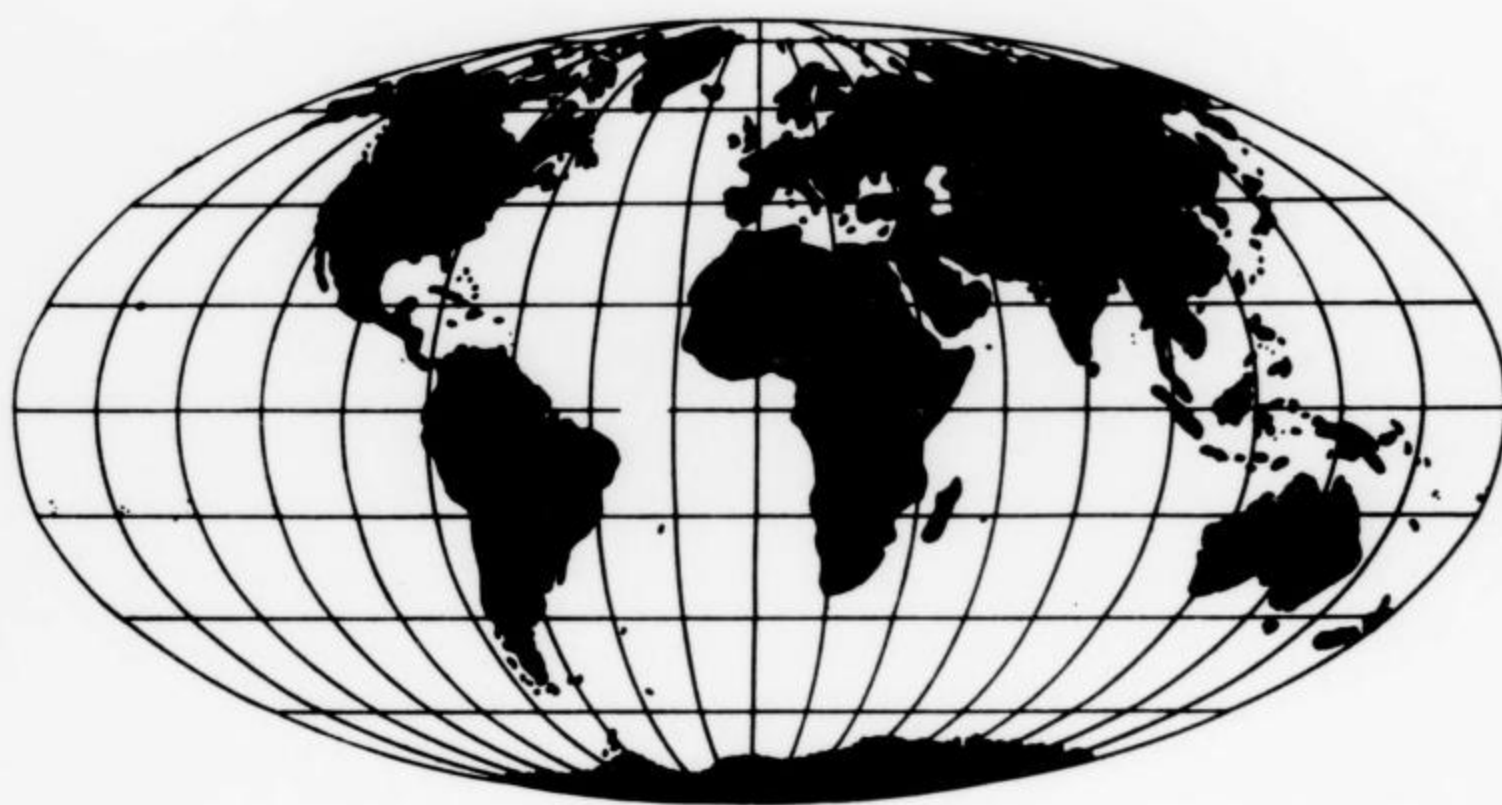


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

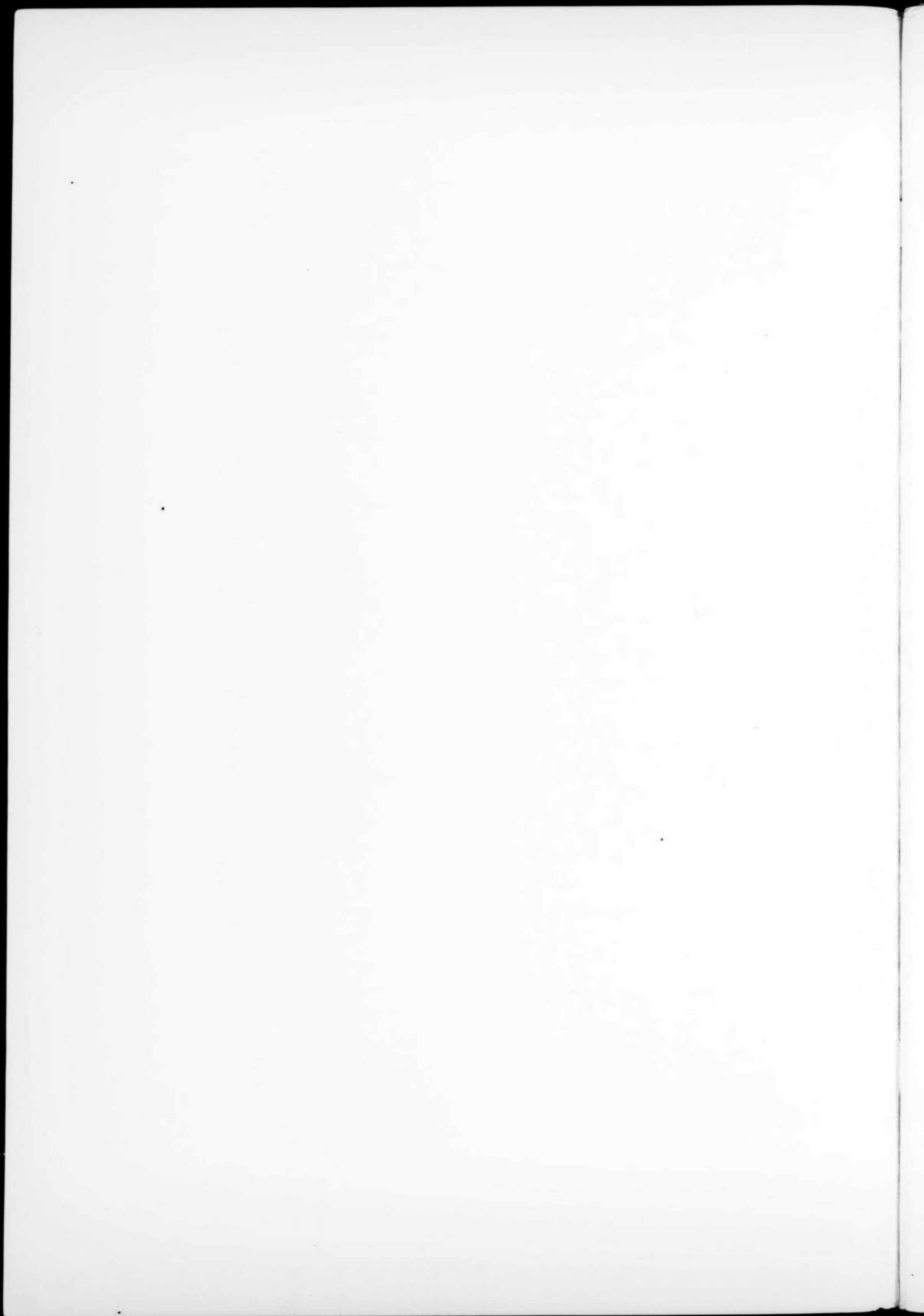


Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

Creative Marxism and Revolutionary Policy

Major Victory for Italian Communists



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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Creative Marxism and Revolutionary Policy

Ville Pessi

THE 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties confirmed a basic truth that has been borne out by the entire history of the international Communist movement—that *without creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory there can be no genuinely revolutionary policy*. These conferences put forward new theoretical conclusions which no true revolutionary can question, above all the thesis concerning the possibility of preventing world war even before capitalism has been totally abolished, and the grand perspectives that have opened up for struggle for democracy and socialism.

1. PEACE AMONG THE NATIONS IS THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE

The Danger of Nuclear War Is Still Not Clear to All

Much headway has unquestionably been made in rallying the masses to the fight for peace. It is equally true that no nation wants war. Nevertheless we Communists cannot close our eyes to the fact that the masses in many countries (including Finland) are not yet fully aware that it is not enough to desire peace, that peace must be fought for. Even at the time of the Caribbean crisis, precipitated by the aggressive element in the USA, the mass anti-war movement on the whole failed to measure up to the gravity of the moment or to its own potential. The World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace held in Moscow in 1962 highlighted the heart of the matter when it declared in its message: "We must openly recognize that there are still many who stand aside from active struggle against the arms race. There are still many who are not alive to its dangers, many who are not yet conscious of the seriousness of the danger, nor of their responsibility for saving peace."

The recent Thirteenth Congress of our Party underscored the danger presented by this state of affairs. Pointing out that the imperialists were brazenly going ahead with their schemes, it stressed that they could be halted only if all the peace forces joined with the socialist countries to put an end to the armaments drive and to achieve general disarmament.

The feature of the present situation is that *no policy, and especially an international policy, which ignores the latest achievements of science and technology can be called a realistic policy*. According to scientists, the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons (totaling some 250,000 megatons) are sufficient to destroy life on the earth. It has been estimated that the first nuclear strikes would destroy the leading centers of civilization, reduce continents to ruins and annihilate 700-800 million human lives, leaving behind radioactive contamination spelling slow death to the survivors. There is no protection anywhere in the world against thermonuclear war. Consequently, nobody in possession of his faculties can want such a war. The choice is either peaceful coexistence of the differing social systems or thermonuclear war. In examining the stark reality one cannot go by the yardstick of previous wars, cannot live in the past, close one's eyes to the present and not be aware of one's responsibility for the future.

Not Fear But Struggle Will Save the Peace

When the reactionaries speak of the danger of thermonuclear war, they do so in order to intimidate the peoples, to numb them into passivity. On the other hand, they claim that the war can be weathered in fall-out shelters, and they try to console the public with the prospect of a "clean" bomb. The rulers of Finland, too, are doing their bit in this insidious campaign, advising people to build shelters and assuring them that one can escape death by fleeing into the forests.

When we Communists warn the peoples of the dangers of thermonuclear war, we do so in order to rally the masses to *action*, for peace can be saved not by cowering in fear but by fighting for it. Precisely because of this the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the fraternal parties appealed to the peoples to take resolute action in defense of peace.

It is imperative to work still more systematically and persistently to bring this home to the masses, to awaken those who are still blind to the realities, activate the passive, give renewed strength to those of little faith, and win over the misguided. The lessons of history show that the peoples rise to action

only when they see the dangers, and the sources whence the dangers emanate. It is not fortuitous that the peace movement is particularly strong in Japan, for its people know the meaning of atom bombs only too well (and since 1945 the destructive power of nuclear weapons has increased a thousand-fold). Nor was the unprecedented response to the Stockholm Appeal a matter of chance. It was preceded by a broad campaign which alerted people everywhere to the deadly threat of war and the armaments drive. Today it is our urgent task to carry on in the best traditions of progressive, Marxist-Leninist explanatory work and make it clear to everyone that already now the arms drive is depriving him and his kith and kin of their livelihood, of health and life. Each individual should be in his place in the fight for peace.

Had U.S. imperialism preserved its monopoly of nuclear weapons, it surely would have used them and repeated the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is mankind's good fortune that the Soviet Union and the entire socialist system, whose strength is growing steadily, are barring the way to the reactionaries. Indeed, each passing day offers confirmation of the profound characterization of our time given in the Statement of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties: "Today it is the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society." This is the prime factor making it possible to exclude world war from the life of society even before the complete, worldwide victory of socialism, even with capitalism still existing over part of the globe. As a matter of fact, the transformation of the socialist system and all other anti-imperialist forces into the decisive factor of human development is manifest primarily in their ability to ensure peace.

The new balance of social forces and the new weapons of war explain why some members of the monopoly bourgeoisie are beginning to take a more sober view of the situation and, unlike the "madmen" of their class, to concede, even if with reservations, the need for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. The process of differentiation into a party of war and a party of peace, which Lenin foresaw long ago, is gaining pace among the bourgeoisie, though both segments naturally seek to perpetuate the capitalist

system. This is a highly important process. As Lenin said, "... it is by no means a matter of indifference to us, of course, whether we shall deal with those representatives of the bourgeois camp who are inclining towards a military solution of the problem or with the representatives of the bourgeois camp who are inclining towards pacifism, even of the worst kind..."* The contradictions appearing within the capitalist class can be used to promote the cause of peace.

We in Finland have seen for ourselves on repeated occasions how the most diehard reactionary politicians have to reckon with the pressure of the masses. This was the case, for instance, at the time of the 1962 presidential election, when even Honka, the candidate of the Right, posed as a supporter of peaceful coexistence. But no one was deceived by his posturing and he had to withdraw from the electoral race.

Needless to say, imperialism under all circumstances remains imperialism — the source of war and exploitation. But it no longer has the free hand it had before. Consequently, if we concede that the main determinant of our times is the system of socialism together with all other anti-imperialist forces, the possibility of preventing world war cannot be denied.

The Force of Example of Socialism and Communism Is the Main Bulwark of Strength for the Oppressed Peoples

Lenin said that socialism would exert its greatest influence on the world revolution by its economic policy, the aim of which is a productivity of labor higher than that under capitalism. There was a time when this influence was exerted only by the Soviet Union. Today it is brought to bear also by China and Poland, Cuba and Yugoslavia, Albania and Mongolia—by all the countries where the socialist revolution has taken place. *In this Leninist thesis we find one of the basic principles underlying the interaction between the world liberation movement and victorious socialism.*

On our part we, the Communists of a capitalist country, can say to our brothers in the socialist countries: *your achievements in building socialism and communism are the most effective aid you can render us.* The working class and the people generally want to know what socialism and communism are. Today we can answer their questions not

*V. I. Lenin, Political Report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) to the Eleventh Congress of the Party.

only by citing Marxist-Leninist precepts, but by pointing to the *practical achievements* of socialism and communism. Each of these achievements, each step ahead in industry, agriculture, science and culture generally, every improvement in the life of the working people of the socialist countries, every stride forward in developing socialist democracy, is an *incontrovertible* argument in favor of socialism and communism. The social achievements of the Soviet Union and the scientific and technological progress stemming from these achievements do infinitely more to carry the ideas of socialism to the masses than any "export of revolution," which, as we know, is wholly rejected by Marxism-Leninism. The Program of the CPSU correctly points out: "When the Soviet people will enjoy the blessings of communism, additional hundreds of millions of people will say: 'We are for communism!' It is not through war with other countries, but by the example of a more perfect organization of society, by rapid progress in developing the productive forces, the creation of all conditions for the happiness and well-being of man, that the ideas of communism win the minds and hearts of the masses."

The force of socialist example enables the peoples who have won national independence to launch out sooner and with greater assurance on the non-capitalist path of development. And general disarmament would not only facilitate their final liberation from all forms of colonial dependence but also enable the more developed countries to channel part of the funds now spent on armaments to aid to these countries. If this were done, in some 20 or 25 years the economically backward countries might approach the present level of, say, Britain and France. It is common knowledge that two-thirds of the 3,000 million people in the world suffer from undernourishment or outright hunger. Yet with the present level of technology hunger could be completely abolished within the lifetime of the present generation, provided the necessary social changes are carried out and above all if peace is preserved and consolidated.

The hostility of the reactionary bourgeoisie and its hangers-on towards peaceful coexistence is, in effect, an admission that they regard it as a form of the class struggle, that it implies not social peace with world capitalism but a resolute offensive against it, a relentless struggle against capitalism in the spheres of economy, politics and ideology. But what alternative have they to offer? The imperialists threaten the world with thermo-

nuclear war, but at the same time they fear such a war, for they cannot hope to win. Certainly war will not save them from final defeat. The military-technological superiority of socialism is the earnest of that. Yet for the peoples the cost of defeating capitalism in a world war would be far too great.

Peaceful Coexistence Is a Powerful Accelerator of Progress and Revolution

Not only would a world war enormously retard the natural development of society, it would throw it back decades, perhaps centuries.

Peaceful coexistence, on the contrary, is an accelerator of progress and revolution. It enables the socialist countries to carry out their plans, to surpass capitalism economically as well, thereby greatly enhancing the power of attraction exerted by the ideas of communism.

Further, peaceful coexistence makes it harder to export counter-revolution to countries that have chosen socialism. In tense international situations, such as those on the eve of war or during a war, the danger of counter-revolutionary intervention is far greater. Soviet Russia, for example, had to repulse the armed intervention of 14 imperialist powers, and in 1918 the Finnish bourgeoisie retained power only thanks to German troops.

It is symptomatic that the present third stage of the general crisis of capitalism was not ushered in by a new world war. It is in the conditions of peaceful coexistence that the socialist system is now going from success to success. Class struggle (particularly the strike movement) has reached a high pitch in the capitalist countries. The national-liberation movement has spread far and wide. Inter-imperialist contradictions are growing. The bourgeoisie is finding it much more difficult than before to use either violence or deception to suppress the struggle of the working people for their vital demands, because peaceful coexistence deprives it of opportunities to invoke mythical "threats from without" as a means of diverting the attention of the people from urgent internal social issues. Peace gives the working class more opportunity to carry on its struggle legally and to take advantage of democracy and deepen it.

"There is no view more erroneous than the view that the policy of peaceful coexistence has retarded class struggle in our country," the report of the Central Committee to the

Thirteenth Congress of our Party pointed out. "The policy of peaceful coexistence, far from weakening, has, on the contrary, intensified the unceasing and bitter struggle between labor and capital . . . Closer contact with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has made it possible widely to popularize their achievements in Finland. Socialism has become a palpable reality for thousands of our citizens who have learned more about the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in recent years. In this way the superiority of socialism is becoming more and more obvious to the people, and this helps to strengthen the struggle for socialism." It was not a mere coincidence that the reactionaries in our country raised their heads precisely when, under the Fagerholm "freeze-up" government, relations with the Soviet Union and the economic conditions of the working people worsened. At that time, too, a threat arose to our national independence from the imperialist camp. In view of this, we Communists have taken the initiative in working for friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and are eager to cooperate with those elements in other parties and organizations who share the same desire.

At present a broad campaign is under way in Finland for signatures to an appeal for peaceful coexistence, addressed to the peoples of the world. This campaign has found wider support than any previous initiative of the peace movement. The members of our Party are taking an active part in it.

Under no circumstances can the fight for peace be allowed to lag. Unless each new stage of the movement is accompanied by bigger success, the positions already won are endangered. Peaceful coexistence implies more than the absence of war and non-interference in the affairs of other countries. It implies also establishing and extending economic, political and cultural contacts between states, peaceful competition without social reconciliation. Action for peaceful coexistence is a *process* of successive stages and phases, the principal aim at the present phase being the speediest ending of the armaments drive and the realization of general and complete disarmament.

It is on the question of peace that the interests of diverse sections of society in our country and in all countries of the world most clearly converge. Hence it is imperative to cast all prejudice aside and work more vigorously to build new contacts in order to rally people in all walks of life to

action in defense of peace.

Peace among the nations is, then, the question of questions; on it depend the lives of hundreds of millions, the victory of socialism over capitalism in peaceful competition, and the creation of the most favorable conditions for the revolutionary movement throughout the capitalist world. In this connection it will be in place to quote the frank class evaluation of the relative merits of peaceful coexistence and nuclear war given by a reactionary observer: "Nothing but atomic sacrifice can halt the revolution of the indigent countries." "Atomic sacrifice" is indeed the principal means of combating the socialist revolution (and not only in the "indigent" countries) envisaged in the plans of the atomaniacs, plans which, though largely pipe-dreams, are nevertheless highly dangerous.

2. FOR REVOLUTION ALONG LINES LEAST PAINFUL FOR THE PEOPLES

Doubts as to the Possibility of Peaceful Revolution are Groundless

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU drew the *general conclusion* that the chances of the socialist revolution taking a peaceful course have increased in our time. This conclusion derived from the experience of a number of Communist parties which had realized the need to take full advantage of the opportunities that had opened up in their countries for the peaceful development of the revolution. It was confirmed and elaborated further at the international meetings of Communists held in 1957 and 1960. Like the thesis concerning the possibility of preventing world war, this conclusion is based on the radical change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism. But while peaceful coexistence is a necessary course of future human development in general, the same cannot be said of the peaceful socialist revolution in the case of all countries. Although the *chances* of the revolution taking a peaceful course are *greater* than before, this does not mean that the non-peaceful way has been completely ruled out (in many countries it remains the most likely course). What is in question is not that nowadays the revolution can be easily channelled along peaceful lines everywhere, but that full advantage should be taken of the possibility wherever it exists.

Our basic point of departure in defining the strategy and tactics of the revolution and

the class struggle in general is, as before, the idea expounded by Lenin in his "*Left-wing*" *Communism*: the need to master all forms of struggle without exception and to be prepared for rapid and unexpected transition from one form to another.

The thesis concerning the new opportunities for the development of the revolution along peaceful lines was accepted by all the Communist and Workers' parties. Yet we often hear doubts expressed as to whether this is correct. Let us examine some of these doubts.

1. It is sometimes argued that the thesis concerning the increased possibility of peaceful revolution might lead to ignoring or repudiating the non-peaceful way altogether. Is not this thesis a concession to reformism and revisionism? It is enough to examine the documents of the international conferences of Communists, the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and the policy statements of other Communist parties to see that these doubts are completely unfounded. Our concept of the peaceful achievement of socialism has nothing in common with that of the reformists, who assume that of its own volition capitalism will evolve into socialism, without class struggle, without revolution, without subjecting the bourgeoisie to any social compulsion.

Marxism proceeds from the fact that the socialist revolution — whether peaceful or non-peaceful — is always the supreme form of class struggle and presupposes the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It can be effected only in a revolutionary situation. Its fundamental issue is always the question of power, and its principal driving force is the revolutionary masses under the political leadership of the working class and headed by its Communist vanguard.

2. What Lenin said about peaceful revolution being possible in "extremely rare" cases is often cited. But Lenin also said that wherever it did take place it would be "extremely advantageous."* Moreover, he rejected the theory that "armed uprising is a form of struggle which is obligatory always and in all conditions."** And he stressed time and again that "it is our duty to help in every possible way to secure a 'last' chance for the peaceful development of the revolution."***

3. All the doubts and objections as regards

the possibility of peaceful revolution center around the argument that no revolution has ever been carried out peacefully, that there never has been an instance of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

The inner logic of this argument is that only that is possible which has already happened; it would follow from this that since there was a time when no socialism existed, it should not exist now. According to this "logic," human thought and social development are fossils petrified in their primordial condition.

Factually, too, the argument is false. It only *seems* to conform to the facts. At certain stages of the socialist revolution in Russia too (for instance, from April to June 1917) peaceful development of the revolution was a reality.

In Hungary the revolution of 1919 developed for a time along peaceful lines.

And in the European People's Democracies the revolution was carried out *comparatively* peacefully.

In short, there *are* precedents for the revolution taking the peaceful path. Moreover, it can be said that there never was a victorious socialist revolution which did not develop along peaceful lines in one way or another or during one or another span of time, even though the basic and predominant tendency may have been the non-peaceful forms of struggle.

Peaceful revolution differs from the non-peaceful in that it involves little or no bloodshed, no civil war, and no armed export of counter-revolution. But does not the balance between the peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle change from country to country and from epoch to epoch? And do not the elements of non-peaceful development mentioned above likewise manifest themselves in different proportions?

Lenin said: "The form of compulsion depends on the degree of development of the given revolutionary class, and also on special circumstances, such as, for example, the heritage of a long and reactionary war and the forms of resistance put up by the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie."* Are these circumstances not subject to change? Has not the proletariat achieved a higher level of consciousness and organization? No one can deny this. But this means also that the chances of carrying out the revolution by peaceful means are greater. Nor can it be denied that the opportunities for the export of armed counter-revolution (easiest of all

*V. I. Lenin, *On Compromises*.

**V. I. Lenin, *Strange and Monstrous*.

***V. I. Lenin, *The Tasks of the Revolution*.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.

in time of war) have diminished. Consequently, the reactionaries at home, too, can rely less on armed force in their fight against the people. The bitterness of the civil war in Russia, for instance, was directly due to the armed intervention.

Needless to say, imperialism is still strong and capable of resorting to armed force; indeed, it uses armed force constantly. But it no longer can do so with impunity as it did before. Without forgetting for a moment that imperialism is aggressively hostile towards the socialist countries as well as to the countries that have rid themselves of colonialism and to the people of the capitalist countries, the Communists hold that what Lenin said about the need to secure a "last" chance for the peaceful development of the revolution is today more timely than ever, since the chances for this are now greater.

Incidentally, Lenin put forward some extremely valuable views concerning the possibility of the peaceful development of the revolution here in Finland. Noting (in his *Letters from Afar* in March 1917) that Finland had "developed democracy comparatively peacefully and was winning the majority of the people to the side of socialism," he pointed out that peaceful organizational achievements of the Finnish working class together with the victory of the Russian revolution and the growth of the socialist movement in the West constituted "the path which will lead us to peace and socialism." Today the balance of forces in Finland is even more favorable for the workers and the possibilities of winning the majority of the people over to socialism are greater than before. The working class has grown in numbers, it is better organized and more class conscious. The Communist Party is a mass party (52,600 members out of a population of 4,500,000, i.e., one of every 90 is a member of the party).

Some Prerequisites for the Peaceful Transition to Socialism

The prime condition for the victory of the revolution — especially of the peaceful revolution — is the building around the working class of a broad anti-monopoly alliance uniting all the working people of town and country, the organization of the masses for struggle for democracy.

Of decisive importance in creating such an alliance is united action by the working class. In recent years we have made some headway in this respect. The Social Democratic workers, for example, are evincing a

desire to cooperate with the Communists, for they are awakening to the fact that their enemies are the big capitalists, whose most outspoken political representative is the Coalition Party.

More vital now than ever before is the struggle for the unity and integrity of the trade union movement, against the splitting activities of the Right-wing leaders.

The Communist Party is making a special effort to extend and consolidate the people's democratic movement as a whole. Of exceptional importance in this connection is the strengthening of the Party's influence among the young people and women, who account for the majority of the nation.

The Communist Party supports the small-holders against the monopolies, emphasizing at the same time that cooperation and mutual aid between the working people of town and country is an essential condition of success. A strong, militant alliance of the workers and peasants will decide the outcome of the struggle waged by our entire people against the domination of the big capitalists.

Defense of the working people's interests is the Party's constant concern. This is its sole aim both in the battle for socialism and in the struggle for democratic reforms within the framework of the capitalist system. Our recent Congress was preceded by a broad discussion of the question of democracy in the Party branches as well as at public meetings. In the course of this discussion we collected a wealth of factual data showing how inimical monopoly capital is to democracy as well as valuable material on the rebuff given by the workers to the anti-democratic monopoly offensive and their success in regaining lost rights and winning new ones. Summing up the discussion, the Congress adopted a document examining the connection between the democratic and socialist demands and giving a positive exposition of the interests of the working class and its allies.

If we compare the demands, both immediate and those of a more general nature, for which the workers in general and the Communists in particular fought in Finland (or in other capitalist countries, for that matter) some 50, 30 or even 10 years ago with the demands they are advancing today, one cannot but be struck by the progress that has been made. In the past one could not even have dreamed of realizing the tasks that are put forward today: the demand for lasting peace, extension of democratic rights, nationalization in the interests of the people,

better social services, election of the workers' representatives to government and municipal office, etc. These demands are of a general democratic nature. But important though they are, we constantly bear in mind that they do not transcend the bounds of capitalism, that at best they will win for the working people *greater freedom* to fight for their vital interests, that they leave the system of wage slavery intact, even though they weaken it. Only socialism and socialist democracy can extirpate all exploitation. The struggle to extend democracy helps the masses to realize this on the basis of their own experience.

The Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party in effect repudiate not only socialism but also democracy, for they fear the masses. But many are still deceived by them and hence it is imperative for us to work tirelessly to clarify the issues for those workers who still follow the Social Democrats. Especially numerous are the misconceptions when it comes to the ways and means of achieving socialism. However weak the capitalist class may be it strives, naturally, to prolong its rule. Therefore we have never entertained illusions that the capitalists will voluntarily turn over their factories and their posts in the government to the workers. One of the decisions of the Twelfth Congress of our Party declares: "There is no doubt that all workers, Communists as well as Social Democrats, wish to see the socialist reconstruction of society effected by peaceful means. But the peaceful transition to socialism is possible only on condition that the obviously superior strength of the supporters of socialism compels the opponents of socialist change to concede that recourse to violence would be useless. Therefore those who sincerely and consistently want to win socialism by peaceful means must do everything in their power to strengthen the workers' unity and increase the numbers of the supporters of socialism. This is the only way to peaceful transition to socialism."

Struggle to ensure this peaceful transition facilitates contact and alliance with the Social Democratic followers who sincerely want socialism. At the same time contact and alliance between the Communists and the Social Democrats can play a cardinal role in paving the way to the peaceful triumph of the revolution. When in September 1917 Lenin posed the question of the possibility of the peaceful conquest of power he made it contingent on reaching an alliance between

the Bolshevik Party and the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries (the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, however, did not want such an alliance at the time and in effect betrayed the revolution). "If," Lenin said, "there is an absolutely unquestionable lesson taught by the revolution, one absolutely proved by the facts, it is that only an alliance between the Bolsheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, only the immediate transfer of all power to the Soviets, would make civil war in Russia impossible."* Since then viable forms of the power of the working class and all working people other than the Soviets have emerged, but all the greater is the significance of an alliance between the Communists and the Social Democrats (those capable of fighting for democracy and socialism) as one of the most important conditions for the peaceful development of the revolution.

All the signs are that it is possible to achieve such an alliance. One of these is the recent statement by Pekka Martin, member of the leadership of the Social Democratic Union, that "as regards tactics during the transition to socialism, which is one of the cardinal differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats, the viewpoints have drawn closer. The Communists, who formerly saw basically only one way, now envisage the possibility of the transition to socialism being effected in a number of ways, one of which is the non-violent way. This is particularly important from the standpoint of the future, for it makes it easier to unite the forces of the working class and may speed up progress." While working for cooperation with those Socialists who differ from us as regards the forms of transition to socialism, we shall carry on a principled ideological struggle against the preconceived, biased notions about communism still widespread among Social Democrats.

In general it must be said that in recent times the class struggle has been growing sharper in the sphere of ideology. The monopoly capitalists are resorting to every means to keep the masses in submission. A large part of our people still believe the bourgeois propaganda about the abolition of freedom and personal property under socialism, about communist "totalitarianism," etc. Most of these people are discontented with the omnipotence of the big capitalists, but they fear that realization of the Communist program might mean jumping from the frying pan

*V. I. Lenin, *The Russian Revolution and Civil War*.

into the fire. We still have much to do to carry out the task which was formulated as follows in the Statement of the 1960 meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties: "All sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries."

3. INTERNATIONALISM AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE

The principle of the complete equality and independence of all Communist parties is generally recognized in the international Communist movement. In our movement no Party "stands above" others and no Party is "inferior" in status; there are no parties that issue orders or parties that carry them out. It would be absurd and harmful to try to direct the parties of nearly 90 countries from any single center. With the present acceleration of the world revolutionary process and the continued differentiation of the conditions of the class struggle, the constant enrichment of the forms and methods of this struggle, an extraordinarily complex, unique intertwining of diverse tendencies is to be observed in each country. Only the Party functioning in a given country can "compute" the resultant force of all the processes at work within it. This heightens the responsibility of each Party for the independent Marxist-Leninist elaboration of the cardinal questions of policy, strategy and tactics. Each Communist Party shapes its policy independently. There can be no interference from without in its internal affairs. Recognition of these basic premises is an indication of the growth of the Communist movement and its maturity. It is evidence that our movement now has tested and steeled cadres.

On the other hand, an equally recognized principle of our movement is that of international unity, and it is the supreme duty of each Marxist-Leninist Party to cement that unity. The parties, while ruling out interference in each other's affairs, are united in international solidarity. All parties bear responsibility for each, and each for all. Any shortcoming in the activities of one Party is a shortcoming of our entire movement which retards its progress. Conversely, every step forward by any Party is our common achievement — a fact of which we once again were keenly aware in connection with the resounding victory of the Italian Com-

munist in the recent general election. The principle of non-interference cannot be interpreted as the self-isolation of one or another Party or indifference towards it on the part of the others. By its nature the international Communist movement is internationalist, a single social organism nourished by the same bloodstream.

Socio-economic development in our time objectively makes it imperative to strengthen proletarian internationalism. The destiny of the nations is inseparably interlinked in the struggle against thermonuclear war. The internationalization of production which is proceeding at an unprecedented pace makes it essential for the various national contingents of the working class, of the working people of all the capitalist countries, to cement their unity against international capitalism. As for the socialist countries, this internationalization confronts them with the need mutually to promote advantageous cooperation, which will speed the progress of the entire system of socialism and each member country.

How, then, are we to find the proper balance between the national features of each and the common laws applicable to all countries? The answer was given by Lenin when he stressed the need systematically to draw on international experience and to compare it with one's national experience. It is imperative to learn from one another, to help one another, to subject shortcomings to comradely criticism, to exchange views more frequently. Lenin said: "Discussing questions, voicing and hearing different views, ascertaining the opinion of the majority of organized Marxists, expressing this opinion in a joint decision and conscientiously carrying out this decision is what is called unity by all sensible people everywhere in the world."*

The ideological foundation of this unity is Marxist-Leninist theory, defined by Lenin as the necessary abstraction from the specifically national and the singling out of that which is of significance for all. This theory generalizes the experience of all countries and hence is international in the full sense of the term. Marxism-Leninism is an indivisible theory common to us all. The Communists of the Soviet Union and China, of Britain and Finland, have their specific tactics, but there is no Russian or Chinese, British or Finnish Marxism-Leninism. Any attempt to create such "theories" would be tantamount to ignoring the international experience of the revolutionary movement and

*V. I. Lenin, *On Working-Class Unity*.

imposing on it the experience of one country (not in its universal but in its specific, unique aspects) as the "best" and "sole" theory. This does not mean, of course, that the Communist parties do not make their own independent contributions to theory. All it means is that theory cannot be developed by withdrawing within the framework of a single country, without analyzing the movement as a whole.

