that of 1960 used only fifty (thanks to electronic computers) is but a symptom. The grim situation facing American coal-miners may also serve as illustration. According to a N.Y. Times commentator (writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1963) the work force in the soft-coal fields numbered 700,000 after the First World War, 500,000 after the Second World War, and today some 150,000. In the anthracite fields of northeast Pennsylvania the work force has shrunk from 170,000 to less than 10,000. One mechanized miner in 1960 could turn out as much coal as two could in 1950. The average deep miner in the U.S. accounts for eleven tons of coal a day. But a new push-button machine can tunnel 800 feet into a coal seam and bring out more than a thousand tons of coal in one shift without a single man going underground.

This is the kind of development that in a national, socially-owned and operated economy — as the socialist world bears witness — is pure gain for the community. For the worker in capitalist society, it represents unrelieved disaster.

The process of displacement of manpower looms in all sectors of the economy, and particularly in the service industries which have been the sectors of greatest proportionate growth of manpower use in recent years. Dealing with the implications for capitalism contained in the prospective growth of automation and cybernetics (the combination of which he refers to under the name of "cybernation") the economist Donald N. Michael states the following:

"As cybernation advances, new and profound problems will arise for our society and its values. Cybernation presages changes in the social system so vast and so different from those with which we have traditionally wrestled that it will challenge to their roots our current perceptions about the viability of our way of life." (*Cybernation: the Silent Conquest*, Fund for the Republic, 1962, pp. 13-14.) The author warns that the revolution in technology will call for unprecedented "levels of planning"; yet "the social system . . . is progressively less capable of coping with the problems it produces." What cybernation presupposes is "a degree of national planning and control thoroughly incompatible with the way in which we look upon the management of our economy and social system . . ." What is called for is the generating of "beliefs, behavior and goals far different from those which we have held until now . . ." (pp. 41-46.) Whether he knows it or not, what the author is saying in fact is that monopoly-capitalism is here confronted with a contradiction that it will prove utterly incapable of resolving.

IV. The "Open Society"—an Ersatz of Social Justice

And so we can draw some conclusions. The concept of the so-called "open society" evidently serves here no other purpose than that of a synthetic substitute, an *ersatz*. Its very presentation as an enticing and ambiguous label for capitalist society implies an involuntary admission: that under capitalism, real social equality is unachievable. In this respect, as an "advertising dodge," at one with the motley string of hypocritical designations, ranging from the "welfare state," "affluent society," "industrial society," to "people's capitalism" and "the free world." If anything, the new label is superior in its quality of appealing vagueness, its deceptive ambiguity.

The fact is perhaps worth noting that some of the public issues that loom largest in North American political life are the very ones that arise from the absence of "equality of oppor-

tunity". The outstanding instance is that of the oppression of the Negro people, and the heroic struggle it has called forth.

It is not the only instance; consider likewise:

The *closed gates* of factories, shut in the face of millions seeking work—what a symbol for an "Open Society"! The *closed doors* of opportunity for millions of young people leaving school and faced by dwindling job opportunities . . .

Behind these social ills stands the economic structure: the system of monopoly capitalist exploitation. Here, at the heart of the matter, is the conclusive denial of the "open" character of the society, the ultimate refutation of its "democratic" pretence. The reality is becoming ever harder to conceal; the truth about its features, as we have seen, is blurted out, on occasion, even by bourgeois commentators.

If the label "Open Society" has its uses as a camouflage masking the inner relationships of monopoly capitalism, it serves a no less valuable function in the realm of foreign policy. United States imperialism, which over a century ago invoked the "Open Door" to justify its aggression against China, in our own day invokes "Open Skies" to justify U-2 provocative air incursions and espionage directed against the socialist world. The allegedly "closed" character of the latter is said not only to "justify" the provocations, but even to make them obligatory. The same smokescreen is employed in the imperialists' obstruction of arms' reduction. In the course of negotiations on disarmament, the Western representatives, demagogically invoking the difference between "open" and "closed" societies, have repeatedly frustrated the achievement of agreements. They have sought to substitute verification of armaments for disarmament, to substitute inspection for the halting of nuclear weapons' testing, and so forth.

In matters of external as of domestic policy the rulers of Big Business society try to blur the essence of questions by prattling about "open" and "closed" society. Do the socialist countries prohibit the smuggling into their territories of enemy propaganda? Then they are a "closed" society. Do countries that have just won their independence resist neo-colonialist interference in their own affairs? Then they, too, are a "closed" society. The hypocrisy is pervasive, all-embracing. It found its classical illustration during the crisis in the Caribbean: Mr. Adlai Stevenson, addressing the UN Security Council, grandiloquently

appealed to the principle of the "Open Society"—to justify his government's blockade of Cuba!

The "Open Society" label is revealed as just one more effort at embellishing the historically outworn system of capitalism, at the very stage of its existence when it is becoming less and less "open," and evermore closed-in and confining.

The label has perhaps a particular appeal as an advertising device just now, for a quite simple reason. It is just vague enough to embrace, depending on circumstances, the most variegated meanings — ranging from metaphysical obscurities of theory to the most prosaic run-of-the-mill propaganda. Moreover it allows bourgeois ideologists to employ as the yardstick of comparison between social systems, not their primary, fundamental differences—the mode of production and the social structure—but secondary ones relating to peculiarities of the superstructure, to matters of tradition, custom and the like.

But the reality of the fundamental contradictions in capitalist society asserts itself, slowly yet inexorably. And this cannot but impel the transformation of social consciousness, dispelling the artificially implanted illusions.

The consciousness of the masses of the people in Canada and the United States bears the imprint of the class structure, the socio-economic and national peculiarities, the institutions and traditions of these countries.

It is here that illusions about freedom and the so-called "open society" need to be studied with great care. It is important to see the interweaving of two conflicting elements (or "moments"): on the one hand, the element of outright *deception* which is inherent in bourgeois democracy, its pretence of "rule by the majority" masking the reality of rule by a handful of billionaires; on the other, the presence of those fragmentary but nonetheless real ingredients of bourgeois-democratic liberties that are increasingly menaced by imperialist reaction.

The "problem of freedom" in countries such as the U.S.A. and Canada is not to be solved simply by propagandist exposure of the illusions of the masses (focusing only on this can degenerate into mere vituperation). It is necessary to take into account not only the objective character of institutions, but the subjective attitudes, feelings, aspirations of the masses of the people, and the living interaction of the latter with the former. In our activity we should start from where the

masses are, not from where we might like to imagine them to be.

The debate about freedom is, together with the issue of peace, and linked with the issues of national independence, economic and social security, a prime preoccupation of public opinion. From the doubt and questioning evoked by the evermore glaring discrepancy between "image" and actuality of freedom under state-monopoly capitalism, there emerge not only scepticism and cynicism about "politics" in general; there is also an increasing search for a *new kind* of politics, freed from the grip of the market and of Big Business, and based on genuinely human needs and aspirations.

In the ideological crisis of bourgeois society, particularly significant is the influence exerted by the achievements of the socialist countries. It bears on two main areas that present well-nigh insuperable difficulties to capitalist governments. One is in the economic, cultural and scientific spheres: the abolition by the socialist countries of unemployment; their introduction of all-embracing social security provisions—particularly in the realm of health; the striking advances in education; the astounding feats of Soviet science and tech-

nology in the opening up of the cosmos to mankind.

The other area of utmost significance in the existing conditions in North America lies in those essential features of socialist society that express the *new relations between people*; the concern and respect for people; the courage and creativeness of the builders of the new society in the face of all the obstacles that history and the reactionary classes put in their path; the deep *humanism* of the builders of a life founded on the fraternity of those who labor.

Karl Popper, while refusing to concede the claim of Marxism to scientific validity, is nonetheless impelled to pay tribute to its "tremendous moral influence," to its "feeling of social responsibility and its love for freedom." Marx's outlook, in his opinion, "was fundamentally a faith in the open society." If that term is taken to mean a society that is freed from the fetters of oppression and exploitation, then its realization is in the new, truly human community of free men and women whose relationships are emblazoned in the moral code of the builders of Communism: the image of the mankind of tomorrow.

WMR COMMENTARIES

Strike of the Asturian Miners

THE strike of the Asturian miners lasted more than two months. The duration and scale of the strike are explained by the staunchness displayed by tens of thousands of working people, by the militant spirit of the miners. Three big strikes took place in the little over a year: the April-May and August strikes of 1962 and the recent strike. When working people deprived of all civic rights brave Franco's fascist dictatorship and engage in strikes on such a scale, it speaks of the level of their class consciousness, of their confidence in their own strength.

On the Eve of the Strike

A series of actions, among them lightning strikes, sending deputations to the authorities concerned to submit demands for wage increases, that the workers exiled for taking part in the strike of August 1962 be allowed to return — all preceded the miners' strike. Their action in defense of their exiled com-

rades acquired a political character particularly following the actions taken by them in connection with the election of trade union representatives last June. These are the only elections incidentally in which Spanish workers directly participate. It doesn't necessarily follow, however, that they always get their candidate elected. The fascist chiefs of the trade unions who are in the pay of the capitalists and government resort to coercion, threats, bribery and the help of the police to reduce the possibilities of workers freely choosing their own trade union representatives.

Before the elections the Trade Union Opposition of Madrid, the Asturias, Catalonia, the Basque country and Andalusia, addressed a manifesto to the working people of Spain setting forth the program of their demands. It proposed that the program should be submitted during the elections of trade union representatives (that is, where such elections are held), suggested the guarantees that should be demanded as a condition for parti-

cipating in the elections, and called on the working people to boycott the elections in the event of the guarantees being rejected.

The Asturian miners were the first to come out in support of the Opposition's manifesto. Since the required guarantees were not forthcoming and since the Government refused to grant the demand that the exiled workers be allowed to return, considerable numbers of working people in the mining area decided to boycott the elections. This decision was unanimously supported at meetings held in the area which were attended by more than a thousand delegates.

The Miners' Demands

This, then, was the situation in the mining area before July 5 when a strike broke out at one of the mines of the "Nueva Montana" Company. The strike soon spread to other mines and acquired a political character. The miners knew that their fight would be a long and difficult one. Their representatives met and unanimously adopted a program which was to serve as the basis for extended strike action. This program contained the following points:

1. Solidarity with the "Nueva Montana" miners;
2. Return of the exiled miners;
3. An extra month's wages to be paid on July 18, at Christmas, and on May 1;
4. Revision of the rules which place the factory worker in a worse position than the clerical worker as regards extra pay, holidays, long-service increment, etc.;
5. Higher pensions all round;
6. Bonuses to be included in the basic wage;
7. Payment in accordance with skill. Suitable work to be provided for incapacitated miners in factories, in the municipalities and other organizations;
8. Full pay in addition to a pension in cases of disability caused by illness or accident;
9. Better medical service;
10. Establishment of more effective trade unions and the reorganization of the existing ones;
11. The right of pensioners to receive a coal allowance even when they are employed on part-time work.

This program has become the banner of the workers' struggle.

Peaceful Character of the Strikes

The strike, although a prolonged one, was not accompanied by violence. The miners kept their heads, despite provocations of the Civil Guard; and if they did not retaliate to viol-

ence with violence, this was not because they lacked courage. They have demonstrated their courage many times in the history of the working-class movement. The main reason is that the miners, guided by Communist Party policy, do not believe in individual violence. Their answer to Franco's police violence is organized mass actions.

Police brutality failed to break their spirit, failed to intimidate the people who visited the families of those arrested. Franco bloodhounds scoured the country for Communist Party leaders, but without success, for the people as a whole supported the strikers, the Party and its leaders who ably worked among the masses.

The popularity of the miners' strike was due in large measure to its peaceful character. Young people were in the forefront of the struggle standing firm to the end; they did not succumb to provocations, for they were confident that the line of the Communist Party and the trade union opposition would further the strike movement.

Gross Interference by the Government

Shortly after the strike began the Government displayed its hostility to the strikers. It refused to discuss the miners' demands, resorted to brute force and provocations. It first ordered the closure of the pits and then ordered their opening on Mondays hoping that some of the miners would drift back to work.

The lockout was the work of the Government. Even when some of the mine-owners were prepared to meet the demands of the miners, as was the case at the "San Vicente" mine the Government clamped down. It resorted to extreme measures, concentrating police in the strike areas. Violence was resorted to not only with the object of intimidating the miners and their families but of sowing fear among the population generally. Here is what a group of comrades write in a letter about these events:

"On September 12 and 13 the miners of the 'Camocha' (Gijon) pit were forcibly brought to work. Many of them had been previously manhandled. All had been threatened with imprisonment or exile. Most of the miners had received a police notice ordering them to report for work the next day, or to the police commissariat. The local press published the statement issued by the civil governor about the 'trend towards normalization,' the authorities had been plugging this line for more than two months and we were sick and tired of hearing it. What really happened was this: some 280 of the 400 miners working on the

same shift, were forced to go down . . . But they refused to do any work, and at the end of the shift they refused to come up, thus preventing the authorities from forcing the men of the second shift to go down. The women of the mining village gathered at the pithead with their children to support the action of their husbands."

Bankruptcy of the "Vertical" Trade Unions

The strike exposed the bankruptcy of the "vertical" (government-controlled) trade unions run by the fascists. They had lost much of their influence during the strikes of April and May last year. Analyzing the results of these strikes Comrade Santiago Carrillo commented at the time that the "vertical" trade unions were bankrupt and no longer played any role. Recent events have confirmed this.

In the course of the strike the miners did not once apply to the trade union leaders for help, knowing that it was useless to do so. The Government for its part, knowing that the unions carried no weight among the miners likewise ignored the trade union chiefs and interfered in the conflict directly.

In an interview given to a West German journalist in Madrid some of the top trade union leaders complained that they could do nothing since the workers for one thing chose to ignore them and for another, the Governor of Oviedo had ordered the mines to close or open without informing them and thus leaving them no room for action. One could also refer to the statement issued by the Catholic labor organization in the Asturias that it was surprised at the "silence of the trade union officials" in view of what was taking place in the mining area.

The Spanish workers — and this is the notable feature of their struggle at the present stage — refuse to recognize the present trade union structure and union leaders imposed on them by the dictatorship. The working class is determined to have its own class trade unions, independent of employers and Government and headed by leaders elected in a democratic way. The miners' strike was another blow to the government-controlled trade unions and completely discredited them. The strikers set an example to the entire working class, cleared the way to winning trade union rights.

Unity Gains Ground

The two-months strike demonstrated the level of class consciousness of the Asturian miners. This was evident in the united action taken by them in June when they decided to boycott the sham trade union elections. This

unity reached a higher level during the strike when the Communists, Socialists and Catholics established close contact. The attempts of the Government to break this unity and to set the workers against each other came to nought. Thanks to their unity the miners returned to work in a militant frame of mind, determined to carry on the struggle.

The unity was the outcome of their experience and of the united front policy consistently advocated by the Communists.

The significance of the headway made in this respect goes far beyond the Asturias. It will undoubtedly have its impact on the entire working class. The example of the Asturian miners — the vanguard of the Spanish working class — is an inspiration to all the workers of the country.

We believe that it will also have its influence on the leaders of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party in emigration who obdurately reject the way of united action with the Communist Party and with all the democratic and anti-fascist forces.

Solidarity with the Asturian Miners

The miners' strike kindled the flame of solidarity among the working people, which expressed itself in the most diverse forms. More than 5,000 miners in Leon Province struck work for several weeks. The workers in the "Pegaso" Plant in Madrid declared a one-hour strike, and workers in the "Naval" and "San Miguel" enterprises in Biscaya a half-hour strike; thousands of workers employed in the Bazan enterprise in El Ferrol (Galicia) held a demonstration; there were demonstrations also in Bilbao, and Zumarraga (Gyipuzcoa). In Madrid tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed; in Seville calls for solidarity appeared on the walls.

Considerable funds were collected in Madrid, Toledo, Cadiz, Saragoza and in the Levant, Galicia, Biscaya and other provinces.

Working people in other countries generously contributed to the relief fund. The Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions called upon all international trade union organizations to take joint action in support of the Asturian miners and Spanish workers generally and to render them every aid. The WFTU made the first contribution of £2,000 and afterwards sent in another 300,000 pesetas. The Soviet trade unions contributed \$10,000 (600,000 pesetas). The trade union congress of workers of the Soviet mining industry sent the Spanish miners a message saluting their struggle. Financial aid also came from trade unions in Hungary and Rumania. Solidarity

meetings were held in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania.

In France the working people responded to the call of the CGT for aid. In Dunkirk the dockers held a 15-minute solidarity strike at the Spanish ship "Monte Abril." In Italy the miners in Amiata and dockers in Genoa, Livorno and Naples went on strike and took other solidarity action. The Miners' Union in Britain sent £1,000 and urged that all coal exports to Spain be stopped for the duration of the strike.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions published statements expressing solidarity with the miners and their protest against Franco's reprisals. The congress of the Socialist International held in Amsterdam expressed its solidarity as did a representative of the British Labor Party on behalf of his party. The Federation of German Trade Unions in Kassell held a solidarity meeting. There were solidarity meetings and demonstrations in many other cities of Germany and in Belgium.

Statements supporting the Asturian miners were published by the trade unions of Cyprus, Morocco and a number of Latin American countries. The Miners' Unions of Italy and France at a joint meeting called upon the trade unions of Western Europe to hold a conference in defense of the Asturian miners and in support of the trade union rights of the Spanish workers.

Some Conclusions

The strike of the Asturian miners confirmed the correctness of the political line of our Party, which, working for unity, is fighting for the economic and political demands of the workers and for trade union rights. It confirmed the correctness of the course taken by the Communist Party in preparing for a general political strike to demand substantial wage increases, the right to strike and other trade union rights, release of political prisoners and an amnesty. A strike of this magnitude would be a crushing blow to the Franco dictatorship, the first big step toward restoring democracy in Spain.

The strike of the Asturian miners show the possibilities that exist for mass actions.

The political consequences of this strike, specifically as regards united action and its impact on the ruling circles, are bound to have

their repercussions. It is difficult as yet to foresee the extent of these repercussions since Franco is resisting mass action. It will be recalled that during last year's strikes he refused to make any concessions, agreeing only to a wage increase for the miners.

Soon after the April-May strikes, however, Franco was obliged to reorganize his government, to proclaim a policy of so-called "liberalization" and agree to raise the minimum wage from 32-36 pesetas to 60 pesetas a day.

Noteworthy, too, is the stand taken by many intellectuals in connection with the reprisals in the Asturias. One hundred and two of their number in a letter to the Minister of Information cited numerous examples of the crimes of the Civil Guard in the Asturias, of the fiendish torture and maltreatment as a result of which many people died, were driven insane, or crippled. "These acts," the letter states, "brand with shame those who have committed them. Their shame also falls upon us inasmuch as we remained passive and did nothing to prevent these actions."

This letter, which the minister was compelled to answer in view of the response it evoked, sparked off a public discussion around the issue of political freedom. The "letter of the 102" was followed by another signed by 188 representatives of the intelligentsia. Then came the open letter signed by 52 members of the so-called "Left wing" of the Falange, sharply criticizing not only the Government's actions in the Asturias, but also many other aspects of its policy. "There will be no occasion for surprise," concluded the letter, "should the time come when the workers counter violence with violence of which they are the victims."