But precisely because society does not mark time, because the class struggle is growing in breadth and intensity, and because Marxist-Leninist theory is constantly developing, it is no longer enough to consider agreement with the general fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, with dialectical and historical materialism, as the objective criterion of loyalty to internationalism. Today, as the decisions of the international meetings of 1957 and 1960 point out, the essential foundation of unity is above all recognition of the possibility of preventing world war, of peaceful coexistence as a realistic policy capable of saving hundreds of millions of lives and speeding up the world revolutionary movement. An equally essential condition of Communist unity, a condition decisive for the victory of all three forces of the world revolution (the socialist system,

the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement), is recognition of the fact that the main task of all the Communist parties of the socialist countries is to achieve a higher productivity of labor than that under capitalism, and that this is the greatest contribution that these countries can make to the cause of world communism. While adhering to the basic premise that it is essential to master all the forms of class struggle and recognizing two possible ways of the development of revolution — the peaceful and the non-peaceful — the Communists at the same time hold that the balance between these two ways is changing with the constantly changing conditions; agreement on this is another factor cementing their unity. Moreover, all the Communist parties consider support of the national-liberation movement one of their most important responsibilities.

That we must search for new and more effective forms of contact and ideological and political mutual aid between the Communist parties is self-evident. The strengthening of international Communist unity on the basis of the steadily developing theory of Marxism-Leninism is a guarantee of the complete victory of communism.

Indonesian Communists March Forward for Full National Independence

Dipa Nusantara Aidit

IN THE MIDDLE of February, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia held its first plenary meeting since the Seventh (Extraordinary) National Congress which was held in April 1962. This plenary meeting took place at a time when the movement demanding the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet incorporating the three main political trends in Indonesian society, the Nationalists, the religious groups and the Communists (jointly referred to as NASAKOM) as the fulcrum, had attained nationwide proportions. It took place at a time when the spirit of daring, the spirit of "skirting danger" or *vivere pericoloso* was

becoming a striking feature of the nationwide movement to defend truth and to oppose lawlessness and arbitrariness, to struggle for the just demands of the people and to expose the foul deeds of the enemies of the people.

Thanks to a correct line and a unanimous resolve, the Indonesians succeeded in executing the Triple Command of the People for the liberation of West Irian, an inseparable part of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, without having to wage total war against the Dutch colonialists, because the Dutch were compelled to beat a retreat even before they had entered the arena. In addition, the counter-revolutionary rebels at home

have been basically destroyed. These successes have been made possible because the people have succeeded within limits in winning democratic rights, they have succeeded in strengthening national unity or the national Gotong Royong. They have also succeeded within limits in rallying the entire revolutionary national potential, especially the patriotic elements in the armed forces, with the full support of the people, and also because of the help of the socialist countries and of all the other new emerging forces throughout the world.

The report of the Central Committee to the Seventh (Extraordinary) National Congress stated among other things that "the outstandingly important domestic political issue today is to unfurl the Triple Banner of the Nation, the banner of democracy, unity and mobilization, in order to lead towards consistent democratic changes in the political system and in the field of political freedoms for the people. This means concretely, to lead to: *the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet and the lifting of the state of emergency as well as a reconsideration of the law on the state of emergency now in force.* This conclusion still remains valid today because the successes gained since the time of the Seventh Congress have not yet exceeded this political task.

Welcoming the President's address of August 17, 1962, the Indonesian Communists formulated the Triple Task of the Nation, namely, (1) to consolidate the victories already gained, (2) to tackle the economic difficulties, and (3) to oppose neo-colonialism. This Triple Task must be carried out as an inseparable part of the general line of the Party which is summed up in the Triple Banner of the Party (to complete the August 1945 Revolution, consolidate the united national front, and build the Party), as an inseparable part of the Triple Banner of the Nation. Thus, our slogan is: "*Unfurl the Two Triple Banners for implementation of the Triple Task.*"

The Victories Must Be Consolidated

The major victories won by the people up to the present time are connected with the question of West Irian, the restoration of security, the decree to lift the state of emergency and the organizational consolidation of the National Front.

Consolidating the victory in the field of security means that the lifting of the state of emergency must not lead to a relaxation of vigilance. On the contrary, it must lead to

further heightening of vigilance against the counter-revolutionaries and must be aimed at winning liberties for the people. The people are well aware that, in connection with the lifting of the state of emergency in May this year, the bureaucrat capitalists and reactionaries are busily scheming to create an emergency situation without an emergency, that is to say, even though the decree has been lifted things remain just the same in practice. They are planning to retain the four-in-one dictatorship in the regions, incorporating civilian, army, police and public prosecutors rule.

Good progress has been made in building up the organization of the National Front, an organization which comprises all ten recognized political parties, all mass organizations that accept the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, and all the armed forces. After having failed in their attempt to prevent this progress, the reactionaries are now striving to bring about the dissolution of all political parties and to convert the National Front into the sole political party. They intend in this way to destroy the National Front altogether as they know only too well that the Front has made headway precisely because it is based on close cooperation between all the political parties and the mass organizations. This means that the struggle to defend the National Front is an inseparable part of the struggle to defend the party system.

As part of their attempts to destroy the national unity, the reactionaries are now making efforts to undermine the Pancha Sila, the Five Pillars of the State, and place all emphasis on the Sila of "belief in one God," in this way fanning the flames of religious fanaticism. They completely ignore the fact that the core of the Pancha Sila is the Eka Sila, that is to say, Gotong Royong or revolutionary tolerance of all forces and trends within society.

Economic Difficulties Must Be Tackled

The Indonesian people today face an appalling economic situation. According to official statistics, inadequate as they are, prices of consumer goods rose 420 per cent in the 22 months from January 1961 to November 1962.

It is true, of course, that the struggle for the liberation of West Irian and the restoration of security has had repercussions on the economic and financial situation, but things would never have become as bad as they are today had it not been for widespread mis-

management in virtually all sectors of the economy.

The state finances can be improved only if the state corporations improve and intensify their operations and become the major, stable source of state revenue, if increased revenue is sought not from higher taxation rates but from a higher level of economic activity as a whole, if the principle governing taxation is, from the people back to the people, and not from the people into the pockets of the bureaucrat capitalists, if state expenditure is regulated according to a strict schedule of priority development projects, and if monetary policy is guided by the principle of maintaining a relationship between the amount of money in circulation and the amount of goods available.

In the field of production, the decisive thing is for Indonesia to rid itself of dependence upon the foreign imperialists. In order to do this, the present colonial economy must be transformed into an independent national economy with the agricultural and estate sector as the foundation and industry as the backbone.

The state today accounts for a major part of the economy but this sector is riddled with mismanagement, corruption and waste, with the result that the economy is approaching a state of collapse. The failure of the state sector to occupy a position of command has also had very unfavorable consequences for progressive private national and domestic capital. Faced with numerous operational difficulties, many private enterprises have been compelled to close down.

The struggle being waged by the Party for the consistent implementation of the law on the division of the harvest and the land reform law is an important part of the efforts to raise the level of food production. In addition, working people's cooperatives, in particular producer cooperatives, must be more actively developed and the "1,001 Movement" to raise agricultural production which has already become a mass movement, must be further intensified. This movement is very important because it brings us into direct contact with the problems of agricultural production, though of course the results that can be attained will be limited so long as there is a contradiction between the existing political power and the masses of the people.

Neo-Colonialism Must Be Resisted

Recent developments have fully borne out the warnings raised at the Seventh Congress

of the CPI about the danger of neo-colonialism. As part of the pattern of neo-colonialist intervention in all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the American imperialists have now drawn up a variation of the Alianza Para El Progreso for Indonesia which they call a "program for economic stabilization." For the same purpose they are trying to force the notorious "peace corps" upon Indonesia.

Before a settlement had been reached of the West Irian question, Dutch imperialism was the enemy number one of the Indonesian people, while American imperialism was the most dangerous enemy. But now that it is certain that Dutch colonial power is coming to an end enemy number one of the Indonesian people is U.S. imperialism. Not only as regards political influence and capital investments, but also as regards military and cultural penetration, U.S. imperialism is far ahead of all the rest. Basing themselves on existing investments in Indonesia, mainly in the oil industry, and on past aid programs, the American imperialists are making preparations for extensive penetration of the Indonesian economy. This they plan to do through the proposed new aid program aimed at "economic stabilization," through penetration of capital in the private sector via the intermediary of the government-sponsored Private Development Bank, and through increased investments in the oil industry.

Dutch imperialism remains a dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people because it still has some investments in Indonesia, because it will be raising all sorts of unreasonable demands such as a demand for compensation for Dutch enterprises that have been taken over, and also because it has preserved old political contacts which it is now striving to renew.

Today, neo-colonialism is a very acute danger for Indonesia. This is because the diehard and the middle-of-the-road forces which are still strong in Indonesia have approaches regarding the question of solving the present economic difficulties that open the door to neo-colonialist penetration. The *diehards* believe that the only way to solve these difficulties is by inviting foreign capital to Indonesia. They talk about undertaking "economic stabilization" with the help of imperialist credit. They look towards the International Monetary Fund, a body notorious for its policy of exploitation, domination and the preservation of economic backwardness.

The *progressive forces* believe that the

country's economic difficulties must be surmounted by utilizing the entire potential of the people and the country's natural resources. They are fully convinced that all the necessary objective conditions exist to transform Indonesia into a prosperous country. What is needed is to bring political power into line with the needed economic structure. The failure to bring this about as yet is due to the fact that Communist-phobia, Left-phobia, people-phobia, worker-phobia, peasant-phobia, to use the expression coined by President Sukarno, are still deeply rooted in part of the machinery of state.

The progressive forces believe that genuine assistance can be obtained only from countries that oppose imperialism, particularly the socialist countries, and that in any case this assistance should play a subsidiary role.

The *middle-of-the-road* forces also speak about the need to rely on the country's own potential. But at the same time, they say that this will be a long and difficult process, and that we should, therefore, seek foreign credit and so-called "non-dangerous" capital investments from abroad. True, there is a difference between this approach and the approach of the diehards, but in practice they amount to the same thing because they both rely upon foreign "assistance." The middle-of-the-roads, after having obtained credit and investments from abroad, proceed to "forget" about utilizing our own potential. But the Left among the middle-of-the-road forces genuinely recognizes that the only way to tackle the present economic situation is to sweep aside mismanagement and overhaul the state apparatus; and they also agree to the formation of a Nasakom Cabinet.

In view of these various approaches towards the present economic difficulties, it is impermissible that any Indonesian patriot should be unconcerned about the economic situation. Neo-colonialism when it takes the form of, say, Malaysia, is clear for all to see and it is an easy matter to rally the people against it. But neo-colonialism through economic penetration proceeds without being felt, and there is a real danger that without realizing what is happening, we shall wake up one morning to find that Indonesia has become one of the foremost neo-colonial countries. The economic issue must therefore become an issue for all patriots.

Political Power Must Conform with the Envisaged Economic Structure

It is now widely accepted that the only way to stop the inflation is to raise the level

of production. But this can be done only if the productive forces of the workers and the peasants, the basic forces of the revolution, are fully released.

A second principle that now has wide acceptance is that the solution of the economic problem cannot be divorced from the solution of the political problem. The envisaged economic structure, which the Political Manifesto calls a guided economy or Gotong Royong economy, is, in essence, a progressive economic structure, an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal economic structure. But the present political power is incapable of building such an economy. That is to say, there is a contradiction between the economic structure needed and the present political power. This contradiction can only be resolved by establishing a Gotong Royong Cabinet.

Since the last few months of 1962, the demand for the formation of such a Cabinet has gathered momentum and has become a powerful movement. Whereas previously it was only the Communists and the progressive mass organizations, together with President Sukarno, who talked about this, the demand is today supported by the Nationalist Party (PNI) and the Partai Indonesia (Partindo), the Moslem Party "Perti" as well as local leaders of the Moslem parties, Nahdlatul Ulama and the PSII. All this is isolating the reactionaries more and more, it reflects a shift to the Left in the middle-of-the-road forces and means that the progressive forces are becoming more powerful and consolidated. This means that the national unity is growing stronger.

All these developments signify that conditions today are more favorable than ever for the realization of democratic changes in the political field and for the realization of all the other just demands of the people.

The demand for the formation of a Nasakom Cabinet is scientific, objective, democratic and patriotic. Indonesian Communists, however, fully realize that, however scientific and objective this demand may be, it is nevertheless a matter of the balance of forces. There is no class that will voluntarily agree to share power with another class. This applies fully to the national bourgeoisie; it will never voluntarily agree to share power with the proletariat.

The progressive forces are indeed large today, but the diehard and the middle-of-the-road forces taken together are still larger. Though it is true that, under pressure from the masses, part of the middle-of-the-roads are now prepared to cooperate with the pro-

gressives, a large part are still captives of the diehards. In order to change the balance of forces so as to be able to bring about the formation of a Nasakom Cabinet, we must work tirelessly to develop the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the diehards. In implementing this line, the "five mores" must be practiced: more daring, more skillful, more vigilant, more resolute and more persevering.

The enemies of the people, the imperialists, the landlords, the compradores and the bureaucrat capitalists, naturally regard a Nasakom Cabinet as something which is at complete variance with their interests. They are doing everything they can to oppose revolutionary national unity and Nasakom, and yet they shamelessly proclaim their "fidelity to President Sukarno" despite the fact that President Sukarno has repeatedly stressed the importance of revolutionary national unity and the absolute indispensability of Nasakom. In order to conceal their real intentions, they speak at length about Pancha Sila, Indonesian socialism and all the rest of it, but the thing which characterizes them above all else is that they never talk about Nasakom as the fulcrum. This means that the struggle for the implementation of the Political Manifesto must be accompanied by a struggle to expose these sham supporters of it.

The formation of a Nasakom Cabinet is the first political step which must be taken by anyone who genuinely wants to take the peaceful and democratic path to socialism. At the same time it is true that a Nasakom Cabinet does not yet mean that the situation will immediately improve; a Nasakom Cabinet is not an Aladdin's lamp. But it will certainly open up possibilities for these difficulties to be solved, and this is far better than there being no possibility at all as has been the case with all other cabinets we have experienced so far.

If the economic and financial situation is to be improved, there must be an overhaul of the machinery of state. Mismanagement must be swept aside by replacing the persons responsible. The reactionaries are doing everything possible to prevent an overhaul of personnel. To hear them speak, one would think that an overhaul of the administration and of mental attitudes is all that is needed. Of course the purpose of all this is to retain the reactionaries in the positions they now occupy in the state apparatus.

Thus, the real way out of Indonesia's economic difficulties is not begging for loans from abroad or making the people the ser-

vants of foreign capital invested in the country, but the development of a national economy that can stand on its own feet. This means that there must be the courage to change the system of society at home by sacrificing the interests of the minority of big exploiters in the towns and the villages, that is, the bureaucrat capitalists, the compradores and the landlords, and defending the interests of the masses of the people. For this, there must be the appropriate political power, Gotong Royong power with Nasakom as the fulcrum. Every leader of the people is faced with the question: oppose the big exploiters and defend the people, or oppose the people and defend the big exploiters. This is the yardstick of whether a person is a revolutionary leader or not. There is no middle way.

Strengthen the Anti-Imperialist Front and the International Communist Movement

Recent international developments reveal that the anti-imperialist and peace-loving international front has been growing ever stronger and these victories have pushed the imperialists more and more into the corner. Developments in Western Europe show that the Western alliance is riddled with deep-going contradictions. The American imperialists are striving to retain hegemony but the Western European powers, in particular Britain, France and West Germany, are becoming more and more resentful of this. The rejection by Paris and Bonn of British membership in the European Common Market is a serious defeat for Kennedy's "grand strategy."

On the other hand, the socialist countries have achieved outstanding successes. The brilliant success of the Soviet Union in launching Vostok III and Vostok IV which established contact in outer space testifies once again to Soviet superiority in rocketry. People's China has succeeded in surmounting the tremendous difficulties caused by successive natural calamities, testifying to the might of a socialist economy and to the tremendous staying powers of the people's communes.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have won resounding victories in their struggle for national independence. An epic chapter in the history of the struggle for emancipation has been written by the heroic people of Cuba. With granite-like unity and complete confidence in the forces of the people, they refused to be brought to their knees by American imperialist aggression and

intimidation. The successes of the Cuban people have been an outstanding source of inspiration for the people of Latin America as a whole.

Of exceptional importance, too, was the people's revolt in North Kalimantan and the proclamation of an independent state there. This heroic struggle is the way to independence not only for the North Kalimantan people, it has also been of very great help to the Indonesian people because it has seriously undermined the concept for the establishment of a Federation of Malaysia with which the imperialists hope to encircle Indonesia.

All these developments are favorable to the forces of independence, peace and socialism. But the imperialists will never voluntarily surrender. They are doing everything possible to retain their colonial positions intact. They are conducting subversion and intimidation everywhere, as is evidenced from developments in South Vietnam, the Congo and Cuba. They are doing everything they can to undermine the socialist camp and incapacitate the independence movement of the peoples. Their energies are being devoted to trying to split the international Communist movement which is the chief obstacle to the attainment of their dastardly plans, and in this they are using the revisionists as their tools.

Exposing the revisionists means preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international Communist movement, the indispensable and basic condition for strengthening the anti-imperialist and peace-loving international front.

All the Communist and Workers' parties are agreed that it is essential to preserve the unity of the international Communist movement and that for this purpose it is necessary to hold consultations with each other, respecting each other's sovereignty, on the basis of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. The 1960 Statement declares: "*Whenever a party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership should approach the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.*"

The Moscow Statement is the most recent and most basic joint document of all Communist parties, and it is the joint guide and program which must be upheld and practised by all Marxist-Leninist parties in regulating inter-party relations and in carrying out the universal struggle against imperialism, for

national independence, democracy, socialism and peace. *Loyalty in practice to the Moscow Declaration and Statement is the most important yardstick of the purity of a Communist Party.*

Now more than ever before, the Indonesian Communists are convinced that, despite any differences of opinion that may have arisen, it is essential that we learn from all other fraternal parties, learn from their successes as well as from their problems. It is extremely important to combat and stamp out any feelings of indifference that may arise among Party cadres towards fraternal parties as a result of the present differences of opinion.

Any differences regarding principles between Marxist-Leninist parties must be resolved in a Marxist-Leninist way. The Indonesian Communists firmly hold that meetings should be held between fraternal parties for an exchange of views; the Indonesian Communists enthusiastically welcome the proposal made by Comrade Khrushchov at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany that polemics between fraternal parties should stop, and it was in response to this suggestion that the special column that had been started in the *Harian Rakjat* (People's Daily) to reproduce the views of various fraternal parties on the disputed issues was stopped. In the same spirit, the Indonesian Communists warmly welcome Comrade Khrushchov's statement to the effect that the dispute that has arisen is a dispute within a family, and we believe that it should be resolved in a family spirit.

The Indonesian Communists are completely unanimous in their views about how the present difficulties within the international Communist movement should be solved. We fervently urge all leaders of Communist parties and Workers' parties throughout the world to make strenuous and sincere efforts to restore the spirit of harmony and cordiality within the world family of Communists on the basis of the Moscow Statement issued by the representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

The Indonesian Communists will continue to wage a relentless struggle against both revisionism and dogmatism, classical and modern. Both revisionism and dogmatism have their source in subjectivism. There is no choice between them; they must both be opposed. They are both dangerous and the most dangerous is the one that is not being combated. The Indonesian Communists are striving unceasingly to make themselves into Communists who stand firm by Marxist-Le-

ninist principles but who are flexible in applying these principles.

Indonesian Communists are active participants in the international Communist movement; they carry out proletarian internationalism both in words and in deeds because they are convinced that if the international Communist movement is strong, then the movement of the peoples of the world against imperialism, for national independence, democracy, peace and socialism is also strong. As patriots, the Indonesian Communists will continue to strive to apply Marxist-Leninist principles creatively to the concrete conditions in Indonesia. Conventionally we call it to "Indonesianize" Marxism-Leninism. This means that Indonesian Communists must be patriots and proletarian internationalists at one and the same time.

Dualism in the Implementation of Foreign Policy Must Stop

There exists today in Indonesia a common platform in foreign policy between the people and the government, namely the concept of the confrontation between the new emerging forces and the old established forces. The new emerging forces is a concept which incorporates the socialist camp, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial newly-independent countries and the progressive forces in all other countries of the world. The old established forces incorporate the imperialist countries, colonialism and neo-colonialism as well as other reactionary forces in all parts of the world.

This being the basic guideline for the foreign policy of the Republic of Indonesia, full support must be given as a matter of principle to all developments that take place in any one of the three forces that go to make up the new emerging forces. At the same time, we must constantly be on guard against attempts that are repeatedly being made by the imperialists to create splits between these three forces. It is very important in this connection to strive hard for the convening of a Second Asian-African Conference.

Much more needs to be done to mobilize the people to play an active part in the formation of correct policies regarding international problems. Active participation by the people in the formation of foreign policy is the only stable guarantee that the Republic will play a progressive role in international affairs.

It is a fact today that, even though official foreign policy is based on the concept of the

confrontation between the new emerging forces and the old established forces, and whereas President Sukarno has himself repeatedly made it quite clear that the socialist camp and all anti-imperialist forces are part of the new emerging forces, there are still elements within the government apparatus striving to bring in West German and Japanese neo-colonial influences, wanting to bring in the notorious American "peace corps" and working hard to get the American-style "economic stabilization program" adopted and implemented here. There still are elements in the government apparatus who openly flirt with such notoriously anti-Republic of Indonesia cliques as the rulers of South Korea. This dualism is impermissible and it must stop. Foreign policy must be in the hands of progressives who are daring enough to oppose the criminal intrigues of the imperialists and to launch out on new paths which, however difficult or risky they may appear to be, are more beneficial to the people, to Indonesia and to the growth of the new forces that are now emerging in the world.

Improve the Method of Leadership and Continue Working with a Plan

Twelve years have passed since the "year of rebirth" of the Party, that is, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in April 1951 which drew up a Marxist-Leninist Party Constitution; and it is over nine years since that Constitution was adopted by the Party's Fifth Congress in March 1954. Besides answering all the basic problems of the Indonesian Revolution, the Fifth Congress set the Party two urgent tasks, namely, to consolidate the national front and to continue to build the Party.

As a result of the Party's work during the past ten years or so, there is now a broad united national front in Indonesia with the alliance of workers and peasants as the basis, and there is a Communist Party with a membership of over two million as compared with the 10,000 members it had in 1951. The Party is today a mass Party that is spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and it is politically, ideologically and organizationally consolidated; this latter is evident from the fact that there is complete unanimity of thought on all matters of domestic policy, foreign policy and the international Communist movement. In addition, there are over one-and-a-half million Communist youth in the Pemuda Rakjat (People's Youth), loyal assistant of the CPI, who are also studying Marxism-Leninism. In other

words, there are three and a half million Communists and Communist youth in Indonesia today.

These are great accomplishments but they are nowhere near enough. The basis of the united national front is not yet strong enough and the Party must strive untiringly and unceasingly to improve its work among the peasants. A membership of two million is not nearly enough to lead the people of a country that is as long as the distance from London to the Caucasus and that is composed of 3,000 islands. Much needs to be done to consolidate the Party even further so as to be able to face any situation whatsoever.

Since the rebirth of the Party in the early fifties, the task of building the Party has always been carried out in accordance with a plan, and while great importance is attached to the expansion of membership and organization, even more importance is attached to Marxist-Leninist education for those who have already entered the Party. At first the Party worked with short-term plans of three or six months but by now, the First Three-Year Plan, a Plan of Education and Organization, has been completed; the Second Three-Year Plan, a Plan of Education and Organization, is nearing completion, and preparations are now under way for a Four-Year Plan which will commence in the middle of this year.

The success of the "final-spurt movement" which is now in progress to fulfil or exceed the targets of the Second Three-Year Plan, as well as the success of the Four-Year Plan which is soon to begin, depends to a great extent on the method of leadership. There are two aspects to the method of leadership: combining general appeals with concrete directives and linking the leadership with the masses. Further, a correct method of leadership must always be combined with a correct style of work the principles of which are: combining theory and practice, establishing close links with the masses of the people and carrying out self-criticism.

The only way to mobilize the masses for implementation of a particular task is by issuing general appeals, but these general appeals cannot be tested or developed if the implementation of the particular task is not followed in detail. As the Seventh Congress established, the core of the Second Three-Year Plan is the "four increases": increase political schools and people's courses, increase the membership of the Party and the mass organizations, increase the number of candidate members being raised to member-

ship and increase the collection of Party dues, with the main emphasis on increasing political schools and people's courses. All these involve matters of detail and a Party leader can only seriously participate in realizing these "four increases" if he "goes down" and plays an active part in lower Party organizations and checks to see how these "four increases" are being implemented; if he makes a careful study of several typical individual members so as to gain experience in understanding the political opinions, outlook, attitude towards study and accomplishments of individual members; if he gives concrete tasks to the leadership of these lower organizations and helps them carry these tasks out. All this means giving leadership while at the same time learning how to lead.

A leader will never be able to make correct general appeals to lower organizations if he has no concrete experience of individuals, organizations and problems, and this is why it has been made obligatory for all Central Committee members and members of other committees to be responsible for their local Party group.

It is only if these methods are used that it will be possible to improve speedily the quality of leadership and liquidate subjective and bureaucratic methods.

The second aspect of the problem, linking leadership with the masses, depends to a great extent on the effectiveness of the group of leaders that works together with the leader of any particular organization in establishing close ties with the mass of the Party membership. A group of leaders is always born and tempered in the course of mass struggle, and this is the only way to ensure that the leadership is at one with the masses. Sometimes, as the struggle intensifies, the leaders prove incapable of keeping up with developments. In such cases, changes in the leadership must be made but this must be neither tardy nor hasty.

The opinions of the masses must be collected and systematized, scientifically summed up, disseminated back among the masses as their own concepts and tested in practical activity; the opinions of the masses must once again be summed up, explained, disseminated and so on. This is a continual process and each repetition of the process takes the leadership closer to the correct position. The method of combining general appeals with concrete directives is part of the basic method "from the masses, back to the masses."

The Four-Year Plan which is to commence later this year is called: Plan of Culture, Ideology and Organization. As is the case with the Second Three-Year Plan which is just coming to a close, the emphasis is on education and organization, but this time education is divided into two parts, cultural and ideological.

In order to raise the cultural level of all Party members, the Party will organize large-scale activities right from the level of anti-illiteracy campaigns up to academic education. Within the framework of the Four-Year Plan, every central and provincial cadre will complete a three-year academic course, every district cadre (below the province) will complete a course at one of the branches of the People's University which provides education at the same level as senior high school, every cadre at the sub-district level will complete a course at an Institute for People's Knowledge which provides education at junior high school level, and every cadre at the village level will complete a course at a Center for People's Knowledge which provides education at the elementary school level.

Under the Four-Year Plan, ideological education will continue as before and will be speeded up. Special emphasis will be placed upon educating teachers for Party schools at all levels and upon teaching philosophy. In addition, ideological education for Communist writers and artists will be given special attention to ensure that they have a resolute proletarian standpoint and a correct class

outlook. Besides all this, the Party will help progressives outside the Party to study Marxism so that gradually Marxism will become the possession not only of Communists but also of the entire nation.

The organizational aspect of the Four-Year Plan will be aimed at increasing Party membership. Without slackening our efforts to enroll new members from among the workers, fishermen, students and youth generally, civil servants, the urban poor, etc., special emphasis will be laid on peasants, women and intellectuals. Attention will also be paid to improving the nationality composition of Party membership and to bringing in more citizens of foreign extraction.

The entire Party is now actively involved in the "final-spurt movement" to fulfil and overfulfil the Second Three-Year Plan and it is well understood that if this movement is successful, the way will be open to ensuring success for the Four-Year Plan. The correct method of leadership must consistently be implemented and cadres must face the tasks set by the Four-Year Plan with a great spirit of daring, the daring to surmount all obstacles and break down all barriers that may stand in our way in carrying out this Plan.

Success in all this work is the guarantee for building a Party that is even more consolidated, politically, ideologically and organizationally, for building a Party that continues to be absolutely united in thought in all matters of domestic policy, foreign policy and the international Communist movement.

The Party and Economic Upbuilding

Some Aspects of the Activity of the Polish United Workers' Party in Katowice Region

Edward Gierek

ONE of the most complex spheres in building socialism is that of production, the building of an efficient and steadily growing economy. It is in this sphere that the basic, constructive aspect of the socialist revolution is most clearly visible.

After the working people have won political power, economic upbuilding comes more and more to the fore. As the socio-economic factors that could lead to the restoration of capitalism are abolished, the building of the material and technological base of socialism becomes the keynote of political life, the

most important lever for the further reconstruction of society. Hence it is natural that it should occupy a cardinal place in the activity of the leading political force in the socialist countries — their Marxist-Leninist parties, whose policies are founded on a comprehensive study of the objective needs of social development and the vital interests of the working population.

Party guidance of the economy implies solving the complex and multifarious tasks by employing forms and methods of persua-

sion and leadership stemming from the nature of the Party as a political organization. And this rules out any "laying down the law" from the top or the assumption of administrative and managerial functions by the Party. To do so would only cause harm.

At the same time, however, the Party, as the leading force in socialist society, bears full responsibility for the progress of the country. Its influence derives from the recognition accorded it by all working people as the vanguard of the nation, a vanguard guided by the reliable compass of Marxism-Leninism. From top to bottom in all spheres of the socialist society, including the economy, the leading role of the Party is implicit in its powers of persuasion, in the force of its example, and in the prestige it enjoys among the people generally.

The Polish United Workers' Party proceeds from the the general principles and laws of socialist economic development in elaborating the concrete forms and methods of Party guidance. Besides consistently carrying out the decisions taken, all its organizations contribute to this creative questing. The Katowice regional organization, too, has accumulated much experience in this respect.

The Industrial Heart of the Country

Katowice Region is Poland's leading industrial area. Here you find the biggest concentration of workers and technicians, and the regional Party organization, too, is the biggest in the country. Hence the magnitude of the tasks confronting our organization and the responsibility that devolves upon it. In all spheres of endeavor, and particularly in production, it is called upon to play an important role; it combines politics with economics in the most diverse ways, verifies the Party's slogans in the crucible of practice and works out the most effective ways and means of realizing them. At all levels our organization, conscious of its role, is directing all its efforts to rallying the working people to carry out the tasks facing us.

In its activities the Party organization enjoys the support of the working people generally; they realize that in pressing on towards our national goal of a socialist future we are also performing an international duty which we owe to the working people of all countries, and that it is our responsibility to contribute to the victory of socialism in the peaceful economic competition between the two systems.

Our region has made rapid progress since the establishment of people's rule. Billions

of zloty have been invested in modernizing old industries and establishing new ones. In the past ten years 32 big factories and 10 mines have been put into operation.

An idea of Poland's industrial expansion may be gained from the fact that our coal output reached 109,000,000 tons in 1962 compared with 46,000,000 in 1946; steel output went up in the same period by 440 per cent; power capacity more than doubled and engineering and chemical output increased several times over.

At present 11 per cent of the population of Poland live in Upper Silesia and the Dabrowa Basin, although these account for only three per cent of the country's area. In this small area you will find nearly 25 per cent of Poland's industrial workers and 20 per cent of the engineers and technicians; it accounts for 25 per cent of the gross national income, 50 per cent of the country's export, nearly 86 per cent of its coal, 70 per cent of its steel, over 50 per cent of the coke output and nearly 30 per cent of the electric power.

The rapid growth of industry has been accompanied by an advance in all spheres of life. New towns and industrial settlements with 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants each have been built. Twice as many children finish elementary school annually as before the war. The number of vocational schools has increased 18-fold as compared with prewar. Whereas during capitalist rule our region did not have a single higher educational establishment, today it has eight, with an enrolment of 16,000. Before the war Silesia had but 50 secondary and college graduates per 10,000 of the population; today the figure is 365.

Upper Silesia and the Dabrowa Basin occupy a prominent place in our long-range economic plans. Although no expansion of the old plants or construction of new plants using other than local raw materials are projected for our region, this does not mean that our production capacity will not grow or that the rich local resources will not be used more effectively. During the current five-year span (1961-1965) we shall develop the Rybnik coal field (mostly coking coal), which is scheduled to turn out 16,650,000 tons of coal in 1965 (including 8,650,000 tons of coking coal). We shall also build a zinc smelter with an annual capacity of 90,000 tons and increase the capacity of the operating metallurgical, chemical and engineering plants. All this should increase the overall output 32.6 per cent by 1965 as compared with 1960. The emphasis

is on modernizing existing plant and equipment, and also on automation. As a matter of fact, it is by means of technological progress that we plan to achieve our targets in metallurgy and in the chemical industry the output of which is to be doubled. These economic tasks determine also the course which our Party organization will pursue in its political activity. All our work will be wholly subordinated to the achievement of these goals.

Creative Atmosphere

Our regional Party organization has won prestige among the population at large. The beneficial effect of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU on the entire international Communist and working-class movement opened new perspectives also for our Party and, consequently, for our regional organization. As a result of the fulfilment of the decisions of the Third Congress and the 1956 and 1957 Central Committee meetings of the PUWP, our Party became stronger both ideologically and organizationally, and its leading role has grown ever since. This is reflected in the qualitative improvement and numerical growth of our regional organization. In 1956 it had 175,305 full and probationer members, 121,000 in 1958, and 189,000 today. Of the probationer members admitted in this period 39.2 per cent are under 25 years, 25.8 per cent from 25 to 30, and the rest over 30. Of the total membership of our organization 22.7 per cent have had a full secondary or an incomplete higher education; 7.4 per cent are college graduates.

The situation in the Party has radically changed. All the artificial barriers have been removed which hindered our work to propagate our ideology among the working people and to carry out our policy. The Leninist principles of inner-Party life have been restored. This has raised the prestige of the Party in the working class and among the non-Party masses generally. The Party committees and their activists have established close contact with all sections of the population.

The principles of socialist democracy and socialist legality are strictly observed and the community spirit is fostered in every way. People are displaying more initiative, they respond eagerly to the calls issued by the Central Committee and they are taking a bigger part in deciding all civic issues.