As can be seen from the foregoing the Franco dictatorship, already considerably weakened, is encountering increasing opposition. "The Asturian strike was not in vain," commented the Paris newspaper *Monde* on November 7. "Its initial result was that it led to a sharper political demarcation between the various groups inside the country." The clarion call of the Spanish working people will reverberate throughout the country inspiring the people to united mass action. We Communists will spare no effort to make this a reality and thus hasten the downfall of the fascist dictatorship — the dictatorship of the financial oligarchy and latifundists.

Antonio MIJE

WMR INTERVIEW

Mwamba - Mukanya: The Congo Today

Mr. Mwamba-Mukanya, Congolese author, is active in public life, A follower of Patrice Lumumba, he is fighting, together with fellow patriots, to complete the national anti-imperialist revolution in his country. In addition to other activities, he is chairman of the Congo Peace League. In an interview with our correspondent, Mr. Mwamba-Mukanya replied to a few questions on the situation in the Congo and the perspectives of the national-liberation struggle.

WHAT are the highlights of political and economic developments in the Congo in the three years since independence?

The events that occurred shortly after independence prevented the country from developing in a direction that would accord with the interests of the people. The results of the past three years are indeed deplorable. Far from having gained economic independence, the Congo has in many respects lost the prerogative of sovereignty. The country does not have a stable government. Prime Minister Adoula has succumbed to American *diktat*. He is under constant pressure from those who sanctioned the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

The country is still without a Constitution; the basic law drawn up by the Belgians has taken the place of a colonial Charter. The Congo is in a state of chronic political crisis. The Adoula government does not have a sufficient majority in Parliament to support its policy, and would have fallen long since had it not resorted to such undemocratic methods as the recent dissolution of Parliament and to other military and administrative measures. The authorities reply to the popular demand for free elections by repressions and wholesale arrests, going so far at times as to open fire on peaceful demonstrations.

The economic situation has deteriorated. Imperialist plots and direct intervention led to the secession of Katanga and South Kasai, the richest areas in the Congo. The Central government has been deprived of the revenue from the mining companies, primarily Union Minière du Haut Katanga. The hostilities disorganized the economic life of the country, causing the stoppage of many enterprises, wholesale unemployment and hunger. Even now after the formal restoration of unity, the situation has not changed substantially. The revenue from the mining companies goes to Brussels rather than to Leopoldville, inasmuch as the bulk of the shares in these companies are held not by the Congo government but by Belgium. The question of turning over part

of the Belgian shares to the Congo, which was raised after winning independence, still remains to be settled. And in the meantime the plunder of the country continues unabated. Output of iron, copper and other minerals has notably increased, but the benefits flow to Europe and America, while the people of the Congo live in misery.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the imperialists have done their best to undermine the Congolese currency with the result that today the Congo has no hard currency to trade with on the world market. The government is unable to buy either consumer goods or machines and equipment. Machine tools and motor vehicles stand idle for lack of spare parts. Transport chaos hampers delivery of goods and food to the outlying areas.

How is neo-colonialism manifested in the Congo?

In the most direct form, in the sense that the colonialists, driven out through the door have returned through the window, having removed the nation's true leaders and replaced them with their puppets. Neo-colonialism is a new form of colonial exploitation exercised chiefly through the medium of the ruling clique which has sold out to the imperialists. American capital is today becoming more and more the chief exploiter of the Congo. The entire economy is in its predatory grip. Having done everything to wreck the national economy, the imperialists are now rendering "aid" which, in reality, is nothing but direct interference in the economic life of the country. The American imperialists are trying to prevent the Congo from organizing the production of even the most ordinary consumer goods. Everything from cigarettes to automobiles is imported from the United States. Even corn and rice which the Congo always grew now come from across the Atlantic.

The U.S. monopolies have not only invaded the Congo market, treading painfully on the heels of their Belgian and British colleagues;

they are reaching out for the country's natural wealth, investing capital in order to gain possession of the mining industry. The Rockefeller group, for example, has a substantial interest in the Bauxicongo company and has invested 65 million dollars in the *Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie*. The Bank of America, the world's biggest bank, holds 20 per cent of the shares in the *Société Congolaise de Banque*. The Ford Company opened a branch in Leopoldville in 1959.

The Congo's old exploiters, however, have not surrendered to American capital. Belgium and Britain continue to dominate the richest areas—Katanga and South Kasai—where the *Société Générale de Belgique* and the *Tanganyika Concessions*, the leading *Union Minière du Haut Katanga* firms still reign.

Progressive public opinion in the Congo is seriously alarmed at the plans for training Congolese military personnel by the NATO countries. Five NATO members are trying to gain control of the Congolese armed forces. General Mobutu visited the United States, Canada, Belgium and France earlier this year and agreed on the supply of weapons and military experts to the Congo. This plan is being carried out in violation of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 20, 1960, and by the Security Council on July 14, 1960, banning military assistance to the Congo outside of the United Nations. NATO's military penetration of the Congo is a threat to the whole of Africa.

What are your views on the activities of the United Nations in the Congo?

United Nations operations in the Congo were launched on the basis of the decision of the Security Council of July 14, 1960. At that time, literally the day after the proclamation of independence, Belgian troops committed an act of open aggression against the young republic and, on the pretext of protecting the European population, proceeded to occupy Katanga province. The national government of Patrice Lumumba turned to the United Nations for help. The Congolese believed that the intervention of this international organization would at once restore peace. The arrival of the "blue helmets" was warmly welcomed by the public. However, the murder of Lumumba with the tacit consent of the United States shook our faith in the United Nations. And subsequently we had more than one occasion to convince ourselves that the United Nations office in charge of the operations in the Congo as well as its representatives on the

spot were in reality not serving the interests of our people and universal peace, but were acting as a screen for the State Department's penetration of the Congo.

The State Department exerts constant pressure on the United Nations machinery to compel it to serve U.S. purposes. As a result, all the good resolutions adopted by that organization remain on paper. When Dag Hammarskjöld, late Secretary General, tried to stop the separation of Katanga from the Congo the imperialists managed to remove him under circumstances which to this date remain mysterious.

U.S. highhanded methods are evident in the manner in which the economic aid program is being carried out. This program has become a cover for the penetration of the U.S. monopolies. Instead of the tractors it needs, the Congo is receiving expensive cars and other luxury articles which are used to bribe the ruling clique. The foreign currency flowing into the Congo is seized by the same clique and flows back into the banks of Europe and America.

How does the question of the national integrity of the Congo stand today and how strong are the separatist trends?

The Congo, as you know, is inhabited by many tribes all speaking different languages. However the tribal differences are of a cultural rather than of an economic or political nature. Every tribe wants to preserve its own language, its customs and habits, but every inhabitant feels himself a Congolese first and foremost. This deep-going sense of brotherhood and solidarity is a guarantee of the territorial integrity of the Congo.

Separatism is a problem artificially created by imperialist contradictions in the Congo. These contradictions were clearly reflected in the case of the secession of Katanga. In 1960 the Belgian and British shareholders in *Union Minière*, alarmed by the progressive policy of Lumumba and his followers, engineered the secession of Katanga and the formation of a separate Katanga state headed by their puppet Tshombe. The Americans too regarded Tshombe as a "strong man" who could prevent the spread of communism in the Congo. However, the growth of the *Union Minière* and the increasing export of cheap copper on the world market threatened the interests of the U.S. copper monopolies which began to search for an opportunity to weaken their European partners and to gain a foothold in Katanga. Being unable directly to oust Belgium and Britain from the Congo, the State Department

after the murder of Lumumba concentrated on installing a docile central government. The moment Adoula became Prime Minister the U.S. began to work energetically for the reunion of Katanga with the rest of the Congo, since it was obviously more advantageous to dominate the whole Congo than Katanga alone. But their European allies strongly objected. It was the consistent struggle of the Congolese themselves for national unity that forced the colonialists to retreat. Under the present government, which serves the imperialists and is least of all concerned with the interests of the Congolese people, the secession of Katanga has lost its significance for the imperialists.

This brings up the question of the continued presence of UN troops in the Congo. There is no longer any need for these troops. This does not mean that attempts to violate the territorial integrity of the country can be excluded. Such attempts may take place with the advent of a revolutionary government which sooner or later will proceed to nationalize the mineral wealth in the interests of the people. When this happens the imperialists might again attempt to deprive the Congo of its richest areas. But having no objective base in the country, the attempt will be foiled by the people and its genuinely national government without the aid of United Nations forces, as the Egyptian people did at the time of the Suez conflict.

What is the alignment of class forces in the Congo?

Class lines in Congolese society are not yet sufficiently clearly drawn to be able to speak of any alignment of class forces. It can be said, however, that besides the working people in town and countryside, we have an emergent bourgeois bureaucracy consisting of Congolese who have entered the service of neo-colonialism. These, however, are but a small fraction of the population and enjoy little or no prestige among the people who for the most part regard them as traitors.

Participating in the political life of the Congo are numerous parties and organizations most of which have no clear-cut ideological platform and express the interests of religions or castes rather than classes. The followers of Lumumba, the true champions of an independent and indivisible Congo, continue to enjoy popularity and prestige. They stand for a united Africa and for the socialist path of development. They are opposed by the Rights who may be regarded as anti-national elements since they are mainly concerned with

upholding American and Belgian interests. Their policy is determined not by ideology but by the dollar. These elements, too, are a negligible minority. They have little support among the people and are maintained with the help of foreign capital.

Associated with the reactionary bourgeoisie are the Catholic clergy. The Vatican has flooded the Congo with missionaries. Long before independence, long before there were any teachers, doctors or architects in the Congo, its black-robed emissaries came to our country to implant Catholicism by the "carrot and stick" method. Today the Catholic Church is strong and well organized. The clergy are conducting frankly reactionary anti-Communist propaganda.

On what sections does the liberation movement rely?

The revolutionary liberation movement derives its main support from the peasantry. The rural proletariat is not dependent on anyone for jobs. The peasant lives by tilling the soil and if the government does not enable him to live by his own labor he will not support such a government. But the fact that today the progressive political forces rely mainly on the peasantry does not diminish the role of the urban proletariat in the national revolution nor does it minimize its historic mission. In the Congo the situation is such that the industrial workers are not sufficiently organized to be able to strike a telling blow at the reactionaries. Unemployment has assumed fantastic dimensions, and the few who have jobs are desperately afraid of losing them. Moreover, the trade union leadership often dances to the tune of the neo-colonialists who are doing their best to prevent working-class unity and the awakening of proletarian class consciousness. However, the struggle waged by progressive unions like the General Confederation of Labor, and primarily the ideological work conducted by these organizations, is undoubtedly a highly positive factor.

What are the specific features of the ideological struggle in the Congo?

There are big obstacles to progressive ideas in the Congo. The entire propaganda machine is controlled by the imperialists and their accomplices. This applies not only to the press, but also to the radio which in Congolese conditions, where the majority of the population is illiterate, is the most effective propaganda medium.

The progressive parties and organizations cannot afford to have their own propaganda

and information organs. Although officially we enjoy freedom of speech and the press, in reality without outside support no organization could afford to buy as much as a typewriter. Everything has to be paid for in dollars.

Another difficulty is that before independence the Congo had no mass political organization to speak of, and the three-year crisis has not been conducive to the establishment of parties strong both organizationally and ideologically, parties capable of actively spreading progressive ideas among the masses. From the standpoint of the growth of political consciousness, the Congolese crisis has perhaps done more than any propaganda. The people have learned to distinguish their friends from their enemies. Anti-imperialist sentiment is strong. This fortifies our faith in the future.

What place does the Peace League occupy in the political life of the Congo?

The Peace League is a mass organization. It is not connected with any ideology, any group or clan. It is an organization that stands above political parties. The noble ideas of peace and disarmament bring into our ranks not only progressives but also representatives of the Right, the bourgeoisie, the clergy, in a word, all sections of the population. The people know what war and its horrors mean. Hence the fight for peace has become a vital cause for every true citizen.

What are the prospects of the national revolution and non-capitalist development for the Congo?

There is no doubt that national democracy and socialism will triumph in a country whose people are devoted to the revolutionary ideals and principles advanced by Patrice Lumumba. The failure of attempts at artificial Americanization and the almost total absence of popular support for the existing regime show that the crisis cannot be resolved without turning over all the means of production to the people. The uprisings which flared up in various parts of the country are evidence that the imperialists in the Congo are sitting on a powder keg that is liable to explode at any moment.

The road Congolese development will take will be determined after imperialism has been defeated, but it is already clear that the completion of the anti-imperialist national revolution will open the perspective of non-capitalist development. Economically this is justified by the almost total absence of national capital and national private ownership of the means of production. The local bourgeoisie, which is basically bureaucratic and not industrial or financial, as we have noted above, serves foreign and not Congolese interests. This being the case, it is seen as a non-national force and will collapse as soon as it loses imperialist support.

Although the ideas of scientific socialism are not yet being disseminated among the masses to a sufficient degree for the reasons mentioned above, the socialist principles of equality and brotherhood are strongly developed. The traditional communal ownership of the land and the patriarchal order, according to which the entire community enjoys the fruits of the labor of each of its members, does not foster the development of the private property instinct. The working class, which is also closely linked with the countryside where many workers have their roots, is undoubtedly interested in the non-capitalist way. The role of the working class will increase as its class consciousness grows and with the formation of genuinely revolutionary trade unions capable of uniting the proletariat and rallying it against neo-colonialism and domestic reaction.

At the same time, we must not forget that the imperialists have been doing their utmost to crush all the shoots of the national-liberation movement in our country. They beheaded the progressive forces, they murdered Lumumba, and they are keeping Antoine Gizenga in confinement to this day.

In these circumstances international solidarity is of the utmost importance. The moral support of the international working-class movement, and the moral and material aid of world socialism can contribute much to the success of the Congolese people's struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism.

Four-Year Plan of the Communist Party of Indonesia

BUILDING the Party according to plan has become a tradition with Indonesian Communists. Starting with short-term plans of 3 and 6 months pursuing limited aims, the Party followed them up with plans for longer terms and with more tasks.

In April this year the Second Three-Year Plan on education and organization was completed. Most of the targets were over-fulfilled. Thanks to the successful completion of this and earlier plans, the Communist Party is now a mass Party, covering the entire country and united politically, ideologically and organizationally. At present the Party has more than two and a half million members as compared to a membership of less than 10,000 when the task of building up the Party began about 10 years ago; at that time Party organizations were confined to the island of Java and a small part of the island of Sumatra; now, however, the thousands of islands which make up Indonesia are covered by a network of Party organizations.

In building the Party very great importance is attached to expanding membership and organization. But the CPI considers Marxist-Leninist education of its members as being even more important. By the end of the Second Three-Year Plan, most members had received education in Marxist-Leninism and had studied the basic problems of the Indonesian Revolution.

This success is to be consolidated by continuing to build the Party on the basis of the new Plan which was announced in August 1963 by the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee. This new *Four-Year Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organization* was drafted democratically and realistically. After being drawn up by the Central Planning Bureau the draft was submitted for discussion to the Provincial Committees, departments and groups. After this it was discussed in all Party organizations from top to bottom. In the course of the discussion members expressed their opinions and suggested improvements. The Plan as a whole was approved unanimously.

The targets set in the new Plan correspond to the needs of the struggle waged by the Party today as well as to the objective possibilities of the Party at the present stage.

Work to implement the Plan was preceded by numerous meetings in the centre and in the regions, which among other things drew conclusions from the positive and the negative experiences gained during the previous Plan. One of the negative things noted was that the method of leadership has not been fully mastered as yet by some of the functionaries. That is why, speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee in February, Comrade Aidit again stressed the need to carry out the method of leadership laid down by the Sixth National Congress of the Party in 1959: "Welding general appeals with concrete directives and welding the leadership with the masses, while linking up the method of leading with a correct style of work, namely: welding theory with practice, establishing close contact with the masses and undertaking self-criticism."

Thanks to the experiences gained during the previous Plans and to the correct method of leadership, the cadres and members have everything needed to implement the Four-Year Plan.

In essence, the Four-Year Plan does not differ much from the previous Plan. In the new Plan education is divided into two parts: general education and ideological education.

As regards general education for the cadres, the following measures are envisaged: the establishment of academies and faculties at central and provincial levels; at Section Committee level—"People's Universities" which provide education equivalent to the senior middle school; at Sub-Section Committee level—"Houses of People's Knowledge" for education at lower middle school level; for branch committees—"Leagues of People's Knowledge" to provide education at the elementary school level. Also earmarked are the courses to train tutors for the People's Universities, the Houses of People's Knowledge and the Leagues of People's Knowledge; courses for professional training; correspondence courses will be ar-

ranged for Party cadres, who as a result of their revolutionary activities are not in a position to attend regularly the above-mentioned educational establishments.

The Four-Year Plan envisages that all cadres at central and provincial levels shall complete a three-year academy course; cadres at the district level shall complete a course at the People's University, those at sub-district level must complete a course at the House of People's Knowledge, and at the village level—a course at the League of People's Knowledge.

In addition, the anti-illiteracy campaign will be continued under this Plan too.

It should be borne in mind that the cultural measures provided for in the Plan are not new for the Party. In fact even before it was drawn up many of these measures had been carried out to a certain extent. But the work was not done systematically, lacked proper guidance and was not conducted intensively enough. Under the new Plan these shortcomings will be eliminated.

The setting up of a special Cultural Department attached to the Central Committee, the holding of a Conference on Art and Literature and many other undertakings reflect the serious intention of the Party to make the cultural aspect of the Four-Year Plan a success.

As regards the ideological education, apart from continuing the activities under the previous Plans in this sphere, the new Plan calls for special attention to the following: training tutors for the Party Schools at all levels; study of philosophy; education of Communist art workers for their total integration with the masses; research into the economy, history and culture of the localities concerned; acquisition of premises for Party Schools.

The fact that special attention will be paid to Marxist-Leninist philosophy does not signify any slackening in the study of other subjects such as the problems of the Indonesian revolution, the international working-class movement, etc. These are very important in order to educate Communists capable of combining proletarian internationalism with working-class patriotism, and the general truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution.

By closely linking the study of philosophy with life, with the Party's general line, its day-to-day activities, the members will gain a greater awareness of the correctness of Party policy in every field. This will further strengthen the political, ideological and organizational unity of the Party.

Realization of the tasks set by the Plan in the sphere of ideology will make the Com-

munist Party better able to cope with the complex national and international problems and to defeat every possible erroneous tendency seeking to undermine its Marxist-Leninist line.

In drawing up and implementing the organizational aspect of the new Plan, the Party proceeds from the need to strengthen and extend its ranks. The aim of the Plan is to double the membership of the Party and the mass organizations.

The organizational aspect provides for convening conferences of departments and bureaux at central level and of all Party committees down to district level; for organizing movements "going out to the masses" with a view to enlarging the membership and perfecting the method of leadership; for encouragement to intellectuals and cultural workers; assisting the city poor and fishermen to become organized.

The Party will work indefatigably to strengthen its contact with the masses of the working people. Stress is laid on the drive to draw as many peasants, intellectuals and women as possible into the Party without of course lessening the efforts to recruit industrial workers and other sections of the people. Special attention is paid to Party work among the peasants. In carrying out the Plan, the Party will extend its activity to study conditions in the countryside, to improve its mass work and enliven discussion of theoretical and political questions and of the Party's directives. The sub-section committees will be the key to successful implementation of the new Plan. Party groups in the mass organization must be strengthened, a correct method of leading them ensured, and greater assistance rendered to the Party Committees outside the islands of Java and Sumatra.

The Indonesian Communists are faced with an important task in order to ensure victory of the national-democratic revolution in the country and, in close unity with the Communists and all other revolutionary forces in the world, to defeat imperialism and uphold world peace. These tasks can be fulfilled if the organization, the policies and the ideology of the Party are unceasingly tempered in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, if the Party strengthens its contact with the masses of the working people, if it works in the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

To build such a Party in order to be able to fulfill their national and international tasks, the Indonesian Communists are now working successfully on their Four-Year Plan.

H. JUNUS

Building the United Party of the Socialist Revolution in Cuba

A Review of the Cuban Party Press

IN THE first phase of the revolution, the Combined Revolutionary Organizations (ORO) brought together all the forces that had helped to make victory possible. With the development of the revolution, however, when the new state turned to the job of building Socialism, this organization proved inadequate. The leaders of the revolution and the people were faced with the imperative need for a party of a new kind, a Marxist-Leninist party, whose ranks would unite revolutionaries dedicated to socialism. "The revolution cannot be advanced without a strong, disciplined revolutionary organization," was how Fidel Castro summed up the situation. The people have to combat the trials and tribulations that beset the revolution. "The Party should be the people's vanguard, a vanguard uniting ardent enthusiasts, the staunch and the resolute, the cream of the people; uniting them at their place of work, in our villages and in our towns.

The Party is the organization which heads the struggle against the difficulties, the organization which should be on all fronts, which should correct all that is being done incorrectly, adjust where adjustment is needed, and explain everything that cannot be adjusted."

The ORO, it will be recalled, was formed by the fusion of the three organizations that played the main role in the revolution: the 20th of July Movement, the Popular Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate.

The fusion of these three organizations had to be approached in a broad way, without prejudices or discrimination, and with faith not in any single group but in the revolution itself. Otherwise sectarian mistakes would have been made, unity impaired and the consolidation of the revolution jeopardized.

This circumstance explains why the sectarian methods which were evident in the early stages of the unification process had to be eradicated, since they tended to narrow and restrict the ideas of the Party and its role in the new conditions.

Another thing was that the victory of the revolution was due to the participation of diverse forces; and it was in alliance with these forces, (purged of opportunists and

traitors) with the more consistent and politically stable among them, with those who had adopted Marxism-Leninism as their outlook, that the revolution had to be directed along a course leading to the building of the new state and its governing bodies, and primarily to the formation of a party.

It was essential also to put an end to the discriminatory tendencies in the relations between people who had taken part in the armed struggle in the mountains and those who had worked, often in obscurity, in underground conditions in the towns, relations between the old and young revolutionaries, etc.

These unhealthy tendencies have now been overcome and, as Fidel Castro has said, the revolution now has behind it "all the cadres from all the revolutionary organizations. The Popular Socialist Party has given us its cadres of older members, people trained by the Party in the spirit of socialism. The Directorate has contributed its young cadres. The contribution of the 26th of July Movement, which could not provide politically educated cadres with a long party record, was a large number of young enthusiasts, revolutionaries to the core, along with all the experience they gained in the struggle to win power."

In order to build a mass party in keeping with the tasks confronting the revolution and the growing participation of the masses in the revolutionary struggle, it was decided to go to the masses, to the factories and fields where they work, to go to the intellectuals, and enlist the help of the people in selecting the best and most dedicated men and women for membership in the Party.

This has led to the now widespread practice of holding large meetings in the enterprises at which the workers elect those whom they regard as "exemplary," people worthy of being recommended for membership in the party. As a rule these meetings are the occasion for animated discussion and much frank criticism and self-criticism.

To qualify for the honor of being recommended for Party membership by one's fellow-workers a man must make a good showing on the job, support the socialist revolution and be prepared to defend it; he must be morally irreproachable, with a past record unblemished by any association with the Batista

dictatorship, with the leadership of the corrupt trade unions, in the election farce of 1958 which prolonged the Batista government.

Meetings of this kind are usually attended by the bulk of the workers of the given enterprise. In September 1962 such meetings were held at 3,959 enterprises with the participation of 356,225 out of a total of 450,269, or 79.11 per cent of the labor force.

The title of exemplary worker, however, does not automatically make a man eligible for party membership. The selection and admittance of new members is handled by the Party organizations. This is done because, in the first place the Party must select its members with great care, and secondly, because many workers chosen by their workmates pre-

fer for one reason or another to remain outside the Party for the time being.

As Emilio Aragones, Organizing Secretary of the Party, told the press recently, at the end of February 1963 workers comprised about half of the membership, women, 13 per cent; 51.78 per cent were newcomers chosen from among the exemplary workers; 48.22 per cent were former ORO members, some of whom had joined the Party as exemplary workers, while others had been accepted on the recommendation of Party members in view of their revolutionary record.

The following table published in April 1963 by the journal *Cuba Socialista*, contains interesting data on the selection of workers and their acceptance into the ranks of the Party:

PROGRESS MADE IN BUILDING THE PARTY

Data of the Organizational Secretariat for March 12, 1963

Provinces	Exemplary Workers	Party Branches	Party Members	Women Members	% of Women	Probationers
Pinar del Rio	4,406	394	3,343	593	17.73	669
Havana	11,279	549	4,059	680	16.64	325
Matanzas	2,122	132	807	132	16.36	204
Las Villas	6,703	406	2,307	227	9.84	146
Camaguary	5,217	355	3,313	334	10.08	282
Oriente	6,607	373	2,173	152	6.99	398
Total for country	36,334	2,209	16,002	2,118	13.24	2,024

For those exemplary workers or other citizens who, though recommended by their fellow workers, are not accepted into the Party a probationer status has been established. Probationer membership is for a period of one year. During this time the probationer participates in the life of his branch, broadens his knowledge and improves his revolutionary qualities. At the expiry of the year he is eligible for full membership.

At the end of February 1963 the first mass meeting of members of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution was held in Havana. More than 6,000 members from the three western provinces — Pinar del Rio, Havana and Matanzas — attended. The meeting was addressed by Fidel Castro.

"We have advanced slowly," he said, "but we have done a big job. Some of us are impatient. Some ask: 'When are we going to organize a party in this or that place?' Some say: 'If we had an organized party we could decide certain problems on the spot, on the various fronts of the job.' This is so. But it is also true that the main thing is not just to organize a party but to organize it properly.

"We have suggested that the organization of our party should be beyond reproach and that this work be done in the best possible way.

"The October (1962) crisis and the problems engendered by it slowed down organizational work to some extent. But the work is continuing. It is proceeding slowly but surely, slowly, but well. We began with the working class centres, with the factories, the proletarian centres. And now we are beginning to work on other fronts as well. But the test of the work done with which you are are well familiar is the fact that in the western provinces we now have some 10,000 members."

Besides the industrial centres, government offices and among professionals, the organizing work is being carried out also in the countryside. The leadership of the party has published directives as a guide to work in the rural localities.

Among other things it is recommended to make a study of the given area and the class composition of its population, and to give preference to agricultural laborers in enrolling members. In addition, it is important to make sure that the future member supports the socialist forms of production, that he does not exploit the labor of others, that he makes proper use of state loans, that he is honest in delivery of produce to the state and participates in the country's defense.

The "mountain squads" of trained "mili-

cianos," chiefly agricultural laborers and poor peasants numbering about 30,000, form the core of the Party organizations in the mountainous areas of Oriente province.

The organizational links are the branch, the district, regional and provincial committees. The establishment of district committees was necessitated by the growth of the party which made guidance of the branches by the regional and provincial committees difficult. At first the district committee was elected at a general meeting of the members of all the branches in the given area. But with the increase in membership, it became necessary to go over to the election of district committees by delegates. To regional conferences each district organization sends one delegate for every 20 members, and to provincial conferences, one delegate for 50 members.

Comrades elected to a Party committee meet in the intervals during conferences and allocate the leading posts, submitting their decision for the approval of the conference.

The issuing of membership cards began early in 1963. The members are presented with their cards in a ceremonial atmosphere which emphasizes the importance of membership in a party of the working class and the role of this vanguard in furthering and consolidating the revolution. Relatives and fellow workers of the recipient are usually invited to attend the ceremony.

The work of building the United Party of the Socialist Revolution is being carried on with full understanding of the need to create a party deeply rooted among the masses, a party which will be the vehicle of the revolutionary aspirations of the masses, of their wisdom and creative spirit, a party that will direct the activities and revolutionary energies of the people.

"We shall continue to perfect our party," declared Fidel Castro on June 4, 1962. "We must develop it further, devote more attention to it and regard it as the most reliable weapon of the revolution." *Hernan BARRERA*

Call for a National Front in Syria

THE Lebanese newspaper *Al Akhbar* has published a statement of the Syrian Communist Party on the current situation in Syria; the statement calls for building a broad national front with a view to forming a national-democratic parliamentary regime with this front as its backbone.

Attention is drawn to the grave situation in the country — the growing economic difficulties and denial of elementary rights. Many workers, peasants and intellectuals have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment by military tribunals not because of any crime but merely because their views are not those of the rulers. The accused were denied the right to legal defence.

The situation in Syria is the result of the plots concocted by the U.S. and British imperialists, of the subversion of their agents and of the absence of freedom and democracy. And this drive against democracy and elementary rights is conducted behind a smoke-screen of fighting for "freedom and socialism"; the difficulties plaguing Syria are due also to the ambitions of some Arab leaders, to their renunciation of the principle of the Syrian people themselves being the masters of their destiny, to their abuse of the striving of the sons and daughters of the Syrian people for genuine Arab unity.

Nasserism maintains that it is entitled to absorb Syria and make it a province of Egypt.

A group of reactionary leaders of the Syrian Baath Party associated with the Ali Saleh Saadi clique in Iraq are working to take Syria along the dangerous road that will lead to a growth of influence of U.S. and British imperialism and also to penetration of West German imperialist influence. This would doom national independence, clear the way to fascism and disrupt Syrian-Soviet friendship which is one of the main conditions for consolidating our sovereignty, of our advance towards a developed and independent economy.

The Baath leaders shout from the rooftops about the danger of Nasserism, exaggerating it in the eyes of the people and many members of their own party; this is done in order to attain their own ends which are:

1. To install a regime of terror, strangle democracy, bludgeon the people into silence, ban political parties, seize the machinery of state and open the way to fascism.

2. To work jointly with the ultra-reactionaries for implementation of the imperialist "crescent" plan which would enable the oil companies to control the oil fields and pumping stations and make it possible for the imperialists to dominate our material and manpower resources and use our countries for their aggressive designs.

3. To justify the policy of surrender to imperialism and renounce the national-liberation

struggle which helps to safeguard the Arab countries against imperialist influence, helps to transfer into Arab hands their oil and other resources and makes it possible to utilize these to develop the productive forces and improve the conditions of the people.

But the people of Syria know that the relations with the Iraqi rulers have been established not with a view to saving the Syrian economy or to safeguarding Syrian independence against ambitious intrigues. Syrians realize that the Iraqi rulers are discredited, that they are using all their forces for war against the Kurds. The Syrian people know that the war against the Kurds is waged under the control of the oil companies and the imperialists who are supplying the Baghdad clique with arms and aircraft. They also know that this war is not in the interests of either Iraq or the other Arab peoples. This war corresponds only to the interests of the imperialists who are bent on weakening Iraq, on forcing it to expend its forces in a civil war in which brother fights brother, so as to lay their hands on Iraq and its natural wealth.

The Syrian people are determined to resist any attempt to dissolve their country in the projected "crescent" alliance which is a facade for the fascism of Saadi and the jungle law, and which is dominated by the British and American oil companies who are anxious to ensure for themselves, through this alliance, a strategic base against the Soviet Union, the true friend of the Arab peoples.

The Nasseries seek to persuade the people of Syria that their emancipation depends on whether or not the pro-Nasser policy prevails. On the other hand, the reactionary group of the ruling Baath party seize upon the pro-Nasser propaganda in order to impose on the country the dangerous policy of uniting Syria with the Iraqi rulers in the imperialist oil alliance. This has led to rioting, to shooting in residential areas, to bloodshed in the streets and to asking whether this will not result in barring the way to stabilization and peaceful development.

The people of Syria see a way out in a national-democratic parliamentary regime based on a broad national front uniting workers, peasants, small businessmen, students, small shopkeepers and all non-monopoly representatives of the national economy. The front should include the political representatives of these sections of the population — progressive Baathists, Socialists, democratic Nationalists, Communists, independents and all other patriots. This front will be supported by the army — by the soldiers and all patriotic officers regardless of their political views.

The building of this national front, the statement says, will result in a new kind of regime in which all patriots, progressive elements will cooperate. This regime will bar the way to expansionist and fascist tendencies, work to overcome the difficulties and end the crisis, clear the way to peaceful democratic development, bring about positive changes in all Arab countries, favor rapprochement of the Arab peoples and their solidarity, and work for genuine Arab unity.

By taking this road Syria will enhance its prestige among the Arab countries and throughout the world. The Arab peoples will open their hearts to it, while world imperialism, rent by contradictions, will not be able to oppose it, just as Israel will not venture to carry on with its provocations and aggressive designs. As for the friendly countries, especially the socialist countries and their vanguard — the Soviet Union — they will as always extend the hand of fraternal and disinterested aid.

The Syrian Communist Party, closely linked with the people and the soundness of whose policy is confirmed by the march of events, calls on all parties and democrats, on progressive nationalists of all trends, both civil and military, on those who give partial support to the regime and on those who oppose it, to build a broad national front and a national-democratic parliamentary regime based on this front.

Iraqi Communist Party Carries on the Fight

THE purpose of the terror that swept Iraq after the reactionary coup of February 8 was to destroy communism in the country and thus pave the way to complete subservience to imperialism and reaction. Yet, despite the murder of Party Secretary Salaam Adel and other leaders, and the countless murders and arrests of rank and file Communists,

the Iraqi Communist Party, far from being crushed, is deeply rooted among the people — Arab, Kurd and other nationalities. The party's message is circulated throughout the country through its newspaper *Tareeq el Shaab* (The People's Path). The first issue of *Tareeq el Shaab* appeared in June and contained the full text of the statement issued

by the Central Committee which analyzed the new situation in the country and exposed the pro-imperialist and anti-democratic nature of Baath rule. The Communist paper called on the people to rally closer around the Party, to rise as one in defence of national independence and to restore democracy in the country.

When the first issue appeared the Baath rulers intensified their terror; they murdered Jamal el Haidari, Mohammed Saleh Abballe and other party leaders. Yet despite this heavy loss the second issue of *Tareeq el Shaab* appeared which, like the first, carried the slogans: "For a Free Country and a Happy People!" and "Workers of All Lands, Unite!" The editorial article denounced the Baath slogan of "unity, freedom and socialism" as a facade for a policy of national betrayal, and fascism.

Pointing out that the Baath rulers were in the grip of a crisis and that the end of their rule was not far off, the paper quoted Salaam Adel's last letter to the Party which said: "From the very outset this reactionary conspiracy finds itself in a state of isolation much greater than that in which the Kassem dictatorship found itself at the end of its rule. The downfall of this regime is not to be doubted."

"We are faced with the alternative," the statement of the Central Committee pointed out, "either a fascist pro-imperialist regime, no matter what is facade, or democratic rule based on the people and on the Arab-Kurd solidarity."

The overthrow of the Baath regime in November showed the soundness of the analysis and policy of the Communist Party. The Baath collapse, a defeat for the policy of anti-communism and the suppression of democracy, shows once again that the same fate will befall anyone who ventures on such a policy. As before, the Communist Party is at its post, fighting indefatigably for a radical change in the policy of the country, for genuine democracy.

* * *

In August the Iraqi Communist Party issued a statement on the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders, in which it pointed out that the latter, advancing bombastic slogans calling for the solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle against imperialism, are in effect isolating this struggle from the struggle of the international

working class and the forces of the socialist world.

"The stand taken by the Chinese leaders," the statement goes on, "with its nationalist and racist flavor, is a grave danger to the national-liberation movement and the interests of the newly-independent countries. The Chinese leaders try to justify their attitude, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism and harmful to the unity of the world Communist movement, by relying on dogmas and 'ultra-revolutionary phraseology' and revealing misunderstanding or ignorance of the facts and the historical conditions. They are guided in this attitude not by a sense of international responsibility and concern for the world Communist movement but, on the contrary, by narrow-minded nationalism."

Denouncing the false Chinese slogans about the national-liberation movement, the Iraqi Communist Party cites its own experience and knowledge of the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders, especially after the reactionary coup in Baghdad of February 8. Chinese representatives in Baghdad conducted a subversive campaign against our revolutionary movement and mainly against our Party. But they were silent about the crimes of the Baathist rulers. What is more, they established friendly relations with them. Instead of supporting the just struggle of the Kurds, the Chinese military attache in Baghdad accepted the invitation of the Iraqi government to visit the so-called "liberated areas" in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Chinese attache visited these areas in the company of the U.S., British and Pakistani military attaches.

Chinese representatives in Baghdad are working hard to set up splinter organizations directed against the Communist Party. They are doing their utmost to contact traitors and renegades, telling the Baath rulers that if the activities of these "communist organizations" are allowed, the latter will support them.

Such is the stand taken by the Chinese representatives.

The Iraqi Communist Party has resolutely denounced the stand taken by the Chinese leaders in the world Communist movement and is fighting for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the vital interests of the Iraqi people and the cause of the revolutionary movement in Iraq.

Aziz AL-HAJJ

Victory for Unity in Senegal

ON October 12 the representatives of a number of opposition parties and organizations in Senegal signed the Manifesto of the National Democratic Front. The formation of this front is a big victory for the progressive forces, including the Communists united in the African Independence Party (Senegal).

From its inception the AIP has worked hard for the unity of the patriotic forces.

For a long time, however, the achievement of this aim was hindered by a number of factors, above all by the differences between the opposition trends in assessing the political situation, by the crafty manoeuvres of the Senghor government aimed at dividing the opposition, by the pressure exerted by imperialism and neo-colonialism, and by differences as to who should head the united front.

In the AIP too there were erroneous views on this question. Not all comrades properly understood the significance of the united front, and work to achieve unity was often relegated to the background. The building of unity was hampered also by a trend in the Party which, ostensibly in the interests of unity, advocated dissolution of the Party, distorted the decision adopted on this question by the Party's First Congress (1962) and brought the Party to the verge of a split.

In the summer of 1963 the Central Committee of the AIP exposed and condemned this faction, expelled them, and reaffirmed the Party's position on the question of unity. "Reaffirming the line of the First Congress," the resolution declared, "the Central Committee stresses the imperative need to rally the people of Senegal for a united Senegalese independence front so as to hasten a solution of the political crisis in the interests of the people. The Central Committee urged all members and all organizations to rally for explanatory and organizational work among the masses in order to unite with the least possible delay all those interested in bringing about changes."

In recent months the reactionaries have mounted another offensive against democra-

tic rights. Not only the Communists but also all other opponents of the Senghor regime, including members of the clergy, supporters of ex-Premier Mamadou Dia and other people adhering to the most diverse views, have been subjected to repressions.

On September 27 the government sent troops and gendarmerie to break up a peaceful demonstration of Moslems demanding the release of the religious leader Sheikh Tidiane Sy. The AIP supported this demonstration which called for the resignation of Senghor, restoration of democratic freedoms and release of all political prisoners. The demonstration was joined also by the supporters of the former Prime Minister. This mass action demonstrated the growing polarization of forces in the country and the real possibility for unity among all the opponents of the Senghor regime.