We could not have had this remarkable upsurge of civic and political consciousness

and patriotism without our Party learning from the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU, without it taking into account the peculiarities of the present stage of social development in Poland as well as the specific national features in all its activity.

The increasing activity of the masses is now channelled to the solution of production tasks, since the progress of our region and of the country and hence the further improvement of the standard of living depend on this. Stimulating public initiative is one of the most important levers for raising the productivity of labor, economizing funds and generally increasing efficiency of production. We are guided by this consideration in all our activity.

Before embarking on the realization of the targets for 1961, the first year of our five-year plan, we sponsored a public discussion among the workers most of whom either voiced complete agreement or proposed increasing the targets, high though they were. In the few instances where the plans were found to exceed the possibilities, we introduced the necessary corrections. This kind of consultation with the local activists, with the workers in the big plants, with the engineers and technicians and researchers at higher educational establishments and industrial research institutes (of which there are 17 in our region) has become the regular practice. The discussions and the suggestions made by the workers on the basis of a realistic assessment of the production potential enabled the region to raise its sights considerably higher.

Proceeding from the results of the discussion and talks with the workers, our last regional Party conference put forward the slogan: "To fulfil the five-year plan ahead of schedule is the patriotic duty of the people of Silesia." This slogan, reflecting the interconnection between politics and economics in socialist society, is aimed at concentrating the initiative and efforts of our entire population on the key problem of the day. It helps both individuals and entire sections of society to see things in perspective, and leads to good results in production. The slogans for the various stages of the five-year plan are based on this general thesis. For example, we have issued a call to ensure the fulfilment of the annual tasks two or three months ahead of time and are working at the same time to promote a mass movement for new ways and means of increasing the productivity of labor and of saving funds.

Efficient Management Is the Most Important Thing

The matter of ensuring maximum managerial efficiency is the main question studied by the Party committees, workers' management conferences and meetings of engineers and technicians in the enterprises.

The stage when we tackled political and economic problems separately has been passed, and we are now seeking to bring all levers to bear on the tasks at hand. We have rejected the method of episodic drives for results which were usually accompanied by high-pressure campaigns. Instead the production activity of the masses and our political work should be constantly improved. This is an earnest of the systematic over-fulfilment of plans. Our Party organization always seeks the counsel of the working people; it ascertains their views on all problems of socialist construction and singles out and supports every useful initiative coming from the masses. Needless to say, this applies not only to economic problems. Public discussion of political issues and the international situation adds to the political knowledge of the public and thereby facilitates the solution of economic tasks.

It is difficult to list all forms of contact with the masses; they cover a wide range from attendance at Party committee meetings by non-Party specialists to organizing movements for tapping reserves aimed at raising the productivity of labor. An important role is played by personal contact between the regional committee members and the Party branches in the big enterprises, engineers and researchers as well as the Party activists working in the industrial centers.

We make a point of ensuring close contact between Party activists and production specialists on all questions concerning the enterprises as well as the economy as a whole. In this way we are assured, in the event of difficulties arising or during particularly crucial periods, of the direct assistance of the people best qualified to help solve the problem in question.

In our political work we make extensive use of the mass media — television, press, radio, public meetings, talks, etc. The Party branches acquaint the working people with the decisions of the central, regional and local Party committees. This helps to imbue each person with a sense of civic duty, a socialist attitude to labor, and consciousness of his responsibility for the common cause.

All this of course requires a great deal of

effort from the Party leadership and activists and makes it necessary constantly to improve the forms and methods of political education of the members of the Party and the public. Above all, it obliges us to make the maximum use of the whole complex of ideological and educational stimuli.

Our political work is concentrated on the basic production units — the enterprises. In our ideological and organizational work we bear in mind the specific requirements of the various groups of people. Consequently the role and responsibility of the basic link of the party — the branch — is enhanced, for it is up to the branch to translate the Party slogans into concrete activity in the enterprises.

The Achievements of Workers' Management

In recent years an important role in promoting initiative and instilling a sense of responsibility among the working people has been played by their participation in managerial functions through what are called workers' management conferences. These consist of the factory committee of the Party, the trade union committee and the workers' council elected by all the workers in the given enterprise. The directives and decisions of these conferences play a big part in determining the pace and direction of production. In many instances they have ensured substantial overfulfilment of the tasks set by the central planning bodies and have increased efficiency far beyond expectations. Although this is achieved above all through the reduction of production costs, technological improvements and better organization of production, no minor factor — though one often overlooked in drawing up plans — is the initiative and sense of responsibility of close-knit, militant collectives of workers.

There now are several hundred workers' management conferences in the enterprises in our region. They are a mirror of the further extension of democracy and a certain decentralization of industrial management. They speak for the workers of their enterprises, reflecting their concern for the progress of the plans, advise the management and distribute the bonus funds accumulated by the enterprises as a reward for production performance.

The Party maintains contact with the workers and implements its policy through its members in the workers' management conferences.

Needless to say production problems are the main concern of the conferences—a suc-

cessful form of direct participation by the working people in running industry. The results are evident in the improved planning and in fulfilling plans, and more particularly in elaborating counterplans which in most instances set the sights higher than those projected in the state plan, and also in fixing output quotas more in line with modern technological stands (especially in the engineering industry), more advanced forms of emulation of the best workers, etc.

The range of questions dealt with by the workers' management conferences (mostly on the initiative of the Party branches) includes such problems as general education and vocational training, specialized advanced training for engineers and technicians, stimulating the movement for efficiency among the workers, emulation, and, what is most important, the setting up of production teams including workers, engineers and other specialists.

The primary purpose of these teams is to stimulate a creative approach to the job. As we see it, they should, first of all, be so organized as to ensure the maximum utilization of production capacity. Second, they should specialize on some particular line and include experts in every phase of the production process. Third, they should ensure the rapid introduction of all available technological innovations.

The relations between the members of the teams are based on the genuine cooperation and mutual aid characteristic of the socialist approach to labor. On this groundwork emphasis is placed on such factors as the scientific organization of labor, up-to-date technology and methods of management based on a knowledge of psychology, sociology, industrial hygiene, etc., and also the principle of "the right man in the right place."

We believe that these teams and the work done by the Party to consolidate them will usher in a new stage in the development of both our industry and our production relations.

The Party attaches much importance to the general and technical education of the people. It is our aim that all workers should finish elementary school and all technicians should have a full secondary education; this goal has been achieved in many enterprises and many more are approaching it. The workers are taking full advantage of the educational opportunities open to them. According to data for the first two years of the current five-year plan, an average of 1,600 persons annually have qualified for the ratings of

master-engineer, engineer or economist, and 6,000 for the ratings of certified technician or technician-economist. Nearly 20,000 round off their elementary education and over 1,200 their secondary education annually. In many enterprises the workers' management bodies, on the initiative of the Party branches, have worked out a system of refresher correspondence courses for engineers and technicians, or have arranged for them to combine production work with research under the guidance of higher schools and research institutes.

Workers' management has considerably stimulated the movement for efficiency. Last year, for example, 550 technological and rationalization clubs with a membership of 35,000 were functioning in the enterprises of our region. As a result of their suggestions, an overall economy of about 700 million zloty was effected.

A competition for the title of Socialist Labor Team or Socialist Labor Shop is under way. So far over 5,200 teams numbering more than 50,000 workers have earned the distinction of Socialist Labor Team. Some 600 factory departments are taking part in the emulation movement for the designation of Socialist Labor Shop.

Our idea is that the competition should not become merely a matter of raising the productivity of labor. The scientific organization of labor, introduction of new technology and economy of materials and power should be accompanied by better conditions and higher earnings.

The achievements of the best teams are within the reach of all teams and enterprises in the given industry. Therefore it is one of the principal tasks of the Party and trade union organizations as well as the workers' management bodies to popularize the methods of the best workers. It should be noted that in recent times the miners in several pits have achieved record showings (for instance, one of the workings at the Zabrze pit turned out 62,000 tons in a month). These achievements are an example spurring all to increase their output.

Important too is the fact that participation in this competition for excellence on the job heightens civic consciousness, impelling people to help one another, to work together to improve their skills, to take part in community undertakings and jointly arrange cultural and recreation facilities.

Further Improvement of Management

In all our activities we use scientifically substantiated methods, for we believe that

only in this way can correct leadership be ensured. For instance, to ensure that decisions concerning economic management are sound, the Party committees work in close cooperation with scientists. To guarantee the maximum utilization of the latest achievements of science, the Presidium of the Regional People's Council has set up a scientific committee consisting of researchers in diverse fields. This committee advises the local authorities on important matters, such as those dealing with the development of the Rybnik coal field, improving the industrial and municipal water supply, modernizing transport, etc.

An important aspect of our work is to bring science closer to practice, and to bring the higher schools and institutes closer to the factories. To this end we sponsor regular meetings of worker-inventors, technicians, engineers and economists with researchers from the higher schools of our region as well as other areas with a similar structure of industry. With the assistance of the research personnel we want to bring home to all the importance of science for the growth of the production potential of every enterprise and, in particular, to overcome any reluctance there still may be to launch out on new paths in technology.

Inculcating a socialist attitude to public property is important in promoting economic advance and raising the productivity of labor. The time has passed when it was enough simply to safeguard public property. The working people are increasingly becoming aware that it is they who are the masters of the land. Hence, our Party organization holds that the tasks in this sphere are much broader than merely combating abuses.

Our aim is to impress upon the public that the attitude of the personnel of a factory, for instance, to public property should be judged not only by how it protects this property against thieves and embezzlers, but *primarily* by how efficiently the means of production are used to promote the economy as a whole. In practice this means, first, utilizing every opportunity to increase the productivity of labor; second, introducing the latest technology to secure the maximum economic effect; third, stricter standards for judging the attitude of Party members and all workers to their labor and to public property. Formal criteria, moreover, are not enough; it is essential also to take into account how the new attitude to public property is manifest in the Party branches, in the workers' management bodies and in the ad-

ministration.

One of the principal aims of the current five-year plan is to increase production by the rational use of existing capacities — a task which applies primarily to our industrial area. Maximum utilization of the entire production potential with utmost efficiency should, therefore, be the criterion of an exemplary attitude to labor and to public property.

The workers know that today, more than ever before, we are interested not merely in increasing output but in improving its quality as the best way of augmenting the national income.

In recent times we have emphasized the role of the economists in the enterprises, strict cost accounting and economic analysis as the basic criterion of efficiency. We want our producers to think in terms of economic expediency. In other words, we want to achieve a situation in which the contribution of individual workers, teams, shops and enterprises to the national income and to laying the foundations of a socialist economy is measured by the actual results of their production effort. It should also be borne in mind that hitches in plan fulfilment, delays in deliveries and production "for the warehouse" instead of the market are bad not only from the economic but also from the moral and political standpoint.

Educational Work Outside the Enterprises

Besides the tasks in production, our regional Party organization is faced with tasks also in the sphere of education. Nearly three years ago, in July 1960, the Regional Committee adopted decisions on Party and general educational work aimed at promoting the initiative of the masses as an indispensable condition for fulfilling the five-year plan. It was clear to us that educational work had to be conducted after working hours, that we should not ignore the worker's family and his social environment.

The experience gained since then has confirmed our conviction that educational work in the enterprise is decisive for moulding a socialist consciousness.

An effective method by which workers and Party branches can educate the mass of the population is community work that is of benefit to the public. Much has been done in this way to improve conditions in the towns and mining settlements. Besides being a substantial addition to the municipal improvement work done by the government,

such activity helps to build up a community spirit and an interest in public affairs, heightening the sense of responsibility for the common cause.

The educational value of the influence exerted by the industrial enterprises on the public generally is manifest also in their cooperation with the schools—general and vocational. We want the workers and engineers to help the schools introduce polytechnical instruction as quickly as possible and to bring the youth more and more under the influence of the foremost contingents of the working class capable of teaching them to respect labor and public property, of inspiring them to devote their energies to the service of society.

Community educational work is also conducted by local Party groups specially formed to stimulate public initiative. These groups ensure contact between members and non-members of the Party in residential neighborhoods. In 1962 we had 1,100 such groups in our region, with nearly 30,000 full and probationer members of the Party taking part. Being acquainted with the interests and needs of the population, they organize useful undertakings which the public themselves carry out with the technical aid of the factories. Parks, squares, club-rooms, sports grounds, playing-fields, dance halls and other recreation facilities have been provided on the initiative of these groups and with their participation in urban development projects. Activity of this kind has a beneficial effect on people and on their attitude to the production tasks put forward by the regional Party organization.

Improving Living Conditions

The Party and the trade unions, the local authorities and the workers' management bodies of our region consider it an axiom that growth of production and the general economic tasks carried out by the population presuppose maximum concern for improving their conditions. Moreover, we make it clear that in socialist society wages are not the only form of remuneration, that wages are substantially augmented from public funds. The main channel through which these steadily increasing benefits accrue to the worker and his family is the enterprise. Developments in this sphere in recent times have been an improvement in working conditions, better health care and social services, improved municipal services, and fuller utilization of the opportunities provided by the state

for people to improve their general education and professional skills.

As regards safety and industrial hygiene, not only is the number of accidents steadily decreasing, we are striving to provide the workers with all possible conveniences on the job. Health measures are provided on a growing scale as part of free medical care. From year to year more people spend their holidays at health centers or holiday homes maintained by the Workers' Recreation Fund and by the enterprises themselves.

Improvement of public services is of extremely great importance in view of the density of population and the concentration on a comparatively small area of numerous industrial enterprises, including mines and steel mills, with the resultant pollution of the atmosphere. An extensive program for combating atmospheric pollution is being carried out in the region; medical services, especially for the youth, are being improved.

Together with United Front committees, the trade unions and workers' management bodies, our Party organizations have made a thorough study of the plans for improving social services, living conditions and the functioning of service establishments. As a rule the initiative of the workers in the factories and of the public generally brings results greater than those envisaged in the plans. In our region we have exceeded the planned targets for municipal improvement and better social services.

The attention paid by the enterprises to providing public services has helped to increase labor productivity and to minimize the fluctuation of labor. The same effect is achieved by housing. During the first 15 years after the war, flats totalling more than half a million rooms were built in our region. At present nearly 60,000 rooms are made available for occupancy annually. Still the housing shortage inherited from the capitalist past has not yet been overcome. Upper Silesia and its mining areas in particular are a classical example of how the capitalists, being prompted only by the thirst for profits, condemned people to live in the most appalling conditions. But although it will take some time completely to overcome this legacy, the progress made in this sphere, especially since 1956, is tangible indeed. With the Party taking the lead in the matter, much has been done to improve public services and to expand social and cultural facilities. Proper attention to improving conditions is an important factor making it possible to enlist literally the entire population in carrying out the

tasks of building socialism and administering the affairs of society.

In conformity with the decisions of the Third Congress of the Party and its Central Committee which reflect the interests of the masses and set forth our goals, we are working steadfastly to improve our political and educational activity. Relying on the growing confidence reposed by the masses in the Party and taking due account of our specific conditions, our Katowice Party organization is

resolved to carry out the Central Committee's directives in full. That we shall succeed is guaranteed by the proletarian solidarity and love for our socialist country which inspires our membership, the working class as a whole and the public generally. Working selflessly, united around the Leninist leadership of the Party, we shall carry out the difficult but realistic tasks of the five-year plan. We are certain that Katowice Region will make a worthy contribution to the building of socialism in People's Poland.

Imperialist Alliances and Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

George Matthews

ON January 14, 1963, President Kennedy sent his State of the Union message to the 88th Congress of the United States.

In it he said:

"Defying the old prophecies of Marx, consenting to what no conqueror could ever compel, the free nations of Europe are moving toward a unity of purpose and power and policy in every sphere of activity. For 17 years this movement has had our consistent support, both political and economic."

On that very same day President de Gaulle gave his famous press conference in Paris at which it became finally clear that Britain would not enter the Common Market.

A fortnight later the negotiations for British entry were formally broken off.

The breakdown of the negotiations for British entry into the Common Market was only one expression of the acute crisis which has developed in the Atlantic alliance.

Dissensions, quarrels and antagonisms between the Western "partners" now dominate the news columns of the newspapers and provide the political commentators with the material for acres of print.

Some premonition of what was to come was reflected in an article written in the *Sunday Times* at the end of 1962 by Walt Rostow, chief planning officer to the U.S. State Department. He said: "The fundamental question we face is whether we shall go forward with the massive task of international architecture in which we have all been engaged since 1945 or whether we

shall permit the ample divisive forces among us to triumph."

As things have turned out, his doubts have been proved justified. The "divisive forces" have grown stronger. The "international architecture" of the architects of the cold war has been undermined.

Rostow implied that such changes come about through subjective causes and can be reversed merely by the exercise of the will of the Western statesmen. The question, for him, is "whether we shall permit the ample divisive forces to triumph."

But there are profound objective causes for the changes which have taken place in the capitalist world in recent years.

The complicated relationships which exist between the capitalist powers have developed as the result of the inter-play of various contradictory forces.

First, there has been a tendency toward economic integration as a result of scientific and technological developments, with a consequent intensification of monopoly capitalist efforts to surmount national boundaries.

Second, the immense advances of the world socialist system have impelled the imperialists to try to patch up their differences.

Third, the strongest imperialist power, the United States, has had a powerful interest in using the slogan of "unity" to further its plans for dominating the capitalist world.

These are the principal factors impelling the capitalist powers to cooperate with each other.

But they are counteracted by other forces, which intensify the conflicts and contradictions among them.

The law of the uneven development of capitalism has inexorably operated throughout this postwar period to bring about a change in the balance of economic power in the capitalist world.

In the years immediately after the Second World War the USA was virtually unchallenged as the dominant imperialist power.

The imperialisms of Germany and Japan, defeated in the war, were still licking their wounds.

Italy and France were also weak. Britain, though one of the victors, found its position very much worsened relative to the USA.

The British imperialists decided that if they were to hold on to what remained of the British Empire they must do it in association with the United States, recognizing the dominant role of that country but trying to establish a "special relationship" with it.

Thus it was relatively easy throughout the immediate postwar period for the U.S. imperialists to achieve their aims. Through the Marshall Plan, and later by other forms of economic penetration, they made the European capitalist countries economically dependent on the USA.

Through the military alliances — NATO, CENTO, SEATO, etc. — they secured their control over the military and political policies of their satellites.

But the very process of pouring out dollar "aid" in the effort to build up an anti-communist front hastened the change in the balance of economic forces, especially in relation to Western Europe.

West Germany, from its extremely weak position in 1945, has become the most powerful country in Western Europe.

Its gross national product, according to the International Monetary Fund, is now equal to that of Britain. Its total of trade is greater than Britain's total, and it is now the second most important trading country in the capitalist world.

Its position relative to the USA has also greatly improved.

The following table shows the division of trade among the capitalist countries in 1949 and 1961 (in per cent of total):

	1949	1961
United States	17.0	15.0
West Germany	2.9	9.7
United Kingdom	13.2	9.5
France	5.2	5.7

Thus West Germany has substantially increased its share of trade, France has increased its share to a lesser extent, and the United States and the United Kingdom have both fallen back.

An even more striking picture is presented by the figures for gold and foreign exchange reserves:

Gold and Foreign Exchange Reserves (in million dollars)

	1951	1962 (Third Quarter)
United States	22,873	16,532
Continental Western Europe	7,445	24,420
United Kingdom	2,374	2,798

Finally we can take the shares of industrial production of the capitalist world (in per cent of total):

	1953	1961
United States	51.6	43.3
Six Common Market countries	15.6	20.1
West Germany alone	6.7	8.95
Britain	10.1	9.04

This increase in the relative economic strength of continental Western Europe, alongside the decline of the U.S. position and British stagnation, is at the root of the intensified inter-imperialist contradictions.

They have been accentuated by the narrowing of the sphere of imperialism, arising from the existence and growth of the socialist world system and the successes of the national liberation struggle.

There has also been a second important factor counteracting the U.S. efforts to establish a world capitalist "Grand Alliance" or "Atlantic Community."

This aim of establishing U.S. hegemony runs counter to the interests of the people of the capitalist countries. It means an ever-increasing infringement on their national sovereignty.

It means a greater and greater degree of U.S. penetration of their economies, and further exploitation of their labor and their resources in the interests of the U.S. monopoly capitalists.

It means stepping up the cold war, intensifying the arms race, imposing greater burdens in the form of arms expenditure on the working people, and so reducing their standard of living.

It means placing their lives and the destinies of their countries at the mercy of the Pentagon generals, who regard Britain and

Western Europe as an expendable launching ground for American missiles.

Thus the squabbles between the imperialist rulers have been accompanied by more and more powerful actions of the people of Western Europe against the U.S. pressure for "unity." The working people, as well as important sections of the bourgeoisie, increasingly understand that this "unity" will in the last resort turn out to be the same kind of unity as that which exists in a graveyard.

In Western Europe the great question of the recent period has been whether Britain would join the Common Market.

There were many people, including some in the working-class movement who were opposed to this step, who considered it inevitable that Britain would join.

They saw the obvious factors impelling British imperialism in this direction. They underestimated the counteracting forces, including the strength of popular opposition and the rivalries and conflicts between the imperialist powers.

Yet what has happened fully confirms the profound analysis of imperialism made by Lenin. He showed that temporary agreements between the imperialists are possible, but that they cannot eliminate "friction, conflicts and struggle in all and every possible form."

Lenin had also foreseen the particular difficulties which would be faced in the future by British imperialism, when he wrote: "On the whole capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before, but it is not only that this growth is becoming more and more uneven; this unevenness manifests itself also, in particular, in the decay of countries which are richest in capital (such as England)."

In the fifties the relative weakening of the position of British imperialism vis-à-vis not only the USA, but also West Germany, was becoming clear.

Thus when the West German and French finance oligarchies played the leading role in establishing the European Economic Community the British capitalists did not immediately rush to join it. While they were also concerned with the aim of establishing a common front against socialism and exploiting the colonial and underdeveloped territories, and especially the African continent, they also saw in the West German-French dominated Common Market a threat to the positions of British imperialism.

They originally attempted to meet the threat by pressure for a drastic transformation of the Common Market into a wider "free trade area."

When this did not succeed they established a "rival" grouping—the European Free Trade Association. This grouping of the Seven (Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal) against the Six (West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg) was an effort by the British monopoly capitalists to challenge their West German and French rivals.

They hoped by this means to bring sufficient pressure on the Common Market countries to enable the association of Britain to take place on a basis which would safeguard British imperialist interests.

But the Common Market grouping was more powerful than the EFTA grouping, and the British aim did not succeed.

Moreover, heavy and increasing U.S. pressure was exerted on Britain to enter the Common Market.

U.S. imperialism had three principal motives. It wanted an "integrated" capitalist Western Europe as part of its overall aim of establishing the Atlantic Community directed against the advance of socialism.

It wanted Britain in the Common Market to counter West German and French influence, which might otherwise lead to the Common Market developing political and economic tendencies conflicting with U.S. aims.

And finally the USA realized that for Britain to go into the Common Market would mean a great weakening of the ties between Britain and the Commonwealth countries, thus enabling the American monopolies to penetrate even more rapidly into markets which were once the preserve of the British imperialists.

So, after opposing entry into the Common Market for years, and advancing powerful and cogent arguments as to why it would be a wrong step to take, the British government suddenly reversed its position and in July 1961 announced its intention to begin negotiations for entry.

This decision followed on a severe financial crisis, in which foreign money moved out of Britain on a large scale. The British government applied for a loan from the International Monetary Fund to help it surmount this crisis.

The loan was granted, but U.S. support for it was made conditional on Britain applying for entry into the Common Market.

Once they had begun negotiations from this position of economic weakness, the British imperialists found themselves in an increasingly difficult position.

They wanted to safeguard their links with

the Commonwealth, and particularly the system of imperial preference. They also wanted to get the best terms possible from the point of view of British agriculture.

But their bargaining position was exceedingly weak. The longer the negotiations went on the weaker their position became, the more onerous were the terms laid down by the French and West German monopolists, and the greater was the American pressure for entry.

Thus on July 4, 1962, President Kennedy in his Independence Day speech, stressing the need for increased efforts to achieve a united Western Europe, said that "the USA looks on this vast enterprise with hope and admiration" and added, "we see in such a Europe a partner with whom we could deal on a basis of full equality in all the great and burdensome tasks of building and defending a community of free nations."

But the "Atlantic partnership" had to be postponed again. The pressure against entry into the Common Market from within Britain, combined with the effect of the inter-imperialist antagonisms, proved stronger than Kennedy's pressure for entry.

From the outset the British Communist Party opposed entry. It warned the Labor Movement and the British people that for Britain to go in would mean a further surrender of sovereignty, an extension of the cold war plans, increased domination by the great monopolies, and a weakening of Britain's ties with the Commonwealth to the advantage of the U.S. and other imperialists and to the detriment both of British and Commonwealth working people.

It refused to accept the theory that British entry was inevitable, and campaigned to rouse public opinion for a change of policy.

At first only a minority in the Labor Movement and among the people agreed with the Communists.

But as the negotiations continued it became increasingly clear that these warnings were justified, and the people began to resist the government's policy more and more strongly.

This was why in the last resort the British government was unable to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. It staked its whole future on entry and showed that it was prepared to subordinate the economic and national interests of Britain to the reactionary political aims of the monopoly capitalists.

In the later stages of the negotiations it was clear that the British negotiators were prepared, if they had had a free hand, to

capitulate almost completely and accept the Treaty of Rome virtually unchanged.

But the government did not dare to surrender unconditionally. It knew that if it did so it would be repudiated by the British people, including many of its own supporters. It was doubtful if it would get such an agreement through Parliament, even though there was a large Conservative majority of M.P.s. And it was certain that in a General Election its surrender would be utterly repudiated by the electorate, which would insist on a future government abrogating the agreement.

When President de Gaulle made clear that Britain would only be allowed into the Common Market on the basis of the Treaty of Rome, the British government was therefore compelled to break off the negotiations.

This plunged the Western alliance into extreme disarray, and accentuated the divisions which were also growing on other questions, and particularly on military strategy.

These divisions, expressed mainly in disagreements about the role and control of NATO, had already had their impact on the Common Market negotiations. For it is impossible to separate the economic, political and military factors determining the relations between the powers.

Kennedy's Atlantic Community is not only a means of extending U.S. economic domination over the Western world, it also aims at strengthening U.S. control over the entire imperialist machine.

For the West German monopoly capitalists the Common Market is not only a means of dominating Western Europe economically and ensuring a big West German share in the exploitation of Africa, but also a means through which they can increase their military strength.

They intend to use it to secure "equal rights" in the possession and manufacture of nuclear weapons, and eventually plan to utilize the military and economic resources of Western Europe for their revanchist and aggressive aims.

The French finance oligarchy sees in the Common Market a method of furthering de Gaulle's aim of a French nuclear striking force, and of countering the "Anglo-Saxon" domination of NATO.

It was because he saw Britain as a stooge of the USA, entering the Common Market in order to further the aims of the American imperialists, that de Gaulle so strongly resisted British entry.

Britain's agreement with the USA on the

supply of Polaris missiles, concluded at the Nassau meeting between President Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan in December 1962, confirmed de Gaulle in his belief that Britain would act as America's agent against France and West Germany if it entered the Common Market.

This agreement certainly throws a good deal of light on the relationship between Britain and the USA. Mr. Macmillan's visit to Nassau was aimed at keeping up the pretence that Britain was able to maintain an "independent British nuclear deterrent," and at maintaining the "special relationship" with the USA in some form.

The "independent British deterrent" in its existing form of the V-bomber force is obsolete. The British wished to give it a new lease of life by equipping it with U.S. Skybolt missiles. The Americans had decided to discontinue the manufacture of Skybolt.

Hence the crisis of British nuclear policy and the journey to Nassau.

It was clear that the U.S. imperialists were in fact aiming to undermine Britain, to end the so-called "British independent deterrent" and to make clear also that the "special relationship" had ended.

Thus before the Nassau meeting Mr. Dean Acheson, special adviser to President Kennedy, made his notorious speech in which he declared that "Great Britain has lost an Empire and has not yet found a role."

Acheson said that Britain's "attempt to play a separate power role—that is, a role apart from Europe, a role based on a 'special relationship' with the USA, a role based on being the head of a 'Commonwealth' which has no political structure, or unity, or strength and enjoys a fragile and precarious economic relationship by means of the sterling area and preferences in the British market — this role is about played out."

The Nassau agreement was the expression of this U.S. imperialist view of Britain's role.

Instead of the Skybolt missiles Britain was offered U.S. Polaris missiles for use in nuclear submarines. The submarines will not be completed until 1969 or 1970, and thus there will in fact not even be the pretence of a "British nuclear deterrent" for several years.

When the submarines are completed not only the Polaris missiles, but also all the electronic equipment for their firing will be American. Thus the entire "deterrent" will be completely dependent on the USA. As well as paying through the nose in dollars for this, the British government agreed to place its existing bomber force at the disposal

of a NATO multinational nuclear force, and also to assign the Polaris submarine fleet, when it is built, to such a NATO force — which would be under the American Supreme Commander.

To save the British government's face a proviso was made by Mr. Macmillan that the British forces so assigned could be withdrawn for separate use if desired.

The pretence that all this added up to an "independent British nuclear deterrent" was manifest nonsense. Immediately after the Nassau agreement there was open revolt among the Tory M.P.s, against the way the USA had treated Britain, and against an agreement which represented a still further surrender to the U.S. imperialists.

Because of the danger that this disunity in the Tory ranks could lead to a speedy General Election and a Labor victory the cracks were soon papered over. But the bitterness still remains, and occasionally breaks out into the open.

It found expression when Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer until last July and previously Foreign Secretary, strongly attacked U.S. policy in an article in the American magazine *Saturday Evening Post* at the end of February.

Lloyd said that some of America's allies "are getting increasingly tired of the feeling that they are being pushed about."

The United States, he said, seemed to want to have it both ways. "It is all right for the United States to take savage action against our shipping, to reject the idea of interdependence over weapon production . . . to deny entry into the United States market of our aircraft, to encourage American businessmen in economic imperialism and to have them compete against their allies, not always with complete scrupulousness."

He also said that "ostracizing Russia, imposing stupid restrictions on trade, refusal to develop every form of contact, is a weak and defensive policy" and he bitterly complained of the way American influence had been cast against British imperialist interests in Persia, Egypt, the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

But while these "unofficial" remarks express the anger and resentment felt by the British Tories at the treatment they receive from Washington, the government makes no move to break with the old policy of subservience to the stronger imperialism of the United States.

For de Gaulle the Nassau agreement confirmed his view of Britain's role. It was fol-

lowed, first, by his refusal to make any concessions to facilitate Britain's entry into the Common Market, and, second, by the signature of the Franco-West German military treaty on January 22, 1963.

The Paris-Bonn axis, representing the alliance of the West German and French monopolists, is, like the policy of the U.S. imperialists, directed against the interests of the people of Europe and the world.

Yet the very fact that this separate treaty has been signed between two NATO countries is a reflection of the sharp antagonisms in the imperialist camp.

Moreover, even within the Paris-Bonn axis itself there are important divisions and contradictions.

Each partner is pursuing its own aims, and these aims are often antagonistic. West Germany sees the treaty as a means of securing the upper hand over its weaker French partner, of securing nuclear weapons through the association with the French nuclear program, and simultaneously using the alliance to blackmail the United States into agreeing to West German demands.

De Gaulle hopes through the axis to further his aim of French leadership of Europe, looks to West German assistance in the French nuclear program, and believes that the treaty will strengthen France's position vis-à-vis the United States.

For the smaller countries among the Six the Paris-Bonn treaty signifies a formal declaration of the dominant role of the West German and French trusts, and presages increased economic, political and military pressure on the weaker partners in the interests of the stronger.

All these conflicting military and political aims within the Western alliance have reached a new peak of division since the Caribbean crisis last year.

The Cuban events not only showed the change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism. They also brought home to the European NATO countries the extreme danger of their position. They showed that the United States imperialists were prepared, without any consultation with their allies, to take the world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe, and, but for the wise policy of the Soviet Union, even over the brink.

This was the reality of the "Atlantic partnership," and it is not surprising that it stimulated the divisive forces within the alliance.

But the United States imperialists are making new and frantic efforts to overcome

the divisions. They have countered the Paris-Bonn treaty and the failure of the British effort to enter the Common Market with the proposal of a "NATO multilateral nuclear force."

This is supposed to allay West European fears, arising out of the Caribbean crisis, of exclusive U.S. control of NATO and of decisions leading to a nuclear war. It is also intended as a bribe to the West Germans, offering them a means of getting control of nuclear weapons.

The U.S. proposal is for a fleet of surface ships equipped with Polaris missiles and mixed crews under West European commanders, though in fact controlled by the American Supreme Commander of NATO. But this plan has also run into some difficulties. France has rejected it completely up to now on the ground that it would put French forces under American control. Britain has counterposed to it a proposal for a "multinational" force—i.e., one in which the individual NATO powers would retain formal control of the national contingents they assigned to it. This would make it easier for the British government to maintain the fiction of an "independent British deterrent."

Only the West German militarists have given more or less unqualified approval to the plan, in pursuit of their consistent aim of getting, by hook or crook, control of nuclear weapons.

In whatever form the combined NATO force finally emerged it would indeed be a victory for the Bonn warmongers, a great strengthening of West German militarism and revanchism, a further step in the dangerous game of spreading nuclear weapons still more widely, and a most dangerous threat to peace and to the security of all the nations.

In the economic sphere the USA is also endeavoring to combat any tendencies on the part of the Common Market to move further toward what President Kennedy in his State of the Union message described as an undermining "of its own basic principles" — that is, toward increased protectionism and restrictionism which would hamper U.S. expansion in Europe.

As for the British imperialists, they have not yet abandoned hope of entering the Common Market. Like the Americans, they hope to bring about a change in the policy of the Six, particularly through bribing the West Germans, which will then make it possible for "concessions" to be offered to Britain. This would be presented to the British public

as a "victory" for Britain and the Commonwealth.

To try to move in this direction efforts are being made to strengthen the European Free Trade Association once more, in spite of the cynical way in which Britain last year virtually abandoned its EFTA partners in its efforts to get into the Common Market.

Other moves are also being canvassed in Britain—so far without open or official government support—for a "new initiative." One, suggested in a symposium published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, urges that Britain should offer "arrangements for the pooling of defense resources, for the operation of joint staffs, for joint decisions on the deployment of troops, for the standardization of arms."

This, it is said, would "actively rival French leadership," "would, in fact, revive the whole European Defense Community idea with British leadership," and would "be the surest way of isolating France."

Thus great efforts will continue to be made to realign the imperialist forces and knock together the Atlantic Community. It would be folly for the international working-class movement to assume that the inter-imperialist conflicts will in themselves lead to the automatic disintegration of imperialism.

The only force which will obstruct the plans of imperialism, and finally put an end to it, is the organized strength of the anti-imperialist movement.

To overestimate the effects of the inter-imperialist antagonisms would be entirely wrong, because it would lead to passivity on the part of the masses and give the imperialists a free hand in their efforts to patch up their differences.

But on the other hand, it would be equally wrong to underestimate the conflicts, and to accept as inevitable the processes tending

toward increasing integration among the capitalist powers.

The deepening of the inter-imperialist contradictions is one of the most important features of the present international situation. Try as they may, the imperialist powers will be unable to resolve these contradictions, which are rooted in the imperialist system itself.

The monopoly capitalist integration can also be challenged by the political action of the masses, taking advantage of the divisions among the imperialists. A significant example of the success which can be achieved in such a struggle has been the campaign waged against the Common Market by the progressive forces in Britain.

In fighting against the imperialist war alliances, the international peace, anti-imperialist and working-class forces need to present their own policy for the future.

Against the narrow and restrictionist policies of the "Europe of the trusts" they should counterpose a policy of all-round economic cooperation, the expansion of world trade, and the establishment of an international trade organization covering all countries of the world without discrimination.

Against the war plans of NATO, of the American, British, West German and French imperialists, they should place the policy of peaceful coexistence, of the ending of the arms race, of disengagement in Europe, of the banning of nuclear tests and nuclear weapons, and of the replacement of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization by a system of collective security.

This is the way in which a broad front of all the peace and anti-monopoly forces can be built up to oppose the war alliances of the capitalist powers, preserve peace, and establish friendly relations between all the nations.

Chile and the Latin American Free Trade Association

Jose Cademartori

RECENT years have seen inter-state associations become one of the salient features of the capitalist economy. In Latin America the trend is manifest in the conclu-

sion of the Central American Economic Integration Treaty and the establishment of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). The former has been signed by

five countries — El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica*—while LAFTA takes in nine — Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

The Aims—Professed and Real

The protagonists of the Latin American Common Market have patterned it after the European Common Market, which, they claim, is an alliance of nations designed to raise living standards by means of economic cooperation, an alliance innocent of any aggressive or discriminatory intentions. Their Latin American Common Market would preserve both the existing economic structure of the member-countries and their present foreign economic relations, even though the bulk of their foreign trade is accounted for not by trade with one another but by trade with the imperialist countries. This latter fact is a reflection of the unequal status of the Latin American countries, a status patent, in particular, in the gap between the high prices they pay for their imports and the low prices they get for their exports. Extensive trade between the Latin American countries is impossible without abolishing the semi-colonial terms of trade imposed on them by the imperialist powers.

The Common Market ideologists claim that economic integration of large territories or on a continental scale is inevitable, ignoring the fundamental difference between the free, equal and fraternal association of the socialist countries and the imperialist state-monopoly association of the West European type. They prefer not to mention the fact that U.S. imperialism, as the leader of global reaction, is pushing integration throughout the capitalist world with a view to using it against the socialist world system and to bolster up imperialist rule. The Wall Street-inspired integration in Latin America clearly has nothing in common with the type of confederation envisaged by Simon Bolivar and other great liberation fighters. Only our own peoples can build close relations between their countries, and this they will do through joint struggle for economic, social and political liberation.

In Chile LAFTA is backed by political leaders connected with a handful of ultra-reactionary monopolist-type capitalists who occupy the commanding heights in banking, industry, transport and trade and together with the land-owning class constitute the

principal support of U.S. imperialism in our country. Some of these people pin their hopes on the Latin American Common Market absorbing part of the output which they cannot sell on the home market owing to the low purchasing power of the people.

This limited effective demand is retarding the growth of national industry. At the same time the national bourgeoisie is incapable of taking the lead in implementing a radical agrarian reform which would give the peasantry free access to the manufactured-goods market. Hence the idea of setting up a common market as the most expedient solution for the present difficulties. A campaign was mounted to boost it as the best way out for the entire national bourgeoisie. Actually, only a negligible number of big enterprises, primarily those linked with foreign capital, can gain from the scheme.

With the exception of the Communist Party and the other parties affiliated to the Popular Action Front of Chile, all the political parties advocated such a common market. Even some of the Socialist leaders declared that the projected integration, "despite its limitations," was worth supporting since it would "unshackle the productive forces of Latin America." The Christian Democratic Party went so far as to represent the idea as being a sort of "third position" — a position somewhere between capitalism and socialism. These Christian Democrat leaders regard the European community of de Gaulle and Adenauer as the quintessence of the "third force."

When in December 1960 the national congress gave its blessing to the LAFTA project, only the National Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties voted against. But now even the Christian Democrats and Radicals are beginning to qualify their support. Broad sections of the public, voicing apprehensions about LAFTA, are protesting against being involved in it. Even the President of Chile, who in his message to the National Congress in May 1962 described the initial steps of LAFTA as "satisfactory," has had to admit that there were also "less favorable aspects as regards some important branches, such as iron and steel and copper, which were not provided with tariff safeguards in the initial agreements."

The Doctrine of Imperialist Integration

A number of measures taken by the U.S. government at first caused confusion among some progressives, who mistakenly assumed that the rulers of our northern neighbor were against LAFTA. Soon, however, the U.S.

*See our issue No. 6, 1962. The first four countries are the original signatories. Costa Rica joined later.

position became clear from the report of the Milton Eisenhower mission and data put out by the Rockefeller Foundation. For instance, a report on international economic policy published by the Foundation in 1958 specifically proposed the establishment of a common market for the entire Western Hemisphere with a view to "abolishing barriers to trade and investment." The authors of the report (among them were two top officials of the present U.S. Administration, Adolf Berle Jr., and Chester Bowles) emphasized the significance of the Western Hemisphere for the USA, inasmuch as it accounted for half of the latter's foreign trade and two-thirds of its foreign investments.

Clearly a project of this order could not but encounter opposition in our countries. To counteract this resistance it was argued that the experience of Puerto Rico showed that tariff barriers were not essential for stimulating economic development; on the contrary, they were more likely to have a retarding effect. Puerto Rico had a common market with the USA, and this, the above-mentioned report claimed, had enabled the former to achieve the highest level of industrialization in the Caribbean.

The purpose of this is to make us forget that industrialization is the foundation of political sovereignty only insofar as it serves to ensure economic independence. Without independence industrialization means nothing to our peoples. What the imperialists are offering us is "associate" status, in other words, colonial status, in exchange for their capital and industry.

Despite all the efforts of the Kennedy Administration and its Puerto Rican aides Moscoso and Morales Carrion, the "association" slogan will hardly win popular support. Hence the change in imperialist tactics. Even though the Latin American "free trade area" is not its ultimate aim, Washington regards it as a step towards the integration of the Western Hemisphere and, therefore, advantageous to it. What the *Journal of Commerce* said sometime ago about the European Common Market is fully applicable also to LAFTA. Even though the EEC might have an adverse effect on some US exports, the journal declared, it would substantially stimulate private investment abroad. LAFTA, then, breaks down the frontiers of the national markets, joins them together and gives a free hand to Northern American capital. It is a cover for smuggling in the "integration" which is one of the aims of the Kennedy Administration. Referring to LAFTA in a

speech in Congress, the U.S. President made it clear that integration would provide the monopolies with bigger markets and strengthen their competitive position.

As before, Wall Street is out to turn LAFTA into something approximating its cherished ideal of "association." Indicative in this respect was a speech delivered at Georgetown University by Herrera, President of the Inter-American Bank and a proponent of U.S. policy in Latin America, in which he spoke of "hemisphere nationalism" and of establishing such institutions as a Latin American parliament and executive bodies charged with carrying out economic integration and coordinating the national interests and policies of our countries.

The U.S. State Department regards LAFTA as another cold-war weapon against the socialist countries. The reactionary and discriminatory bias of this association was clearly manifest when Cuba's application for entry was discussed. According to the Montevideo agreement any Latin American country is eligible for admission. But in the case of Cuba both the spirit and the letter of the agreement were violated. Cuba's application was turned down on the grounds that its economic system was "incompatible" with the Montevideo pact.

The LAFTA agreement does not provide for any economic arrangements with the socialist countries whatsoever. This, of course, cannot damage the interests of the latter. But it does have an adverse effect on the Latin American countries since it deprives them of opportunities to draw on the technological and scientific achievements and economic aid of the socialist countries and bars them from the vast market these countries could offer. Moreover, LAFTA is likely to prevent trade with the newly-emerged independent states of Asia and Africa even though the prospects held out by such intercourse are promising indeed.

The Montevideo Agreement

A big part in launching LAFTA was played in the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America. As a matter of fact, the underlying principles of the Montevideo agreement were elaborated by a committee set up by the U.N. commission in which the spokesmen of the big bourgeoisie of the various countries were invited to take part. The agreement was signed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay in February 1960; Colombia and Ecuador joined at the end of 1961.

The signatories agreed to abolish in the course of 12 years all tariff barriers and other import limitations among themselves, while retaining the right to take independent action on imports from third countries. They declared it was their intention to harmonize their import and export policies "to the greatest possible extent," to pursue an agreed policy in regard to investments and services from countries outside the area, and to coordinate industrialization policies. Investments by member-countries are ensured conditions no less favorable than those made by other countries. Articles 23-26, however, contain reservations enabling the signatories to evade a number of stipulations. For example, to stabilize payment balances, member-countries may impose import quotas for goods on the preferential list. Moreover, they have the right to limit agricultural imports to the minimum necessary to cover the discrepancy between needs and domestic production, and to equalize the prices of imported agricultural products and home produce. There is also a point concerning the "relatively less developed" member-countries; the governments of these are to be accorded, by agreement with the other member-countries, certain privileges, for instance in the matter of lowering tariffs.

The supreme authority of LAFTA is the Conference of the Contracting Parties, which sees to the implementation of the treaty stipulations, prescribes procedures for the Permanent Executive Committee, and elects the Executive Secretary of this committee. At the Conference scheduled to meet once a year, the delegation of each country has one vote. The Permanent Executive Committee supervises the observance of the treaty stipulations and the decisions of the Conference, and represents LAFTA in international organizations and in its relations with other countries. The Committee consists of one representative from each country, each with one vote. The post of Executive Secretary is of a purely administrative nature and does not carry the right to vote.

The immediate aim of LAFTA is the gradual elimination of tariff barriers between the member-states. Its advocates claim this will play a basic role in accelerating economic development and improving the standard of living in the countries concerned; in other words, they repeat the old English free-trade postulate that foreign trade, once freed of tariff barriers, promotes competition between the capitalists and is a lever for increasing production and the national wealth.

Actually, however, as Marx proved in his time (and the history of capitalist society has fully corroborated him), competition spells ruin for the small enterprises and leads to the concentration of production and capital in the hands of the big capitalists. At a certain stage it is bound to engender monopoly, i.e., the negation of free competition. Furthermore, it is in the nature of the monopolies to retard the development of production, and the concentration of wealth in their hands is by no means tantamount to an improvement in the well-being of the people; on the contrary, exploitation of the people and the sharpening of social contrasts are preconditions for the growth of this wealth. In effect, application of the "free trade" doctrine to the Latin American regional market signifies creating a machinery designed to strengthen the positions of the big concerns in full accord with the interests of the powerful monopolies of the imperialist powers.

Contradictions in LAFTA

There is no doubt that the establishment of the free trade area will mostly benefit the U.S. monopolies and their Latin American junior partners. It is worth noting that the Latin American capitalists themselves are coming to see this. According to a report prepared by a consultative group of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Organization of American States on private foreign investment in the Latin American free trade area, most of the employers interviewed for this survey were "apprehensive that the expanded market may lead to strong and damaging competition from the new and up-to-date enterprises established by foreign companies possessing huge capital and resources." They fear, the report states, that "foreign capital will not only make full use of all the openings available to it but will engage in unlawful competition on their respective national markets." The foreign companies, the local capitalists point out, have access to capital and credits on easier terms, besides possessing extensive technical resources and the advantage of being able to import equipment without spending foreign currency.

It should be added that the existing laws and regulations in most Latin American countries give foreign capital an advantage over national capital. In Chile, for instance, the statute governing foreign investments grants foreign companies exceptional privileges — the right to send out profits without

any controls whatsoever and to fix high depreciation rates, not to speak of tax exemptions over a number of years, customs reductions, freedom from price controls, etc.

The invasion by foreign companies poses serious problems for the local capitalists. To survive the competitive struggle, the latter have to expand and modernize their plant. But to do this they have to turn to the U.S. machinery exporters and the finance organizations linked with them. It is logical to assume that neither the one nor the other is willing to extend credits or other privileges to enterprises which might compete with the U.S. monopolies. The national capitalists, therefore, will be forced either to submit to their *diktat* or go under. With the growth within the free trade area of the competition envisaged by Kennedy, the national bourgeoisie will become increasingly dependent on the imperialists.

The Latin American monopolies are using LAFTA more and more as a bogey to deter the working class from advancing its demands. In Chile, for example, there is much talk about labor costs being higher than in the other Latin American countries, while in the latter it is argued that the reverse is the case. The monopolies insist that wages be reduced if Chile is not to lag behind in the drive to capture markets in the other member-countries. Hence the workers should not demand wage increases or other economic improvements. The recent debates on devaluating the Chilean currency revealed another aspect of the utilization of LAFTA by the U.S. monopolies and their local allies. Devaluation, it was argued, was essential in order to make Chilean goods competitive in the other LAFTA countries. The opponents of any improvement in the social services are also invoking the Association. According to them, social security cuts are needed to enable the employers to compete on the markets of the area. Since a number of Chilean industries, including cotton textiles, find themselves at a disadvantage as compared with other LAFTA countries, more and more pressure is being used to have the unprofitable mills closed. This would spell unemployment for thousands; the only advice given to those who cannot find other work at home is to look for it abroad.

The competition will add to the disparities between the countries belonging to the regional market. The inclusion in the LAFTA agreement of provisions concerning the economically less developed countries is in itself an admission that inequality already exists.

Capital as we know tends to flow towards the most favorable "climate", and this applies also to U.S. investments in manufacturing. The countries offering the greatest inducements in this respect — Mexico, Brazil and Argentina — will, evidently, continue to attract more investors than, say, Paraguay, Bolivia or Ecuador. An analogous situation exists in each of the countries. Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires and Santiago are all industrial centers which are growing at the expense of other, poverty-stricken areas. Industrial development in the conditions of capitalist anarchy of production can only sharpen the contrasts and increase the unevenness of the economic development of the various regions.

The Common Market will undoubtedly exacerbate many of the existing contradictions—between the different groups of the national bourgeoisie, between sectors of the capitalist economy, between the capitalists of the different countries, and also the class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in each country. The contradiction between the U.S. monopolies and the overall complex of national interests in each of the Latin American countries will, however, be the key problem. The increasing penetration of the regional market by these monopolies is bound to ruin many national capitalists, throw thousands of people out of their jobs, doom whole areas and countries to backwardness, intensify the outflow of capital and distort the industrial development of a number of Latin American countries.

The Communist Attitude

The economy of Chile, as that of other Latin American countries, is in a state of stagnation. Industrial expansion has been halted, and whatever progress there has been has taken distorted forms. Many enterprises are working at half capacity, and the declining purchasing power of the people is continuing to slow down growth of production. As Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of our Party, said, "the Latin American Common Market in itself cannot bring about a miracle and increase the purchasing power of our people."

The situation is critical, but it could be overcome by expanding the home market. The experience of Cuba fully proves that this is so. As a result of the agrarian reform which gave the land to the Cuban peasants their purchasing power increased. Nationalization of U.S.-owned enterprises put an end to the export of vast amounts of capital, which today are used to build up the country.

The removal of the reactionaries from power made it possible to carry out far-reaching economic and social measures and to increase the working people's income. Unemployment has largely been abolished. Although the factories are working at capacity, demand has outstripped production. Since the revolution Cuban production has been growing at a rate no other Latin American country has seen.

Chile needs foreign markets where it can sell its goods and buy those which our own industry does not produce in sufficient quantities. Therefore we Communists are for free and independent trade with all countries of the world, trade based on equality, mutual benefit and respect for one another. Exclusive common markets, closed blocs pursuing discriminatory policies, can only damage the interests of the Latin American countries. The Brazil Minister of Industry and Commerce, for instance, declared in November 1961 that his country had been "confronted with the most serious threats in the history of its foreign trade relations." The establishment of the EEC has already made itself felt in Chile, which has lost some of its traditional outlets for copper and farm produce. Precisely because of this the Communists counterpose to the policy of exclusive blocs the idea of unrestricted international economic cooperation without any political discrimination. The Soviet Union's proposal that an international trade conference be called to discuss the establishment of a world trade organization taking in all countries without discrimination should be given every support.

From the outset the Chilean Communists have worked to expose the real aims of the Latin American Common Market. The views of our Party have been made public through the Party press, Parliament and public meetings. In May 1959, when there still was much confusion on the question of the Common Market among the people, the Party leadership especially raised the issue at a public meeting. "The idea of a Latin American Common Market, which originated in Latin America," Louis Corvalan said, "was later taken up by the USA with two aims in view—to give a free hand to U.S. monopoly capital operating in Latin America . . . and to offer the Latin American countries the semblance of a way out in order to divert them from the search for a radical solution to the problem."

The Chilean Communists are for closer political and economic contacts with the fraternal peoples of Latin America. But genuine rapprochement and unity can be

achieved only through struggle waged by the masses to oust the reactionary rulers who have betrayed the national interests and to build up truly independent, democratic, national states standing for the peoples' interests and hence capable of sharing common views. The compact of the local and foreign monopolies in LAFTA has nothing in common with the economic and political unity of the Latin American peoples.

The establishment of LAFTA once again emphasizes the need to redouble efforts to win freedom for our peoples. More must be done to coordinate the national-liberation movement in all our countries.

An important landmark in this respect was the Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace held in March 1961 in Mexico. The Conference called for a "campaign to throw light on the real meaning of the steps taken by the various governments towards a Latin American Common Market, steps which, without preliminary strict control of foreign monopoly investments and reorganization of the existing structure, will benefit primarily the international concerns and make Latin America still more dependent on imperialism." The Conference stressed that the Common Market can produce positive results only to the extent to which the interests of the people are met, only to the extent to which a proper import-export balance is ensured for our countries on the foreign market controlled by the international monopolies.

Another salient event was the Latin American Trade Union Conference held in Santiago in September 1962. After examining the progress in setting up LAFTA, the conference arrived at the following conclusions:

—an association of this kind is of benefit only to the Latin American employers and the North American finance tycoons;

—it is a "reactionary and imperialist bloc designed to retard the progress of the peoples";

—only people's rule will make it possible to organize a Latin American association with an assured future.

The Communists are called upon to lead the struggle of the working class against the threat to its interests, in defense of the workers' economic and social gains which the men behind LAFTA are out to destroy. They must work more actively to protect the national interests against the local and foreign monopolies, which are out to use LAFTA to strengthen their positions.

To the establishment of the free-trade area,

the Communist Party and the Popular Action Front are responding by redoubling their efforts to rally the masses for a thorough reconstruction of the present regime. Our aim for the immediate future is to establish a people's government which would put the

existing institutions on a democratic footing, carry out an agrarian reform, nationalize the domestic and foreign monopolies, and work to promote international trade and cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and genuine Latin American rapprochement.

WMR COMMENTARIES

Major Victory for Italian Communists

SURPRISE, bewilderment, above all, bitter disappointment was the initial reaction of the anti-Communists in Italy and elsewhere to the results of the April 28-29 general election which, as the complete table of returns published below shows, resulted in a big increase in the Communist vote.

More than 25 per cent of the voters, or one in every four, voted Communist. In the election to the Senate the Communist poll increased by 1,300,000, to the Chamber of Deputies by 1,060,000. The Party has registered a gain of 52 seats in the new Parliament, and now has a total of 85 seats in the Senate and 166 in the Chamber of Deputies. In some places the increase in the Communist poll was exceptionally high. In Turin, for example, it rose from 139,000 to 200,000, i.e., from 22.5 per cent to 27.1 per cent of the total vote; in Perugia, from 30 to 39 per cent; in Siena, from 33 to 40 per cent; in Cosenza in the South, from 21.8 to 26.8 per cent. In Rome, the Communists polled 56,000 more votes than in the municipal elections held less than ten months ago.

Particularly significant is the fact that this growth was registered not in any specific locality but throughout the country; in the industrial centers of the North, where the myth of the "economic miracle" and the "welfare society" circulated by the monopolies was calculated to knock the ground from under the Communists' feet; in Central Italy where, in the opinion of the anti-Communists and political experts of the big bourgeoisie, Communist influence was so strong that the possibility of any further increase was slight; in the backward South, where the reformist policy pursued by the monopolies was aimed at check-

ing the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. The results also showed that the Communist Party has increased its influence among all strata of society: workers, peasants, the middle sections, the intelligentsia, women, youth and emigrants.

As *Unita* noted, the "general character of the victory highlights the political and ideological significance of the votes cast for the Communists. All sociological or other explanations (television, lessening of religious discrimination, etc.) only add to the overall political picture of the election."

The victory won by the Communists and all the Left forces is a clear answer to the stratagems to which the class enemies have resorted in an effort to weaken and ultimately smash the Communist Party. All the maneuvers undertaken in the past few years—establishment of so-called "centrist" governments; the hounding of Communists; the unjust electoral law; the attempt to institute an authoritarian regime, and finally, the creation of a Left-Center government backed by the Socialists for the purpose of undermining the Communists "from within," isolating them and splitting the working class—all have ended in failure.

Great hopes were pinned on the latest experiment in this sphere. The keynote of the election campaign conducted by the Christian Democrats and other Left-Center parties was the claim that votes cast for the Communists were so many votes "wasted" since the Communist Party, so the claim ran, was out of the running, that it was in a state of crisis and no longer counted in the present alignment of political forces. Such is the consternation in the anti-Communist camp that some highly "res-

pectable" bourgeois newspapers are going so far as to lay the blame for the Communist election victory on . . . President Kennedy and Pope John XXIII! Everyone knows, however, that there is a far simpler explanation: the fact that nearly eight million Italians voted for the Communists is proof that the policy pursued by the Party is the correct one.

The Communist election gains strengthen all the Left forces in the country since the position of the other Left parties has not weakened as a result. The Republican Party, for example, retained its position; Saragat's Social Democratic Party polled one-third more votes than in the previous elections, while Nenni's Party lost only 0.4 per cent of its share of the total vote. It would, therefore, be wrong to attribute the Communist victory merely to a shifting of the votes from the Socialists to the Communists. In many places the Communists registered big gains, the Socialist Party maintained its positions. In Turin, for example, where the Socialist Federation is headed by Left Socialists, that Party increased its vote. In many provinces the increase in the Communist poll almost exactly coincides with the losses suffered by the Christian Democrats.

What has happened is a mass turn to the Left and a clear Left shift in the alignment of political forces: nearly 40 per cent of the electorate voted for the Communists and Socialists. In other words, for the first time, these two working-class parties together polled more votes in the elections both for the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies than the biggest bour-

geois party, the Christian Democrats. The fact that this shift to the Left is expressed in a large concentration of votes for the Communist Party testifies to its *democratic* and *unitarian* character—unitarian because it is a clear condemnation of any policy of splitting the working class, and democratic because it provides the most favorable conditions for ending the political monopoly of the Christian Democrats.

The Christian Democratic Party suffered a crushing defeat. It lost votes to the Left among the agricultural laborers, factory workers, emigrants, and women, and possibly the middle classes as well. The increase in the Liberal vote and the insignificant gain registered by the neofascists was chiefly at the expense of the monarchists. While numerically the strength of the Right parties in Parliament remains unchanged, politically they have lost ground vis-à-vis the Lefts, and especially the Communists. Whatever stratagems the government may resort to—and these are always possible—one thing is clear: the Christian Democratic Party has less opportunity for maneuvering than formerly and it has lost its postwar monopoly of political power. This should be a lesson for the Left.

The results of the elections mark a new stage in the political development of Italy and will, undoubtedly, have international repercussions as well. The masses of the people voted against the monopolies, for a policy of peace, for a genuine turn to the Left, for the democratic and socialist regeneration of Italy.

Luigi DE MICHELO

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES*

PARTY	Number of votes		Difference	%%		Differ- ence	No. of seats		Differ- ence
	1963	1958		1963	1958		1963	1958	
Communist Party	7,763,854	6,704,454	+ 1,059,400	25.3	22.7	+2.6	166	140	+26
Socialist Party	4,251,966	4,206,726	+ 45,240	13.8	14.2	-0.4	87	84	+ 3
Social Democratic Party	1,874,379	1,345,447	+ 528,932	6.1	4.5	+1.6	33	22	+11
Republican Party	420,746	405,782	+ 14,964	1.4	1.4	—	6	6	—
Valdostana Union**	31,748	30,596	+ 1,152	0.1	0.1	—	1	1	—
Christian Democrats	11,763,854	12,519,207	- 755,353	38.3	42.4	-4.1	260	273	-13
South Tyrolean Party	135,444	135,491	- 47	0.4	0.5	-0.1	3	3	—
Liberal Party	2,142,053	1,047,081	+ 1,094,972	7.0	3.5	+3.5	39	17	+22
Monarchists	536,652	1,439,916	- 903,264	1.7	4.8	-3.1	8	25	-17
Neofascists	1,569,202	1,407,718	+ 161,484	5.1	4.8	+0.3	27	24	+ 3
Others	240,807	319,851	- 79,044	0.8	1.1	-0.3	—	—	—
Total:	30,699,094	29,560,269	+ 1,138,825	—	—	—	630	595***	

*Age limit for voters to Senate is 25, for Chamber of Deputies, 21.

**Communist and Socialist voters also voted for the candidate of this Union.

***To this number should be added one deputy from the "Comunita" movement elected in 1958 in Ivrea.

SENATE

PARTY	Number of votes		Difference	% %		Differ- ence	No. of seats 1963	No. of seats 1958	Differ- ence
	1963	1958		1963	1958				
Communists*	6,993,645	5,701,019	+ 1,292,626	25.5	21.8	+3.7	85	59	+26
Socialists	3,856,135	3,687,469	+ 168,666	14.0	14.1	-0.1	44	35	+ 9
Social Democrats	1,739,910	1,137,927	+ 601,983	6.3	4.4	+1.9	14	5	+ 9
Republicans	223,421	367,339	- 143,918	0.8	1.4	-0.6	—	—	—
Valdostana Union	29,498	28,141	+ 1,857	0.3	0.3	— —	1	1	—
Christian Democrats**	10,208,983	10,782,262	- 573,279	37.2	41.2	-4	133	123	+10
Liberals	2,059,485	1,023,966	+ 1,035,519	7.5	3.9	+3.6	19	4	+15
Monarchists	428,173	1,349,894	- 921,721	1.6	5.2	-3.6	2	7	- 5
Neofascists	1,694,858	1,456,010	+ 338,848	6.2	5.6	+0.6	15	8	+ 7
Others	253,028	92,796	+ 160,232	0.9	0.3	+0.6	3	1	+ 2

*The 6,993,645 votes include 6,471,095 cast for the ICP plus 503,495 for the common ICP-Social-Christian Union (an autonomous party in Sicily) and 19,055 votes for the ICP-Independent Left candidates in Trentino-Alto-Anige (South Tyrols).

**Including 638,785 votes or 2.3 per cent for the Demo-Christian-Republican candidates (7 Senators were elected, of whom 3 Christian Democrats and 1 Republican in four districts of Romagna).

Among Our Contributors

VILLE PESSI: General Secretary, Communist Party of Finland.

DIPA NUSANTARA AIDIT: Chairman of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Indonesia.

EDWARD GIEREK: Member of the Political Bureau, Polish United Workers' Party; First Secretary, Katowice Regional Committee, P.U.W.P.

GEORGE MATTHEWS: Chief editor of the Daily Worker, London.

ALCIRA DE LA PENA: Member of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Argentina.

SANTIAGO ALVAREZ: Member of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Spain.

JOSE CADEMARTORI: Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Chile.

JEAN PAUL THIBAUT: French journalist.

HYMIE FAGAN: British journalist.

MARCOS ANA (Fernando Macarro): Spanish Communist poet.

JACOB M. BUDISH: U.S. political writer.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Party Congresses

Communist Party of Argentina

THE TWELFTH Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina was held over February 22—March 3 in Mar del Plata. Many difficulties arising from the Party's illegal status and the repressions of the military dictatorship had to be overcome in order to prepare and convene the Congress.

Attended by 102 delegates from the federal capital and the 20 provinces as well as by a delegation from the Communist Youth Federation, the Congress was opened by Rodolfo Ghioldi who briefly described the 45 years of the Party (January 6 marked the 45th anniversary of its founding). The keynote of the political report submitted by Victorio Codovilla and of the entire ten days' proceedings was "For mass action in order to win power."

Speaking of the period between the Eleventh and Twelfth Congresses, Comrade Codovilla pointed out that despite the complex and frequently changing situation in which the Party had to work it had maintained and strengthened its contact with the working class and the people, and had fought for their unity, in defense of national independence, for progress and social well-being, for democracy and peace.

The Party has upheld the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and has fought vigorously against the bourgeois concept of class conciliation. It has labored to help the working class, and the Peronists in particular, to rid themselves of bourgeois-nationalist influence and to adopt proletarian ideology so as to be able to fulfil the leading role which belongs to the working class in the bloc of the popular forces.

Such was the policy adopted by the Eleventh Congress, which greatly facilitated the turn to the Left among the working-class and the people generally, and especially among the Peron supporters.

The Twelfth Congress finds the Party firmly united around the Central Committee, the reason being that in all its activity the Party, guided by the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, has combated all manifestations of

revisionist, opportunist, "Leftist" and dogmatic distortions.

Comrade Codovilla reviewed the developments on the world arena since the Eleventh Congress, developments which had decisively altered the balance of forces in favor of the camp of peace and socialism, and he drew attention to the significance of the Program of the CPSU, endorsed at its Twenty-Second Congress.

Turning to the issue of peaceful coexistence in connection with the Caribbean crisis, the speaker stressed the heroism of the Cuban people and the resolute and flexible attitude of the Soviet Union thanks to which the imperialist provocation was rebuffed and a thermonuclear war averted. "Precisely because of this," said Comrade Codovilla, "in view of the above-mentioned extraordinary development which was fraught with such grave danger, forward-looking men and women all over the world are profoundly grateful to the Soviet government and personally to Comrade Khrushchov for their sensible and resolute actions which simultaneously saved the Cuban revolution and world peace."

There is no doubt that the perspective of averting world war is for the people a powerful stimulus to work for peace. But this perspective will not come about automatically. What is needed is unrelenting struggle for disarmament, for banning nuclear tests, for a Berlin settlement, for respect for the sovereignty of Cuba and the right of its people to their own way of life.

That is why now more than ever before, action for peace and solidarity with Cuba are tasks to which the Communists of Argentina should give priority.

Comrade Codovilla denounced the policy of plunder and neo-colonization carried out by the U.S. government and monopolies through the so-called Alliance for Progress, through loans from the International Monetary Fund and capital investments — all offered in the guise of "aid."

When at the end of 1958 the Frondizi gov-

ernment surrendered to the demands of imperialism, our Party warned that this would entail a sharpening of the economic crisis, its growing into the catastrophe which we are witnessing today.

This can be seen in the drastic decline in production and in sales of goods, wholesale redundancy of factory and office workers with the result that unemployment is now in excess of 700,000, in the partial or complete closure of many factories, in the bankruptcy of a large number of small and medium-sized industrial and commercial enterprises, in the takeover bids for these enterprises by big capital, especially by the monopoly enterprises which mainly belong to the North Americans. The output of agriculture is also falling sharply, resulting in large-scale unemployment among the rural proletariat.

Comrade Codovilla stressed that the working class and the people generally have always resisted the policy of poverty and betrayal pursued by the present rulers.

Despite the treachery or passivity of trade union leaders and leaders of the General Confederation of Labor, over 12 million workers took part in strikes during 1962. In many instances the strikers occupied the enterprises.

The growth of class consciousness among the working people is largely due to the persistent work carried out by the Movement for Trade Union Unity and Coordination and by the Communist trade unionists.

Turning to the political situation, Comrade Codovilla pointed out that the reactionaries had registered a certain success — installing a military dictatorship and abolishing the last vestiges of democracy.

This could have been avoided if, as the Communist Party proposed immediately after the elections of March 18, 1962, the democratic forces had combined in an action front and organized mass campaigns aimed at making the authorities respect the results of the elections. Had this been done, the coups d'état and the counter-coups provoked by the reactionary and fascist forces could have been averted.

Speaking about building a broad popular and democratic front, Comrade Codovilla stressed that the viewpoints of the democratic parties, trade unions and other organizations coincide on the main economic, social and political issues. This, he went on, is a good basis for joint struggle, and if this has not yet been the case, the sole explanation lies in the resistance put up by the Right-wing Peronist leaders and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties to a united front with the

Communists, Left Peronists, the Socialist Vanguard Party and other anti-imperialist parties and organizations.

The alternative facing our people, said Comrade Codovilla, is either a reactionary coalition or a democratic coalition. There is no third way. Hence, even if the resistance of some leaders may retard the building of a broad democratic front, it cannot prevent unity at rank-and-file level, in the shape of unity committees for the specific demands of workers, peasants, students, etc.

Mass actions alone will decide the outcome of the struggle for power. Our Party has always considered it necessary to develop the mass movement and, on this basis, to create favorable conditions for winning power peacefully, without, however, losing sight of the non-peaceful way in case all the democratic openings are blocked. Some people close to the Party maintain that all the openings to the peaceful way are already blocked, and that there is but one outlet — armed uprising by way of organizing a partisan movement.

The peaceful way, said Comrade Codovilla, by no means implies passive expectation, waiting for the day when the present rotten regime will crumble of its own accord. The peaceful way presupposes steadfast organization of the mass struggle against the reactionaries and for immediate demands jointly with the general struggle for a new kind of government.