The September events were the prelude to the formation of the National Democratic Front which includes a number of parties and is supported by the organizations of women and the youth, the trade unions, and cultural and religious associations. The front organizers decided to issue a newspaper, *The Voice of the People*, and put forward an eight-point national program including such democratic demands as a general amnesty, an end to the political persecution, legalization of all national parties and organizations, and freedom of speech and assembly. The political demands include repeal of the reactionary electoral law, the holding of free and democratic elections, the establishment of a national unity government which would pursue a strictly neutralist foreign policy and work for African unity.

The program also sets forth the demands of various sections of the population — the workers, peasants, national bourgeoisie and the army — and also demands in defence of the Senegalese Moslems and religious tolerance.

The formation of the National Democratic Front is a big event in our political life, opening new opportunities for struggle for genuine independence, democracy and progress.

Mamadou DIENNE

Australian Dockers Unite for Action

FOR many years the dockers in Australia have proved a reliable, militant detachment of the working class. Their Union — the Waterside Workers' Federation — is a powerful influence in the Australian labor move-

ment. It became a leading force in trade union affairs under the inspiring leadership of the late "Big Jim" Healy whose passing robbed the labor movement and the Communist Party of a splendid organizer and in-

spirer of the working people.

Following Healy's death the shipowners and the reactionary Menzies government launched further attacks on the wharfers' union. They wanted to cut it down as a spearhead force of the movement. They delivered massive attacks on it from Parliament and from the Industrial Courts. They introduced special industrial laws which forbade dockers from strike struggle under threat of heavy fines and jailings. They tried also to sow discord within the Union itself by the blatant use of a small Right-wing political group within the membership.

Not being able to break the Union's spirit and activity, the government conceived a subtler and more vicious move. Now they not only fine the Union for strike struggles but penalize each individual member for his part in the strike. A brief Port stoppage on any day now means that each wharfie on that Port loses from "attendance Money" — the sum normally paid to a wharfie for presenting himself to work on days when he's not given work because of a shortage of ships. Much more than £1 million has been stolen by the government and courts from the pockets of dockers in this way.

The trade union movement has recently broken through to win a 10 per cent increase in the "skill margin" position of the general wage.

The metal trades fitter's award was usually taken as a test case before the Arbitration Court and decisions in these cases were automatically transferred to other industries in turn. But now the Court has found a new loophole to save the employers and to make the trade union struggle more difficult. Any wage rise for fitters is not now automatically transferred to other industries. Separate trade unions must now "show cause" why they should themselves receive the fitter's increase.

The waterside workers made an application to have the 10 per cent margin rise applied to them and received a curious result — the Judge awarded the rise to all ports *except* Sydney and Melbourne where the rise was withheld until the workers "behaved themselves" or until the Union gave assurances to prevent stoppages.

Thus **another disruptive** tactic has been launched by the shipowners and their government against waterside workers.

The whole waterfront is now in a ferment as dockers meet to discuss the position and organize their ranks for further action. They have called on all trade unions to unite with them in their fight. They are taking the case

of the waterside workers into the general community and out into the countryside. They appeal to workers, farmers, small businessmen, intellectuals and professional people for support. They publish leaflets and hold public meetings explaining their case.

This whole picture should be seen against the background of growing economic difficulties for Australia. Overseas markets are shaky. The effects of mechanization and speed-up in industry are further unemployment and shrinkage of earning capacity. More than 100,000 permanent unemployed people is a regular feature despite seasonal effects. Young people leaving school find it difficult to get work.

In this situation the trades union movement needs to be united and strong in its activity to protect the workers and advance their interests. The struggle of the waterside workers therefore becomes vital in Australia to hold its position and take the whole movement forward.

In all major ports of the Commonwealth there are branches of the Communist Party which play a big part in the struggle of the dockers. The policy of the Party branch on the waterfront is to unite the workers for industrial demands, to organize activities for peace, and to fight against the monopolies and for general progress of the labor movement. The branches meet regularly once a fortnight. They sell Party papers on the job and at central gatherings of the workers, organize socials, competitions and raffles for additional finance. They recruit the best members of the working class to the Party.

On the waterfront they issue regular bulletins called *The Wharfie*. These bulletins take up the questions of trade union struggles, of Party policy, broad questions of world peace and the questions of socialism.

The Party branch plans its contribution, the contribution of Party members, to the mass movement of workers, plans Communist participation in the trade union struggles and strike struggle on the job and frequently and constantly discusses the relations between our Party members and the social democratic or Labor party workers and leaders so as to develop greater unity of action on the job.

This is an ever present problem with us because some of our Communists are becoming impatient at the level of developments on the waterfront, make mistakes of a sectarian character which tend to isolate the Party, its members and cause misunderstanding between ourselves and Labor party workers.

It should be understood, of course, that the

great majority of the Australian waterfront workers are loyal to the labor party or the social-democratic political party and consequently, when we come into the arena of industrial struggles we have to take this matter into consideration. So the Communists discuss very carefully how they should raise questions at trade union meetings or strike struggles so as to develop maximum unity and understanding among all sections of the workers for progressive policies.

We have informal talks with Labor party leaders, there is a fair amount of mutual un-

derstanding and compromise on both sides but we usually finish with some general policy of agreement which suits the whole of the waterfront workers and we are fortunate insofar as the general policy of the Waterside Workers' Federation is a progressive policy and there is ample room and scope for unity, understanding and action within the framework of the policy of this Federation.

Australian dockers, in the forefront of the labor movement, are paving the way to a better future.

Jim MITCHELL

Workers' Press in West Germany

DESPITE the difficulties with which the Communists in West Germany have to contend, they have succeeded in adapting Party work to the conditions of illegality thus enabling the Party to fulfil its role of vanguard of the working class.

At the end of 1962 the Central Committee of the Party was able to report that as a result of the recruiting campaign over 2,000 new members had joined the Party, more than 100 new branches had been formed and 130 new factory bulletins had appeared.

This year saw the further strengthening of the Party, both organizationally and ideologically. Its Congress which adopted a policy statement and new rules evoked wide response among workers in the Federal Republic.

The Party puts out numerous publications, headed by its central paper *Freies Volk*, the theoretical journal *Wissen und Tat*, and the *Bulletin* for Party activists. The number of bulletins issued by the branches in factories and offices and by the district, regional and laender Party committees is growing.

New factory bulletins include *Arbeiter-Knoter* at the Klaas farm-machinery factory in Harsewinkel, *Im Schraubstock* at the Mannesmann-Meer works in Dusseldorf, and others in factories in Hamburg and in the Rhineland and Saar. And not only in factories. To the dismay of the Bonn authorities Communist bulletins appear even in some municipalities. In the Munich municipality, for instance, there appears the *Gemeinde-Arbeiter*; employees of the communal enterprises in Ludwigshafen read *Der Stadtische Besen*, etc.

Some of these papers have appeared without interruption since 1956 when the Party was banned. The comrades responsible for *Conti-Arbeiter* in the Continental works in Hanover, for *De Hob'n-arbeiter* in the port of Hamburg, and others, work selflessly to en-

sure the regular appearance of the illegal Party publications.

The factory bulletins play a big role in the political education and in deepening the consciousness of the working people. They explode the myth about "class peace" and the "social partnership" of the capitalists and the workers, expose the ever-growing exploitation, and call for active participation in the fight for peace.

Since 1950 the number of shipyard workers has drastically declined, wrote *Blick vom Helgen der DW*, a bulletin published in the Hamburg shipyards. "In 1958 they numbered 113,000, today only about 90,000. This means that the number of shipyard workers has declined by over 20 per cent. Yet the tonnage built in 1962 remained roughly at the 1958 level, i.e., 90,000 workers performed the same amount of work as was done by 113,000 in 1958."

Die Spinnweise, a bulletin published at the Rhodia factory in Freiburg, analyzed the annual balance sheet of the enterprise and showed that profits reached 36.68 million marks in 1962; of this sum 13.5 million went to the state in income tax, and of the latter at least 4 million were squandered for military purposes.

One of the issues of *Der Hammer*, a Party bulletin in the Henschel works in Kassel, was devoted to the subject of wages. The workers here are faced with the alternative: either wages remain unchanged while the dividends of the shareholders decline slightly, or wages are cut and dividends increase. The management clearly prefers the second solution when it plans a 20 per cent cut in piece rates for 7,000 workers. The paper pointed out the link between labor productivity and wages and counselled the workers to combat any reduction and fight against the growing exploitation.

Among the hundreds of thousands of foreign workers in West Germany are many Italians and Spaniards who fight together with their Germany comrades against the speed-up and exploitation. The employers are mounting an offensive against these "foreigners." In view of this *Der Funke*, a bulletin appearing in the Hanomag factory in Hanover, exposed the machinations around the proposals for dismissing workers and reducing the hours of work. An article headed "Who Threatens our Jobs?" said: "Fellow worker, do you really believe that a worker from Rome or Madrid threatens your job? He, too, has a family, just like you. Can you blame him for the fact that the Franco regime or capitalist Italy do not provide him with a job? It is not the workers from other countries who are our enemies but the capitalists and the war-industry magnates — these are the real enemies of all workers." Through its press the Party cements the friendship of the workers of different nationalities, educating them in the class spirit, in the spirit of international solidarity.

The factory papers pay special attention to

trade union matters. In assessing the role of trade unionists and of the union committees, the papers show how they fight on behalf of the working people and popularize the demand for an independent trade union policy.

The organizational strengthening of the Party is instrumental in promoting its mass work. Even the capitalist press is forced to acknowledge that the Communist Party is waging a staunch fight.

Not long ago the American United Press agency reported that the illegal Communist Party of Germany managed to get a wide circulation for its policy statement.

The Party is working to overcome sectarianism and underestimation of the importance of its factory publications. We could have been even more successful, wrote *Freies Volk*, had we been able completely to eradicate the prejudice in regard to factory bulletins. *Freies Volk* carries information about the new papers, reviews them and helps with counsel, the comrades who issue them. Groups of worker-activists help in selling the papers and in gaining a bigger readership.

M. L-r

Economics in Centre of Party Work

WHEN in 1959 three smaller agricultural cooperatives in the Kolarovgrad region of the People's Republic of Bulgaria were amalgamated to form "Kamciya Valley" cooperative, the combined membership and the new Management Board gave thought to the matter of making better use of the vast tracts of wasteland in the area and of making the waters of the River Kamciya work for the farm.

To organize the members for making most of the possibilities afforded by the amalgamation, to enlist their aid in working out development plans, and to inspire them for conscientious work — these were the tasks to which the Party committee and all the Communists in the cooperative set themselves.

There are now 281 Party members among the 2,167 cooperators working on the farm; of these 121 are in the crop raising sector, 25 in animal husbandry, 65 in auxiliary work, 29 in the administration, and there are 41 old-age pensioners.

The Communists realized that the road to abundance, to a cultured and creative life lay through the knowledge of economic laws and the skillful application of this knowledge.

Seminars were held to study the economy of the cooperative. Large numbers of Party

members attended study classes. But most numerous were classes attended by the bulk of the cooperators to whom the economic problems of the cooperative were explained. As a result, the cooperators displayed greater activity in discussing development matters at the general meetings, and at Party meetings. They criticized shortcomings and made suggestions for strengthening the cooperative.

One task was to extend the area under high-yielding crops so as to increase per-hectare yields. For this it was necessary to have machinery, fertilizers and irrigation facilities. Another task was to increase the herd of cattle and make the herd more productive.

In tackling these problems special importance was attached to sound organization, rating and remuneration of labor.

A group of the best farmers visited the village Ekzarkh Antimovo in the Burgas region where they studied the system of remuneration. Later at Party meetings and at general meetings of the cooperative we discussed the advantages of their system of wages. After a long debate, it was decided to pay for all work in cash. The switch over to money remuneration has proved so successful that the leaders of other cooperatives in our region come to us to study our experience.

The harvest yields reaching the target for income accumulation and the timely deliveries to the state serve as the mirror of the entire work of the cooperative.

Much of the success of the cooperative is due to the use of incentives, something we had previously neglected. Last year we decided on a system of extra wages and bonuses for the best results. As the end of the year over 207,000 leva were paid in bonuses for surpassing the targets for crop raising and animal husbandry. The cooperative was in such a sound financial position that it bought 33 tractors, 9 harvester combines, 6 sprinklers and other equipment from the local machine-tractor depot. Most of the labor-consuming processes are now mechanized, resulting in higher labor productivity and in lower production costs. In the past harvesting took a whole month, and imposed a heavy strain on the cooperators. Now, however, grain crops are harvested by machines and in a maximum of 10 days. All the members have been won for the idea of mechanized farming.

They prompted the idea of setting up a technical and economic council charged with the task of popularizing the best work methods and the latest achievements of science.

Good progress has been made also in the sphere of irrigation. The nearby river is now used for this purpose, and wells and pumping stations bring subterranean waters to the fields; 30 kilometres of irrigation channels were dug with government aid. Today one-third of our crop area is irrigated, and plans for more irrigation are in hand. The irrigation installations proved their worth last year in combating an exceptionally severe drought. Thanks to the selfless labors of the cooperators who watered the fields night after night, the crops were not only saved — high yields of vegetables, grapes and tobacco were obtained.

Animal husbandry, too, has benefited from the amalgamation. The number of milk cows has risen from 226 in 1959 to 420 in 1963.

The rising labor productivity and lower production costs show that the cooperative is a sound undertaking. Despite last year's drought average yields for the basic crops were higher. For example, in 1959 1.8 tons of barley were gathered per hectare and in 1962 — 2.26, for sugar beet the figures were 28.36 and 35 tons respectively, for tomatoes 19.54 and 30 tons. Particularly gladdening was the fine grape crop. In 1959 we gathered 5.9 tons to the hectare, and in 1962 — 16.18 tons. The overall grape crop was 7,500 tons — the equivalent for the three previous years taken to-

gether. The cooperative emerged to the second place in the country for grape yields and received a bonus in cash. Nineteen members of the cooperative were awarded government decorations.

Cost of production has been cut appreciably. Whereas in 1961 a ton of wheat cost the cooperative 65.5 leva, in 1962 cost fell to 49.3 leva; barley, sunflower and tomatoes also showed substantial reductions in cost of production; particularly sharp was the reduction for grapes — the cost figure per hectare declined from 131.9 leva in 1961 to 34 leva in 1962.

When the results of the rising labor productivity and reduction of production costs became known, the Party committee for the cooperative held a special seminar for members at lower levels to plan steps for further development.

The seminar analyzed the activities of those Party branches which had made the greatest contribution to this success. According to the 20-year plan for the development of our country labor productivity in agriculture should increase roughly 5-fold in 1980 as compared with 1960. We are confident that the members of our cooperative will do all in their power to accomplish this task with honor.

The successes have resulted in bigger incomes for the farmer cooperators. Payment for a work-day unit has been increased from the 2.25 leva paid in 1959, to 3.83 in 1962; the mean annual income per capita has risen from 460 to 876 leva, i.e., it has almost doubled.

The cooperative runs two holidays centers for its members — one on the Black Sea coast near Varna, and the other in the village of Byala in the Varna region. Cooperators and members of their families spend their holidays in these centers free of charge. Now all working cooperators have a two-week paid holiday. Substantial sums are paid out to incapacitated and aged members.

The cooperative is run on strictly democracy. From our own experience and the experience of other cooperatives, we have decided not to elect delegates to the general meetings for the whole year but to elect them for each meeting. Each of the four work-team units has its elected council which decides current tasks and prepares the principal questions for the consideration of the work team and for the general meetings. In addition to the councils, there are commissions in each work team made up of the best grape growers, tomato growers, etc.; much of the practical work of the teams is handled by these commissions.

The preliminary discussions in the commissions and later in the work-team councils and, of course, in the Communist Party groups make things easier for the general meetings of the members. It is in this way that the various targets for the cooperative are fixed and accepted. The planning committee of the cooperative works out plans for the cooperative as a whole in keeping with the figures submitted by the regional councils. The draft is then discussed at all lower levels.

The plan is verified in the process of implementation. Progress checks are made regularly.

The movement which, under the slogan "Surpass the Best Achievements of 1962," de-

veloping throughout the country, is of great help to us. This call corresponds to our desire to produce more and to produce it cheaper.

Today the task is not merely to fulfil the plan but to over-fulfil it. By their conscious labor the machine operators, specialists and all cooperators — both Party and non-party — are making their contribution to the common efforts aimed at successfully carrying out the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Zorka KOSEVA
*Secretary of the District
Party Committee.*

Communications and Comment

Vietnam: Progress in Building Socialism

THE Democratic Republic of Vietnam is approaching the fourth year of its first five-year plan, the blueprint of the socialist society. The economic, political and cultural progress made by the people and their experience in building the new society are a major achievement.

Under colonial rule Vietnam was a backward semi-feudal country. Productivity of agriculture was low, there was no industry to speak of (barring extractive industries which were owned by the French) and what little there was had been almost totally destroyed during the Second World War and later during the liberation war of 1946-54. Then the Geneva convention of 1954 divided the country into two, artificially dismembering the nation, disrupting long established economic ties and undermining the traditional system of supply.

But the creative energy of the liberated people led by the Communists is working miracles. Despite the difficulties, in a matter of three years (1955-57) the pre-war level of output in Northern Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, was reached in industry and surpassed in agriculture. An agrarian reform which did away with the remnants of the semi-feudal system was carried out.

Throughout the next three years (1958-1960) the people completed in the main the task of laying the groundwork of socialism. By 1961 the share of the socialist sector in industrial production had reached 79.3 per cent, in retail trade = 91.8 per cent; 85.3 per cent of the cultivated area belonged to cooperatives and

state-owned farms. In 1961 the socialist sector accounted for 76.1 per cent of the national income.

At the same time the structure of the economy was radically changed. As a result of the more rapid growth of industry, its share in overall production amounted (including handicrafts) in 1960 to 42.6 per cent as against 16.9 per cent in 1955.

Working People's Party of Vietnam, the Leader in Building Socialism

With the establishment of socialist production relations the question of the ways and means of building socialism came to the fore. In tackling this problem, the Working People's Party of Vietnam (WPPV) was guided by Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the fraternal socialist countries. "The experience of the October Revolution, the achievements of the Soviet state are our lodestar in the struggle for a happy life for our people . . . Marxism-Leninism is for us an unfailing torch lighting our people's path to a bright future," declared Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Chairman of the Central Committee of the WPPV.

A program of socialist construction — Vietnam's First Five-Year Plan (1961-65) was adopted at the Third Congress of the WPPV held in September 1960. In its resolution, the Congress noted that when socialist reconstruction of economic relations had been successfully accomplished "the center of gravity

would be shifted to socialist construction, to socialist industrialization; and with this the task of socialist reconstruction would be brought to completion."

In 1961-63 the Party, taking into account the experience already gained in the process of construction, continued to work out the details of the first five-year plan. The meeting of the Central Committee of the Party held in April 1962 noted that while progress had been made, the conditions in which socialism was being built were still extremely difficult. Agriculture remained backward, heavy industry existed only in embryo, light industry was not yet technically developed and there was an acute shortage of skilled personnel. Moreover, North and South Vietnam continued to be divided. At the same time the meeting noted that the socialist system as a whole was developing rapidly and this made it possible for the Republic to rely on the support and assistance of the fraternal countries.

After analyzing the situation, the meeting concluded that the task at the present time was "to proceed with socialist industrialization . . . in order to consolidate the new production relations, boost production, raise the standard of living and strengthen national defense." Industrialization, the meeting emphasized, would be based on the most up-to-date technology.

The subsequent meeting of the Central Committee (April 1963) examined the progress made in fulfilling the five-year plan and announced the targets for 1963-65. The purpose of the five-year plan, it was stated "is to provide the material and technological base of socialism, carry out socialist industrialization, complete the socialist reconstruction, and continue the rapid and unswerving advance along the road to socialism."