It should be borne in mind that armed struggle cannot be successful unless there is a genuinely revolutionary situation. Although we can say that a revolutionary situation is maturing in our country, the *subjective* conditions needed to ensure the victory of the revolution are wanting.

The main thing is that the Communist Party, which is the vanguard of the working class, should learn to employ the various forms of struggle, both peaceful and non-peaceful, so as to be prepared to pass over from one form to the other in the event of the situation changing radically.

Comrade Codovilla dwelt on the draft Program submitted to the Congress. The draft, which is the outcome of much work in which the entire Party took part, reflects the experience of the long years of struggle and takes into account the valuable lessons of the world Communist movement, especially the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In its content this is a program of a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution looking ahead to socialism. After it has been

endorsed, said Comrade Codovilla, the main thing will be to popularize it among the workers and the people generally and to organize the struggle for its implementation.

So that the Party should be able to fulfil its role of guiding force, of organizer and leader of mass actions, its organizational, political and ideological work must be improved. The membership now exceeds 100,000, but not all members are in close contact with the Party. Hence it is essential to examine the question whether our organizational forms are flexible enough.

Concluding, Comrade Codovilla discussed the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. He fully supported the proposal made by Comrade Khrushchov on behalf of the CPSU at the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Arnedo Alvarez spoke about the role of the Party in the struggle to organize the mass movements; Victor Larralde, introduced the amendments to the Party Rules, and Orestes Ghioldi spoke about the Marxist-Leninist education of the members.

Delegates said that profound changes are taking place in the minds of the people who are turning to the Left and who often say: "We should do what the people of Cuba have done."

All the reports were unanimously approved. Congress endorsed the new Program and the amendments to the Rules, the political resolution and other decisions.

The Congress demonstrated that there is in our country a strong Communist Party, a party steeled in battle, having a political line the soundness of which has been confirmed by experience. The Congress showed that the Party is steadily growing and, despite the repressions, has deep roots in the main industrial centers.

The Party has always been in the van of the working-class and mass actions, wherever things are difficult and where the responsibility is greatest. It has, therefore, become the motive force of the national democratic front and is steadily advancing towards an agrarian anti-imperialist revolution and looking ahead to socialism.

Silvia PEREZ

Communist Party of Belgium

NOW is the time for vigorous working-class and democratic struggle" — this was the keynote of the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium held over April 13-15 in Antwerp.

Party Chairman Ernest Burnelle, on behalf of the Central Committee, and the delegates who spoke in the discussion, emphasized that important changes were taking place in the world, creating a new situation for each Communist Party, and that it would be an unforgivable mistake not to reckon with the new opportunities.

Comrade Burnelle analyzed first of all the objective tendencies in the development of the productive forces. The scientific and technological advance, he said, was a revolutionizing factor, and the expansion of the productive forces and their growing internationalization would in the final analysis result in sharp social conflicts.

Another aspect of the revolutionary changes now under way is that the socialist camp is, increasingly, becoming the decisive force of social development. The strength of the socialist system is such that world war can be averted, although the more aggressive elements of imperialism are still plotting evil schemes.

The socialist world is now in a position to

win in peaceful competition. The glowing prospects of communism, opened by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, exert a growing influence on the working people in all continents. "Such are the important factors which stimulate the struggle of the workers against the capitalist monopolies, for peace, social progress and democracy," said Comrade Burnelle.

The C. C. report and the delegates stressed that, in order to be effective, the policy of the Party should be based on the general strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement. "We stand by the Declaration and Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties," declared Comrade Burnelle, "which are the best documents signed by the Communist and Workers' parties of the whole world."

In keeping with the general strategy of the world Communist movement the Congress pointed out that the "struggle to avert war, to reinforce the foundations of peaceful coexistence should be the prime concern of the working people, of all people of good will." The fight for peace and for peaceful coexistence, while being an international duty of the Communists, is in complete accord with the national interests of the people of Belgium. For Belgium the struggle for peace means struggle

against the danger of war, in particular against the new threat from German imperialism. At the same time it is the struggle against the lamentable consequences of the Atlantic policy; a struggle for a reduction of military expenditure and for a shorter term of military service. The fight for peace will make it possible to isolate the "ultras" who, though not numerous and though they have lost much influence, are still dangerous. This group, supporting the aggressive schemes of the imperialist forces in the world arena, is simultaneously the mainstay of the ultra-reactionary, anti-democratic forces in Belgium. Lastly, it is in the fight for peace that a united front of the patriotic forces is being built, which is of the utmost importance for the struggle for democracy and social progress.

Comrade Burnelle and other speakers drew attention to another aspect of the question: the policy of the Party cannot be effective unless it takes into account the specific features of the country. "Belgium," said the C.C. report, "is heading towards social and political battles, far bigger than any hitherto known, towards a regrouping of forces, new alliances, turns and political upheavals." The feature of the situation today is the growing "shift to the Left" which has affected large masses of workers and other working people and has had an impact on all political parties and organizations. The program for the Party's struggle at the present stage, drawn up by the Central Committee and endorsed by the Congress, proceeds from an all-round analysis of this circumstance.

The Communists in Belgium maintain that the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence is the paramount task. Comrade Burnelle posed the question of the character of the slogans advanced in order to organize the actions of the masses. "The good slogan," he said, "is the slogan that leads to action. The good slogan is not the most ambitious slogan, not the most complete and not even one that best reflects the ultimate aims of the Communists. In determining our slogans we should not only bear in mind our revolutionary concepts but should also reckon with the sentiment of the masses and the possibilities for immediate action. The good slogan in the fight for peace is the slogan which will unite as many Belgians as possible in order to take a step towards peace and, by common effort, erect a milestone on the highway to peaceful coexistence."

Another important area is the fight for social progress. The documents of the Congress outline the aims for which the Party will work. It is important to note that the program of action envisages differentiated aims for the dif-

ferent categories of the working people in the fight for social progress.

Characterizing the program of social demands, Comrade Burnelle stressed that the struggle for these demands cannot but acquire a political character. In the course of this struggle the working class meets with mounting resistance on the part of the imperialist bourgeoisie and realizes more and more that the capitalist system raises insurmountable obstacles to any real improvement in the conditions of the working people. Because of this the beginnings of a socialist outlook are becoming more and more deeply rooted among broad sections of the working people for whom the new social system has a growing appeal.

The fight for democracy and structural reforms is the third area in the work of the Communist Party. Delegates stressed that the reactionaries were making further inroads on democratic rights and liberties, in an attempt to narrow the legal opportunities of the struggle of the working class. This aim is furthered by the recent "maintenance of order" laws which are a serious encroachment on the right of the workers to uphold their interests, on the right to strike. Needless to say, these reactionary attacks should be immediately rebuffed. But in the conditions of today, and bearing in mind all the peculiarities of the situation at home and abroad, it is no longer possible to demand merely *defense* of democracy. The working class should ever more resolutely launch out on the counter-offensive and demand the *extension* of democracy, a greater say in the economic and political life of the country.

Jean Blume, member of the Political Bureau, who spoke in the debate, stressed that structural reforms should meet the following requirements in order to be effective: first they should not be limited to solely administrative measures; second, they should be carried out under the active and constant control of the working people and their organizations; third, they should solve concrete issues in which the people and not a handful of monopolists are interested; fourth, they should effectively curb the monopolies; fifth, they should be accompanied by mass actions to compel the government and Parliament to reckon with the demands of the people, actions led by the Communist Party and its allies. In other words, the Communists regard the slogan of structural reforms as a slogan for action, a slogan for rallying the masses in active struggle against the omnipotence of the monopolies.

The Congress indicated the main directions of the struggle for structural reforms: it should ensure real opportunities for the masses to obtain information on economic matters

(monopoly profits, their distribution, etc.); it should strive for measures to avert the danger of a recession and to solve the urgent problems facing the country (e.g., nationalization of the coal mines and the entire power industry and also the armaments industry; control over the banks and insurance companies and, eventually, nationalization of credits; reform of the national transport companies; a public health system for the nation; educational reform, etc.); a development program should be worked out which would meet both the national interests and the interests of all sections of the population; exercise genuine democracy above all in the sphere of national relations and the rights of the national regions (the establishment of a federal state), establish effective popular control over Parliament, extend universal suffrage (extend the franchise to young people of 18).

Basic to a successful struggle for structural reforms and then for socialism is the broadest possible rallying of the masses, a nation-wide alliance of the Left forces. The political report and the contributions of the delegates showed that this alliance can be achieved only in the course of an active struggle. There is no need to wait for the moment when it will be possible to form an anti-monopoly government or until all the conditions for decisive success mature. What is needed is action now, and this struggle will yield results.

Indispensable to success in the struggle for the aims of the working class is the strengthening of the Party and its vanguard role. The C.C. report and the delegates emphasized that the Communists will not be able to achieve success or strengthen their Party unless they combat both Right and Left opportunist mistakes.

Congress paid close attention to the struggle against the Left opportunists, dogmatists and sectarians. In the recent past the sectarian and dogmatic tendencies did no small harm to the Party. In 1954 at the Congress in Vilvorde the Party decisively parted company with dogmatism and sectarianism and elaborated a policy the soundness of which has been fully confirmed. This policy enabled the Party to win a number of big successes. Membership, for instance, rose from 11,345 in 1959 to 14,533 in December 1962, and is still rising. It is also significant that at the last general election the party vote increased by 60 per cent compared with the 1958 election; the Party now has five members of Parliament (two in 1958). The elections for factory committees and for the boards of insurance funds held in April demonstrated the growth of Communist influence also in the trade unions.

In the past two years or so, sectarians and dogmatists made another attempt to raise their heads. Seizing on the discussion in the international Communist movement, they launched upon factional activities and distributed anti-Party literature. They entered the lists against the main decisions of the Party and against its entire policy. However, at the pre-Congress conferences and at the Congress itself the factionalists suffered a heavy defeat. Congress rejected their platform and emphatically denounced their factional activities. Four of the factionalists headed by J. Grippa were expelled. Congress called for closer unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Congress closely examined problems of the international working-class movement, stressing the vital need for the unity of all Marxist-Leninist parties to ensure success for the working class struggle.

"We shall work indefatigably to strengthen the unity of the international working-class movement," said Ernest Burnelle amid the applause of the delegates.

The amendments to the Party Rules endorsed by the Congress aim at furthering the application of the Leninist standards of inner-Party life, envisaging, in particular, an extension of the rights of members, which will enable them to take a more active part in all the activities of the Party from top to bottom, and the strengthening of collective leadership at all levels. The new clauses of the Rules provide for a considerable extension of inner-Party democracy: all elected bodies are required periodically to report back to the membership, and the principle has been laid down according to which the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and other leading bodies are to be re-elected annually by the Central Committee. Elections at all levels will be by secret ballot. At the same time the Rules envisage strict measures against factional activities, stipulating that the existence of factions is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.

The elections of the new Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission were held on the basis of the new Rules. Of the 60 newly-elected C.C. members, 10 were elected for the first time. Two new members were elected to the Political Bureau.

Delegations from 12 fraternal parties attending the Congress warmly greeted the Belgian Communists and supported their efforts to cement the unity of the world Communist movement. Many more fraternal parties sent greetings, wishing the Belgian Party further success in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

V. M. VANDENHOVE

Communist Party of Great Britain

THE Twenty-Eighth National Congress of the British Communist Party, held in London over April 12-15 and attended by 480 delegates with vote and a large number of consultative delegates, discussed three main items: the political report presented by General Secretary John Gollan, a report on the future of the trade unions in Britain, delivered by Peter Kerrigan, and a report on the international Communist movement made by George Matthews, editor of the *Daily Worker*.

John Gollan's report examined the reasons for Britain's crisis, which, he said, was not simply the result of bad Tory policy, but rather the crisis of an historically outdated imperialism. True, he went on, the Tory wage-freeze and arms-first policy had made Britain's stagnant economy the weakest in the capitalist world.

The Communists and the militant shop stewards are accused of wrecking Britain's economy, but, said Gollan, all the strikes that have ever taken place have not done a fraction of the damage perpetrated by the ruling Conservative Party and the monopolists.

This catastrophic decline of Britain's positions had led to the Common Market debacle. Rejection of British entry into the Market was the biggest rebuff ever suffered by British imperialism.

Turning to last year's Caribbean crisis, Gollan declared that the reckless action taken by the U.S. Government to crush the Cuban revolution had brought the world to the brink of a nuclear war. This design was thwarted by the combined resistance of the Cuban people, the peace policy of the Soviet Government, and the efforts of the peoples of the world, and not least the peace movement in Britain.

The aim, he said, was to save Cuba and peace, and, he went on, the invasion of Cuba was averted, Cuban sovereignty was maintained and a world war was prevented. Gollan's statement that this was due above all to the correct policy of the Soviet Union was warmly applauded.

Britain, Gollan continued, was in urgent need of a new policy, and the starting point must be a foreign policy not of cold war but of peaceful coexistence. For us, he said, peaceful coexistence far from being an academic debate is a condition for our continued existence. And the basis for a policy of peaceful coexistence is "not illusions about imperialism having changed its nature, but confidence in the strength of the peace forces, in the strength of the socialist world, and in the power of the

national-liberation movement to defeat imperialism and war."

Conditions in Britain are ripe for a big political swing to the Left. The political developments both in the Labor movement and among the professional and middle sections and the young people, Gollan continued, are clearing the way for a broad alliance of the people against the monopolists. This alliance is visualized as first and foremost united action and mass struggle by these sections and the working class on wages and conditions, in the fight for peace and on broad social questions; secondly, this struggle should be carried to the stage where understanding is won of the need to attack monopoly power and defeat the Tory Government and enter into organized association with the Labor movement; thirdly, the political expression of the alliance must be a Labor and Communist majority in Parliament.

Speaking about the growth of the Party, Gollan said that the past four years had been years of steady growth. The membership of 24,900 members at the beginning of 1958 had grown to the present figure of 34,372, and the Party had now set itself the task of securing a membership of 50,000 in the next few years. In their overwhelming majority the new members are workers in industry.

The growth of the Party in the universities was most encouraging. There is now a Party branch in every major university, and, Gollan added, the new crop of student members is strengthening the number of our intellectuals. More women members, more young people for the YCL and more readers for the *Daily Worker*—these are immediate and urgent tasks. We should not rest satisfied, Gollan continued, until every Party branch helps to form a YCL branch in its particular area.

Despite the anti-communist barrage interest in Marxism-Leninism is growing in Britain. The Party's ideological work is being furthered by the establishment of Marxist forums; later in the year there will be a week of debate on the subject: The Challenge of Marxism. More and more comrades, said Gollan, are producing splendid Marxist works on history, science, education and the arts.

The British ruling class, said Gollan in conclusion, which hates democracy, realizes that the Communist Party is a new force in the land, dedicated to end capitalism and introduce socialism. "If that is the charge against us, then the Communist Party is guilty and proud of it."

Sixty-one delegates took part in the nine

hours of discussion which followed Comrade Gollan's report. These men and women, the true voice of Britain, included shipbuilders from Glasgow, Newcastle and Liverpool, textile workers from Lancashire and Yorkshire, engineering workers from Birmingham and Coventry, miners from Wales and the Midlands, builders, railmen, dockers and teachers from London and other areas of the country.

The trade unions, said E.C. member Peter Kerrigan in a powerful speech on the future of trade unionism, should not permit any attempts to prevent them using their strength to further the political policies decided by their conferences, or to resist political attacks by capitalist governments on their economic conditions or democratic rights.

Kerrigan cited the participation of the unions in the mass lobbies to Parliament on February 13 and March 26 as examples of political action.

A private session of the Congress overwhelmingly endorsed the steps taken by the leadership of the Party to help resolve the differences in the international Communist movement. Only four of the 480 delegates with vote opposed the resolution submitted by the Executive Committee. One of the branch amendments to the Executive's resolution, which called for a continuance of the open polemic between the parties polled a mere five votes.

The spirit of proletarian internationalism was one of the outstanding features of the Congress. The efforts taken by the Party to further international unity found appreciation in more than thirty messages from the fraternal parties to the Congress.

The delegates stood for one minute in silent tribute to the murdered Communists in Iraq. Despite the terrible blows inflicted on it, said Idris Cox, moving a resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee, "we are confident that our brother party will live, recover its

strength and advance again to lead the struggle for a free and democratic Iraq."

An emergency resolution on South Africa proclaimed solidarity with the people of that country in their fight against the Verwoerd regime. The resolution pledged delegates to arouse the British people to compel the Government to stop all aid "to the racist, fascist regime in South Africa, and, in accordance with the United Nations decision to break off diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa, introduce economic sanctions, and impose an arms embargo." On April 13, the Congress adopted a resolution warmly greeting the people of Spain, Portugal and Greece in their struggle against fascism and police terror. A deputation of 40 Congress delegates went to the Spanish Embassy to protest against the Franco terror.

A touching demonstration of affection for William Gallacher, former Communist MP, was witnessed at the final session of the Congress. Gallacher, now 81, one of the founders of the Party, relinquished at his own request, his position as President of the Party. In a warm tribute to the veteran member, Comrade Gollan moved that he be appointed an honorary member of the E.C. for life. The motion was acclaimed by the delegates, who gave Gallacher an ovation worthy of his long and devoted service.

Congress by secret ballot elected a new Executive Committee of 42 members, of whom 11 are new members. The Twenty-Eighth Congress which advanced a concrete program of activity for the Party for the coming period, demonstrated the loyalty of the British Communist Party to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, to the unity and further consolidation of the international Communist movement.

John GIBBONS

The Communist Party of Finland

THE Communist Party of Finland held its Thirteenth Congress in Helsinki on April 12-15. The 52,000 members elected 346 delegates — 60 more than the number at the previous Congress. Of the delegates 149 were industrial workers (54.6 per cent), while peasant delegates numbered 45 (13 per cent). Congress acted as host to visiting delegates from 17 fraternal parties, to veteran members, representatives of public organizations and journalists. All in all, over 1,000 people took part.

Secretary-General Ville Pessi made the main

report, while Comrade Tuominen spoke on the fight for peace and for wider democracy.

The Congress was a manifestation of the unity of the Party. Both the main reports and the 55 speeches made by delegates were characterized by a businesslike approach, constructive criticism and militancy. The Congress showed the sense of responsibility of the Finnish Communists for the future of their country and its independence and they pledged to further a policy of peaceful coexistence and good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union.

The balance of forces in the world, Comrade Pessi said, which continues to change in favor of socialism, facilitates the struggle of the working class against big capital. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries, he went on, are working to unite the democratic forces of the people in the economic and political struggle to curb and ultimately abolish the power of monopoly capital; they call for nationalization of the monopolies and are campaigning for this. The struggle of the international working class for democratic changes is a profoundly revolutionary struggle, incorporating as it does the immediate demands and the goal of socialism and enduring peace.

The prospects for averting wars of aggression are good. This is not because imperialism has changed its nature, it is because the forces of peace and socialism are now so strong that by their joint efforts the people can prevent the imperialists from realizing their designs.

The Caribbean crisis was clear proof of this. The firm stand taken by the Soviet Union compelled the imperialists to refrain from invading Cuba. As a result, the prestige of the Soviet government, the CPSU and of Comrade Khrushchov have grown in our country and throughout the world. Even those who previously regarded the Soviet Union's policy of peace as mere propaganda could not but appreciate the determination shown by the Soviet government to uphold peace. The fact that people are beginning to see the link between the growing influence exerted by communist ideas and the maintenance of peace is of the utmost importance to us in the capitalist countries. We must especially stress this, Pessi said, for we have to overcome the mood of passivity bred by the reactionary bourgeoisie who preach the inevitability of war and man's inability to prevent it.

The Communist Party of Finland had made absolutely clear its attitude to peaceful co-existence. The relations now existing between Finland and the Soviet Union exemplify relations of friendship between two countries with differing social systems. But these relations, too, in great measure depend on the activity of the people. In recent years our working people have become conscious of the effect of their joint actions in bridling the militarists and reactionary circles in Finland, of the importance of mass action for strengthening the country's foreign policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence, Congress stressed, is a special form of class struggle which, in the conditions of Finland, must be

waged steadfastly in view of the attempts of the reactionaries to reverse it.

Finland's beneficial economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries could have been greater were it not for those at the head of the Finnish economy who frown on cooperation. The motives guiding the big bourgeoisie in our country, and the policy-makers, are not the interests of the nation; they favor their own selfish interests, or the class interests of international capital.

Congress urged the people vigorously to rebuff all the monopoly attempts to push Finland into the Common Market. These attempts run counter to the interest of our people, endanger its national sovereignty and the present foreign-policy orientation of the country.

Monopoly capital wants the working class and the working people generally to shoulder the consequences of economic difficulties arising from the decline in exports to the Free Trade area and from the big deficit in the trade balance with West Germany and other capitalist countries. The offensive against the standard of living together with the intensified exploitation have resulted in a 13 per cent fall in real wages in the last seven years. The delegates, especially those from the northern parts of the country, pointed to the growth of unemployment and the low wages on the emergency jobs and in the timber industry.

Congress adopted a resolution on the immediate tasks of the Party. The Party will work for higher wages, better pensions and improved living and working conditions. It demands a 40-hour week without reduction in wages, equal pay for equal work, and the right to work. In addition to a call for more trade with the socialist countries and for increased purchasing power for the population, a call was made for industrialization in the northern and eastern parts of the country which are rich in mineral resources and manpower. The establishment of a proper communications system in these areas is also an urgent matter.

The fact that some 60,000 workers took part in the recent strikes is proof of the militancy of the workers, of their determination to fight for their interests.

Agriculture is also experiencing difficulties. The measures taken by the big capitalists and landowners are not easing the lot of the small holders; on the contrary, they are making things worse.

The Party calls on the working people in the countryside to fight jointly with the industrial workers against these measures, calls for more land to the smallholders, cheaper credits and a possibility for the smallholders to sell

their produce at prices commensurate with production costs.

As to government policy, the report states, it is increasingly directed against the working class and the smallholders. The People's Democrats have criticized the government on these matters especially stressing the danger presented by the growing influence of the Coalition Party.

To the attempts by monopolists and reactionaries in the government and outside it to abolish the democratic gains of the workers, the Communist Party is responding by stepping up the struggle for more democracy. Comrade Tuominen's report on this subject and many speakers stressed the importance of this struggle and made proposals on how to strengthen the popular movement for democracy. The corresponding resolution adopted by the Congress urges the incorporation into the Constitution of the principle of peaceful coexistence, nationalization of the big banks and concerns, workers' participation in the management of nationalized enterprises, greater powers for Parliament, a more democratic system of government and many other measures designed to uphold and extend democracy in all spheres.

The question of uniting the democratic forces was thoroughly discussed. United action by the working class is decisive for building a broad front of struggle against monopoly capital, for gaining more rights for the workers, and for peace. Many examples showed

that in recent years unity had found new forms and had been extended, and that more Social Democratic workers are supporting the idea of unity. The policy of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders is gravely affecting the unity among the workers. Congress called on all Communists to work more actively for unity and for fraternal contact with members and followers of the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Union. The Party will work tirelessly to overcome the split in the trade unions caused by the Right-wing Social Democratic leadership. Proletarian internationalism was the keynote of the Congress. As Comrade Pessi stressed in his report, the Party is guided by the documents of the international meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960; the international Communist movement as a whole and each Communist Party in particular, he said, bears greater responsibility for the future of mankind. The world Communist movement is the main force in the struggle for peace and progress, against imperialism, colonial oppression and reaction. The firmer its ideological and political cohesion, the greater its strength. The Congress declared that it would support every effort to consolidate the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Congress unanimously approved the report of the Central Committee, adopted resolutions on the points discussed and elected the leading bodies of the Party.

N. L—N.

For an Opposition Front Against the Dictatorship

(Statement of the Communist Party of Venezuela)

A PRESS statement issued by the Communist Party of Venezuela sets forth the Party's attitude to the forthcoming elections.

This year, the statement says, the issue of choosing a successor to the President will have to be decided. This is a vital issue for our nation. Theoretically it is a question of determining the direction which our country will take in the next five years, beginning with 1964. No section of Venezuelan society can afford to evade or ignore this event. We Communists have our own views on the matter. At the moment our attitude can be described as follows:

For a national and democratic government. The task facing our people is that of forming a national democratic government which would include citizens pledged to independent development for Venezuela. This problem should be solved during the current year if we really want to find a formula for democratic coexistence, if we want to begin the economic regeneration of the country, guarantee broad rights to the people and ensure their free participation in political life so as to advance the national, patriotic and democratic movement in the country.

The program and the alignment of forces. The issue of a successor to the President cannot be reduced merely to that of struggle between rival candidates. This, while it is important, is not the decisive factor. The main question is that of a program for the future government. And the urgent task of each political party is to give an exact answer to this question.

The one-party system is no way out. We maintain that the one-party system cannot ensure a way out of the profound political, economic, military and social crisis which our country is now experiencing. Only a democratic and popular unity can ensure the measures needed to deal with the crisis. It would be naive to think that one party could cope with a task which necessitates the unity of all in order to guarantee independence and democracy for our country.

A Unity Front of the People against the policy of personal gain. The time is ripe for building a broad front of democratic and popular unity capable of altering the present political set-up, a feature of which is the policy of personal gain and the repressions

by means of which the ruling classes seek to buttress their regime. The united front of the people would concentrate on securing firm guarantees for all citizens and on creating the conditions needed to abolish the restrictions from which the people suffer. It would be wrong, in our view, to agree to any compromise on restricting the free struggle of the political parties. To do so would, as we see it, signify renunciation of the struggle, which can be successful provided all the opposition forces act in unity.

Another task of the Front: an agreed candidate and an agreed program. The United Front of the People would be in a position to discuss the question of a common program and an agreed candidate for the presidency. For each party to nominate its own candidate would, we repeat, signify, deliberately or otherwise, reducing the issue simply to replacing one man by another. This is too simple an approach to the problem posed by the expiration of the term of office of the present reactionary government. Associated with this problem is a whole complex of other matters. The normal electoral procedure of all parties enjoying equal opportunity in the elections, as was the case, for instance, in the 1958 elections, does not exist today. The ruling junta has resorted to various moves to prolong its stay in office or, in other words, to prolong the administrative chaos, deprive the people of civic rights, trample on the Constitution and democratic liberties, sow hatred, betray national sovereignty—in a word to continue to do all the things for which the Betancourt government is notorious.

Create the conditions to ensure the victory of the people. The features of the present electoral procedure compel the popular and democratic forces not only to give thought to nominating candidates for the presidency and to the representative bodies, in the event of deciding to take part in the elections being prepared by Betancourt, but also to ensure the ways and means which would guarantee respect for a popular victory: first, recognition of this victory by the authorities and, second, recognition of the fact that victory directly depends on fidelity to the election program, and on its realization. It would be suicidal not to warn the people about these things and not to take the necessary steps so that words can

be backed by deeds and not remain mere boasting devoid of any material foundation at an hour of decision.

The Communist Party will resist any attempt to rig the elections and is opposed to one-party rule. We Communists, naturally, are not opposed to elections. What we are against is a fraudulent electoral procedure designed to maintain the rule of one and the same party. The prisons in our country are filled to overflowing; every night houses are raided by the police, reprisals are taken against peaceful demonstrations, the activity of political parties is outlawed, as was the case with our Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement. This is a situation that can hardly generate enthusiasm for the elections or convince anybody that the elections will restore the democratic rights and clear the way for a new government in which progressives would predominate. We can say without any exaggeration that we Communists would be the first to go to the polls if the elections ensured participation of all political parties, respect for civil rights and democratic freedoms.

The national opposition front. We support the proposal made by the opposition in the Democratic Action Party that all the opposition parties and groups should immediately begin talks with a view to forming a broad national opposition front.

There are no reasons for putting off the building of this front, which would be a big step forward in the fight for the democratic changes demanded by our people. Our Party is ready to begin talks.

The statements made by Dr. Raul Leoni. The press statements issued by Dr. Raul Leoni* confront the country with the problem posed by the unlawful and anti-democratic government decree banning the activity of the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement.

The Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement should, said Dr. Leoni, "abide by the Constitution." But all our actions have been motivated solely by the desire to uphold the Constitution against the steady encroachments of the authorities. It is necessary to recall our contribution to the text of the Constitution. Despite our reservations in approving the final text of the Constitution, despite its weaknesses and omissions, and despite

the fact that the Constitution is only a legal instrument which does not in any way affect the domination of the traditional ruling classes—despite these things, we declare that had the government honored the Constitution, had it not violated it, the situation in the country would have been different.

The government is to blame for the violence. The violence perpetrated in the country is not the outcome of the activity of our Party or of the Left Revolutionary Movement, it is the result of the policy carried out by the President and his associates who have launched a "McCarthy crusade" against the Communists. The government reprisals have already cost Venezuela thousands of victims, have created a situation of civil war and have filled the prisons.

We Communists do not want violence. Like most people we want peace and tranquillity in our country.

The government wants not peace but an armed peace. The government wants an armed peace resting on violence, on interference by the organs of coercion in the free political struggle of the political parties. We are working to put an end to the government reprisals and violence, to create a new atmosphere of constructive utilization of our resources and of our national wealth which at present are in the hands of foreign companies—the enemies of our independent development.

Five main points. Peace in the country depends solely on the government. It has at its disposal the means with which to end the violence caused by its policy. But it does not do so. What are these means?

1. Release and amnesty for all political and military prisoners.
2. Strict observance of the Constitution and, consequently, ending the ban on political parties.
3. Reinstatement in the armed forces of all officers and nco's who have been arrested, exiled or retired for political reasons.
4. A policy of independent economic development for agriculture and the petroleum industry, industrialization and credits and defence of sovereignty and national independence.
5. Revision of the agrarian reform so that it really fulfils its social and liberating role.

We are not obstructing the restoration of peace in the country. We Communists have never obstructed nor shall we ever obstruct implementation of measures which would help restore peace in the country.

It can be affirmed that the anti-communist campaign of the government and its supporters, and their plans to isolate the Communist Party and discriminate against it have boomer-

*Raul Leoni, chairman of the so-called "old guard" group of the Democratic Action Party, expressed the view that perhaps the ban on the Communist Party could be raised if the Party were to renounce its policy of violence; this would clear the way for it to take part in the elections.—Ed.

anged. Experience has shown that it is impossible simultaneously to think in terms of democracy and practice anti-communism and resort to police reprisals. We Communists and members of the Left Revolutionary Movement are a force which must be reckoned with in order to carry out a firm national and democratic policy. Our Party does not deny its share of responsibility for the actions against the government reprisals, does not reject any formula for mutual understanding and coexistence nor will it flinch from the sacrifices which will be required to ensure the grandeur

of our country. Our patriotism has emerged victorious from the tests to which it has been subjected.

If only the government would show respect for democratic rights and not be hostile to the people, it would enjoy the respect of the Communist Party.

To conclude, the Party calls on the people to support the above-mentioned five points and to build a powerful opposition front capable of ensuring genuinely free elections which would result in the establishment of a national and democratic government.

EVENTS IN VENEZUELA

VENEZUELA, about one million sq. km. in area, has a population of 7.5 million. The language is Spanish, and is spoken by almost the entire population with the exception of 150,000 Indians.

Venezuela's richness in mineral resources makes it a choice morsel for imperialism. It is the third largest producer of oil in the world (13 per cent of the world output) after the USA and the Soviet Union. It has immense deposits of iron ore with a high content of iron, which is mined by open-cast methods. Cost of production is low. Fifty per cent of the ore consumed in the USA is supplied by Venezuela.

In the vicinity of the iron ore deposits are the Caroni waterfalls—a source of hydro-power opening up excellent opportunities for developing an iron and steel center; here too, are bauxite-processing plants. Manganese is also found in the neighborhood of this mineral treasure, a treasure plundered by the U.S. monopolies. Other sources of fuel which could be used for industrial purposes in this area are the petroleum available in almost unlimited quantities and the 20,000 million cubic meters of natural gas that are allowed to go to waste.

This natural wealth, together with the high-quality superphosphates, copper, sulphur, gold, nickel and coal is the source of fabulous profits for the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists. Two-thirds of the profits obtained by U.S. capital in Latin America come from Venezuela. Over 50 per cent of all U.S. capital investments (\$5,000 million) in Latin America are in Venezuela. Venezuela, then, is a semi-colony which yields more profits to foreign capital than all the other Latin American countries.

To this should be added the latifundists' domination of agriculture. The same rule prevails over the 92 million hectares of the nation-

al territory as in practically all the other Latin American countries: *the people are without land and the land is without people*. Vast tracts of land owned by the big estate owners lie idle. Yet hundreds of thousands of peasants roam from one estate to another and from hill to hill in search of a plot of land. Seventy-one per cent of the peasants cultivate a mere 2.5 per cent of the arable land, while 3,400 latifundists, i.e., 1.5 per cent of all owners of farms and ranches, possess 79 per cent of the arable land.

The oil workers are ruthlessly exploited by their imperialist bosses. Whereas in 1948 the annual output of the oil worker averaged 8,800 barrels, by 1960 the figure had risen to 25,000 barrels, i.e., nearly threefold. Each worker yields his employer 71 bolivars, i.e., more than 15 dollars, for one hour of work, but receives for this hour less than six bolivars, or a little more than one dollar. Automation, which in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is regarded as a blessing, is fraught in our country with unemployment and poverty for the working people. The following figures prove the point: in 1947 the oil industry with its daily output of 1,700,000 barrels employed 64,000 workers. Now, with a daily output of 3,200,000 barrels, employment has declined to 35,000.

Venezuela, an exporter of raw materials, is a big importer of manufactured goods. The national economy, hamstrung by a growing external debt, a consequence of the credits offered on extortionate terms, suffers from the steady deterioration in export-import exchange prices. In 1949 a unit of export was equivalent to 1.25 units of import, but by 1960 only 0.8 unit of import could be purchased in exchange for a unit of export.

If to this we add the far-reaching corruption, the repeated government crises and the

impoverishment of the masses, we will have the background to the armed struggle now taking place under the leadership of the progressive forces united in the National Liberation Front. This front, includes the Communist Party, the Left Revolutionary Movement and other revolutionary forces fighting for a genuinely democratic and patriotic government, for the return to the people of their natural wealth, for the transfer of the land to the tillers.

It is about this armed struggle, a struggle similar to that waged by Fidel Castro and his comrades in Cuba, a struggle spreading in the Caribbean basin and watched with fear and trepidation by the imperialists and with hope by progressives all over the world, that we wish to tell readers.