In carrying out these decisions the Vietnamese comrades have devoted much attention to the question of the proportional development of the economy. Comrade Le Duan, the First Secretary of the Central Committee, stressed that building socialism in the Republic presupposed a socialist industry and a proportionally developed modern economy which would combine industry with agriculture and be based on heavy industry.

Defining the ratio between production and consumption the Vietnamese comrades point out that in making it their aim to raise living standards, they are taking care to avoid making mistakes of a "left" or "right" nature. In carrying out socialist industrialization it would be wrong to overlook the hardships suffered by the working people and to put emphasis

on capital accumulation instead of working toward a gradual improvement in the conditions of the people. This would be a "left" deviation. On the other hand to proceed at once to satisfy all needs, all requirements without taking account of available resources or the actual level of production reached would lead to the serious depletion of basic capital. This would be a "right" deviation.

The people of Vietnam believe that their own labor efforts and full mobilization of the national resources are the best way to fulfill the five-year plan. However they appreciate another important factor, namely, the fraternal aid rendered by the other socialist countries, and cooperation with these countries on an equal footing. Speaking at the session of the National Assembly in the summer of 1963, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong declared: "As heretofore, we shall rely mainly on our own resources and develop our country industrially and economically, making full use of local possibilities for building and developing industry and equipping the various branches of the national economy. At the same time we attach the greatest importance to the aid rendered by the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries in the matter of technology, machinery, capital and in training specialists for our industry, the promotion of economy and the development of international cooperation, actively contributing our own share to the consolidation of the socialist camp."

The tasks the Vietnamese comrades have set themselves are by no means easy to accomplish. But they are confident of success. The progress already made in this respect is proof that the targets are realistic. They offer additional proof of the viability and potential of socialism.

The Five-Year Plan of the Socialist Industrialization

The chief targets of the first five-year plan are the following:

- investments are to be almost doubled compared with 1956-60, with 86 per cent channeled to material production, including 48 per cent to industry;

- industrial and handicrafts output to be increased on the average by 17 per cent annually, 20 per cent in Group A and 15 per cent in Group B;

- an annual increase of 6.5 per cent in agricultural production, or 37 per cent in the five years;

- substantial rise in the standard of living; increase in the real income of factory and

office workers through better organization of supply of food, stable prices, adjustment of wages and improvement in social services; by 1965 the living standard of the peasantry as a whole is to reach the level of the top section of the middle peasantry in the past.

The achievements of the past three years show that these tasks are being successfully carried out. During the first three years of the plan, investments in capital construction in the economy and the cultural sphere amounted to approximately 2,100 million dong. More than 80 per cent of this sum went for material production, primarily industry. No less than 70-90 per cent of the investments in industry were allotted to enterprises in Group A (production of means of production).

New industrial enterprises are being launched every year. At present the republic has 1,103 enterprises, against 41 under colonial rule. One hundred and thirty of these are large plants, many of which were built with the aid of the fraternal socialist countries. The Soviet Union, for instance, has undertaken to help erect in 1955-65 some 165 big enterprises, among them the Hanoi machinery plant, Las Thao superphosphate works, Wong-Bi electric power station, which will generate more power than all the electric power sta-

tions of colonial Vietnam, and the Lao Cai apatite mine. Substantial aid is being rendered also by the Chinese People's Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania.

Parallel with the construction of new plants, old factories and workshops are being reconstructed. The Central Committee meeting in April 1962 outlined the details of this reconstruction, as a result of which the transition from handicrafts to mechanized and semi-mechanized production is to be effected in 1961-70. The Vietnamese Communists count on the aid of the fraternal socialist countries in carrying out this plan.

In 1958-62 the average annual increase in industrial and handicrafts production amounted to 19.8 per cent, including 32 per cent in Group A and 15 per cent in Group B. Industrial output is expected to increase by 15.4 per cent in 1963. It is symptomatic, that the machine building industry (it did not exist prior to 1958) is now able to take care of up to 38 per cent of the country's machinery requirements. Moreover up to 90 per cent of the consumer goods sold to the population are also produced in Vietnam.

Some of the results of the first three years of the five-year plan and the future prospects of socialist industry may be seen from the following table:

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

	Unit of measure	1939	1955	1960	1961	1962	1963 (plan)	1965 (plan)
Electric power	Millions of kwt-hrs.	122.5	53.0	256.1	282.1	350.0	442.0	660.0
Coal	Thous. tons	2,615.0	641.5	2,595.0	2,811.4	3,280.0	3,250.0	5,000.0
Cement	"	305.8	8.5	408.0	451.5	552.0	598.0	710.0
Mineral fertilizers	"	35.7	6.4	51.0	47.4	120.0	195.0	—
Chromium	"	—	—	19.4	29.5	32.0	30.3	32.0
Metal-working lathes	"	—	—	—	—	—	620	750
Textiles (cotton)	mln.m.	55.6	8.8	76.0	82.7	91.0	101.0	125.0
Sugar	thous.tons	7.0	1.6	10.1	7.7	30.5	34.6	50.0

Intensive Agriculture

The first five-year plan envisages considerable progress also in agriculture. The Third Congress of the Party, and later the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee carefully examined the country's agricultural problems and outlined measures for increasing output of the basic agricultural products.

At present the cultivated area has increased by one third as compared with prewar. Further expansion, however, presents major difficulties owing to the hilly nature of a large

part of the terrain. Agricultural production will be increased chiefly by intensive farming. This will be done mainly through irrigation, by supplying the countryside with fertilizer, selected seeds, machinery and by training experts. The efforts made in this direction have met with considerable success.

By the end of 1962, 4,500 kilometres of dams and dikes had been built. This is only 13 per cent less than had been built in 60 years of colonial domination. Besides this, 28 big and 1,923 medium irrigation installation, 30 hydro-electric stations and 40 pumping stations

were set up and some 3,000 automatic pumps installed, thanks to which 47 per cent of the cultivated area now has an adequate water supply with the result that hundreds of thousands of hectares now yield two crops a year.

Production of mineral fertilizers, too, is growing. The apatite mine and superphosphate works to be erected with the aid of the USSR will make it possible sharply to increase output of this valuable product.

Similarly good progress has been made in the sphere of selection and the introduction of more productive varieties of crops. New varieties of cotton, jute, groundnuts, castor-oil plant, tea, coffee and rubber are now being grown. Agronomists have succeeded in acclimatizing some valuable varieties of wheat, barley and other crops formerly imported.

Much is being done to mechanize agriculture. Vietnamese industry has organized the production of the simpler agricultural implements and is supplying them to the peasants. At the same time the number of tractors and

other machines is steadily increasing. Most of them so far come from abroad.

Lastly, attention is being devoted to training agricultural personnel. When the war ended there were only 93 farming specialists with a higher education and 227 with a secondary education. Today there are 2,000 specialists with a higher, and 8,500 with a secondary education.

These factors have helped to bring about a substantial increase in agricultural production. In 1958-62 the average annual rate of growth was 5.3 per cent, including food crops 4.5 per cent. The yield of a number of crops and the productivity of animal husbandry is already higher than in other countries of Southeast Asia. For example, our republic has for some time now held first place in its geographic region for rice yields.

Some idea of the progress made in agriculture and the prospects may be gauged from the following table:

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

	Unit of measure	1939	1955	1960	1961	1962	1963 (plan)
Cultivated area	Thous. of hectares	2,125.0	2,626.6	2,833.8	3,000.0	3,119.4	—
Gross output	1955=100	—	100	137.6	146.7	154.1	162.0
Gross harvest of food crops (in terms of rice)	mill. tons	—	2.55	4.43	5.53	5.7	6.1
Gross crop of sugar cane	thous. tons	109.2	100.00	445.6	533.0	780.0	769.0
Gross harvest of potatoes (including sweet potatoes)	mill. tons	0.156	0.554	0.579	0.974	—	—
Dairy cattle	mill. head	1.35	1.86	2.40	2.16	2.26	2.37
Hogs	"	2.26	2.14	3.75	3.70	4.10	4.36

With the development of industry and agriculture the standard of living is rapidly rising. Average income per person in a workers' family increased by approximately 17 per cent in 1961-62. Moreover the social insurance fund, as well as state appropriations for education and public health, have risen substantially. Here are a few facts and figures.

During the period of colonial domination not a single village hospital or medical point had been built in the hill areas. By 1961, 80 per cent of the villages had their own medical points, and in the year 1962 alone 4,827 new medical points were opened in the outlying districts and in the Red River delta.

In 1955, approximately 95 per cent of the population was illiterate. There were no more than ten schools on the average to a thousand villages. In 1963 more than two and a half million children were attending school, 56,000 were studying in vocational schools and 26,000 in higher schools. One and half million adults attend evening schools. The Republic publishes 15 times more books and newspapers than were put out in the whole of Indo-China during French rule.

Every town, and many villages, has its theatrical troupe, and many industrial enterprises have their amateur theatrical societies. It is

a rare enterprise that does not have a library of its own.

* * *

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has made considerable progress since it embarked on socialist construction. This progress is the result of the selfless labors of the people. It has been achieved thanks to the fact that the Working People's Party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, base their policy on the Marxist-Leninist principles of building socialism. The rallying of all forces and the harnessing of all the resources of the country combined with international coopera-

tion with fraternal countries and participation in the international socialist division of labor is the key to these achievements.

Taking a realistic view of their accomplishments and tasks, the Vietnamese comrades do not close their eyes to the difficulties still to be faced. But the advances already made in industry and agriculture make them and all their true friends confident that Vietnam will continue its successful advance toward Socialism. Its achievements to date are a valuable contribution to the common cause of the socialist community, the cause of the world socialist revolution.

V. DINH

Against the Persecution of Democrats

TERROR IN COLOMBIA

THE present regime with which the Colombian people have been saddled is steering a course toward fascism, a course determined by its own class nature and its subservience to U.S. imperialism. The past two months have brought fresh evidence of fascist methods of terror and violence.*

Although this so-called "National Front" regime preserves the outward trappings of legality, it is moving rapidly towards the falangist method of rule, which means using only one "argument" against its opponents, namely the gun. This is the form of "persuasion" the ruling clique used recently with regard to the lawyer Dr. Hernando Garavito Munos. A loyal ally of the Communist Party and a leader of the peasant movement. Dr. Garavito Munos played a prominent role in defending Comrade Diego Montana and leading workers arrested in connection with the recent strike in the oil industry. After he had proved in court that the so-called "terrorists" were the victims of government terror and secured their release, the reactionaries took their revenge. In the centre of Bogota next door to the government palace, Munos was attacked by an assailant who fired five shots into his body. The police did not detain his assailant although they had every opportunity to do so. As a result of the attack Munos now may lose his life.

This incident again shows that the methods of terror and summary execution, hitherto confined to the rural localities owing to the isolated nature and specific features of the Colombia countryside are now to be extended to the

towns. Today the reactionaries, are again trying to give the fascist-type bandits a free hand in the cities — something which mass resistance has prevented them from doing since the fall of the military dictatorship. Groups of bandits hired by the government are operating today with the direct connivance of the army command which uses them as provocateurs, spies and executioners.

As a rule the army command employs the services of hired bandits in areas with strong peasant organizations. Their job is to weaken the peasant forces pending the arrival of regular punitive detachments. This is what is happening at the present time in Sumapaz and in the Tolima and Huila provinces. With the aid of criminals of this kind, the General Caicedo Battalion recently murdered 16 leading members of the agrarian organization in South Tolima, including several members of the leadership of the Communist Party organization. The murderers severed the heads of their victims and paraded them through the countryside, forcing the wives and children of the beheaded men to march with them as they displayed their gruesome trophies to the villagers. Nothing perhaps could be more revealing of the moral depravity of the regime than the ceremony held under the chairmanship of War Minister General Ruiz Novoa to reward the perpetrators of this monstrous crime.

Atrocities of this kind are common in our country. Shortly before the above incident, the President himself went to Armero to "honor" with his presence those who took part in bombing the inhabitants of Vasquez district. The pretext for this brutal crime was the action of

*See issue No. 10, 1963, "Under the Heel of a Despotic Regime."

a group of young people of ultra-left views led by Federico Arango who, without properly assessing the situation, wanted to begin a rebellion in this area. Besides killing the organizers of this desperate venture, the army command bombed the territory, killing dozens of farmers and destroying their homes. Peasants who sought shelter from the bombing were shot down on the roads. Thus the cherished dream of the Texas Petroleum Company to rid the rich Vasquez oil area of the hardworking farmers was brought a step nearer to realization.

Jubilation over the latest atrocities continues. The latifundist organization which calls itself the Society of Land Tillers of Colombia and whose members include some of the most zealous advocates of violence, has congratulated the army on the latest crimes. The President, as if to dispel any illusions that may still be harboured, has appointed as Foreign Minister Gomez Martinez, the man who, in his capacity as governor of Antioquia, ordered savage reprisals against cement workers in Santa Barbara.

The draconic measures employed against the working people, and particularly the oil workers, against miners on strike in Frontino and in El Bagre, the workers of Facomec and other North American enterprises are directly inspired by the U.S. imperialists.

Not long ago the police occupied the Eternit plant where the workers were about to go on strike. This was a direct warning to the trade union that the authorities were prepared to use force, their favorite method of settling industrial disputes which, despite the terror, are breaking out everywhere. According to official statistics, the cost of living has gone up by 50 per cent in the past eight months, and in Bogota, the capital, by more than 33 per cent. At the same time the profits of the big enterprises increased by approximately 15 per cent in the first half of 1963 as compared with the same period last year. The profits of seven enterprises (five banks and two textile mills) amounted to 16,741,000 pesos. This is what the government calls a "policy of stringent economy" — hunger and death for the workers and soaring profits for the capitalists.

Apologists of the regime insist that this is a democracy. Hence all those who are dissatisfied are considered anti-social elements and criminals. This explains the tendency to regard every striker as an enemy of the regime, and to apply to every worker who falls victim to police repressions Decree No. 0014 on "public emergency" issued during the military dictatorship. Not content with enriching themselves at the expense of the workers, the oligarchy

would like all those courageous men who lead and direct class actions to be punished under this law designed for "idlers, malingerers and rogues."

The supporters of the reactionary regime laud the government and try to whitewash it. The newspaper *El Tiempo* published in Bogota declared in its October 11 issue that "there are no repressions" in Colombia, and that "it is very easy to play on the credibility of the masses by misusing the word repressions." The rulers deny the existence of a concentration camp in Armero. But no amount of demagoguery can alter the fact that several hundred people are held there under the open sky at the mercy of the notorious sadist Colonel Matallana. We Communists are not the only ones who say this. Here is the testimony of a priest, Father José de Jesus Hernandez: "In the concentration camp at La Granja de Armero the prisoners are herded together in inhuman conditions. These unfortunate men are unprotected from sun or rain. There are no sanitary facilities whatsoever. . ."

The rulers are growing increasingly intolerant of any expression of democratic opinion. The only voice they listen to is the voice of their myrmidons. That is why all media of expression are now subject to repression. Several radio journals have been closed down, and a number of radio stations are similarly threatened. Not long ago the Ministry of the Interior, on the flimsiest of pretexts, attempted to ban the Communist newspaper *Voz de la Democracia* in an effort to stifle the voice of the most resolute opposition.

The government no longer respects the opinion and the decisions even of legal bodies if the latter are not to its taste. The Ministry of Justice is now campaigning to get the Supreme Court to punish members of the High Court of Bogota for having acquitted people summarily branded as "terrorists" by the police. Here is manifested a typical feature of any dictatorial regime — usurpation by the executive branch of the prerogatives of other organs of power.

As regards the so-called "terrorists," one thing has been demonstrated beyond all doubt: all the bomb explosions in various towns of the country are the "work" of the police themselves in an effort to "justify" the stepping up of repressions. The fact that five agents of B-2 division (army intelligence), were caught red-handed by students in the National University, and another agent of the same organization was seized in the home of a Communist in Bogota just as he was preparing to explode a bomb, clearly shows who is really to blame

for the terroristic acts which the police are using as a pretext for the wholesale arrests and murder of democrats.

The truth is that the reactionaries are trying to intimidate democratic circles, to terrorize the people who are waging a determined struggle against the huge military expenditure, against the inhuman exploitation and against corruption in the administration. The government spends over two million pesos a day on terror. Not long ago it asked the Congress for additional appropriations amounting to 234 million pesos, of which 175 million were to be spent on measures to suppress the democratic movement. And this at a time when school teachers and other government employees are obliged to go on strike to force the authorities to pay their salary arrears.

The government's fascist-like policy is only a part of the general plan of the monopolies, a sample of what the U.S. imperialists and the oligarchy are doing all over Latin America. This explains the anti-communist course proclaimed recently by the President and his Ministers as the cornerstone of their policy. It explains also the vicious anti-Cuban campaign, "justifying" the murder of workers and peasants on the grounds that they were allegedly "Fidelistas" and received money, arms and instructions from Havana. It explains, too, why the government has become an ardent champion of Cubans who have betrayed their country. It is using many of the latter to carry out repressive measures against the people of Colombia, while harbouring insane plans for invading Cuba.

The persecution of Communists and other democrats in Colombia and Argentina, Venezuela, Paraguay and Ecuador, the reactionary coup in Honduras and Guatemala — all are links in a single chain, part of an overall plan for a broad offensive against the rights and liberties of the people, against the democratic movement, against Communists and other progressives, a campaign conducted on direct orders from U.S. imperialism.

In violation of the Constitution, joint manoeuvres of the armed forces of Colombia, the United States, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador and Venezuela were scheduled to be held in November

on our territory. The code-name, "anti-insurgent operation," speaks for itself. Apart from the danger of these manoeuvres to the people of Colombia, they are intended to intimidate Venezuelan voters and force them to submit to the tyranny of Betancourt. They have another purpose, namely, to prepare for the invasion of Venezuela in order to safeguard the interests of the U.S. monopolies should the failure of the elections there (which is quite possible) face the people with the prospect of an armed uprising. The anti-national policy pursued by our government fully accords with these plans. It is carrying out mass repressions not only against the Colombian people, it is giving every assistance to the U.S. imperialists to crush the struggle of the peoples in neighboring countries. It is now extending a helping hand to the dictators in Venezuela and Ecuador in their struggle against our brothers. This was the purpose of the meeting between the Presidents of Colombia and Venezuela, and more recently, of the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the two countries.

The people of Colombia are offering determined resistance to the tyranny. Big sections of the population are adopting self-defence tactics, fully convinced that active resistance will provide the conditions for going over to the offensive. Taking into account the valuable experiences gained in organizing self-defense and the situation created as a result of the latest atrocities committed by the reactionaries, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our Party, held in September, declared that "the new sectors, including the towns, are faced with the need of putting mass self-defense on a practical plane, regarding it as a matter of life and death." Its resolution contains also the following important directive: "In all circumstances self-defense must be based on the masses and should never be understood merely as bold action on the part of small, isolated groups." The people of Colombia, while rejecting ultra "left" adventurism, are replying to each blow of the reactionaries and are speedily paving the way for a successful struggle for power.

José Cardona HOYOS

REACTION DISCARDS THE MASK

ON October 25 the authorities unlawfully arrested the Moroccan Communist comrades — Ali Yata, First Secretary, Abdeslam Bourqia and Abdallah Layachi. This was a heavy blow for the Moroccan Communists, who, although the Communist Party was officially banned in 1960, have valiantly upheld the inter-

ests of the people, rallying the masses to complete the national revolution and fighting for genuine independence, for freedom, democracy and peace.

Political developments in Morocco since 1960 have been marked by a sweeping reactionary and neo-colonialist offensive against the demo-

cratic forces. In recent years the authorities have been drifting away from the anti-imperialist course. They are encouraging the penetration of foreign capital, strengthening the economic and political positions of the feudalists and big bourgeoisie associated with neo-colonialism. The reactionary Constitution imposed on the people on December 7, 1962, serves the same ends.

Drawn up by the king's advisers without any participation whatever by the people, this Constitution consolidates the rule of the king, the feudalists and the big bourgeoisie. And although it proclaims a few democratic freedoms, in practice the people's rights are reduced to the minimum. After the adoption of the Constitution, oppression of the people by the reactionaries, actively supported by the French and American imperialists, increased. The encouragement extended to foreign capital, to the detriment of the interests of the national bourgeoisie, accelerated the polarization of forces in the country. Following the Communists, the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP), the trade union and student organizations, the opposition was joined by the Istiqlal, the most influential bourgeois party in the country.

Seeing that the situation was developing to their disadvantage, the authorities decided to bring matters to a head by announcing a general election ahead of schedule. The neo-colonialists and reactionaries joined forces in an effort to ensure the election of their own candidates. The campaign was joined by a hastily-formed royalist party. Headed by Guedira, one of King Hassan II's trusted aides, the new party entered the political arena with only one plank in its election platform — unconditional support for the monarchy.

The Communists decided to take part in the election in order to ensure a more progressive parliament and use the opportunity to expose the reactionaries and defend the rights of the people. "We believe that it is our duty, the duty of all champions of progress, all patriots, not to stand aloof from the struggle and adopt a wait-and-see attitude but to participate in the election, notwithstanding the defects and despite the fact that the authorities are seeking to derive benefit from it," says a statement signed by Ali Yata and other leading Communists.

Consistently upholding the interests of the nation, the Communists called for a united front of the patriotic forces as a counterweight to the reactionary front. The election program of the Communists met with a warm response from the people. It stressed the need to rid Moroccan territory of the remnants of colonial-

ism and of foreign military bases, to display vigilance with regard to neo-colonialism, to return to the people the means of production appropriated by the colonialists, to carry out an agrarian reform, and pursue a consistent policy of positive neutrality. As an immediate task in the sphere of home policy the Communists called for the extension of democracy and restriction of the personal rule of the king.

The election campaign proceeded in an atmosphere of intimidation. The entire machinery of state was set in motion — press, radio, television, police and the administration. The authorities took every advantage of the plight of the people, the unemployment and hunger. In Tangier alone ten thousand unemployed were promised jobs if they joined the royalist front. At election meetings government candidates distributed grain and other products from the state reserves. American food was widely used for this purpose.

Terrorist methods, too, were brought into play. The governor of Agadir, for instance, sent troops to the Islam Institute and threatened to take it by storm unless the director, a candidate of the National Union of Popular Forces, withdrew from the election. In Beni Amar, the leader of the opposition, Si Smail, was killed by the police. Altogether seven people were killed during the election campaign.

The final results of the election were not announced for some time after the voting. Despite falsifications, corruption and terror, the reactionaries suffered a heavy defeat. The royalists secured only 69 of the 144 seats in the House of Representatives, i.e., four seats less than required for an absolute majority. Little more than 40 per cent of the electorate voted for the royalist candidates. Seven of the nine Ministers who ran were defeated. The popular vote was an indictment of the policy of the king and his followers and a demand that the reactionary cabinet be replaced by a genuine national government.

The disconcerted authorities retaliated with an unparalleled wave of repressions against the Opposition. Guedira, Director-General of the Royal Cabinet, instituted legal proceedings against two newspapers *Al Alam* and *Nation Africaine*. Five members of the Istiqlal party were arrested, including three deputies of the new parliament, charged with threatening the security of the state. The real reason for their arrest, however, was that they protested to the U.S. ambassador in Rabat against the use of American grain to bribe the voters.

The repressions were stepped up during the municipal elections held on July 28. In open

violation of elementary rights, the monarchy created an atmosphere of terror, forcing the Communists, the UNFP, the Moroccan Labour Union and the Istiqlal to remove their candidates and boycott the elections, which even the bourgeois press could no longer describe as "free."

On July 16 the police raided the building in Casablanca where the leadership of the UNFP was in session and arrested more than 100 persons on charges of conspiring against the state. Hundreds more were arrested later on the same pretext, among them several members of parliament. In the second part of August, Hamid Berradu, Chairman of the National Students' Union, was arrested.

The witch-hunt continues. The reactionaries have now completely discarded their mask. The elections to the rural chambers, prefectural councils and finally, to the upper chamber of parliament, held in an atmosphere of unbridled terror, were boycotted by all democratic organizations.

Dissatisfaction is mounting throughout the land. The monarchy is becoming increasingly isolated both in Africa and elsewhere. The refusal of Hassan II to participate in the conference in Addis Ababa evoked consternation among African progressives. Conscious of his waning power, King Hassan is anxiously searching for allies. In a desperate bid to regain the favour of the Istiqlal party, the monarchy is

whipping up an atmosphere of hysteria around the Algerian-Moroccan border dispute. The ruling circles, with the blessing of the imperialists, did not stop at launching hostilities against independent Algeria whose success in building the new life is an inspiration to the people of Morocco in their fight for democracy and a thorn in the side of the Moroccan reactionaries.

The neo-colonialists and their accomplices in the country hoped to utilize the war situation and the chauvinistic sentiment to settle scores with the progressives. Their first blow was struck at the Communists, the loyal champions of the people's interests.

But they will not succeed in crushing the struggle of the working people. The people of Morocco, men and women of good will throughout the world, all those who are following the courageous struggle of the Moroccan Communists are protesting against the unlawful arrest of Ali Yata, Abdeslam Bourqia and Abdallah Layachi.

The Moroccan Communists calls upon all progressive and patriotic forces in the country to form a united front against neo-colonialism and domestic reaction. This appeal is meeting with increasing support among all strata of the community. No repressions can halt the movement of the people of Morocco towards complete national emancipation.

M. AHMADI

PUBLIC OPINION DEMANDS ACQUITTAL OF INNOCENT

FOR MORE than 11 years Kuniiji Murakami has been kept in prison in Sapporo, a town in the northernmost part of Japan, on the false charge of having shot and killed Shiratori, chief of the patrol department of the Sapporo police,* in the autumn of 1952. At the court of first instance Murakami was sentenced to life imprisonment, at the second the sentence was commuted to 20 years' hard labor. Afterwards the case was submitted to the Supreme Court for final consideration.

The trumped-up charge against Murakami evoked widespread protest both in Japan and abroad. Eight hundred thousand Japanese signed a petition to the Supreme Court, demanding a retrial for Kuniiji Murakami and his acquittal. Another 8,000 people offered bail for the courageous Communist. Several thousand trade union and democratic organizations in Japan and abroad cabled protests to the Supreme Court. On October 10, 1963, a day of united action demanding the acquittal of Kuniiji

Murakami was held throughout the country on the initiative of more than 100 democratic organizations.

The sole material evidence on the basis of which Kuniiji Murakami was brought to trial were some revolver bullets which experts proved could in no way be connected with Murakami. Similar opinions which left no doubt as to his innocence were expressed by Soviet and Czechoslovak experts when the case came up before the Supreme Court.

Despite the insistent demands of democratic public opinion at home and abroad, the Supreme Court session on October 17 dismissed the appeal thus endorsing the trumped-up charge against a valiant fighter for national independence, democracy and peace.

The Communist paper *Akahata* wrote in this connection: "By this decision the Supreme Court, which dons the mantle of 'justice' has exposed itself in the eyes of the public and shown that it is, in fact, an instrument for suppressing the people."

The unjust decision has evoked the indigna-

*See Kuniiji Murakami's letter in *World Marxist Review*, No. 11, 1961 under the heading "Save the Innocent!"

tion of the people. The Release Murakami Committee, which includes 149 lawyers, and also more than a hundred democratic national organizations issued a statement saying that "the Supreme Court's verdict is unjust and flagrantly distorts the scientifically proved and obvious facts. The object is to nullify the successes achieved by the democratic forces of Japan... This verdict shows that the Supreme Court is becoming more and more reactionary, that it is trampling upon democracy. . . We demand the immediate release of Kuniiji Murakami and a re-examination of his case. We shall work persistently to this end".

On the day the Supreme Court confirmed the unjust sentence demonstrators gathered in the central part of Tokyo to demand the release of Murakami. The news of the Supreme Court's decision has fortified the democratic forces in their determination to continue the fight for justice.

The Communist Party published a statement stressing that "this sentence is an unlawful act, an attempt to suppress the struggle of the

Japanese people for national independence, peace and democracy." The "Shiratori case," the statement continued, is a link in the chain of cases fabricated by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries as a pretext for suppressing the Communist Party of Japan which is consistently fighting for national independence and the interests of the people. The object of this malicious campaign is to create the impression that the Communist Party is a terrorist organization.

As the truth about the "Shiratori case" becomes known more and more people are demanding a retrial. "No sentence," reads the statement of the Japanese Communists, "can hide the fact that Kuniiji Murakami is innocent. The 'Shiratori case' is stirring ever wider sections of the people to take action and they will expose the trumped-up charge and secure Kuniiji Murakami's acquittal. . ."

All democrats and Communists in Japan are continuing the fight for Murakami's release, and they are confident of ultimate victory.

S. TANAKA

THE SUDANESE PEOPLE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY

FIVE years have passed since the military coup of 1958 when an undisguised dictatorial regime was established in the Sudan. Since then the people have been living under martial law, are deprived of elementary rights: freedom of speech and demonstration, the right to strike and organize. Progressive newspapers are banned and many other papers are threatened with administrative sanctions. Peaceful demonstrations are savagely dispersed. The people have not forgotten the bloody events of August 22, 1961, when the police opened fire on a traditional religious procession and killed 31 people. Dozens of Communists, trade union leaders, army officers and students have been sentenced by military tribunals to different terms of imprisonment, and some to life imprisonment. Five patriotic officers were hanged.

Not a day passes but citizens are hunted by the police and arrested. On the eve of the anniversary of the "revolution" (that is how the present rulers of the Sudan call the military coup staged by them), Communists, trade union and student leaders were arrested and imprisoned.

In October the Supreme Court at Khartoum sentenced Mohamed Mahmud and Makeen Ahmed to 7 and 6 years' imprisonment respectively on a charge of "communist activities." Both patriots proudly declared that they were members of the Communist Party which, even though

banned, is continuing its struggle in defense of the people and for the independence of their country. "The communist leaflets" found on them was the "evidence" but it was evidence of their consistent struggle against neo-colonialism and for the welfare of the Sudanese people. Patriots who are fighting for genuine national independence, democracy and the welfare of the people are thrown behind bars, while the agents of imperialism, profiteers and swindlers of all hues are at liberty.

The people are beginning to see through the reactionary regime, in spite of the barrage of demagogic propaganda. The neo-colonialists and their local lackeys have not been able to destroy the Communist Party and democratic movement, which is being joined by growing numbers of working people. The people are beginning to realize that the fight against neo-colonialism is part of the fight for democracy.

The firm stand taken by the Communists, despite the terror, inspires the people to take action for genuine freedom and for a democratic regime. The general strike of the railway workers in 1959 and 1963, the numerous strikes and actions of the peasants, the strikes and demonstrations of students, not to mention other forms of protest, speak of the implacable struggle waged by our people in defense of democratic rights. These actions have compelled the government to make concessions; it has been obliged, for example, to permit trade

union organizations, to release a number of political and trade union leaders and to hold elections of sorts for some local and central councils which, it is true, can hardly be termed democratic institutions.

But the people are continuing the struggle. Despite the presence of government observers the trade unions at their congress in Khartoum in October called for an end to martial law and for the release of all political prisoners, full trade union rights, freedom of the press

and the establishment of a genuine democratic system.

These demands are widely supported by the national forces. The reactionary dictatorial regime is now experiencing an acute political crisis that is shaking its very foundations. The growing struggle of our people, which has the support of democratic forces all over the world, will eventually frustrate the plans of the imperialists who are seeking to turn our country into a neo-colonialist base in Africa.

I. MUSTAFA

Reviews

USSR and the USA — the Lessons of Parallel History

THIS IS not an easy book to review. Not only because of its size (four volumes, nearly one and a half thousand pages of small type), but also because of the wealth of material it contains. To borrow a term from physics one could say that the "specific weight" of each page is much greater than that in many another book of its kind. But that is hardly surprising for the book in question is the *Parallel History of the USSR and the USA* by Louis Aragon and André Maurois.*

This work could be approached in two different ways. Each of its three parts (two volumes dealing with the history of the USSR, written by Aragon, one volume on the history of the United States by Maurois, and a fourth volume of interviews with "prominent Americans" and "prominent Russians") could be examined separately, and indeed each merits such treatment. On the other hand, all four volumes taken together constitute an integral whole that is perhaps of even greater interest and topical value than each volume taken separately.

Aragon — Historian of the Soviet Union

The discerning reader of Aragon's writings will have little difficulty in observing that their distinguished author has a flair for accurate historical description rarely encountered in the writer of fiction. His *Communists*, and his *Passion Week* are more than fascinating novels, they are historical records, the products of pain-

staking research. One critic has observed that a brilliant historian was lost in Aragon. Now we can say that, happily, the historian has not been lost. For the two-volume *History of the USSR* by the poet-Communist is a scholarly work, though nowhere does the scholar eclipse the artist.

Aragon the historian has his own individual style. His text is packed with factual data. Some paragraphs indeed are, essentially, an enumeration of facts. Taken out of context such paragraphs might seem somewhat strange, yet they serve a definite purpose. The facts are selected and assembled in such a way as to enable the reader to see things in perspective, to find his way through the maze of events that constitute the history of the first socialist state in the world.

Aragon gradually introduces the reader to this factual data and leaves him to draw his own conclusions. This makes the two-volume *History of the USSR* not exactly easy reading. Together with the author the reader has to concentrate on the subject, to ponder over it and assess it.

Now and again the author breaks off the chain of facts to survey the panorama of events described. And here the talent of Aragon the publicist comes to the fore. In these pages the author gives an inspired account of the constructive labors of the Soviet people during the prewar five-year plans, their exploits in the war and the program for building communism.

The reader familiar with the history of the USSR may not find any new facts or documents in Aragon's book. Nevertheless for him, too, it

*Louis Aragon, André Maurois. *Histoire parallèle* ("Histoire de l'URSS de 1917 à 1960" t. 1-2; "Histoire des Etats-Unis de 1917 à 1961"; "Aperçus données par quelques Soviétiques éminents" et "Conversations avec quelques Américains éminents"). Paris, Presses de la Cité, 1962.

is of value for its encyclopedic scope, its authenticity and manner of presentation.

For the reader in the non-socialist world, however, it has a special interest. Firstly, because it is an excellent guide to the past and present of the land of socialism. It is, in fact, the first detailed history of the Soviet state written from a Marxist standpoint by a non-Soviet author. For this reason alone Aragon's work is a valuable contribution to the struggle waged by the Communists against bourgeois ideology, which is mainly concerned with falsifying the history of the socialist world.

Another virtue of the book is that it enables the reader to perceive the fallacy of the claims made by bourgeois historiographers that a social revolution is a purely destructive, anti-humane process. Socialism, Aragon shows, is pre-eminently constructive. It destroys only in order to remove the barriers to the normal development of the individual and society. Its main efforts are concentrated on building the new society, the purpose of which is to serve man's highest interests and advance civilization.

Aragon's history draws extensively on the materials of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which contributed so much to a better understanding of many events in the history of Soviet society, and especially those connected with the Stalin personality cult and its consequences. The cult laid a heavy imprint on historical science in the socialist world. On the other hand, the denunciation by the Soviet Communists of the errors and crimes of that period gave the anti-communists a pretext for all kinds of speculations. Aragon, of course, was unable to make use of the new material that has appeared in recent years in the Soviet Union, where historical science is now experiencing a revival. Nevertheless, he has succeeded in showing, on the one hand, some of the difficulties and obstacles to socialist development engendered by the cult, and, on the other, the steady advance of socialism, the motive force of which is the people.

Maurois—Historian of the United States

The one-volume history of the United States written by André Maurois is, understandably, a different kind of book. Aragon, besides being a poet and novelist, is a Communist. Maurois, historian and novelist, is a bourgeois liberal. Two different, indeed diametrically opposed world outlooks, two different approaches.

Maurois is no newcomer to historical writing. His books are known to many readers. But, paradoxically, his history of the United States

reads more like a literary essay than the two-volume history by the poet and novelist Aragon. This, perhaps, reveals more strikingly than anything else not only the difference in the literary method of the two writers, but their different social approach to their subject matter.

Aragon convinces his reader by his presentation and analysis of facts, leads him to an understanding of the *social significance* of the problems examined. Maurois' book, on the other hand, is more in the nature of a historico-psychological dissertation. This is not to say that his book is not factual; on the contrary, it abounds in facts conscientiously and carefully compiled. But these facts are, as it were, relegated to the background by the author's reflections and by his brilliant pen-portraits of U.S. statesmen. Whether one agrees with these portraits or not one cannot deny that they are drawn with superb artistic skill. Yet it is a pity that penmanship has taken the place of a keener analysis of the historical process.

Aragon moves from one stage of history to another; for him the landmarks are the achievements of people, the success of socialism. In the Maurois book the motive forces of history appear as the abstract (and often at variance with the facts cited by the author himself) moral aspirations of one or another American statesman. The history of the United States is seen largely as the development of some kind of abstract ideal of "American democracy."

While it would be unrealistic to expect a Marxist approach to United States history from André Maurois, there is at least one criticism that can be levelled at him. He has failed to note certain features of imperialist America on which his American fellow-historians have focused attention. We refer primarily to the general trend of U.S. imperialism, namely, that it has passed its zenith, and that although outwardly the edifice is solid and imposing, the internal cracks and fissures are there. Senator Fullbright once made a rather apt comparison between the present state of North America and that of ancient Rome in the last years of its power: "On the outside the civilization has a hard, shining surface, full of glitter and superficial accomplishment. But inside the shell, invisible decay does its work. And the hard shell collapses on the empty centre when that civilization collides with a challenge it no longer has the power to meet. . ."

American imperialism is now faced with just such a challenge, the historical challenge of socialism. And it can be said that the growing challenge of socialism is one of the sure signs

that imperialism has passed its zenith. But this André Maurois has not noticed.

Why "Parallel History"?

Despite the difference in style and approach, outlook and method, all four volumes of the Aragon-Maurois book, as we have said, nevertheless constitute a single whole. The title too, *Parallel History of the USSR and the USA* is not accidental. As we see it, there is a deeper meaning behind it.

The October Revolution of 1914 brought the first socialist state onto the world arena. An epoch of struggle, coexistence and competition between the two systems set in. That same year the United States abandoned its isolationist policy and entered the First World War. "A new imperialist giant and pretender to world hegemony — the United States — has appeared on the scene", is how this event was appraised by the Sixth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

The coincidence of the two events might be regarded as a fluke of history. Yet it is symbolic. History decreed that the year 1917 should mark the beginning not only of a contest between two systems in general, but the contest of two giants, each of which, as it were, represented the essence and the highest achievements of its own social system. For many bourgeois historians the competition between the two systems is ascribed merely to Soviet-American rivalry. The authors of the book under review take a more realistic view. The Marxist Aragon puts the question thus: the competition between the USSR and the USA is a symbol of the contest between the two opposing social systems and at the same time is a decisive link in that struggle. Maurois, the non-Marxist does not attempt any social generalization with regard to Soviet-American relations, but his premise, too, is that the two giants represent not themselves alone but two different worlds.