At the outset we wish to say that we Venezuelan Communists and our allies are not advocates of violence for violence's sake. It was Betancourt who upon coming to power called for the "isolation and separation" of Communists. It was Betancourt who started reprisals against the people's movement, dispersing by force of arms the peaceful demonstrations of the unemployed in Caracas. It was Betancourt who began to trample on constitutional guarantees one after another, who abjured all his election promises, and who crushed every expression of the collective will. It was Betancourt who initiated the torture and extermination of hundreds of fighters for democracy and against imperialism. It was Betancourt who jailed thousands of people without trial, thus bringing upon himself the wrath and indignation of the people.

On the other hand, the people could hardly be expected to suffer in silence the electoral deception and the treachery of the government which, increasingly, is mortgaging the future of our country to imperialism through the credits imposed on us by the International Monetary Fund. They cannot be silent about the outrageous deception of the millions of peasants who vainly hoped for a better life, for the agrarian reform promised them.

Thus, to the violence launched by the government the people answered with violence. In reply to Betancourt's words — "shoot first and investigate after" — in regard to those who, insisting on their lawful right to free expression of opinion, chalked slogans, or put up posters, numerous self-defense units were formed. These units evolved into the *combat units* or the so-called "urban partisan detachments" which give no rest to the authorities in the big towns. What should be stressed here is that not a single gun was received

from abroad; the arms are obtained by raiding police posts and army arsenals.

Like other capitals, Caracas, the capital of the country, has its "poverty belt": some 350,000 people live on the hillsides above the city, in hovels without electricity, running water or sanitation. These people are the reserve of the Venezuelan revolution. It is they who, together with the students, are the main force of the detachments which make the traitor President and his henchmen spend sleepless nights. The armed units have the support of the people in the densely populated proletarian areas. The fighters knock out tanks with oil bottles which they throw under the treads, and they erect a kind of "fire shield" by burning car tires soaked with petrol. Upturned buses are used for barricades which appear with lightning speed thanks to the support of the people. And after the action ends and the order is given to withdraw, the units quickly disappear in the narrow streets whose residents gladly shelter them for they know that the revolutionaries are fighting on their behalf.

Such are the men of the combat units who bravely go into action against superior forces. Today they protect against police attacks a demonstration of unemployed marching to demand work, tomorrow they capture a village or a small town, as was the case with the town of Atillo not far from Caracas, or San Diego de Los Altos, situated only 14 kilometers from the presidential palace. In Urumaco and Pecaya they launched attacks against the rear lines of military forces in order to make things easier for their partisan comrades fighting in the mountains. One day they seized an airplane and, flying over the dictator's residence, dropped leaflets calling for struggle against the government. Or they interfere with the working, say, of the oil pipe-lines, an action which costs the U.S. monopolies a million dollars a day; they captured the S.S. *Ansoategui* in order to expose the dictatorial character of the government before the eyes of the world.

Courage is a characteristic feature of the partisans — the armed forces of national liberation operating in the mountains. In the states of Falcon, Lara, Portuguesa, Yaracuy and Trujillo armed units under the command of Douglas Bravo, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Captain Elias Manuita Camero (until recently head of a military school) and Pablo (engineer Juan Vicente Cabezas, leader of the Communist youth) are resisting the offensive waged by thousands of police and 5,000 soldiers commanded by officers specially trained in anti-partisan warfare

in Panama and under the guidance of a U.S. military mission. The partisans fight by night, and in the day time they help the peasants with their crops.

These, then, are the armed forces of liberation which in mid-1962 inscribed a glorious page in our history when, together with patriotic regular officers, they took part in the May 4 mutiny at Carupano and in the uprising in Puerto Cabello on June 2.

Carupano was in a way the harbinger of the profound national content of the movement in the Venezuelan army when men joined with civilians like Comrade Eloy Torrez, a trade union leader and leading member of the Communist Party. The Puerto Cabello action was another landmark in this process. The garrison of the naval base challenged the dictatorship; the patriotic officers unfurled the banner of vital national demands; imprisoned partisans were released from the Libertador Fortress. With unmatched heroism they fought for each district, each street and each house. The released partisans who fought side by side with the sailors destroyed a number of tanks. Carupano and Puerto Cabello became the birthplace of the armed forces of national liberation which are our pride, the fruit of the merger of patriotic efforts and the unity of action of democratic army officers, workers, peasants, students, forward-looking intellectuals and all those who are prepared to fight for their country.

The masses are in motion. The Confederation of Working People (as distinct from the confederation supported by the Right-wing officials) has prepared its Fourth Congress and is challenging the Rights for the sphere of action from which it was debarred by the police. The Peasants' Federation calls upon its hundreds of thousands of members to fight for a genuine land reform instead of the

sham settlement policy proclaimed by Betancourt. Students are defending the academic freedom won as a result of their long struggle; teachers are in action against political discrimination and victimization; intellectuals are in revolt against the "down with culture" line of the supporters of the dictator. Men and women in all walks of life are joining the ranks of the National Liberation Front.

As regards the elections for the Presidency, the legislative bodies and the municipalities scheduled to be held at the end of the year, we have unequivocally told our people that our problems cannot be solved by elections. This, however, does not mean that we should adopt a passive attitude. We shall be with the masses; we are resolved to utilize all forms of the struggle, as counselled by Lenin, giving pride of place to that form which is imperatively required by the march of events.

Such, then, is Venezuela — the "democratic country of America" according to Kennedy and Betancourt, a country in the grip of a ruthless dictatorship. Such is Venezuela with its militant working class which has given birth to a tried and tested Communist Party conscious of its historical responsibility, with its fighting peasantry which has made the issue of land seizures one of the aims of its alliance with the working class, with its intellectuals and middle sections now on the march and tending more and more to recognize the leadership of the National Liberation Front.

This Venezuela, with its armed forces of liberation fighting against the rule of the imperialists and their henchmen in town and countryside, places its hopes on the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union, the entire socialist camp and all the peoples who have taken the path of independence.

E. MANSERA

The Revolutionary Way Out

(Statement by the South African Communist Party)

WE PRINT below a summary of the statement on the situation in the South African Republic.

The South African Communist Party, in a call for firm, resolute and revolutionary action by the oppressed African majority, warns the Verwoerd government that the country is heading for civil war. In its statement, the Central Committee also declares that the people "will take bold initiatives against grievances, merging every local and partial struggle into a mighty river of people's insurrection that will sweep away minority White rule and win people's rule in a free South Africa." The people of South Africa "are looking to illegal organizations like the African National Congress and the Communist Party for leadership and liberation."

In South Africa, despite the state machine of domination and repression, the balance of forces is steadily changing in favor of the people and their liberation forces and against the oppressing minority. Violent outbreaks of one sort or another are becoming more and more common. Sometimes, as in the case of the operations of the organization *Umkonto We Sizwe*, these outbreaks are purposeful, effective and carefully planned on a nationwide level. But very often, as hunger, persecution and police terror drive one section of the people after another to desperation, we find unplanned, spontaneous acts of resistance and retaliation taking place on a local level and the development of bodies like Poqo with its outlook of vengeance on Whites.

However, the forces of liberation are being forged and steeled in their determination to overthrow the Verwoerd government. They are building effective and indestructible organizations. They are achieving ever greater clarity of purpose and direction.

The Communist Party sees the general political struggle taking a triple-pronged attack on apartheid: the struggle against the Pass Laws, the fight for higher wages for the African workers and the mass upsurge of the rural people against the fraudulent 'Bantustans' now being created to partition South Africa. Together these struggles provide the revolutionary conditions for winning a democratic and free South Africa. The statement declares that exclusively non-violent methods are no longer of

use. Where the state and its police and military attempt to suppress strikes and demonstrations by force and violence, the people are more and more going to be organized and prepared to defend themselves and to strike back.

"The Nationalist government (of Dr. Verwoerd) cannot succeed in its attempts to check the awakened people of our country in their irresistible drive to freedom: they can only succeed in making that struggle more bitter and bloody. Should they persist in this course, the only effect can be that the present outbreaks of sabotage and violence will develop into full-scale civil war, beginning with guerrilla operations in various parts of the countryside and culminating in an armed insurrection of the whole oppressed people throughout the country."

The revolutionary way forward is not provided by the blind rioting and indiscriminate Poqo-style attacks on White civilians and property, or in the irresponsible claims of certain leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress which no longer exists as an organized force within South Africa. Rather, what the situation demands is "organized and planned mass defense and resistance": actions which are both militant and principled and which do not yield to desperation tactics or opportunistic concessions to backward elements.

The Communist Party rejects the propaganda charge that it has "captured" or "controls" the African National Congress and other organizations. The Communist Party has no desire to control or dominate any organization. Certainly, there exists a large measure of agreement on tactics and strategy between the Communist Party and the African National Congress, the foremost liberatory organization of the African people. But this arises because the policy of the Party, based on Marxism-Leninism, regards the liberation of the African people as the main content of the struggle against apartheid and White domination, and for a free, democratic South Africa. This policy is the central theme of the Communist Party's Program, *The Road to South African Freedom*.

The strengthening of the Party and its leadership is the key to the victory of the struggle. It is the most experienced and seasoned in underground work. The Communist Party will draw into its ranks the masses of workers and

peasants who are prepared to accept the straightforward message of its Program. The Party will unite with all democratic and patriotic forces for planned, purposeful and revolutionary action for the overthrow of minority

rule and ownership, and for the transfer of the land and the government of the whole of South Africa to the whole of the people.

This is the revolutionary way out for South Africa's people.

The African Party of Independence and National Unity

FOLLOWING the March 3 Referendum in Senegal and the inauguration of the Presidential system in the country, its rulers headed by President Senghor have switched to a reactionary policy aimed at crushing all opposition and abolishing the little that remains of democratic rights.

This reactionary policy, however, is opposed by the African Party of Independence (Senegal), a genuinely revolutionary and national Party. And it is this party that Senghor would like to get rid of. Realizing that no measure of repression will break this party, the reactionaries aim at securing its voluntary dissolution on the pretext of the need for national unity.

The Program adopted at the First Congress of the API(S) sets as one of its aims the building of a Senegalese United Front of Independence which would form an Assembly of Deputies from among the workers, peasants, women, youth and the military and pursue an independent policy of national unity and national construction. Some people endeavor to misinterpret this perfectly sound proposition as meaning the readiness of the party to sacrifice its ideological and organizational entity.

In the April number of the Information Bulletin of the API(S) Majhemout Diop, First Secretary of the Party, refuted this misconception.

Our party, he writes, is the party of the working class. It is destined to live and grow,

to fight and win over its enemies. It is an indestructible party.

True, our Marxist party should not cling to threadbare dogmas, nor should it shirk alliances. That would be sectarianism, pure and simple. In the matter of alliances nobody can accuse us of being sectarian. But in order to unite, it is not enough to draw lines of distinction for all to see; both sides must be prepared to compromise. It is high time the demand for our disappearance as a condition for an alliance be dropped.

A give-and-take principle should be observed. It is time to realize that the country, and not just one or another grouping, or another clan, stands to gain from unity.

Our flexibility in the question of alliances is not sliding on the smooth surface of opportunism. By no means can it be dubbed liquidationism or a refusal to fight. In any alliance the proletariat of Senegal must preserve its independent ideological organization, its propaganda and agitation, in a word, maintain some kind of organizational independence. Our party, which is the vanguard of the most progressive class, must carry on as an independent unit in order to be able to pose the problems of our national life and find the correct solutions to them.

In performing this task we shall tolerate neither haste nor tardiness. We stand for "the steady march of the iron battalions of the proletariat."

Exchange of Views

The Communists and Democracy

S. Ryerson (Canada)

The Problem of Individual Freedom in the Present Ideological Struggle

IN his speech in the debate in the United Nations Security Council on the crisis in the Caribbean, the United States representative Adlai Stevenson delivered a homily on the nature of the "free world," its basis in "government by consent" and in the institutions of the "open society." These concepts are established currency of political exchange and discussion in North America. They are not the exclusive monopoly of the official spokesmen of the monopoly-capitalist rulers of America; they are used regularly as well by leaders of Labor: Mr. Reuther, for instance, refers constantly to "our free society," "our free institutions," etc. And the general public, by and large, believes them.

This is where our problem begins. Unfreedom is believed to be freedom: and the real freedom of the new society built on social ownership of the means of production, is all too successfully presented as constituting unfreedom.

For Communists in Canada and the United States the problem of how we can best stimulate the process of *changing the social consciousness* of the mass of the people is, together with the supreme issue of peace, the most pressing ideological preoccupation. Life, the conflicts and contradictions of a world in profound change, of course, are "working for us": but the matter cannot be left at that. Nor will the repetition of slogans or formulas—however just and well-founded—be anything like sufficient. To expose the underlying realities of the "free world" requires a *fuller, deeper analysis of capitalist realities* than we have yet given; it requires a much more effective debate with the various ideological spokesmen and defenders of state-monopoly capital; and this means becoming acquainted with *their* positions, *their* argumentation, to a greater extent than we have done so far. Finally, this task requires of us that we not only pursue

the "battle of ideas" on the level of *theory*—philosophy and sociology, political science and economics, ethics and aesthetics, natural science and history—but that we distil the essence of the opposing conceptions into simple, accessible ideas, conducting *popular mass propaganda* for our viewpoint in an effective way, linked closely with our day to day activities.

The basic position of the founders of our theory on the question of freedom is well-known, and does not need to be restated, it seems to me, in this discussion. But I would suggest that there are a whole number of questions needing elaboration in relation to new problems of world change, new lines of approach and in the interests of a more effective struggle against the bourgeois and idealist conceptions of freedom.

"Freedom," says Engels, "... consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature which is founded on knowledge of natural necessity."

In relation to "external nature" the very home of man is being enlarged to take in the heavens: "knowledge of natural necessity," creatively applied, is extending unimaginably the power of Man and society. In relation to society, knowledge of the laws of social necessity, wielded by the working people led by the Communist parties in the socialist countries, has qualitatively transformed the nature and scope of freedom: conscious collective direction of the social process is bringing to birth the new, Communist man. Because truly social, existence becomes truly human. Because truly human, free. In the words of Marx: "Only in common with others has each individual the means of cultivating his gift in all directions; only in the community, therefore, is personal freedom possible." Here, freedom, as recognition of necessity, merges with freedom as "the possibility for each of acting, not in accordance with another's but with his own will"—a freedom that is that of men and women:

the people of a world Communist community.

Or, to put it differently, freedom under capitalism is illusory, truncated and relative because relations of dependence, oppression and exploitation prevail in that society. And, conversely, by instituting collective ownership of the basic means of production, the socialist revolution creates the conditions for the real freedom of Man. For the first time in history men are able to control their material and spiritual life. Hence, the question of the *revolutionary transformation of the structure of society*, the replacement of capitalism by communism, is the fundamental question of the freedom of man and society. We do not seem to differ on this point and all hold that, to solve the problem of freedom, the social and economic basis of society has to be radically rebuilt.

But the moment we begin to consider the superstructure, to use the Marxist term, the issue becomes more complicated. It is here that the complex problem arises of continuity and discontinuity: what elements of political democracy have to be kept and what has to be discontinued when passing from one social system to another, from capitalism to socialism in our case.

It has sometimes seemed as though we experienced a certain mental inhibition with regard to speaking of "democracy" as such. Certainly, our insistence on recognition and exposure of the *class* character of democracy, whether bourgeois or proletarian, is well-founded—and fundamental. But that is no reason whatever for giving any impression that we are "for" democracy only with reservations, half-heartedly, "tactically" so to speak.

In counterposing formal, bourgeois democracy to real, socialist democracy, we help the working people toward an understanding of the fundamental nature of the social transformation, of the change in a social system, that we advocate. We contrast the *minority* rule of monopoly capital, masked by "democratic institutions" (universal suffrage, etc.,) with the *majority* rule of the working people in power, where democracy for the first time in history acquires full, untrammelled reality. This exposure of the limited, distorted, "formal" character of bourgeois democracy is an essential element in our propaganda in favor of socialism as against capitalism.

But criticizing bourgeois democracy should by no means make us look like the enemies of freedom in the eyes of the people. We must bear in mind that the advance to socialism proceeds through many-sided struggles against monopolies, against imperialist reaction, in-

cluding the defense and extension of democratic liberties won in historic revolutionary battles of the past and maintained also under capitalism. We must go farther than the exposure of the formal character of bourgeois democracy. We should defend and utilize those *real* elements of this democracy that were achieved in overcoming feudal rule, that persist in the face of monopoly-capitalist attack and that contain in germ the potential elements of the millionfold expansion of democracy that accompanies the establishment of socialism.

To limit the question of democracy under capitalism to exposure of its formal, illusory aspect leads to a sectarian-dogmatic position. Such a position ("democracy under capitalism is nothing but a hoax") is anti-historical; it denies the substance of the advance registered by the winning of elective institutions, civil rights, etc., and the overcoming of feudal autocracy. Such a position puts obstacles in the way of overcoming illusions among the masses regarding bourgeois democracy itself: it does so because, being a gross mechanical over-simplification, it appears as denial of reality, a misrepresentation of fact, and plays into the hands of the anti-communists' argument that we are against democracy, working for its destruction, etc.

Our Party, for example, is committed by its Program to defense of the democratic institutions of the country—universal suffrage, the elective principle, parliamentary representation, a federal state structure and free association of the nations, French and English-Canadian—and to their broadening, extension, enrichment through further democratization. The Communists of the United States—whose persecution bears shameful testimony to the dictatorial suppression of freedom of dissent by the American ruling class—nonetheless not only uphold the U.S. Constitution but fight valiantly against its violation by reaction.

Thus the point for us, in a certain sense, is not just to attack bourgeois democracy, but to identify ourselves with that which is positive and valuable in it in the course of combating monopoly-capitalist rule. To focus *only* on the sham and illusory nature, the negative, "formal" character of bourgeois democracy, seems to us to run counter to the essential spirit of the line of the world Communist movement, as expressed in the 81-Party Declaration, in the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and the Program of our own Party. For, if democracy in our country is only "formal," and devoid of real content, how can we visualize the possibility of a peaceful, democratic trans-

formation of parliamentary institutions into instruments of working people's power?

Surely, the very conditions of the present struggle for peaceful coexistence make imperative a more realistic, flexible, non-dogmatic approach to the question of democracy than that which has tended to characterize our work hitherto. A thoroughgoing Marxist-Leninist critique of the theoretical and practical treatment of the question of democracy by our parties in both the socialist and capitalist countries seems to us to be a necessary part of the struggle in the spirit of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Moscow meetings for the new line of our world movement.

In our work on the Program of our Party we have tried to take a small step in this direction. We are conscious, however, that we are only at the beginning of such an undertaking. It appears urgent to us, in relation to the approach to the masses, to the united front, on the most burning present issues, such as the danger of thermonuclear war, the fight for national independence from U.S. domination, resistance to the monopoly offensive—and, equally, in the projection by us of a program of fundamental reconstruction of the social order.

Alongside a more penetrating analysis of capitalist reality and of ways of transition to socialism, a more strenuous and effective effort is needed to counter all sorts of anti-Marxist, anti-Communist concepts of democracy and freedom.

It is to be noted that in the recently-published two-volume work, *The Idea of Freedom*, by the American bourgeois educationist Mortimer Adler, the comment is made that the author "has not been able to find any rebuttals" of many of the current attacks on the Marxist conception of freedom. Mr. Adler doubtless does not read *Voprosy Filosofii* but he could surely have obtained John Lewis's *Socialism and the Individual*, or John Eaton's *Socialism in the Nuclear Age*, Jacques Duclos' *The Future of Democracy* or Herbert Aptheker's work on Marxism and freedom. Yet the criticism remains: we in North America particularly have got to do more to take up the challenge of bourgeois ideologists in terms of the specific argumentation with which they defend unfreedom in the name of freedom.

Let me mention one or two examples: not to answer them, but to indicate something of the work to be done.

Bourgeois theory, in an attempt to equate capitalism and freedom, bases its demonstration of the latter on an increasingly unreal model of the former. "Competitive capitalism,"

writes Milton Friedman, is "a system of economic freedom and a necessary condition of political freedom." At its heart is "private enterprise operating in a free market." In view of the fact that the "free market" has long since been swallowed up, to write thus in a setting of state-monopoly capitalism is to indulge in purest fantasy. The fantasy serves, however, as a crutch to the time-worn and tottering arguments regarding long-range and short-range social change: "A society which is socialist cannot also be democratic, in the sense of guaranteeing individual freedom."

Such is the platform of the conservative Right, founded on an attempted resuscitation of the principles of 19th-century capitalism to serve the struggle against 20th-century pressures for progress.

More subtle is the approach of Prof. Lindblom of Yale who comes close to conceding, in a paper on *Democracy and Economic Structure*, that "with the present resources of social science it cannot be known whether political democracy requires either price system or private enterprise." The author notes the challenge to "market democracy" contained in the argument that it is "inherently undemocratic in its concentration of power in the hands of businessmen . . . who are neither themselves popularly elected nor appointed by popularly elected officials." Lindblom cites a more "acceptable" image. The capitalist market is "seen as a system of delegated authority in which leaders hold particular powers subject to a kind of vote." (Acts of purchase being "votes"). Some businessmen look for votes from (sell to) other businessmen who look for votes among still others, and so forth. "If this elite manipulates the economy, it is seen as doing so only in a responsible and responsive way. . . ." They (the businessmen) "coordinate a cooperative productive process . . ." Involving a chain of interconnected areas of production, "this image of market democracy is a system of soviets"(!)

Once again the attempt of theoretical "justification" for equating democracy with capitalism turns out to depend on an elaborate fiction: a depicting of capitalist relationships in terms that are vigorously belied by social reality.

At the core of all of these theoretical structures is a fixation on individualism, a rejection in one form or another of reality as primarily social. This finds expression also at quite other levels than those of the academic works. Paperback novels by Ayn Rand, sold in millions of copies in the United States and Canada, preach the gospel of unfettered individualism. "The

first right on earth," she writes, "is the right of the Ego." Altruism is anathema to her. In the words of one of the characters who voice her philosophy: "I swear by my life and my love of it that I will never live for the sake of another man, nor ask another man to live for mine." Ayn Rand's hero is the businessman. "Capitalism (is that society) where the free choices of individual men determine their own lives and the course of the economy . . ." "A free mind and a free market are corollaries."

Frenetic individualism is fostered as a response to the stifling of individuality by state-monopoly capitalist society. It is exploited (along with racism, great-power chauvinism and anti-communism) in defense of the very power that stifles individual freedom.

In a remarkably penetrating study of the historical-social roots of modern capitalist ideology C. B. Macpherson (*The Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke*, Oxford 1962) analyzes the breakdown of liberal-democratic theory in the present century. "The basic assumptions of possessive individualism—that man is free and human by virtue of his sole proprietorship of his own person and that human society is essentially a series of market relations" — have broken down. They are challenged by "the emergence of working-class political articulacy." The old cohesion of market society has been sundered, its basic assumptions undermined. The question on which Prof. Macpherson concludes his work is the need for a new basis of consensus, a new theory of political obligation.

This work as a probing critique of capitalist ideology, is symptomatic of a growing questioning of the existing social order on the part of a number of courageous North American intellectuals. Like others, Prof. Macpherson poses a question but does not fully answer it. The responsibility of Marxists, surely, is to take up the debate, develop a dialogue with other honest seekers after truth and a better world. Our experience underlines for us the importance of fighting to overcome certain old habits, such as those of a deeply-ingrained and smug dogmatic complacency, thinking that we "have all the answers," that all questions have been settled by neat established formulas: that we really have nothing to learn.

We can afford to shed such attitudes because of our fundamental conviction: abolition of the class rule is the key to the solution of the problems of freedom. The way to freedom has been charted in the Program of the CPSU, it is being realized in the active and heroic process of creation of the new society by the

peoples of the socialist countries—and in the struggles of the rest of the world's peoples to be free of the yoke of capital.

* * *

Developing the thesis of the main paper that the issue of democracy and freedom is now the focal point of ideological struggle, speakers discussed the reasons for this phenomenon.

WHY DO THE ENEMIES OF COMMUNISM CONCENTRATE THEIR FIRE ON PROBLEMS OF FREEDOM?

They do so, said N. Iribadzhakov, from Bulgaria, because they are less able to deny or belittle the economic progress made by the USSR and the other socialist countries.

N. Iribadzhakov

Failing to understand the dependence of spiritual values on the development of material values, denying the objective dialectical interconnection between them, distorting the thousand and one facts testifying to this connection, the bourgeois and reformist critics of communism claim that the sole purpose of socialism is to ensure a high level of material development. Indicative in this respect is the criticism of the CPSU Program made, for example, by Edward Crankshaw, the *Observer* columnist. Crankshaw admits that it is now difficult to deny the economic achievements of the Soviet Union: "Russia is a far better place to live in than it was even five years ago, and in five years from now, let alone 20, it will be better still." Contrary to this, however, Crankshaw undertakes to persuade his readers that the CPSU Program does not reflect the historical necessities and the spirit of our time. "... This new program," he writes, "offers no shadow of a contribution to the solution of the urgent and stimulating problems which beset the Soviet Union and the whole world in the second half of the 20th century. Time has passed Russia by. We are taken straight back to the days when material progress was the great panacea . . . and this at a time when the more advanced nations of the West are disillusioned by the failure of material betterment as a panacea and are plunging wildly in search of new ideas." And new ideas, according to Crankshaw, are to be found in the sphere of spiritual betterment which, we are told, can only be brought about by the capitalist West.

Today, however, it would be sheer falsification to speak about "poverty" and the "failure of Five-Year Plans" in the socialist countries, to say nothing of trying to prove the superiority of the West in the realm of education,

science and in all spheres of intellectual endeavor.

J. Gorrender, Brazil, spoke about the attempts made by the anti-communist propagandists to demonstrate the superiority of capitalism over socialism in the sphere of culture and spiritual endeavor.

J. Gorender

The achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries in space exploration, nuclear physics and other sciences are today the subject of universal admiration. The fact that in the Soviet Union the number of students is many times greater than in any capitalist country, including the USA, is an argument which silences the ideologists of anti-communism who are powerless to find a serious answer. Even the ardent apologists of capitalism recognize the superiority of the educational system in the socialist countries.

Having lost such important positions, the anti-communists concentrate on problems of democracy and freedom, for it is here that they hope to find arguments in favor of capitalism. Since they can no longer tell the people of the less developed countries—for example, the people of Brazil—that it is useless to fight for economic development, they insidiously declare that this development can be of social value only if it is combined with democracy, humanism, personal freedom, etc., and this, they claim, presupposes renunciation of the socialist way which, they say, implies the “bureaucratic tyranny of the state” and “suppression of the individual.”

The anti-communists concentrate on democracy and freedom for yet another reason—the fact that the ideas of freedom are deeply rooted in the minds of the people and became particularly widespread at the time of the struggle against fascism when millions throughout the world rose in arms against tyranny, for national independence and democracy. These ideas became even more popular after the Second World War in connection with the general crisis of capitalism, the growing oppression by imperialist monopolies and the rapid disintegration of the colonial system.

Mindful of this factor, capitalist ideologists speculate on the popular appeal of the ideas of freedom and democracy and seek to misrepresent the meaning of the democratic struggle. They isolate this struggle from the struggle for socialism, and impart to it a pronounced anti-communist character. Therefore, in the capitalist jargon, “democracy” is the opposite of “socialism,” and in sociological research

and works on political economy the democratic society is identified with capitalist society. The idea is to persuade broad social sections interested in democracy but not imbued with socialist consciousness that in the absolute sense democracy is associated with capitalism.

HENCE, THE COMMUNISTS IN ALL THEIR THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL WORK MUST WAGE A FULL-SCALE OFFENSIVE FOR THE MARXIST CONCEPT OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

We should, it was pointed out, use our entire theoretical arsenal and the concrete example of the building of socialism and the world Communist movement in order to answer the attacks and slanders of the ideologists of imperialism. It is necessary to tell those who have fallen for the anti-communist propaganda that no one treasures and defends freedom more than the Communists do, that the Communist movement is making the biggest contribution to elevating human dignity. To do so, speakers emphasized, we should as soon as possible eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes made by us in the recent past. Professor Fritzhand of Warsaw University thought that Stanley Ryerson was too optimistic about the progress made in implementing these tasks.

Prof. Fritzhand

Marxists devote too little attention to these problems. As a result, the enemies of Marxism have written more works than the Marxists about the Marxist concept of individual freedom. Moreover, all too often the level of our theoretical and propaganda works is far from what it ought to be, and there has been a tendency to interpret the Marxist concept of freedom in a mechanistic way.

P. Motta Lima

In this respect we in Brazil, having critically analyzed our experience, have come to the conclusion that we have devoted unpardonably too little attention to problems of freedom and democracy. We tended to avoid polemics, refused to examine these questions in their numerous aspects and adopted a haughty attitude to those who posed these questions as if they had nothing to do with us, with the working people and with people generally. We made one-sided use of Marxist definitions, stressing only that freedom is the recognition of necessity, while stripping this formula from its entire broad content.

On the other hand, we displayed a dogmatic sectarianism in our criticism of capitalist reality. Not infrequently we reduced our entire analysis to a negation. On the question of freedom we would say in reply: what freedom can there be in the world of capitalism which has established a tyranny in the shape of wage-labor? Or: what does the freedom to fly mean when you haven't got your own plane? Or: how can you talk about a free press when the printing plants are owned by capitalists?

These arguments, as we found out, were not very convincing. Air transport in Brazil, as in the other backward countries, while expensive, is not the sole privilege of the rich. The workers and their vanguard have their own printing establishments, publish their newspapers and books, uphold the right to express their ideas, etc. Of course, we had to fight for these things, but it is clear that to deny these and other gains, existing despite all the restrictions and violations on the part of the ruling classes, would signify being at loggerheads with reality.

In his well-known polemic with Kautsky, Lenin, speaking about the superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy, made the point that Soviet power was a million times more democratic than the "most democratic bourgeois republic." Our Party literature, however, scoffed at the freedom in these "most democratic bourgeois republics." By making these absolute statements, our comrades, far from convincing the people who lived in a situation different from what we described it to be, sowed doubts with regard to other arguments we advanced.

What was worse, this neglect of the problems of freedom was, as it were, an expression of the lack of interest in, or even abhorrence for, the democratic rights won by the working people at the expense of great effort. This was the source of serious tactical mistakes. We ignored the democratic rights, scornfully dismissed the gains won in dozens of years of struggle, ignored and sometimes opposed structural reforms and other progressive demands which the masses supported. We maintained that the activity of the Communists and the most ardent of their supporters, even if they were not close to the masses who at that time were not in our ranks, was enough to combat imperialism. Under pressure from the dogmatists and sectarians in Brazil we abandoned work in the trade unions on the pretext that the unions were "reformist" and "pro-government." We boycotted the cultural and other organizations of the people, believing them to be useless and even harmful to the

attainment of revolutionary aims. At that time we even had a "theory" about the "advantages" of underground work for the Communist movement. The radicalism of the heroic actions undertaken by small groups in isolation from the masses enabled the reactionaries to suspend or violate the constitutional guarantees, to stage large-scale trials against the vanguard of the working class and against the other democratic forces. The really heroic and selfless vanguard which never hesitated to make sacrifices and which consisted of "few but the best," worked without feeling the pulse of the time, in isolation from the economic and political realities of the moment. This approach gravely injured not only the Communists but also the unity of the entire working-class movement, the work among the peasants, the student movement which demonstrated its strength in the most difficult periods of the fascist repressions — in a word, this brought injury to the entire revolutionary and democratic movement.

Experience enabled us to correct these mistakes. Parting company with the absurd theses at variance with the facts, we reached out for and helped achieve trade union unity and extended the national and democratic front. We are now stepping up work among the masses and together with them are winning major victories. This is our best answer to the prejudiced criticism of those who see only mistakes in our work. And although those who adhere to dogmatism try to use these successes in order to belittle the significance of past mistakes, experience shows that genuine consolidation of our forces is possible only if the dogmatic and sectarian methods are vigorously eradicated. Our successes are due above all to the contact of the Party with the people, and this contact became particularly effective after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU when, in the course of rectifying the ideological deviations, both revisionism and "Left" opportunism were defeated.

J. Gorender

Inadequate explanation of questions of democracy and freedom—in particular, political and personal freedom—in the socialist countries was another serious shortcoming in our struggle against the anti-communists. In a certain measure, the view that attention to these problems is a survival of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudice still prevails. However, the experience of the Stalin personality cult testifies clearly enough that these questions, having outgrown the realms of pure propaganda, are

vitally important in matters of real life. The Stalin cult did not affect the essence of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, but the lessons of its exposure and the elimination of its negative consequences forcefully demonstrated that democratic methods alone correspond to the nature of socialism, that socialist society should in every way safeguard and develop its democratic institutions.

There is no doubt that we must continue in every possible way to popularize the economic and cultural achievements of the socialist camp, for these successes are the irrefutable proof of the superiority of socialism and add enormously to the power of attraction exerted by the Marxist-Leninist ideas. But, in our opinion, similar efforts should be made in order to explain the successes of socialism in the spheres of democracy and freedom. This will help us to win for socialism large numbers of workers and small bourgeoisie whose democratic aspirations should by no means be underestimated. A steady, detailed and true-to-life analysis (without ignoring the contradictions, mistakes and difficulties) of the facts of the democratic life in the enterprises, in the trade unions and in the administrative bodies of the socialist countries, facts about the Party and the electoral systems, about the means of propaganda and the possibilities of criticism they afford, and, lastly, about the rights of the individual and their real and legal guarantees, etc., — such an analysis can yield useful results.

In our view special attention should be paid to the rights of the individual since the anti-communist propaganda swears that individual rights are non-existent in the socialist countries, that Marxist doctrine is incompatible with individual freedom. Intellectuals, for example, are particularly sensitive to problems of artistic and scientific freedom. In this respect it is obviously not enough merely to criticize the state of affairs in capitalist society. In order to convince the intellectuals of the advantages which socialism offers them *in this specific sphere* it is essential to demonstrate and prove that socialism ensures genuine freedom of artistic and scientific endeavor.

During the exchange speakers dealt not only with recent shortcomings in the matter of theoretical and practical solution of the problem of freedom by the Marxists but also paid special attention to the positive program for the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties in this direction.