Contemporary Marxist books on modern history begin the record of our epoch by pointing out that the course of events in the past forty-six years has been influenced by the October Revolution, by the competition between the two systems. The history of the post-October period, however, very often resolves itself into a series of poorly connected chapters dealing with the history of individual countries. A complete picture of the historical process, which is pivoted on the competition between the two systems as expressed in the competition between the USSR and the USA, does not emerge.

Yet there would seem to be a very definite need for what one might term a *sociological* examination of the historical process in the

period of the general crisis of capitalism. What is needed is a synthesized study of social development in the post-October period. And in this sense the underlying idea of the Aragon-Maurois book stimulates thinking along these lines.

An examination of the history of the United States and the Soviet Union is most instructive. The relations between the two countries over the years might be regarded as a vast social experiment conducted by history for the sole purpose of testing the virtues and the defects of the two opposing systems. Here is how the authors of the *Parallel History* sum up the results of that experiment.

Aragon draws attention to the dynamic force of socialism. "There were three centuries between Thomas More's *Utopia* and that of Charles Fourier. Nevertheless reality had not caught up with man's dreams," writes Aragon. "What happened in Russia in a little over forty years has shown that this is not an immutable law... If one calculates properly, whole centuries, figuratively speaking, have passed since Lenin left us." (*History of the USSR*, Vol. 2, pp. 346-47.)

Maurois stresses the opposite aspect of United States development. "Has the country changed much since 1914?" he asks. And replies: "The basic features have not changed." (*History of the United States*, p. 347.)

In forty-six years Russia, covering the vast distance from capitalism to the building of a communist society, has grown from the status of a semi-ruined peasant country to the second industrial power in the world and the first space power; the United States, on the other hand, has remained as before — a country of monopolies, a country of racial discrimination and refined forms of working-class exploitation.

The contrast between the two trends, the two titans, is perhaps most strikingly brought out in volume four containing interviews with Soviet and American personalities.

The character of the interviews, too, is revealing. What strikes one about André Maurois' talks with American economists, historians and sociologists is that though they differ as regards content, they have one common feature: a startling lack of confidence in assessing the future. All references to the future are couched in nebulous formulas, and the keynote is one of scepticism. Louis Aragon's talks with Soviet personalities, on the contrary, are distinguished by a firm confidence in the ultimate victory of socialism on a world scale. The views expressed by the men interviewed by Aragon are scientifically substantiated. These men proclaim the goals and simultaneously in-

dicade how they are to be attained and what is being done to attain them.

This contrast in the style of the interviews with the spokesmen of the two countries highlights not only the difference in personality and psychology but above all the difference in the perspectives and the potentialities of the two opposing social systems. Declining capitalism is anxious about its future; as a rule its potential falls short of its desire. Rising socialism, on the other hand, feels that the future belongs to it, and through its representatives it speaks of the future with calm confidence.

It must be admitted that in reading the volumes of the *Parallel History* one would like to find in them more comparisons, more contrasts, in other words, more direct parallels. In the present form the authors confine themselves to presenting the material, the reader is free to make his own comparisons, to make the obvious deductions. But even this method leads him to some highly instructive conclusions.

1933-63: 30 Years of Coexistence

As mentioned above, Aragon and Maurois, each in his own part of the work, show the difference between the two systems. Nevertheless the keynote of the whole book is that enduring coexistence between these systems (and between the two countries) is not only *possible* but *imperative*.

At this writing, as the year 1963 draws to a close, the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Washington is being observed. This is a significant date, in itself an instructive lesson in history. During the first 16 years of Soviet-American relations after the October Revolution, U.S. politics calculated on the destruction of socialism in Russia. Maurois glosses over U.S. participation in the anti-Soviet intervention, almost making it appear as if the U.S. government was opposed to the idea, but yielded to the pressure of its allies. True, he notes that Washington at that period was haunted chiefly by fear of the "red peril." The important thing, however, is that already 30 years before, the policy of destroying socialism, the policy of intervention, suffered failure.

In November 1933 the Roosevelt government recognized the Soviet Union. This was a step dictated by political realism. Rereading today the text of the Soviet-American agreement of that period one is amazed at its contemporary ring: the principles of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the pledge to refrain from the use of force in settling disputes sounds like a message from history to the U.S. policymakers of today.

In the past 30 years the Second World War in which the two countries fought as allies was proof of the possibility and the urgent need for complete *volte face*. By April 1945 Truman had men of the war years said many complimentary things about their Russian ally. They stressed that after the war, too, relations between the two countries must remain as warm and friendly as during the ordeal of war. In March 1945 President Roosevelt declared: "Never before have the major allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims."

Unfortunately, after the death of Roosevelt, President Truman and his advisers executed a complete *volte face*. By April 1945 Truman had announced his determination to be "tough" with the Soviet Union. And while the Potsdam conference was in session, he wrote in a private letter: "I hope I never have to hold another conference with them (i.e., with the representatives of the USSR—V.Z.)."

The reasons for the postwar "cooling off" in the relations between the USSR and the USA would appear to be quite clear. Even bourgeois historians now admit that the West was responsible for the cold war. Yet anti-communist writers and journalists continue to blame the Communists.

The *Parallel History* (although one of its authors, Maurois, refrains from revealing his own attitude to this question) cites facts which refute this baseless assertion. Ever since 1918 the Soviet government has consistently and repeatedly offered the United States peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, economic relations. The first offer of this kind was made to the U.S. representative by Lenin. Today, too, the government of the Soviet Union adheres to the same position. Here is a recent statement on this score by Khrushchov: "... As regards relations between the United States and the Soviet Union . . . we have actually no grounds for serious disagreement. Our interests do not directly clash anywhere, either on territorial questions or in the sphere of economics. Both the Soviet Union and the United States are richly endowed with natural resources, possess large populations, a developed industry and science. We could therefore coexist quite comfortably."

Thus, the attitude of the Soviet government has not changed. What has changed and is liable to change again is the attitude of the ruling circles in the United States where a constant struggle is under way between two trends—the bellicose, interventionist trend and the trend towards peaceful coexistence. It is of the ut-

most importance correctly to assess the difference between the two, between the one or another ruling group in power at the given moment, if we are to utilize every opportunity for strengthening peace, for peaceful coexistence.

The *Parallel History* (although one of its other ruling group in power at the given moment, if we are to utilize every opportunity for strengthening peace, for peaceful coexistence. The leaders of the Communist Party of China, as we know, ignore this difference, painting the U.S. ruling circles with a single black brush. On these grounds they deny the need for any improvement in relations between the USSR and the USA, thus in effect ruling out any business-like Soviet-American contact, or cooperation between the two governments in the interests of peace.

Everything in the *Parallel History* points to the fallacy of this thesis. It shows that normal relations between the two countries, their cooperation are vitally necessary in order to consolidate world peace; that whenever relations between the USSR and the USA were good, peace and humanity benefited by it. And conversely, whenever these relations deteriorated, the situation throughout the world was adversely affected.

There is an objective reason for this. The Soviet Union and the United States are the world's two biggest powers. Vast economic and military power is concentrated in their hands. Clearly they bear a grave responsibility for the condition of international relations. It is clear too that normalization of Soviet-American relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence should therefore be the vital concern of everyone anxious to safeguard the peace and security of people everywhere.

Summing up their examination of the history of the USSR and the USA, the two authors come to the following conclusions "American people know," writes Maurois, in the final pages of his book, "that in the East another system, quite the opposite of their own, is also making remarkable headway. They believe that

the future alone will show which of the two methods affords its citizens more freedom, happiness and the good things of life. They want this competition to be peaceful..." (*History of the United States*, p. 369.) Unquestionably this is true of the American people, and of a considerable section of the U.S. top circles as well. Aragon in his turn has this to say: "The twenty-year plan, the immediate perspective of communism, is a contest for peace. It is equivalent to an assurance that war will be defeated." (*History of the USSR*. Vol. 2, p. 354.)

Differences in outlook have not prevented two important writers from arriving at one and the same conclusion. And this is an additional argument in favor of the realism of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

* * *

The idea for the *Parallel History* was conceived in 1959, when a new glimmer of hope for a strengthening of peace appeared. Much has happened since then. A period of "great expectations" was followed by the Caribbean crisis. Now the world is again living on the hopes fostered by the Moscow Treaty. This time these hopes have a stronger foundation than ever. Experience has taught the peoples to be wiser, more cautious, more vigilant.

In the light of this experience the idea of the Aragon-Maurois book acquires a new and even greater value and significance. The book itself might indeed stand as a symbol of the progress of the world in the direction of socialism, in the direction of an enduring peace. The facts and events described in four volumes of *Parallel History* offer evidence that the victory of the new socialist system on a world scale is inevitable, that it is not far off, and that the future belongs to communism. The book by Aragon and Maurois is a new and weighty argument in favor of those who adhere to the standpoint of historical optimism.

V. ZAGLADIN

Communist Party of Germany in Forefront of the Fight

THE 164 documents contained in the book *The Communist Party of Germany Fights On** tells the reader of the fight waged by the Communists in West Germany for peace, democracy and social progress, despite the fact that the Party is illegal.

*Die KPD lebt und kaempft. Dokumente der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands 1956-1962. Berlin. Dietz Verlag, 1963. Pp. 744.

We know from the record that every time the rulers of Germany prepared for aggression their first step was to crush the progressive forces, and above all the parties and organizations of the working class. Bismarck's notorious anti-socialist laws were followed in due course by the Hitler terror. Then in 1956 Adenauer, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, outlawed the Communist Party of Germany

and jailed several of its functionaries.

But the Communists have not been daunted by this interdiction. On the day the Party was banned it issued an appeal headed "The Party Fights On." "The Party," the appeal said "fights on. It will be in the van of the working class and the people even when all traces of the Adenauer era have vanished into limbo. The Communist Party has always emerged from the struggle strengthened. And so comrades and friends, into the fight! . . . No peace for those who threaten the tranquility of our children, the sleep of our mothers, the lives of our people! . . . Jointly with the Party combat militarism and reaction and uphold democracy and socialism!"

Today, seven years later, it can firmly be said that the party of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thaelmann has remained true to its glorious revolutionary traditions and to the appeal of August 17, 1956. Throughout these years it has been a part of the international Communist and workers' movement, and has made its contribution to the revolutionary struggle. It bases itself steadfastly on documents of the international movement, specifically the 1960 Moscow Statement. (Documents Nos. 128, 132, 158, and others.). It firmly adheres to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and emphatically rejects dogmatism, revisionism and sectarianism.

The documents in the volume, and particularly the materials of congresses, conferences and meetings of the Central Committee, show the Party fashioning its strategy and tactics in keeping with the specific conditions of West Germany, show how it tackles crucial issues as they come up, how it is helping its members to solve basic problems and thus carry on the struggle more effectively.

The Party concentrates on the struggle for peace, for a peaceful future for the people. The expectation that after the war Germany would take the road of peace and democratic development has come true only in one part of the country — on the territory of the German Democratic Republic, the first German state of workers and peasants. In the western part of the country the ruling circles have again taken the path of military gambles. The Communist Party, the most progressive and most democratic force in the Federal Republic, is, therefore, centering all its energies on the fight for peace and against militarism, against arming the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons.

In pursuance of this it is demanding a stop to the arms drive, the removal of the Hitler generals, the cessation of propaganda, of revenge, withdrawal of the Federal Republic from

NATO, the establishment of a European security system and peaceful negotiations with the socialist countries. It has supported the peace proposals of the Soviet Union for security in Europe, for a peaceful settlement of the German and Berlin questions, and for disarmament; it has explained these proposals to the people and is working for their realization. The Party has also supported the proposals made by the G.D.R. Government for reunification of Germany on a democratic basis, for a policy of peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding. These proposals of the G.D.R., and also those made by the Party itself form a part of the Program Statement adopted by the Party at its 1963 Congress. (Documents Nos. 16, 19, 95 and others.)

The West German Communists actively participate in actions directed against militarism and war preparations. Together with other progressive forces they annually hold Easter peace marches, anti-nuclear demonstrations and meetings in which factory workers, young people and progressives generally take part.

The Party links the struggle for peace with the struggle for *democracy and social progress*, and specifically with the struggle in defence of the democratic rights inscribed in the F.R.G. Constitution — freedom of speech, the right to strike, and the extension of democratic rights to all spheres of political and economic life. (Documents Nos. 90, 95, 120.)

The West German Communists are vigorous opponents of the so-called "emergency laws" so reminiscent of the fascist laws enacted under Hitler. (Documents Nos. 100, 120, and others.)

The Party combines the fight for democracy with the fight for its legal status. It tells the workers and democrats generally that without a strong and legal Communist Party the progressive forces cannot hope to carry on a successful struggle. "There can be no question of freedom and democracy in Federal Germany until the Party's legal status is restored. . . . Democracy and the banning of the Communist Party are, like fire and water, mutually exclusive. . . ." (pp. 126 and 305.) And the Party's fight for legality is meeting with increasing support. This demand is being voiced more and more often at meetings of working people and the youth, during protest demonstrations and strikes.

By fighting for democratic rights and their extension the Party is thereby helping to weaken the power of the monopolies, the mainstay of the reactionaries. It calls for a curb on monopoly profits, for nationalization of some of their enterprises, better conditions for the workers by cutting down on military expenditure and

capitalist profits. It insists that the so-called right to take part in industrial management be fully applied, that the trade unions should have a bigger say in production matters, on labor conditions, and also on social questions. (Documents Nos. 56, 95, 164, and others.)

West German Communists played a notable role in the 1957 strikes of the metal workers in Schleswig-Holstein, in the actions of the Ruhr miners against the coal magnates in 1958-59, and more recently in the strike of the metal workers of Baden-Wurtemberg and the strike in North Rhine-Westphalia.

The Party fully realizes that the fight for peace, democracy and social progress can be successful only given the joint efforts of all progressives. "The Party sees united working class action not as a temporary tactic, but as an essential condition for coping successfully with the current tasks of the class struggle and of carrying out the historic mission of the working class." (p. 92.)

An important element making for united action is the growth of cooperation between the Communists and Social-Democrats. "The history of the German working-class movement teaches that neither the Communists nor the Social-Democrats can change the situation with their own forces. *Together* we represent a force that can refashion the history of our people for the better." This cooperation is gradually taking shape as the reactionary policy of the Right-wing leadership of Social-Democracy, the anti-communism and the bourgeois theories about "social welfare," "social partnership," the

"economic miracle" are being exposed. (Documents Nos. 106, 127, 164, and others.)

Another sphere in which the Communists are doing much to build up united working-class action is in the trade unions. Communist trade unionists play a most active part in the life of their union branches, fight alongside their fellow workers on wage issues and conditions in the enterprises and are showing up the Right-wing trade union leaders in their true colors. (Documents Nos. 43, 56, 119, and others.)

United working-class action helps to strengthen the alliance with the peasantry, with the middle strata of the urban population and professional workers. The Party supports the peasants in their just struggle against monopoly capital and the adverse consequences of the EEC, takes part in all their protest demonstrations; it has advanced its own programme for solving the peasant question. (Documents Nos. 11, 99, 161, and others.) It pays great attention to the women's and youth organizations as well as to the organizations of the professional workers. (Documents Nos. 14, 98, 134, 147, and others.)

The documents show that the Communist Party of Germany which the Bonn rulers sought to suppress, is active, that it is a component of the democratic, patriotic and progressive forces in Western Germany. It has placed before the people its program of peace, democracy and social progress, a program which shows the way out of the impasse in which the country finds itself as a result of the adventurist policy of the Bonn militarists.

Ladislav IVANEK

For an Independent and Prosperous Canada

MUST Canada accept a state of affairs in which the development of this country's fabulous natural wealth is based on and subordinated to the interests of the big U.S. financial groups? Or is it possible for Canadians to give priority to the development of Canadian resources and the growth of Canadian manufacturing on the basis of what is good for the Canadian people, and so guarantee for Canadians the golden future that the financial pages used to speak of?"

These questions of vital importance to all Canadians are examined by L. C. and F. W. Park

in their latest book.* The authors should be commended for having produced a work which provides readers with a better understanding of the intrinsic connection between the questions of peace, independence and socialism.

The Parks' book is a detailed, popular exposition of the Marxist view on Canada's national independence.

Readers may ask: Why raise the issue of Canada's independence? After all, Canada far from being an underdeveloped country, has a

*L. C. and F. W. Park, *Anatomy of Big Business*, Progress Books, Toronto, 1962. 271 pp.

highly developed industry and agriculture; in the capitalist world it is second only to the USA as regards per capita national income and industrial production, and sixth as regards gross industrial output. In 1960 Canada occupied first place in the capitalist world for production of asbestos (70 per cent), nickel (75 per cent), platinum and newsprint; second place for grain output and extraction or production of aluminum, cellulose, gold, zinc, gypsum and lumber; third place for extraction of cadmium, silver, molybdenum and magnesium, and for output of electric power, and fourth place for mining of titanium, copper and lead. The 1960 output of manufacturing industry exceeded agricultural production sixfold, while the output of extractive industries was 9.5 times greater than farm output. Industry as a whole accounted for about 80 per cent of the total production. As for Canadian agriculture, it is highly developed and mechanized, having much in common with agriculture in the USA.

Nevertheless, Canadian independence is a burning issue. For the fact remains that Canada is economically and politically dependent on U.S. monopoly capital, as can be seen from the analysis in this book. While formally an equal member of the British Commonwealth, Canada is actually a satellite of the USA, the most powerful imperialist country in the world, and as such is unable to develop its economy in its own interests or to pursue an independent national policy.

The authors cite numerous data showing how the U.S. monopolies dominate Canada's economic and political life. For instance, of the total long-term foreign investments amounting to \$9,700 million (in U.S. currency) at the end of 1959, U.S. monopolies accounted for \$15,700 million (76 per cent), British monopolies for \$3,200 million (16 per cent), and others, mostly West-German, for \$1,700 million (8 per cent).

It should be borne in mind that of the U.S. capital in Canada only some \$8,000 million is actual inflow from the U.S.A. (p. 34). The remainder is accounted for by reinvestment of U.S. profits, as well as funds obtained through a multitude of financial manipulations common under capitalism at which the U.S. finance tycoons are past masters.

U.S. influence in Canada is also growing as a result of the rapidly mounting Canadian foreign debt, which totalled \$24,100 million at the end of 1959, with the U.S. finance magnates as the principal creditors (p. 22).

If we take into account all the channels through which a handful of tycoons are able to dominate the economy of a country—through

stocks, bond issues, credits, mortgages, joint stock companies with ramified systems of subsidiaries, trusts, banks, stock market manipulations, etc., — it will be seen that U.S. monopoly influence on Canada's economic and political life exceeds by far the direct hold which the \$15,700 million invested by the U.S.A. gives the latter on that country.

The authors examine in detail these forms of domination, including lopsided development of the economy with the emphasis on producing raw materials and semi-manufactures primarily for export to the U.S.A., owing to which Canada is becoming increasingly dependent on the U.S. market, orientated on extraction of strategic materials essential for a nuclear war, import and export restrictions stemming from subordination to U.S. policies, etc. The U.S. monopolies influence prices in their own interests and an increasing number of Canadian-owned enterprises are falling under the control or influence of U.S. capital.

The same applies to foreign policy, which is brought to bear against the liberation movement in South and Central America. Canada is no longer independent in this sphere; on all the big international issues the Canadian government trails in the wake of the USA. In a word, not a single sphere of economic or of political life is free from the influence of the U.S. monopolies, which hamper Canada's development, plunder it and harness it to their aggressive nuclear armament plans.

"We, Canadians in general, are being robbed, and the robbery can and must be stopped," the authors say, pointing out that "if foreign monopoly interests are allowed to penetrate a given national economy freely, then a number of consequences follows: the growth of national industry suffers, development of the country is distorted to suit the profit position of the foreign monopolies, the content and direction of the country's trade will be affected by non-national considerations, and profits are in part taken out of the country . . . and in part re-invested and used to extend the control of the outside group. The sovereignty of the country, the power to take decisions in the national interest, will be undermined, and political independence threatened" (p. 21).

A big part in extending U.S. monopoly influence in Canada is played by the interlocking of the Canadian financial oligarchy with U.S. finance capital. Consequently, the authors dwell at length on the role of this financial oligarchy consisting of a handful of tycoons, showing how they have fused with U.S. capital and are selling out their own country. Moreover, this oligarchy is interwoven with the state machinery

in a highly developed state-monopoly capitalist set-up subservient to U.S. capital.

This is valuable material making for a better understanding of the reactionary, anti-national role of the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie.

In sum, these circumstances explain why the Communist Party after the Second World War, found it necessary to place prime emphasis on the defense of Canadian independence. Clearly, this is not only a matter of combating U.S. imperialism but also of fighting the home-bred monopolists. To achieve genuine independence it is essential to smash the power of the Canadian monopolists and undermine the political foundations of state-monopoly capitalism. When this is done, the way will be open for the solution of national problems.

The Canadian workers and farmers are paying a heavy price for their country's dependence on U.S. imperialism. Their standard of living is being sacrificed more and more to the interests of the U.S. monopolies. There are not enough jobs. Social insecurity is growing. U.S. capital is compelling Canada to export mostly raw materials and semi-manufactures, the processing of which at home would give work to two million workers. It is becoming more and more difficult to find markets for farm produce. The position of many farmers is deteriorating. More and more restrictions are being imposed on democratic rights.

Particularly serious are the consequences of the Canadian armament policy. In 1951-58 the government spent \$12,400 million on arms.

In the same period U.S. direct investment increased by \$4,900 million, of which only \$2,900 million was actual inflow. "Thus, in that period, Canadian spending on arms was more than four times greater than the capital inflow from the United States for direct investment in Canada. . . ." (p. 37).

Ending the arms drive would strengthen not only Canada's political sovereignty but also its economic independence. Safeguarding independence is, then, a component of the international struggle for peaceful coexistence and for a negotiated settlement of all controversial issues.

Upholding independence, thus, bears a direct relationship to the vital issues facing the working class, the farmers and urban middle strata whose interests are trampled upon by U.S. and Canadian monopoly capital, by the entire system of state-monopoly capitalism.

To ensure Canada's independence it is essential that the decisive branches of the economy should be developed in the national interest. The authors show that the way to this lies through nationalization of the most important

enterprises under U.S. monopoly control. "Canadian independence cannot be secured," they say, "the economy of Canada cannot grow, until ownership and control of the key sectors of the Canadian economy is in Canada" (p. 223). It is imperative to carry out nationalization in the oil and gas, iron ore, steel, automobile and electrical-equipment industries.

Nationalization would put an end to Canada's dependence on the U.S.A. and make it possible to use the national resources now owned or controlled by the USA for national development and improving the conditions of the people. Nationalization of the key enterprises would be a major step towards a prosperous and peace-loving Canada.

The authors point out that nationalization raises a host of problems. For one thing it should not lead to the enterprises taken over falling into the hands of the Canadian monopolists, who are simply junior partners of the U.S. monopolies. If this were to happen nothing would essentially change; the only ones to gain would be the Canadian monopolies, whose anti-national positions would be fortified.

Nationalization of the main enterprises will produce the desired results, the authors, show, only when the sellers of Canada have been removed from their management and the enterprises handed over to the true representatives of the people's interests—to the workers, farmers and progressive sections of the bourgeoisie. To achieve this it is essential to create a climate of economic and political struggle waged by all progressives, to unite both English-speaking Canadians in a broad national patriotic front. This national front will emerge from the struggle to safeguard the economic interests of the workers, farmers and those sections of the bourgeoisie which suffer from U.S. monopoly domination; it will emerge from the struggle to defend and extend democratic rights which are being increasingly whittled away by the U.S. monopolies and the Canadian government, from the struggle for peace, against the nuclear build-up, against support for the aggressive imperialist foreign policy of the USA, for an independent Canadian home and foreign policy.

The question posed in the book, "Can Canada survive?" can be answered only in the affirmative. More and more Canadians are beginning to realize this. And it is because it helps to deepen this realization that the present well-written and thought-provoking book is so valuable. Moreover, it causes the reader to ponder on the ways and means of putting and end to U.S. monopoly domination in the capitalist world and of creating the basic pre-

requisites for the peaceful coexistence and development of countries on a footing of equality and sovereignty. It will help to equip the working people (and not only the Canadian

working people) with the theoretical wherewithal essential in the fight for peace, democracy and social progress.

P. NAUMAN

Science in the Service of Man

THE achievements of science speak of the boundless capacity of human genius, of its swift penetration into the creative laboratory of Nature. These achievements have enabled man to probe the secrets of Nature, to exercise control over it to a degree inconceivable only a few decades ago. Hence the growing interest displayed by people all over the world in the progress of science. Anxious to meet this interest more fully Soviet scholars are now publishing the Year Book *Science and Man*.^{*} The purpose of the undertaking, as M. V. Keldysh, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, wrote in the foreword to the first edition, is "to examine the important achievements of world science for the past couple of years, and to show their social significance."

The contributors to the Year Book include eminent scientists and experts in the respective branches of science, among them twelve Lenin and State prize winners and six Nobel prize winners. Alongside the Soviet scientists D. I. Blokhintsev, V. A. Engelhardt, N. N. Semyonov and N. N. Blokhin, we find the names of Bertrand Russell (Britain), W. Heisenberg (Federal Germany), M. Burnet (Australia), R. Mossbauer (USA) and Kenjuro Yanagida (Japan). The Year Book then, is a kind of forum, representing the views of scientists of the five continents.

Not all these scientists share the same view regarding the ways in which man will achieve the blossoming of his creative energy and well-being. Bertrand Russell, who believes in man's ability to create a world of beauty and grandeur, maintains this can be done only if we get rid of our age-old delusions through science. Kenjuro Yanagida, on the other hand, who maintains that there is a close link between the achievements of present-day natural science and social problems and holds that we cannot rely on the natural sciences alone to accomplish the historical task of today. The problem, he says, is that of liberation within society. All, however, are agreed on the role science is called upon to play in social progress and in winning the final victory of peace. In a message which is given as a preface John Bernal writes that

the sooner we appreciate the boundless opportunities offered by science to do good, not sometime in the distant future but today, tomorrow, the sooner will the peoples of the world reject the false and disastrous path that leads science to war and destruction.

The articles published in the first edition of the Year Book introduce the reader to four spheres: man — his origin and his mode of thinking; the earth — the cradle of mankind, its history and resources; the world of primary particles, full of unexplored secrets; the universe and man's first steps into outer space. This structure enables the book to examine the general and basic results achieved recently in tackling the most complex and revolutionary problems of contemporary science.

In addition to articles of a general theoretical nature the Year Book contains briefer notices about the latest developments in the world of science. Apart from the fact that they make fascinating reading these briefs help the reader to get a dynamic and complete picture of the research currently being carried out. A merit of *Science and Man* is that it examines *key problems* of modern research, and traces the development of the new trends in probing the secrets of matter.

The classical type of encyclopaedia is no longer adequate, and not merely because of the growing number of intermediate branches that are making their appearance in science but mainly because of the rapidity of this process and the no less swift application of the results achieved in industry and in the life of society in general.

The idea of the Year Book is, therefore, a happy one, because this way of supplying information reflects the specific features of science at the present stage, its revolutionary character. Today the rapidity with which scientific discoveries are being made determines, on the one hand, the appearance of new areas of science and, on the other, the more dynamic interaction between theory and specialized research, with the result that theory itself keeps on changing. No sooner have we formed a theory about a particular subject than it appears to be "behind the times," and has to be altered in the light of new experimental data

^{*}*Science and Man*. 1962. Moscow, Znaniye, 1962. 414 pp.

(a striking example is the concept about the structure of the atom and its nucleus). In this respect the encyclopaedia can no longer keep pace with science's seven-league strides. The Year Book is, therefore, the most effective and dynamic form of information, keeping the reader abreast of the latest trends.

The Year Book examines in detail one of the new and basic trends in contemporary science. The great discoveries of the 18th and 19th centuries were the result of the fruitful cooperation of physics, mathematics and astronomy. With the penetration of physics into the internal structure of matter this traditional cooperation expanded and in the process rapidly changed its structure. Many new areas of research appeared, providing a structural link between sciences that once seemed far removed from each other: we have in mind such disciplines as biophysics, physical biochemistry, molecular biology, astrobotanics, palaeobotanics, and others. Mathematics, without which hardly any of the sciences can advance today, occupies a distinctive place in this close-knit family: it studies processes in their quantitative aspects, ascertaining their qualitative laws.

This cooperation has proved beneficial for mathematics as well as the other sciences: on the one hand, it has enabled mathematics to become more flexible, to acquire new branches as it penetrates into the structure of other sciences. Then the other sciences by using the mathematical method, by incorporating it as an auxiliary but effective catalyzer of their own specific methodology, have been able to advance more swiftly.

Science is making bigger inroads into technology and is gradually emerging with it. Yet — and this is one of the most characteristic features of contemporary science — the condition for any advance in natural science and in the exact sciences is further improvement of the experimental equipment of science, or, as G. M. Frank puts it (see article published in the Year Book), the "industrialization" of the experiment, which depends on the industrial-technological basis of society. Most of the articles in the Year Book stress the role of experimental technology. Industrial technology is now becoming an intrinsic part of science, just as science is becoming a productive force. Interaction of science and technology is characteristic of the present trend in both science and production. The revolution in production through the cooperation of physics, mathematics and technology is well known: new control processes are being introduced in production, atomic energy is being used in industry, etc.

As regards trends in the internal, theoretical and methodological structure of science itself the following is noteworthy: *Wherever a merger took place of the methods of different branches of science* remarkable discoveries were made in a short time, discoveries which yielded excellent results.

The advance in biology bears this out. The biologist of the last century, and even at the beginning of this century would have regarded with scepticism the idea of solving problems of heredity and mutation through physics, chemistry or mathematics. Classical biology discovered the general laws operating in living nature, in the structure of organisms and their functions. But it was powerless when it came to solving problems of heredity and mutation, which express in particular the inner nature and dialectics of life. Classical biology could only describe the phenomena relating to these problems and the general principle of their interdependence. Solution of the problem of the inner nature of heredity and mutation and the mechanism of these processes were basic to the discovery of the molecular organization of the cell, and particularly to the biological synthesis of protein — the foundation of all living processes. Solution of these problems is relevant to the qualitatively new stage in biology. The articles published in the Year Book (V. A. Engelhardt, "The Code of Biochemistry," G. M. Frank, "Molecules in the Living Cell," M. Burnet, "The Theory of Immunity," V. L. Ryzhov, "Metabolism and Viruses" and others) prove that the penetration of physics and chemistry into biology have in the brief space of 10-20 years yielded brilliant results which hold out great prospects for medicine, agriculture, etc.

The electronic microscope and the application of chemical methods paved the way to research in the inner structure of the cell, that is, the "super-molecular formations." This in turn made it possible to observe directly the internal biochemical processes in the cell. We are thus on the threshold of solving one of the great problems of our time — *concrete knowledge of the nature of living matter*. The practical results of the solution of this problem will be truly impressive. In medicine: prolongation of life, discovery of means for curing diseases and their prevention by influencing the dynamic processes, the trends of heredity. In crop-raising and animal husbandry: controlled heredity of animal and plant life, photosynthesis under artificial conditions, etc. Another merit of the Year Book is that it makes us feel how near we are to these discoveries, that they are now on the order of the day.

The articles stress an important feature of modern science — its collective character. In such branches as medicine, biology and mathematics, to say nothing of physics where experimental installations are beginning to approximate to industrial equipment serviced by a large numbers of researchers, *scientific endeavor becomes a combined collective operation*. N. N. Blokhin notes that since success in medicine now depends more and more on discoveries in molecular biology and also in other sciences, "this naturally presupposes creative work by entire armies of scientists"; even the outcome of an operation no longer depends on the skill of the surgeon alone: "When present at a major operation today the complex apparatus used in observing the condition of the patient creates the impression of a laboratory. Success is ensured by a large collective of specialists, each responsible for his particular sphere." B. V. Gnedenko notes that it is difficult to say at times who is the author of one or another new trend in mathematics: "All sciences, including mathematics, are becoming dependent in an ever growing measure on the work of many scientists and collectives."

Hence the need for the cooperation of scientists in all countries, for international forums which greatly stimulate research. It goes with-

out saying that fruitful cooperation is possible only in the conditions of durable peace.

Today the social nature of science stands out more clearly than ever before; science is becoming a sphere in which man can give full rein to his constructive powers — and not only the individual man of genius but the whole human collective: in science social man finds adequate expression. Therein is reflected the humaneness of science; it is humane not only in the sense that it serves human progress, but also in the sense that it is becoming one of the most important social spheres in the life of man. Science as such is becoming interwoven with social issues — what form of society will provide the fullest scope for the natural development of this vast social force? The Year Book furnishes the answer — socialism and communism!

One last word: we wholeheartedly subscribe to the wish expressed by John Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, in his message that this book will help readers to become aware of the tremendous humane potential of science and to understand the nature of those forces which are at present hampering the development and utilization of human knowledge.

Dumitru DUMITRESCU

Ireland and the British People

IN THE preface to his latest book* Desmond Greaves, editor of the weekly *Irish Democrat*, defines the Irish question: "It is the question of whether the sovereignty of that country is vested in the Irish people or in the British crown." The conflict on this issue, which has lasted for nearly 800 years, is of common concern to both British and Irish peoples. But there would be no such thing as an Irish question if it were not for the British claim to overlordship in Ireland.

After the Irish rising of 1916, and the great liberation struggles of the following years, in 1920 a politically independent state was established in the 26 counties of the Irish Republic, the six counties of Northern Ireland remaining under British control, with their own local government. "The Government of Ireland Act," writes Greaves, "was designed to split the Irish people, separate them from their allies in the British working class, deprive that class of the support of the Irish in Britain. . . ." The later Ireland Act of 1949 further limited the

powers of the Northern Ireland government.

The book shows how the real relationship of British imperialism to Ireland is something not unlike the "neo-colonialism" applied to newly independent countries. In the 26 counties of the Irish Republic British interests have maintained economic control. Northern Ireland, which under British law is part of the United Kingdom, has come to have the highest level of unemployment and emigration of any part of Britain; a level of wages estimated at 25 per cent below the level in England; and, according to the *London Times* of August 6 this year, a position in which "almost without exception the important new projects are satellite businesses of companies based outside the region."

To maintain the separation of the Six Counties from the rest of Ireland, for the advantage of monopoly capital, means loss of democratic rights and discrimination by employers on religious grounds. It means savage repression of republican activities, under the Special Powers Acts of the Northern Ireland government, which legalize police powers of a kind that public opinion in England regards as a

*C. Desmond Greaves. *The Irish Question and the British People*. London, Conolly Publications, 1963.

monstrous perversion of British justice": powers to arrest without warrant and to imprison without charge or trial; to arrest and forcibly detain potential witnesses; to prohibit the holding of an inquest after a prisoner's death. The chapter on "Government without Consent" lists fourteen examples of these repressive powers, making normal life impossible in the Nationalist areas of the Six Counties.

Two hundred years ago the Irish patriot Wolfe Tone (for whose bicentenary Desmond Greaves wrote this book) led a movement for democratic franchise and the unity of all Irishmen irrespective of creed. This is still the need of Ireland today. Success depends on unity between the Nationalist movement and the working-class movement.

The later chapters of Desmond Greaves' book deal with the complex process of building this unity, which must have its roots not only in the common interests of the people of Northern Ireland and the people of the Irish Republic, living in a country deprived of its main industrial centre. It must also be based on the Irish in Britain, and on the British labor movement.

After the First World War, Irish emigrants began to turn away from the United States towards Britain. The result today is an Irish community of more than a million in the industrial towns of central and southern England. Potentially they are "one million Irish missionaries," having far more in common with British

working people than any Tory government can ever have.

The recent publication of two socialist programs will lead to a deeper understanding of common interests. One is "Ireland Her Own" (Irish Workers' Party), the other is "Ireland's Path to Socialism" (Communist Party of Northern Ireland). Both programs emphasize the need for the reunification of the country in the process of the struggle against imperialism. "Ireland Her Own" also stresses that "the movement of the British workers for socialism is the natural ally of the Irish movement for unity and independence, since it is the same imperialist forces which oppose their struggle for a better life."

To a great extent it is the work of Desmond Greaves, in his writings and in his untiring activity, that has led to a deeper understanding of these common interests. In his new book he puts the Irish question directly and urgently to the British public. He stresses that "the Irish question must be brought back into British politics. . . . The problem therefore is to break down the wall of silence and allow the British public to know what is going on."

This is the first step in the solution of the Irish question. For the British people its full achievement "will strike a severe blow at their arch enemy, the Tory Party, and remove a possible cause of disunity among themselves."

Elinor BURNS

Marxist Literature in Cuba

"WE MUST study all Marx's writings," Fidel Castro has said. "But at the same time we must also make a study of Lenin, of all the experience accumulated in building the first socialist state in the world. . . . We have a revolutionary, scientific, and profound doctrine to hand on to the masses, we can educate the masses politically, teach the masses and give them revolutionary theory. We have the schools and the publishing facilities for this. . . ."

Marxist literature is published in Cuba by *Editora Politica*. Among works recently published is Volume 20 of Lenin's *Collected Works* covering the period from December 1913 to August 1914. A three-volume edition of the *Selected Works* of Marx and Engels is being prepared for the press. Other Marxist classics are being put out, viz., Marx and Engels on religion, *Lenin On Literature and the Press*, *The Alliance of the Working Class with the Peasantry* and *Ideology and Socialist Culture*.

Anti-Duhring by Engels has already been published. Lenin's *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, *Socialism and War*, *Letter to the American Workers*, and *The State and Revolution* have been put out in booklet form. Fidel Castro has observed that *The State and Revolution* made a tremendous impression on him. It was thanks to this book, he said, that the Cuban revolutionaries opposed the idea of participation in military conspiracies. They saw that what was needed was to smash the old machinery of state violence. A study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Castro has stressed, "determined the course of our development. And I may say, I must honestly admit, that much of what we accomplished in the course of the revolution was by no means our own invention. . . . The more we read these works today and the more we enrich ourselves with the knowledge they contain, the more we marvel

at the genius, the vision and the wisdom of their authors."

There are no longer any police barriers in Cuba between the working men and Marxist

books, and the only other barrier — illiteracy — is rapidly disappearing. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are penetrating deeper into the masses, helping them to build the new life.

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Problems of Peace and Socialism

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