The need for further theoretical research was voiced by L. Gruppi (Italy) and by Prof. Fritzhand who, arguing against the specula-

tions of bourgeois philosophers that the Marxist concept of historical necessity deprives the concept "individual freedom" of all meaning, demonstrated that

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY IS THE KEY TO THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF FREEDOM AND THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY.

L. Gruppi

The Marxist teaching, Gruppi said, has set the task of building a society in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." Not only does it transfer the concept of freedom from the sphere of metaphysics—in which it was kept by the old discourses on "freedom of choice" or by the transcendental concept of freedom as immanent in man — to the sphere of the history of society and the political struggle, but also strips this concept of the mystic integument of "free exchange" and "free market" in which it was clothed by the system of capitalist production relations.

Marxism did away with the separate examination of the problem of freedom as a philosophical category, on the one hand, and a politico-juridical category, on the other. People are "free and equal" not because of any hypothetical and unhistorical "natural law," they gain freedom and equality through social and political struggle at a definite stage of social development.

Prof. Fritzhand

Through their philosophy the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are trying to make it appear that the Marxists, contrary to their declarations, are not interested in democratic freedoms since for them history is but a manifestation of necessity and, consequently, they do not believe in the possibility of freedom. The Marxist philosophical approach to freedom, they claim, creates an ideological climate which is not conducive to the development of democratic freedom and even precludes it.

In a certain measure, the ideology and practice of the personality cult hampered our dialogue with bourgeois philosophers on this score, since Stalin made of historical necessity an absolute and his every pronouncement was accepted as dogma. Today things have changed: the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU put an end to the personality cult and made it possible to criticize Stalin's absolutization of historical necessity, which

simply fed bourgeois propaganda and brought grist to its mills.

Historical necessity as understood by Marxism has nothing in common with either finalist or fatalist determinism. Marxism rejects the understanding of history as an extra-human or super-human process proceeding in a predetermined direction irrespective of human consciousness and will. Marxist historical determinism is an *active determinism* which does not deny rational human freedom, i.e., freedom not in conflict with historical necessity.

History is not some kind of force alienated from man which utilizes him for its own ends. History is simply the activity of man in pursuit of his aims. Man's needs, above all his economic needs, are the sole real lever of the historical process. The activity engendered by these needs is subordinate to objective laws independent of the consciousness and will of people. For example, people are powerless to alter the fact that their thinking is determined by their being, or that the production relations cannot perpetually be at variance with the level of the productive forces. It is the recognition of the objective character of the laws governing the historical activity of people which makes up the essence of Marxist historical determinism.

If by historical necessity we understand the operation of objective laws, it becomes clear that this necessity loses all meaning in isolation from human activity, that it is materialized only through this activity. The production relations can be made to conform to the productive forces only and solely because of the activity of people and, consequently, through their consciousness and will. Were it not for this activity, history would come to a halt, and with the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production being unresolved, social regress would set in, and we would see the end of civilization.

Consequently, there is no reason to ascribe to Marxism, as bourgeois ideologists do, the understanding of historical necessity which stipulates that social formations replace each other regardless of the will of people. Without this will being activated in the appropriate way the social formations would not change. The Marxist thesis that formations replace each other in accordance with historical necessity signifies (*from the standpoint of scientific prevision*) that sooner or later the people will replace an economically obsolete system with a system which corresponds to the new level of the productive forces.

Similarly, Marxism is far from saying that communism will come about regardless of the will of people. It is obvious that without the people desiring it, it could never be built. The Marxist thesis that communism is *bound* to triumph should be understood as a scientific forecast which says that communism will win because it corresponds with man's aspirations and ideals, because ever larger masses of people will fight for it and build it for themselves.

It should be stressed that, according to Marxism, the role of consciousness and will in building communism enormously increases, becoming fundamentally different from what it was in all previous social formations. Communism can only be the result of human activity based on knowledge of the objective laws of social development, i.e., *knowledge of historical necessity*. It would be impossible to build communism, if Marxism had not discovered the laws of social development, if the Marxist parties had not acquainted the working people with these laws, had they not acquainted the people with Marxist ideology, had they not organized mass activity on the basis of scientific theory.

This makes nonsense of the thesis of capitalist propaganda to the effect that the Marxists "will never rid themselves of inner contradictions in their understanding of history since any determinism weakens the will to action" and that "people are invited to take part in a crusade for an aim for which no crusade is needed."

There is no contradiction in Marxism whatever between the concept of historical necessity and the concept of man's role in the historical process. For historical determinism, as we understand it, far from weakening man's activity, invigorates it and shows how the goal can be reached. This means that Marxism "invites people to take part in a crusade" for communism because without their active crusading, without their scientifically-substantiated activity, communism could not be built.

We see, then, that the Marxist concept of historical necessity by no means denies the concept of human freedom. On the contrary, Marxism implies that only knowledge of the objective laws and understanding of the objective conditions make people really free, for only that freedom is real which enables people to attain their aims. Marxism excludes only those concepts which do not recognize historical necessity, such as the existentialist concept of individual freedom which rejects any (hence, also historical) determinism of human will. In point of fact, existentialism does not

give the individual the opportunity to influence events. On the contrary, if this theory were correct, no purposeful and effective activity would be possible: it would be impossible to gauge the reaction of people to the stimulus set in motion, because the reaction would be purely fortuitous. Small wonder, therefore, that the existentialists do not believe in the effectiveness of any historical action, and that they themselves regard the indeterminist concept of freedom as "tragic freedom."

Properly understood, historical determinism also excludes the voluntarist concept of freedom so dear to the hearts of the pragmatists; according to this concept everything in history depends on man's resolute will, which is capable of achieving any aim set. As with the previous concept, this one, too, stands for a sham freedom since reluctance to reckon with the objective historical situation, with the objective laws of human activity is nothing but subjective adventurism doomed to defeat, not a rational action with a chance of success.

Marxism, however, far from denying, upholds man's freedom in the sense that people shape their own destiny, their own world, their own history and themselves. It is true that according to Marx one cannot change the natural course of social development, but this merely signifies that in normal conditions there is no force capable of preventing the people from building a social system corresponding to the new productive forces. The ideological and organizational work of the Marxist parties is the indispensable condition for realizing the ideas of communism. Communism can be accomplished only by people conscious of their aims and who know how to realize these aims, i.e., *achievement of human freedom*.

Many speakers discussed the attitude of the Marxists to the problem of individual freedom under capitalism. They revealed

THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE ATTEMPTS MADE BY BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGIES TO IDENTIFY CAPITALISM WITH FREEDOM.

J. Gorender

The ideological essence of the maneuver of the apologists of imperialism boils down, in our opinion, to their making an absolute of the concept of freedom, to isolating it from the concrete historical conditions, from the definite historical content. *Freedom* is made to look as abstract as possible, and within this concept we are invited to distinguish *rights* of a relative value.

Thus, anti-communist propaganda plays on

the restriction of certain democratic norms to which the socialist countries are forced to resort at one or another stage of the revolution (by way of example we could mention the U.S. State Department inspired campaign for "representative democracy" aimed against the revolutionary government of Cuba, citing the pretext that elections have not yet been held in that country). And, needless to say, they ignore the fact that these restrictions derive from certain historical conditions, that they are subordinate to the task of building socialism in a definite national and international situation, and, lastly and mainly, they do not infringe the basic rights and freedoms of the working people (freedom from exploitation, the right to work, to education and the possibility to have a say in the management of production).

Another aspect of this maneuver is that bourgeois freedom is presented as the only yardstick, i.e., bourgeois democratic institutions in their formal expression are held up as models. And this false assumption leads to the claim that democracy and freedom exist only in those states in which political parties, representative bodies, etc., function as they do in the USA, Britain and other countries which are regarded as models of "Western civilization."

Freedom of the press, for example, is said to exist only where newspapers can express opposition. According to this criterion, the highest measure of freedom of the press is unrestricted private initiative in the field of advocating one's ideas. But these arguments conceal the main question: in whose interests is this freedom of the press exercised and to what extent is it exercised? In the capitalist countries, even the most democratic of them, the propaganda media are often beyond the reach of the working people. And if the Communist parties have their newspapers, this is not a gift from the bourgeoisie but the result of the intense struggle waged by the working class. In Brazil, for instance, where there is freedom to propagate revolutionary ideas, this freedom also encounters arbitrary rule and violence and is under constant attack by the authorities, and it is always the outcome of the struggle and sacrifice made by the working people and their Communist vanguard. And though it is said there is "equal opportunity for all," the opportunities for exploiters and exploited are far from being equal. One has only to examine the position of radio, television and the press in Brazil, to cite but one example. On the other hand, in the socialist countries the newspapers and other propaganda

media do not express the views of the opposition, and they certainly do not popularize capitalism. But is this the indispensable feature of the concept of freedom? The main thing is that in the socialist countries the propaganda media are in the service of the working people and provide for the broadest freedom of criticism *in the interests of socialism*.

Juggling with all sorts of illusions and the fictions engendered by the very nature of capitalist society, bourgeois theoreticians identify freedom with capitalism and claim that economic prosperity is the concomitant of democracy, and that freedom is possible only under capitalism. They need this claptrap not only in order to embellish capitalism but also in order to influence the powerful worldwide liberation movement.

Spokesmen for the Kennedy Administration, men like Chester Bowles, for instance, are aware of the appeal of the word "revolution" for big sections of the Latin American people. And knowing this they make the most unscrupulous use of this word, invoking even the democratic traditions of the War of Independence. In the writings of these people the government in Washington is all of a sudden transformed into . . . "the mainstay of the revolution" on a continent which, as everybody knows, is ruthlessly plundered by U.S. imperialism. The superficial "revolution" proposed by Washington, complete with "democracy" and "freedom," is designed as an alternative to the real revolutions led by the Communists and other radical forces and capable of ensuring the independence of the Latin American countries, their economic development and social progress.

By virtue of its social nature, it was pointed out, capitalism cannot create the conditions for genuine freedom and the genuine development of man even in the most democratic state, even where there is a broad system of democratic rights and freedoms. Communists should not underestimate these rights and freedoms, since the struggle for democracy is an important part of their general struggle for socialism, and they should be in the forefront of the struggle to extend the rights of the working people. On the other hand, they must show the millions of people that the real solution is possible only under socialism, that *the ills of capitalism are such that it cannot solve the question of freedom*.

L. Gruppi

We agree with the comrades from the socialist countries, said L. Gruppi, that socialism must win in the peaceful competition with

capitalism above all in the sphere of economic development and in growth of the national income. But I think that in order to demonstrate all the advantages of socialism it is essential to show explicitly the difference between the so-called "affluent society" extolled by the ideologists of modern monopoly capitalism, and socialist society. And we can speak about these differences in two ways. The "affluent society" can ensure a high national income and a high level of production per head of population, but it cannot ensure an economic development and a distribution of the national income that would overcome the class antagonisms, social injustice and disparity in the development of different areas. Secondly, attainment of a high national income in an "affluent society" is accompanied by the growing subordination of the individual to the laws of profit-making; this is the case too with the most diverse elements of the cultural and spiritual life of the people, leading to humiliation of the individual. In capitalist society man can be under the illusion that he is free, but in fact he is so much enslaved by the law of profit that the content of the concept of "freedom" is utterly emasculated.

In Italy and in other capitalist countries we observe a rather typical phenomenon: the concept of the "citizen" is identified more and more with that of the "worker," and the rights of the two merge. Today even the lawyer is an employee of the monopolies, as is the architect and the university lecturer, because the work performed by them in the studio or university laboratory represents labor power they have to sell to the monopolies, for which they are paid by the monopolies, and which, lastly, is subsidized by the monopolies because the university cannot afford to maintain the laboratory. In this way the citizen becomes a worker. On the other hand, a worker becomes less and less the citizen. Not in the sense that he cannot take part in a strike, read the newspaper of his choice or say what he thinks — under the present regime in Italy man has these rights. He is free to say what he thinks, but the point is that *he is less and less free to think* because the administration of society is concentrated in the top echelons of the monopoly system. Today we see how those citizens who only yesterday played a certain role in society (for example, the small and medium-sized capitalists, industrialists, etc.,) are becoming more and more separated from the production process, and have fewer opportunities to understand this process and to exert any real influence upon it. This is

even more true of broader processes taking place in society as a whole.

This gulf between the worker and the citizen is becoming deeper and more tragic. This is the *alienation* of which Marx spoke, but an alienation brought to the extreme degree. Today it is possible to speak about this not only in the sense that the worker is not the master of the product of his labor. Today alienation penetrates also into the sphere of consumption, because the monopolies dominate all the stages in the shaping and satisfying of human needs, distorting their natural form for the sake of profit. Not only are the monopolies programming their output on the basis of a study of the market, they are shaping the market itself, influencing it, and guiding it towards particular kinds of output. Through television, radio and other propaganda media they are moulding new prestige images, images which exert an influence on citizens and to which they are, perhaps without being conscious of it, increasingly subordinated. With this in mind, we can see the essence of the *contradiction between private ownership and freedom*, a contradiction which was overlooked in their day by Locke and Kant, since they had to do with landed "property," and which was so brilliantly discovered by Marx in developed capitalism. At present this contradiction is more pronounced because the right to private ownership of the means of production is counterposed more and more to the democratic rights and freedoms. Complete realization of these rights and freedoms is impossible without public ownership of the means of production.

Today the principal element of our struggle in Italy is the struggle to extend democracy, to extend it to all spheres of social life and, above all, to the enterprises. We are working to achieve what in Britain is known as "habeas corpus," i.e., the complex of rights guaranteeing the sanctity of the individual. The "habeas corpus" of the 20th century must be the "corpus" of the worker-citizen: it should include the right to equal pay for equal work, etc. The issue is: either democracy will prevail also in production, or, even in its bourgeois-democratic understanding, it will not be regarded as true democracy. The working people know exactly how to pose this question. More and more people are coming to the conclusion that

ONLY SOCIALISM PAVES THE WAY TO GENUINE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EQUALITY AND THEREBY CREATES THE CONDITIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.

This idea was stressed by all speakers. Its realization, they said, depends not only on the good will of the people or on the humanist aspirations of socialist governments, it is determined by the very nature of the new society.

The basis of socialist democracy, which ensures genuine freedom for the individual and effective participation of the citizen in social life, said L. Gruppi, rests on public ownership of the means of production. Another and more concrete expression of this fact is the socialist *planning* in which all citizens take a hand, within the scope of their functions and competence. In this way we see the realization, or at any rate the beginning of the realization, of that unity of *citizen and worker* which capitalist society destroyed and which will be fully developed in communist society.

L. Gruppi

In the past the building of socialism was undertaken in a situation which called for strict centralized planning. Today, however, it is not fortuitous that the socialist countries are searching for a rational proportion between the necessary element of a centralized economy (without which planning is inconceivable) and the ability of the periphery production collectives to display initiative and make independent decisions.

The most important element of democracy—the growing role of public self-government in the matter of planning—brings into relief the main distinction between socialist society and the "affluent society" which, as we see, lies in the democratic process through which the socialist society carries out its economic and social tasks. Unless the economic management is subjected to popular control, the gaining of prosperity turns into an element not of emancipation but of growing subordination of the individual to the aims of production and consumption, humiliates his dignity, and deprives him of the ability to think independently about the problems of social life. Socialism, and all the more so communism, differs from the "affluent society" precisely because the attainment of a higher standard of living is accompanied by the extension of democracy, the growth of government by the people, the harmonious development of the individual (who is not "alienated"), and the ability of each to take a responsible and critical part in managing the affairs of society.

It should be borne in mind that under socialism freedom, like equality, will be a restricted freedom for quite a long time, due above all to the economic conditions of the

life of society: upon emerging from capitalism, socialism is obliged to preserve the principle of remuneration according to work, it cannot advance overnight to remuneration according to needs. Full equality and full freedom grow in the process of attaining genuine affluence, on the condition that the state withers away and that government by the people is asserted and no longer rests on law but on the categories of ethics which have become customary. This is the freedom Engels had in mind when he rejected the Lassallean ideas about the "free people's state" as being an illusion and a fraud. The freedom which we are fighting for is democratic and socialist freedom, and as such it has its limits, but it is the only way to make the "ascent of man from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom."

Irrespective of the positions—philosophical, political or ethical—from which we regard the problem of freedom, the speakers said, the conditions of creating and multiplying spiritual values and above all the highest of these values—man's creative abilities, his moral perfection—continue to be its essential element. In the ultimate, this is the quintessence of the concept of individual freedom, its grandeur and its meaning. And the historical significance of communism is that it solves the problem of freedom in all its aspects.

N. Iribadzhakov

It is true that the Communists, basing themselves on the historico-materialist conception of society, regard the building of the material and technological basis of the new society, its economic foundation, as the main task of communist construction. This does not mean, however, that man and his needs, including his spiritual needs, are of no value whatsoever. On the contrary, the struggle to build the economic basis of socialism and communism has but one aim—to create the most favorable objective conditions for the constructive endeavors of society which would make possible the all-round development of the individual.

The process of building the new society is complex and many-sided. It ranges from the laying of the economic foundations to the development of all social relations — political, juridical, ethical and others—and the advancement of spiritual culture—science, literature and the arts.

The Communists regard material and spiritual endeavor, the development of material and spiritual values, in their dialectical interaction. While stressing the determining role of material life, they have never denied the part

played by spiritual values, their growing role in the life of society in the measure that they come within the reach of the masses and thus become a material force.

The bourgeois claims that communism denies spiritual values derive either from deliberate falsehood or from ignorance. They are refuted by facts which are today known to the whole world. For a time it was possible to shroud in silence the advance made by socialism in the sphere of science and culture. But it is no longer possible to do so now that Soviet science has pioneered in the conquest of outer space, and that the socialist system of public education is recognized as excellent even by the leaders of the capitalist world.

A few words about this education. The bourgeois critics of the CPSU Program say that education in the USSR will be completely free only under communism. This is wrong. Education is free in the Soviet Union. College students, numbered in millions, receive grants from the government and accommodation in hostels. By 1980 the student body will have risen to eight million. Elementary education is universal and compulsory, and the way is being paved for full secondary education for all who wish it. The cultural level of the population is rising rapidly, and the number of intellectuals surpasses 22 million. It can be objected that figures are out of place in a philosophical discussion. But figures, too, have their philosophy!

The growing role of the intellectual aspect of the life of society is conditioned by the specific features of socialism and communism, by their nature. There are at least three main reasons why *under socialism and communism the spiritual aspect acquires far greater significance than in all previous societies.*

First, in all previous societies economic and social development was a spontaneous process. Under socialism and communism spontaneity yields to conscious organization of production and social life. Moreover, theoretical elucidation of the problems engendered by life, as well as the moulding of the scientific world outlook among all working people, become the essential condition for the further development of society. Hence the significance of knowledge, of science, without which no planned development of the productive forces and the production relations is possible.

Secondly, in all exploiting societies there is a contradiction between mental and manual labor; the spiritual values are, as a rule, the prerogative of the exploiting minority.

Communism abolishes the distinction be-

tween mental and manual work, destroys the social barriers restricting mass access to spiritual values, and organically fuses manual and mental work in production activity.

Thirdly, in the words of N. S. Khrushchov, in the course of the transition to communism, the moral principles of society become increasingly more important, the sphere of action of the moral factor expands and the importance of administrative control of human relations diminishes accordingly.

Communism destroys everything which enslaves and humiliates the human personality, retards or deforms its development; it creates the conditions for its genuine efflorescence.

The Program of the CPSU is the greatest charter of freedom and individual rights ever known in history. It signifies moulding a new man who will organically combine spiritual richness, moral purity and a splendid physique. Moreover, the Program delineates the social conditions created by socialism and communism for the all-round development of the individual. "All-round development of the individual has been made possible by historic social gains—freedom from exploitation, unemployment and poverty, from discrimination on account of sex, origin, nationality or race. Every member of society is provided with equal opportunities for education and creative labor. Relations of dependence and inequality between people in public affairs and in family life disappear. The personal dignity of each citizen is protected by society. Each is guaranteed an equal and free choice of occupation and profession with due regard to the interests of society. As less and less time is spent on material production, the individual is afforded ever greater opportunities to develop his ability and talent in industry, science, engineering, literature and the arts. People will increasingly devote their leisure to public pursuits, cultural communication, intellectual and physical development, and to scientific and technical as well as artistic endeavor. Physical training and sports will become part and parcel of the everyday life of people."

These lines forcefully demonstrate the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism. Not capitalism, but communist society is the society of individual freedom.

Socialism has basic advantages over capitalism as regards freedom and democracy, and it provides the Communists with a powerful ideological weapon in their debate with the ideologists of imperialism. And, as was stressed during the exchange of views,

THE FURTHER EXTENSION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, THE PERSIS-

TENT STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL SURVIVALS OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE PERSONALITY CULT, AND THE AFFIRMATION OF THE COMMUNIST IDEAL OF FREEDOM WILL PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE ONWARD MARCH OF THE IDEAS OF COMMUNISM, IN ITS ULTIMATE VICTORY OVER CAPITALISM.

Even the better organization of the ideological struggle, said Prof. Fritzhand, will not ensure success unless it is combined with work to deepen socialist democracy, extend the sphere of man's freedom and overcome the consequences of the personality cult.

Prof. Fritzhand

After all, adversaries often say in reply to our arguments: "And what about the Stalin cult?" This question has a psychological effect on some sections of the working people. Hence we cannot evade it. It is significant that today in all socialist countries work is under way to extend democracy in social life. This process will release such creative energies that it will work miracles.

P. Motta Lima

It should be borne in mind, stressed P. Motta Lima, that despite the successes of the socialist camp and the efforts made by the world Communist movement to restore the Leninist standards and principles of work, we have not yet been able to overcome a certain suspicion in this respect.

Considerable sections of the working class and the people feel that we can lead them from success to success. But they still have doubts, and they hesitate to join our ranks or even give us support. Speaking of their desire for socialism, some workers and intellectuals say that public ownership and economic advance are not enough if these are accompanied by encroachments on security and freedom, by sacrifice on the part of the working class and the people as a whole.

We know that these doubts are caused by the poison of anti-communist propaganda. But this is not the sole explanation. The truth is that we have not yet been able to dispel the concern caused among these people by the grave mistakes of the past. Hence it is necessary to show the people in the capitalist countries and in those countries now shedding the chains of political dependence on colonialism—and to show by concrete examples—that the new, socialist mode of production brings with it new relations and, hence, better social and eco-

conomic conditions for all members of the society founded on equal opportunity and fraternity, and excluding exploitation of man by man and oppression of the majority by the minority.

This calls above all for sincerity and truth in our propaganda. We should speak about democracy and freedom in the exact and correct understanding of these concepts, without italics and quotation marks, without superlatives. For no epithets, no matter how loud, will deceive the people, who insist on "calling things by their proper names."

The main thing needed to dispel the doubts of the hesitant is to develop the relations of democracy and freedom which are inherent in socialism and communism.

We must resolutely combat the consequences of the personality cult which violated our principles in this sphere, ensure respect for freedom and democratic rights, and restore them in our practical work — in our contacts with the masses, inside our ranks and even, if you will, in the minds of each of us. Nowhere should we retreat from the historical gain of collective and personal security, mutual respect, free expression, freedom of artistic endeavor, scientific and technological research — in a word, in the field of cognizing reality and theoretical development.

L. Gruppi

Our enemies invoke the Stalin cult. But what does this sad experience testify to? To the fact that the abolition of private ownership of the means of production is only the foundation, the first necessary but insufficient condition of creating a democracy incomparably higher than all the preceding ones. In order fully to implement the principles of this democracy, there must also be a whole system of state and legal institutions capable of guaranteeing democratic rights and freedoms.

Gruppi stressed that nothing could be more superficial than to answer questions about the personality cult by saying that it is a thing of the past, and to close our eyes to the conditions that gave rise to it. This approach is harmful also because it makes it impossible to appreciate in full measure the steps taken in the Soviet Union to overcome the consequences of the cult.

The problem which we should clarify is that of the guarantees against violations of socialist law and the rise of the personality cult. In the conditions of the Soviet Union the main guarantee lies in the force with which the cult was exposed and exorcised; this signifies that

the Party, fully cognizant of the mistakes of the past, is determined to rectify them to the end. But the problem is by no means less important for the countries and parties on their way to socialism. For them realization of the mistakes made and understanding of the conditions in which they were made is important because only then will they be able to answer the question: can the working-class movement in countries with democratic traditions, in effecting the transition to socialism, provide guarantees (not only of a subjective but also of an objective order) against any distortion of the principles of socialist democracy? Our Party answers this question in the affirmative.

In the struggle against the monopolies it is possible to build a broad system of alliances which extends the social base of the working class, and increases the element of persuasion in its functioning. While not discounting the possibility of the struggle growing sharper, our Party foresees the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism and the building of a socialist society in which the power of the working class will rely mainly on persuasion, not on coercion, and which it can do without restricting democratic freedoms, as was inevitable in the first stage of building socialism in the conditions of one country. The road of the Italian working class to socialism lies through extending and upholding the democratic freedoms, strengthening the representative bodies, demanding a democratic decentralization of the state, combating all kinds of censorship which in one way or another restrict free research in science and in the arts.

It goes without saying that, directing our efforts to ensure this development of the revolutionary process, we cannot draw up a menu for the kitchen of the future: nobody can predict the concrete forms in which the transition from capitalism to socialism will take place in one or another country. But it seems to us that the policy of broad alliances of the proletariat and the other social forces will make it possible to effect the transition to socialism, to the affirmation of the communist ideal of individual freedom, without any serious losses.

* * *

Problems of freedom, the development of democracy under socialism and the uprooting of the harmful consequences of the personality cult were also dealt with by many other speakers in discussing the paper on socialist democracy. This discussion will be reported in our next issue.

W.M.R. INTERVIEWS**“I Would Be a Communist a Thousand Times Over”***(Interview with Marcos Ana)*

Last year the movement for solidarity with Spanish political prisoners won a major victory: it secured the release from a Franco prison of Fernando Macarro, the Communist poet who writes under the pen-name of Marcos Ana.

In a recent visit to our journal, Marcos Ana described the plight of the Spanish political prisoners and told of the significance of international solidarity in the struggle of the Spanish people.

Below we publish an account of our interview with the poet.

THE ENEMIES WERE POWERLESS

“I joined the Communist Party in 1937,” said Marcos Ana. “At the time of my arrest I had had considerable experience of Party work and it was this that enabled me to stand by my comrades and to hold out as befits a Communist. The Party gave me the strength to withstand the ordeal at the hands of the secret police.

“We knew that Franco had made it his aim to turn the prison into a grave for us. But the police did not have their way.

“A small group of Communist prisoners undertook to form a Party organization in the prison. We felt it our duty to do everything to save those of our comrades who had been condemned to death. Our group organized the first demonstrations of solidarity with the political prisoners.

“In the first few years after the fall of Madrid our Party organizations were tailed by the secret police. But as soon as one group of comrades was arrested, other groups took their place. And if they, too, were thrown into jail the following week, more Communists rose in their place. Needless to say, work in the Party at that time was exceedingly difficult. Yet the Party continued to be infused with new strength, and there was always enough to keep the organizations alive and their fighting spirit intact. And even today after we have lost thousands upon thousands of fighters we have militant organizations which play a leading role in the national opposition to Franco and which, with the support of the masses, are forcing the dictatorship onto the defensive.

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON BEHIND THE BARS

“We went through a terrible time, when prisoners died not only from the bullets of the firing squads but from malnutrition and disease. And always the Communists were an example of solidarity to the non-Communist prisoners. We starved together, sharing our last crusts with our fellow prisoners.

“The Communists made it their purpose to turn Franco’s jails into universities for revolutionaries. Even the comrades who were condemned to death continued studying to the last. It was heartbreaking to see them lay their books aside to go out at dawn to face the firing squad. But we went on studying. We worked hard, we knew that we had to adhere to the Communist view that prison, far from being the end of everything, was but an episode in the life of a revolutionary.

“And although the shadow of death constantly hovered over us political prisoners, we never lost touch with life outside.

“The struggle went on even though the slightest resistance could cost a man his life. There were times when comrades would disappear from jail during the night and we would learn later that they had been shot. But we carried on the fight. We fought against the prison rations, and we defended our comrades who were tortured during interrogation.

“Things became easier for us after the defeat of fascism in the Second World War. By that time we had gained much experience and we carried out some impressive actions in protest against abuses by the prison authorities.

"In the Burgos prison, for example, the political prisoners working in the shoe repair and tailoring shops staged two strikes.

"But perhaps the most important action in the Burgos prison was the petition drawn up and submitted by the prisoners calling for an amnesty and insisting on a status of political prisoners and not criminals until the amnesty came into force. The document was signed by 357 prisoners. One day at noon the prisoners gathered outside the prison office and stood in complete silence while a committee of prisoners presented the petition to the authorities. More than ten activists were sentenced to solitary confinement for this action. But thanks to the pressure exerted by the other comrades they were later released. And although the administration did not satisfy our demands at once, the prisoners finally won their point."

* * *

The Spanish comrades present at the interview — some of whom had been fellow prisoners of Marcos Ana — asked him to relate his personal experience in prison, and particularly about the publication of the handwritten bulletin *Juventud*.

"This was not an exceptional case," Ana began. "It was only one of many similar instances. In 1943, when I was in the Porlier jail in Madrid, the warders found on one of the prisoners a handwritten copy of a bulletin dedicated to May Day. The man was promptly hauled off to what in the jargon of the Franco jailers is known as the 'diligencia,' which meant interrogation by torture in the Central Security Department. The comrade in question broke down under torture, and soon other comrades began to be taken away regularly for interrogation. The situation became serious. Something had to be done. I happened to be a member of the Party committee in the prison and I volunteered to take upon myself the blame for the bulletin, although actually I had nothing to do with it. The bulletin carried drawings and was written in several different hands and the police were anxious to find out who had done the drawings and written the text. They did their utmost to force me to betray our comrades. But I kept my promise and gave nobody away."

For this Marcos Ana was condemned to death for the second time.

WITH LENIN IN MY HEART . . .

"In the course of my travels in different countries," said the poet, "I have often been

asked what it was that gave me and my comrades the strength to withstand the rigors of prison life and to carry on the fight for 23 years, how I managed to endure the condemned cell, not to speak of the maltreatment by the jailers. The answer is simple, and I shall repeat it once again: *I am a Communist and in spite of my 23 years in prison, despite the fact that I have stood twice within the shadow of death, were I to be born a thousand times, I would be a Communist a thousand times over.*

"I always tried to explain this to others. Once, I remember, when I was condemned to death and waiting along with many others in the Ocana prison to be taken out and shot, a priest from the Jesuit Order in Toledo came to the 'death row' of the jail. He could not understand why we were singing, why we behaved with such spirit. Coming over to me — I was the youngest of the condemned — he asked:

"'You, too, are under sentence of death?'

"'Yes, Father!'

"'Whence this hope, this determination I see in your eyes just before you face the firing squad? Whence this confidence?'

"'It is because I am a Communist,' I replied."

Marcos Ana told of another instance of how belief in communism helps the prisoners to endure the most cruel torture. When Franco's sadists tried to force him to betray the comrades who had put out the handwritten bulletin *Juventud*, they subjected him to torture three and four times a day.

"One day," he relates, "as I lay on the floor of my cell after being tortured, I saw a slip of paper being thrust through the observation hole. I managed to crawl to the door and pick up the paper. It was a photograph of Lenin. As I held that photograph in my hands I knew that now the sadists would never be able to break my spirit, I knew that I had won the fight. And every night when they brought me back after the torture I would take out that little photograph and talk to it. 'See what they have done to me, Comrade Lenin', I would say as if he could hear me, 'But don't worry, the monsters will not get the better of us'. And it seemed to me that Lenin believed me."

"Of course I was young then, only 22, and full of romantic ideas. But I still believe that that little photograph gave us strength because for me and my comrades Lenin symbolized the strength and courage of the old Bolsheviks, the hope and labors of the Soviet people, the truth of communism. It made us feel that we were invincible."

Marcos Ana managed to pass the photo to a comrade in the neighboring cell. "I would never have parted with it," he says, "but I felt sure that now I would never give in, while the man in the next cell needed it more than I did for he was on the verge of breaking down." The next day Marcos Ana saw a new light in his neighbor's eyes as he was taken away to the interrogation.

Some years later he met this man in the Burgos jail and he learned that the little photo had indeed saved him and that he in turn had passed it on to another comrade. That is how Lenin helped many Communists to hold their own in the struggle.

TO BEHAVE LIKE A REVOLUTIONARY

"Belief in communism, in the righteousness of one's cause is what helps the Communists in Franco's jails to withstand the ordeal," Marcos Ana said. "When a man falls into the clutches of the security police he cannot be sure that he will be able to withstand the torture, that he won't weaken. The torture, combined with the fact that the prisoner is not allowed to sleep, weakens him to the point where he loses control of his actions. And this, as I have learned by my own experience, is the hardest thing. I was in the hands of the security police three times and I realized that anyone who lightly promises not to break down under the torture and who does not steel himself for the ordeal, will have a very hard time indeed. It is a fight that has to be waged every minute, for one must tell oneself all the time: no, no, and again no, and constantly to picture the shame of returning to one's cell unable to look one's comrades in the eye.

"The important thing is to have political perspective. Much depends on how a man behaves towards the police. If he feels that they have the advantage of him, that they are the masters of the situation, then, naturally, he will find it much harder to resist. But if we face the police with faith and conviction, strong in the knowledge that we are a mightier force than they, that we stand for the living present and the future, while they are receding into the past, if we look them boldly in the eyes, it is their eyes and not ours that will betray fear, and we shall see that they are afraid of the present and even more so of the future."

The Party, Marcos Ana stressed, should widely popularize examples of the heroic behavior of its members in jail. This, he believes, is something of a problem, for while it is essential to expose the brutality of the jailers, the revelations are liable to scare the weaker spirits, and such people may break the moment they

fall into the hands of the police. Hence the importance of popularizing the inspiring examples of Communist behavior under duress. To stand firm under police questioning is, in Marcos Ana's opinion, the only way to preserve one's dignity. "I knew people in prison," he said, "who succumbed, who renounced their principles and humbled themselves before their captors, believing that they would be able to save themselves. But there was nothing left for them but suicide or the insane asylum. These unfortunate comrades chose the worst course. Fortunately, they were few. Speaking for myself I always thought that the best way was to stand firm, to behave as a revolutionary should. And in prison I did my best to live the difficult but noble life of a Communist."

THE ACCUSED BECOME THE ACCUSERS

Marcos Ana cited examples of heroism displayed by Communists in the Franco courts. This, he stressed, is one of the most important aspects of underground struggle. In a quarter of a century of such struggle the Spanish Communist Party has grown not only organizationally. Its influence among the working class and the people generally has grown considerably. And this is thanks in large measure to the courageous behavior of the Communists during the trials.

"In the first years after our defeat," he said, "we had to defend ourselves in court. But even at that time trials like those of Jose Cazorla, Domingo Giron, Guillermo Ascano and Eugenio Meson gave these comrades an opportunity to set forth the attitude of the Communists and to keep the Party's banner flying. It was in 1945 or 1946, however, that the Communists began to turn the courts into a revolutionary platform. The first trial of this kind was that of Comrades Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapirian.* Mention, too, should be made of the case of Sanchez Montero, member of the Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, who assumed full responsibility for the activity of the Party and declared that he would not say another word since the Party Rules forbade it. This offensive against the Franco regime was carried on subsequently by Comrades Ramon Ormazabal, Pedro Ardiaca, Julian Grimau and others, all of whom staunchly upheld the Communist ideas. How inspiring these examples can be is seen from the incident that occurred during the trial of Ramon Ormazabal and his comrades. In the course of the proceedings, the young falangist journalist An-

*At present Comrade Santiago Alvarez is a member of the C.C. and the Executive Committee, and Comrade Zapirian, a member of the C.C. of the Spanish Communist Party.

tonio Jiminez Pericas, who was involved in the case, publicly asked Ramon Ormazabal to accept him as a member of the Party.

A MONUMENT TO THE WOMEN OF SPAIN

"I remember comrades in jail," continued Marcos Ana, "who did not flinch when the death sentence was pronounced on them. But I saw them, too, returning to their cells after meeting their wives and children. This, perhaps, is the most painful of ordeals for prisoners. They can endure their own sufferings, but it is far harder for them to endure the suffering they have inadvertently caused their loved ones. My comrades showed me photographs of their wives taken before their arrest: women of 22 or 24 in the full bloom of youth. But when I saw them in prison during their visits to their men faces were lined with suffering and privation. Their husband's imprisonment had taken 15-20 years of their lives. Yet these wives and mothers never uttered a word of reproach, though their eyes spoke of their pain and grief.

"Let me tell you the moving story of one Spanish woman. Her name was Ana Faucha and to me she is a symbol of the self-sacrifice and devotion of our Spanish women.

"Ana Faucha was an old woman who lived in a fishing village in Malaga Province, in Andalusia. She was all alone in the world, for her only son was serving a prison sentence in Valdenoceda. She lived on charity and she knew that soon her strength would fail her and she would die. She yearned to see her son once more before she died. But Valdenoceda is a long way from Andalusia and since she had no money for the journey she decided to go on foot. I do not know how many weeks or months it took her to get there, but at last she reached her destination. She made her way to the prison and asked to see her son. But the jailer, looking through the lists, informed her that her son had been placed in solitary confinement and was not allowed to see anyone. The poor woman could not understand that cruel answer. She refused to believe that after having journeyed on foot across the whole of Spain she was to be denied permission to see her son. Each day she came to the gates of the prison. She wept and beat on the iron gates with her hands. But her cries went unheeded. Time and again she approached the window of the sentry's office, and every time she was refused admission.

"I do not know how long the mother waited outside the prison gates. But the winter of 1941 was bitterly cold in Spain, and one frosty morning Ana Faucha was found outside the

gates, dead. She lay like a small dark bird covered with snow, her lifeless hand clutching the small parcel of food she had prepared for her son.

"That is a death we shall never forget or forgive! We Spanish political prisoners who know how much we owe to our mothers and our wives propose that on the liberation of our country from its oppressors a monument be erected to the women of Spain."

SOLIDARITY, AN IMPORTANT FACTOR

The Communists in Franco's prisons are waging a ceaseless and costly struggle. And the slightest manifestation of solidarity on the part of democrats anywhere in the world is a priceless contribution to this struggle, an invaluable source of courage and inspiration to the imprisoned fighters, Marcos Ana stressed.

"For years our families lived in complete isolation," he relates. "Of late, however, things have changed both for the prisoners and their families. Now their wives come on visiting days bringing letters from different parts of the world and telling of packages received from Czechoslovakia, the USSR and other socialist countries, from Britain, France, Holland and other countries. And the happiness caused by these tokens of solidarity raises the spirits of the prisoners.

"More than that, every manifestation of solidarity with the Spanish political prisoners changes the attitude of the jailers to their captives. These men are something of a barometer of the outside world's interest in our fate. They are beginning to realize what a mighty force we represent. The prison authorities have had to change their attitude to the political prisoners. When the first parcels from the solidarity movement arrived they were turned over to the prisoners. But the administration soon put a stop to that and, to prevent trouble, they were obliged to improve our conditions slightly. For example, the workers of some of the Renault works and other plants offered to send us a movie projector. The prison authorities rejected this token of Communist solidarity. However, the governor of the prison was given secret instructions to purchase a projector out of prison funds."

But the effect of the solidarity with the Spanish prisoners is by no means confined to these instances. It helps to wrest victims from the clutches of Franco's jailers. Marcos Ana's own case is indicative.

"My two death sentences were commuted to 60 years imprisonment," he said. "To complete that sentence I should have been in jail until the beginning of next century. But thanks to

the solidarity in my own country and all over the world I now 'owe' General Franco a few years imprisonment. But although I have regained my liberty, hundreds of my comrades still remain in Spanish prisons. These are men whose only crime is that they fought for the life and liberty of their people.

"Iturmendi, the Spanish Minister of Justice, recently declared that everything is going well in our country. But if that is so, one might ask him, why are the emergency laws still in force 24 years after the end of the Civil War? Why is participation in strikes or free thought regarded as the equivalent of insurrection? Why is there no freedom of the press, free speech, or the right to strike? Why is torture an accepted method of legal procedure in Spain?"

"The Spanish Communists are not thirsting

for revenge," said Marcos Ana. "People who do not share our ideas are amazed when they see us come out of prison without hatred, our political convictions unchanged, our thoughts turned to the future of our people, its struggle for a policy of national accord.

"The most effective expression of solidarity with us is constantly to expose the terrorist methods employed by Franco, to carry on the fight for the release of the political prisoners. We are convinced that this solidarity will not be withdrawn from us.

Marcos Ana conveyed the gratitude of the Spanish Communists and the Spanish people for the solidarity shown by the democratic forces of the world, for Communist solidarity with the fight of the Spanish people for freedom and democracy, against the Franco terror.

Reviews

Cuba and Marxism

FOUR years ago the people of Cuba for the first time in history of the Latin American continent put an end to the economic and political domination of the United States and began to build a new life for themselves. This was a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which has always regarded Latin America as its own back garden.

The imperialists, with the connivance of some Latin American governments, want to put an end to the Isle of Freedom in the Caribbean Sea. They cannot tolerate the thought that within 90 miles of the United States coast Cuba is building socialism and offering an inspiring example to the oppressed people of the other countries on the continent. In these circumstances it is the duty of all who stand for progress, democracy and peace to defend Cuba against imperialist aggression.

The Cuban revolution has become the target of the vilest slander, circulated for the sole purpose of misleading world public opinion. This makes it all the more necessary to spread the truth about the Cuban revolution, its origin, its aims and ideals.

A valuable contribution in this respect is Jacques Arnault's book *Cuba and Marxism** published recently in Paris. A well-documented, polemical study, it traces the main aspects of the revolutionary process in Cuba and de-

monstrates the viability of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

The book opens with a brief outline of Cuban history. The author shows how this island, richly endowed by nature, was plundered first by the Spanish colonialists, and after the War of Independence by the young North American state which vied with Spain in the exploitation of Cuba. Time and again the Cuban people rose in revolt against their oppressors.

After the defeat of Spain in 1899 the island was occupied by North American troops. Having secured the monopoly of trade and guaranteed themselves a free hand by means of the Platt Amendment, which was subsequently incorporated into the Constitution, the United States withdrew its troops.

From that time on, the young republic of Cuba, though formally independent, became a semi-colony of the United States. The Cuban revolution put an end to this status.

Speaking of this period in Cuban history, the author notes the scale of the popular struggle for independence, and the specific forms of the struggle which developed into an armed uprising with the landing of partisan forces. He speaks of the indecision of the bourgeoisie whose economic interests impelled them to

*Jacques Arnault, *Cuba et le Marxisme*, Paris, Editions sociales, 1962. 213 pp.

seek independence from Spain but who, by virtue of their class affiliation, saw the way out in aligning Cuba with the United States.

The book stresses the role played in Cuban history by Jose Marti and points to the similarity between Marti's methods of struggle and those used by Fidel Castro 60 years later. "Marti's contribution to the Cuban revolutionary movement," writes Arnault, "apart from his humanist ideals, was the defining of the three conditions essential for liberation: first, unity of all fighters, then the formation of a party capable of heading the revolutionary movement, and finally, the choice of the moment for switching over to armed struggle."

Shortly before his death, Marti, who perished in struggle for the liberation of Cuba from Spanish domination, wrote that Latin America must fight for its second independence, independence from U.S. economic oppression.

Marti's ideas live on in the Cuban revolution whose leaders are carrying out his behests.

For an understanding of subsequent developments, the chapter on the history of the rise and struggle of the working-class movement and the Marxist-Leninist Party in Cuba is both interesting and instructive.

Of late, and particularly in connection with the growing struggle for liberation in Latin America, theoreticians of "a new type" are coming to the fore — some well-meaning, others less so — who on the basis of what they claim to be Cuba's experience are spreading doubts as to the part played by the working class and the vanguard role of the Communist and Workers' parties. And although the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba did make mistakes, and although the Cuban working-class movement had its shortcomings, the facts adduced by Arnault show that the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry and headed by the Communists made an important contribution to all the actions against exploitation, dictatorship and national oppression beginning with 1925, when the Party was first founded, and up to the time of the Batista dictatorship.

The author dwells in detail on the struggle waged by the Popular Socialist Party against the Machado tyranny, a struggle in which the proletariat, united with the poor peasantry, played the decisive role and which ended in 1933 with a general strike. This struggle cost the Party dearly; among those who perished were J. A. Mella and Ruben Villenas, two of its leaders whose memory is cherished by the Cuban people.

After the power was turned over to the military camarilla, backed by the United States, the Party advanced the demand for the dis-

tribution of the land to the peasants and the confiscation of property seized by the North Americans. The peasants occupied the land; the workers, the sugar refineries. No less decisive was the activity of the Party in the grim period of illegal struggle which lasted until 1938, when the ban on the Party was first lifted. In 1940 the Party delegates elected to the Constituent Assembly worked hard for the adoption of a progressive Constitution. In 1952, when the big bourgeoisie and the United States placed Batista in power, the Communists from the very beginning denounced the dictatorship and called upon the people to overthrow it.

After the attack on the Moncada barracks by Fidel Castro and his followers reprisals were taken and the Popular Socialist Party was outlawed. Notwithstanding the Batista terror, the Cuban Communists never ceased to organize and lead the class struggle of the working class and all the people against the dictatorship and for economic demands.

Arguing with the author of a series of articles published in the newspaper *Monde* under the headline "Long Live Fidel Castro, Down with the Communists!" (the same idea formulated less crudely has been expressed by Jean-Paul Sartre and others), the author touches on the differences that arose on the question of the tactics to be employed to overthrow Batista.

While the Popular Socialist Party foresaw that the mass struggle against the tyranny would grow into an armed struggle, it failed to take any practical steps in this direction. Fidel Castro and his comrades did this.

Arnault dwells on the objective and subjective reasons which, as the Party itself has admitted, gave rise to this situation: 1) the predominance of economic demands in the working-class movement, and 2) the heritage of anarcho-syndicalism, which was particularly felt during the Batista period. Try as they would, the Communists were unable to alter the situation. They failed to draw sufficiently on their own experience in Cuba, on the traditions of armed struggle, the landing of armed men and guerilla warfare (Fidel Castro and his comrades followed these traditions in the Sierra Maestra Mountains). The Communists underestimated — not in theory but in practice — the revolutionary role of the peasantry, despite their own experiences in 1933.

At the same time, the author emphasizes the subjective factors due to which the armed struggle led by Fidel Castro, in view of its specific social and political character, neutralized part of the big bourgeoisie and the imperialists and also won him the support of the

petty bourgeoisie and a certain section of the middle bourgeoisie. This proved decisive for the victory.

Nevertheless, no one, states the author, will deny the contribution made by the Popular Socialist Party, for instance, in waging the anti-imperialist struggle, in popularizing Marxism-Leninism and the socialist perspective. The Party trained thousands of courageous and staunch Party workers who dedicated themselves to the struggle for socialism and helped to mould the revolutionary consciousness of the people.

The book examines the entire process of the Cuban revolution and the ideas by which its leaders were guided, and shows how from the very beginning they were influenced by the humanism and anti-imperialism of Marti and the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Quoting from the writings and speeches of Fidel and Raul Castro, Che Guevara and others, Arnault examines the period of the struggle in Sierra Maestra. He shows how experience combined with theory helped the revolutionaries to perfect their methods of struggle, how they gradually won the peasants over to the side of the revolution. In 1957, when the general strike sparked off by the murder of Franc Pais in Santiago de Cuba failed owing to poor organization, Castro and his comrades saw that the workers and popular masses generally had to be won over, and they set about coordinating the armed struggle with the mass movement.

But the heterogeneous character of the Movement of July 26 on which Fidel Castro relied for support, the predominance of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideology as well as the anti-communism of some members of the movement—all this made it difficult to establish contact with the workers and achieve united action with the Popular Socialist Party, and to adopt the organizational forms and methods that would have served to rally the masses. But when the Communists recognized the correctness of the tactic of armed struggle and when all obstacles to united action disappeared (unity chiefly with the Left wing of the July 26 Movement) the combined struggle of the working class and the masses in general together with the struggle waged by the revolutionaries in Sierra Maestra assumed sweeping proportions.

The victory of the rebels over Batista's army, combined with the general strike, led in January 1959 to the victory of the people's democratic revolution of national emancipation.

One chapter in the book is devoted to the complex problems that arose in the process of consolidating the revolutionary power and

carrying out a revolutionary program. The solution was found in the unity of the three political forces of the revolution — the Movement of July 26, the Popular Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Directorate.

Referring to the ideological discussions out of which unity emerged, the author dwells on such important theoretical questions as the character and content of the revolution, the role of the working class and the peasantry, the problem of hegemony, etc.

And in each case he demonstrates the validity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, thus replying to those who seek to confuse the issue by maintaining that the Cuban revolution has caused a rift in Marxism.

In the chapter "The Special Features of the Cuban Revolution," Arnault examines the reasons for the swift transition from the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution to the socialist revolution. Analyzing the specific circumstance that the transition from one stage to another was effected under the leadership of the revolutionary intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie who had gone over to the positions of the proletariat, he notes that as the struggle grew, these elements became more revolutionary, more dedicated to Marxism-Leninism and hence remained in the revolutionary ranks even during the transition to socialism.

Arnault criticizes those who try to prove that the revolution was pragmatic, i.e., spontaneous and devoid of any scientific revolutionary theory.

Taking issue with the pragmatists, Arnault shows that the Cuban revolution was not a revolution without an ideology. Had Castro and his comrades not been inspired by the socialist ideas they could not have surmounted the obstacles the imperialists placed in the path of the revolution.

Marxism-Leninism was the only doctrine that could show them the way to carry on the struggle and imbue the masses with indomitable faith in the righteousness of their cause. All the imperialists did was to force the revolutionaries to accelerate the development of the revolution. Of course this was not done consciously, imperialism by its very nature could not have acted otherwise.

The U.S. monopolies could not accept the agrarian reform, the nationalization, the expansion of the trade sphere, all of which threatened their interests. Nor could they "permit" U.S. domination in Latin America and its role as the gendarme of the interests of the exploiters, the protector of the "sacred" principles of free enterprise to be questioned. They could not allow the so-called "geographical fatalism",

i.e., the dependence of Latin American countries on U.S. imperialism, to be destroyed.

To tell the truth, the author concludes, those who believed they could use the Cuban revolution to combat the Communists have been badly mistaken. That revolution is a thorn in their side. What appealed to them was not the slogans "land to the peasants," "houses for the people," "the national wealth to the working people" or "make the illiterate literate" but "rejection of communism."

The book traces the history of the counter-revolutionary movement headed by the United States and tells of the serious problems the Cuban revolution has had to face in overcoming the economic blockade, sabotage, political pressure and the threat of direct invasion by the imperialists.

But Cuba is not alone. The author shows how the economic, cultural and military aid rendered by the USSR and the other socialist countries in the conditions of the new world balance of forces helped to prevent Cuba from being starved into submission and attacked by its formidable neighbor. He shows how this aid has made it possible to speed the pace of industrialization and the development of agriculture at the present stage of socialist construction.

In the concluding chapters Arnault speaks of the formation of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution inspired by the Marxist-Leninist teaching. He examines the conflicts and difficulties encountered in the course of development, as for example, the case of Anibal Escalante, which was seized upon by the reactionary press as "proof" of a conflict between the "neo-Marxists" and the "old guard," in the Communist Party. Castro answered these assertions in his speech of March 26, 1962. "Our revolution," he said, "is quite clearly defined as Marxist-Leninist, and it is from Marxist-Leninist positions that we criticize our own mistakes. Let no one cherish any illusions on this score! Let no one imagine that we shall retreat a single step. On the contrary, we shall advance."

Arnault stresses the significance of the Cuban Revolution for the world Communist movement.

The Cuban revolution has demonstrated, especially to the countries of Latin America, that in our time when the socialist system is growing stronger it is possible to give battle, defeat U.S. imperialism and carry out a revolution.

But, the author warns, the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie of Latin America have also learned a lesson from the Cuban revolution. The special conditions which existed in Cuba and which made victory possible — the support or benevolent attitude of the big bourgeoisie, the active participation of the petty bourgeoisie and the hesitancy of the United States — are not likely to be repeated.

The peoples must find other means. And they will find them, says Arnault.

Cuba and Marxism was published before the Caribbean crisis. In the afterword to the second edition the author examines the events which brought the world to the brink of nuclear disaster and threatened Cuba with the fate of being the first to be destroyed in a nuclear holocaust.

"Cuba lives and will remain Cuban. The full significance of this may not be appreciated by those who were not aware that Cuba might well have perished. Yet for the reasons given above, Cuba was indeed condemned to death." This is how the author begins his afterword.

Arnault speaks of the U.S. plans to use the presence of missiles in Cuba to justify its plans to destroy the Cuban revolution.

But this maneuver failed. Imperialism had to retreat. Arnault notes the difference between Stevenson's reply to Dorticos in the United Nations on October 8, 1962 and Kennedy's reply to Khrushchov at the height of the Caribbean crisis. The former declared that the question of communism in the Western Hemisphere could not be a subject for negotiation. Kennedy, on the other hand, negotiated with Khrushchov for the withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba, promising in return not to invade Cuba.

True, one should not put too much faith in imperialist promises. But at the same time one must face the realities and be objective. There is no doubt that the possibilities of preventing invasion have grown since the Caribbean crisis thanks to the initiative and consistent peace policy of the USSR. Moreover the forces determined to prevent the unleashing of war have likewise grown.

"Cuba lives and will continue to live," Arnault concludes "provided world public opinion, backed by the courage of the Cuban people and the calm determination of the USSR, does not relax its vigilance."

Alcira DE LA PENA

Unemployment in the United States

ON MARCH 11, 1963, President Kennedy submitted to Congress his first manpower report, as required by the recently passed Manpower and Training and Development Act. In this voluminous report the President characterized unemployment as the No. 1 economic problem facing the country. He estimated that unemployment represents a loss of \$30,000 million to \$40,000 million a year in goods and services. This is an underestimate. The real rate of unemployment is substantially greater than the official figures indicate. And the actual loss suffered by the people of the United States because of unemployment is nearer \$50,000 million a year.

Later, at a business luncheon in Chicago, March 23, President Kennedy warned that "unless we (the United States) step up our rate of growth — unless we create a supply of jobs that is more equal to the demand—our rate of unemployment will steadily and swiftly climb to the recession levels of seven per cent, even without a recession."

Of much greater significance than the loss to the economy is the prospectless misery which long-term unemployment brings to workers and their families. It is not only a condition of poverty and distress, but also an intense sense of alienation, the humiliation of continuing for an indefinite period without socially useful employment, the frustration and hopelessness that comes from knocking on doors vainly seeking a job.

Unemployment is not only America's No. 1 economic problem. It is also a pressing political problem. For, keeping in mind that there is the living example of the rapidly growing socialist system, where there is *no* unemployment, even the spokesmen of monopoly capitalism cannot fail to appreciate that, "certainly it would be difficult for any government to survive today in a developed country which countenances mass unemployment for any extended period of time.*

Above all, unemployment is the burning problem of American labor. It is unfortunate that the leadership of the AFL-CIO seems still to be struggling to get a clear understanding of the causes of unemployment and is lagging behind in formulating policies to deal with the situation. Hyman Lumer's book** is therefore a timely contribution to a badly needed better

understanding of the entire problem of unemployment in its broader aspects. The book is bound to stimulate the effective struggle of labor against this "inborn disease of our capitalist society."

In seven brief chapters, complemented by tables and charts, the author has drawn a picture of the most fundamental aspects of the U.S. capitalist economy, revealing, even to the uninitiated, the true nature of its chronic disease of unemployment. It is important to note that in accomplishing his task Lumer had to overcome the limitations of space, even more so, the limitations of time. The latter were imposed upon him by the shameful anti-labor legislation (Taft-Hartley Act) under which he was convicted and had to start serving his prison term.

Lumer starts by disposing of the myth propagated in the early fifties by orthodox apologists of capitalism (e.g. Sumner H. Slichter) claiming that "the specter of chronic unemployment . . . has pretty completely disappeared" or by the Keynesians (e.g. Alvin H. Hansen) who assert that we have entered a period of the "welfare state" where the government is taking care to provide full employment. Lumer's analysis and documentation shows that, "the current growth of joblessness is . . . not a passing phenomenon but a manifestation of the new, more advanced stage into which the irreversible process of decay of our outmoded capitalist economy has entered."

The author shows that "the official figures (of the Bureau of Labor Statistics concerning the number of unemployed and the rate of unemployment) remain glaringly deficient; indeed, they serve to hide rather than to reveal the true extent of unemployment." Since the publication of Lumer's book his conclusions have been confirmed by an analysis made under the auspices of the Conference on Economic Progress, the national committee of which includes Leon H. Keyserling, former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors (under Truman), a number of industrialists, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, and Walter P. Reuther, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO and President of the United Automobile Workers. According to the conservative statistical analysis of this organization, for instance, almost nine per cent (8.9 per cent) of the labor force was fully unemployed during the first half of 1962, nearly double the officially recorded rate of 5.4 per cent.

While more nearly correct than the official

*Staff Report for Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Washington, 1959.

**Hyman Lumer, *Is Full Employment Possible?* New Century Publishers, New York, June 1962, 128 pp.

statistics, the Conference figures also underestimate the dimensions of unemployment, as appears clearly from the figures and facts cited in Chapter 2 of the book under review.

In discussing the uneven distribution of unemployment, Lumer shows that the underprivileged—the Negro people, Puerto Ricans, youth, etc.—are its greatest victims. An illuminating chapter on automation shows how technological progress under monopoly capitalism tends to aggravate the problem of unemployment rather than to alleviate it. He shows that “unemployment is bred by capitalism; indeed, it grows out of the very advance of capitalist production.” Lumer reaches the conclusion that, “the greater the capacity of technological innovation to lighten man’s toil and to provide abundance and a good life for all, the more does it give rise (in a monopoly capitalist economy) to the very opposite.”

Dealing with the question of the export of capital and rivalry for markets Lumer shows that, “what is required is a *common* struggle (by organized labor of all capitalist countries) against a *common* enemy (the integrated international cartels of monopoly capital) in behalf of the working conditions and living standards of *all* workers *everywhere*.”

In the two final chapters Lumer shows that “while there should be no illusion that under capitalism it is possible to attain . . . full employment, it is possible to bring about measures which will increase economic growth, reduce unemployment and . . . improve the welfare of the American working people.” He then discusses in detail various proposed measures emphasizing especially the necessity for the immediate shortening of the hours of work, the extending of unemployment insurance to cover all unemployed since at present only about 50 per cent of the total number of fully unemployed are so covered and also to extend the payment of unemployment benefits to the entire duration of unemployment.

Lumer calls attention to the fact that discrimination and super-exploitation of Negro workers and other underprivileged groups within the working class cannot but seriously weaken the condition of the entire working class. As one method of achieving the carrying out of the measures necessary to reduce unemployment he stresses especially the vital necessity of the organization of the unemployed and their mobilization for joint struggle with the employed workers.

In conclusion, Lumer discusses the subject of socialism and full employment. He refers,

among others to the following question posed by Walter Reuther, President of the Automobile Workers: “Why is it that the more wealth we are able to produce with an hour of work, the more of us there are who are compelled to live on unemployment benefits or welfare?” Basing himself on his entire preceding discussion, Lumer indicates that those labor leaders, who like Keynesians are wedded to capitalism, are bound to discover that within the framework of capitalism there may at best be found only palliatives which might mitigate but cannot eliminate the evils of unemployment. For “standing between the idle factories and the idle workers is the capitalist owner.”

In fact at the present stage of state-monopoly capitalism organized labor has to undergo a great transformation in order to be able to secure even that limited alleviation of the situation. Only a thoroughly united labor movement, militant and based on working-class solidarity, would have a fighting chance to gain the collective-bargaining victories and legislative enactments necessary to assure the maximum possible mitigation of “the nightmarish mockery of mountainous inventories of unsold goods and the barren and corroding idleness of unemployment.”

“In a socialist society,” Lumer emphasizes, “. . . the kind of problem which troubles the Reuthers . . . does not exist.” “With the advent of socialism to the United States, unemployment will likewise become a thing of the past — a relic of a bygone age to which no one will ever want to return. The enormous productive capacity of our country, the greatest in the world today, will no longer be a source of anxiety and insecurity to American workers, but will instead be a tremendous advantage.”

Lumer does not close his eyes to the fact that “the overwhelming majority of American workers do not as yet see their future as lying in socialism . . .” “But,” he is firmly convinced, “as the contrast grows between the full employment, security and rising living standards of socialist society and the growing unemployment and insecurity of capitalist society, they will be brought to look in mounting numbers to a socialist America as the real answer to their problems. And as the struggle against the monopolies advances to new levels, with a Marxist-Leninist working-class party of socialism pointing the way, the need for taking steps to bring about the establishment of such a society will become increasingly clear.”

J. M. BUDISH

Problems of the French Countryside

THE struggle against the monopolies in France is being fought on many fronts, one of them being the countryside. In *Men of the Soil**, a thoroughly documented study by Waldeck Rochet, Deputy Secretary General of the French Communist Party, the fate of the small farmer and the policy of the French Communists on the agrarian question are examined.

The author begins by reminding us of the mass movements of farmers in 1959, 1961 and 1962 which originated in the southern, central and western parts of the country in areas with predominantly small and medium-sized farms. Aimed against this type of farm, described by bourgeois economists as "non-viable," is the Gaullist "structural reform" law (1960), which envisages some 800,000 small farms ultimately being eliminated in the name of modernization, technical progress and profitability.

Rochet paints a vivid picture of the situation in the French countryside. Total annual income of a small farmer's family, he says, is in many cases below the minimum wage of a factory worker. Technical progress, with its opportunities for higher productivity and lower costs, he writes, is making the rich farmer richer, while the family farmer, with his small holding, can scarcely keep his head above water. In order to hold his own on the market, the farmer must produce more and at lower cost. But he cannot afford the investments that would enable him to compete with the big producers. His efforts to mechanize, plus the onerous health and old-age insurance contributions, force him to sink deeper into debt. The ending of the price index which guaranteed a certain equilibrium between prices for agricultural and manufactured goods has placed the smallholder in a position where he is being slowly but surely squeezed out by the big farmer. At the same time, loans and subsidies formerly granted to encourage farming and to modernize techniques, have been cut, prices for tractors and fertilizers have risen steadily, while prices for agricultural produce have declined. The government on the pretext of a "glut" in farm production is raising taxes, restricting the area sown to grain and grapes, cutting milk production and, under the Common Market agreements, is flooding the home market with imported products. Yet total consumption (with a growing population) remains unchanged. Owing to the high taxes and the numerous

middlemen between farmer and consumer, the price paid by the latter for food products "is jacked up two or three times before they reach him."

Such are the fruits of the "grand agricultural policy" which was promised when de Gaulle came to power, when the Common Market was held up as the guarantee of a good market for the products of a thriving agriculture.

In order to improve their conditions, the farmers are organizing cooperatives: for purchase and supply, for storing, processing and selling produce, for joint utilization of machinery and joint cultivation. These cooperatives, provided they are not absorbed by the big producers, benefit the small farmer, a fact which makes them the target of attack on the part of the manufacturers and trusts backed by the de Gaulle government. Under capitalism these cooperatives of course cannot remove the causes of the farmers' difficulties, but, given a genuine democracy, which would restrict the power of the monopolies, they could help solve social and economic problems facing the farmers.

Tens of thousands of people leave the villages every year, Rochet writes. Many of them are young people who, seeing no prospect of making a living in the countryside, go to the towns where they form the bulk of the lowest-paid workers. In most cases, despite the government's promises of facilities for "retraining," they have no trade, and the lack of technical schools in the countryside prevents them from acquiring new skills.

This is how the law of capitalist exploitation and concentration operates in agriculture: 691,000 family farms were put out of the running between 1929 and 1956, and the process is being accelerated by the de Gaulle "agricultural-orientation" law under which 80,000 such farms are doomed annually.

Elsewhere in his book Rochet analyzes the predominant role of the monopolies and the finance magnates in determining the policy of the de Gaulle government. Under the regime of personal power, the role of elected bodies and their functions have been reduced to nought. The workers and farmers have no way of influencing the decisions of a government obedient to the wishes of the trusts and banks which are anxious to hasten the process of capitalist concentration both in agriculture and in industry. Rochet goes on to examine the principal clauses of the "agricultural orienta-

*Waldeck Rochet, *Ceux de la terre*, Paris, Editions sociales, 1963. 370 pp.

tion" law designed to "undermine the family structure" in agriculture and legalize the elimination of the small and, subsequently, the middle farms after the pattern of the United States whose methods are openly advocated by French big business. The author exposes the purpose of the "agricultural societies" and so-called "groups of producers," designed to ensure the big farmer monopoly of the growing and selling of agricultural produce. He pinpoints the true role of the "economic committees" which on the pretext of organizing markets and improving the distributive network are aimed at extending the domination of big capital to the sphere of farm produce.

These measures are calculated to adapt French agriculture to the new conditions created by the Common Market, which has been boosted as "a stroke of good fortune for French agriculture." In reality the Common Market, far from ensuring the small and middle farmer access to foreign markets, causes him in the long run to lose a good part of the domestic market. This is borne out by the statistics for the first four years of the Common Market. Competition is forcing down agricultural prices and only the big capitalist farms can hold their own under the circumstances.

It is quite clear that, as things are, the small and medium farmer is doomed. It is equally clear that small-scale farming cannot make full use of machinery and technological improvements. But the efficiency and profitability ensured by technical progress and competition are surely no grounds for allowing capitalism to wipe out hundreds of thousands of smallholders, i.e., the bulk of the tillers, for the sake of a small minority of big farmers and monopolies. The Communist Party rejects that alternative and proposes immediate measures to protect the farmer from capitalist expropriation and make him the first to benefit from the technological progress. To this end it is advancing a program of defense of the farmer, the general outlines of which are set forth in the book.

The basic points in the program envisage not the elimination of the family farm but a series of measures to counteract the concentration of the land and to curb the big capitalist farms. Concretely these measures include the granting of subsidies and commissions to the small farmer, lower prices for manufactured goods, guaranteed rights for tenant farmers and sharecroppers, the wages of agricultural laborers to be equal to those of workers in other trades, tax exemption and the extension of educational facilities, opening of technical schools in the countryside, equal old age and sick benefits, etc.

In addition, the Party is demanding a genuine national policy of economic development of the rural areas (more equitable distribution of industrial enterprises and new branches of industry) and modernization of the countryside (water mains, and adequate power supply, roads and better housing). This program, says Rochet, can be carried out only by a "complete change in political orientation toward a policy of social progress and peace." Such a change presupposes an end to the one-man rule representing the monopolies, the establishment of genuine democracy as a step along the road to socialism, and the termination of the arms race.

The book examines the tasks of Communist farmers, their role in the farmers' unions, Party activity in the countryside, a firm alliance of workers and farmers to win in the struggle both on the farm field and in the factories.

Monopoly concentration and the technological progress in agriculture raise problems transcending the boundaries of a single country. And the author's analysis of the process of proletarianization of the peasant masses under capitalism applies not only to France, but to other capitalist countries as well. The domination of big capital in European agriculture is recorded in Article 54 of the Rome Treaty which provides for "the acquisition and exploitation of landed property situated on the territory of one of the member states by a citizen of another member state." We are now witnessing the struggle between the rival imperialists to maintain and expand markets for agricultural produce, more and more of which is being seized by the monopolies. And the agrarian policy in France, as in the other Common Market countries, is decided in the long run not in the interests of those who till the soil but in the interests of the finance oligarchy.

In the concluding chapter, "The Socialist Road in Agriculture," the author compares the two possible ways of operating agriculture rationally under modern conditions: the capitalist way, the "way of exploitation, poverty and expropriation," and the socialist way, which returns the land to the working farmers, the way of prosperity and ending the exploitation of man by man.

Rochet's book will help to unite the working class and the people of the countryside inasmuch as it shows that both worker and farmer, who live by their own labor, are exploited by big capital and, hence, have common interests and a common enemy.

Jean Paul THIBAUT

Communications and Comment

The Aldermaston March

APRIL in Britain has become bound up with the Aldermaston March. On the Easter week-end tens of thousands of Britons, plus many groups and individuals from different parts of the world, march from the village of Aldermaston to London, in protest against nuclear weapons.

Started in 1958 under the auspices of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, of which Canon Collins is the Chairman, the Aldermaston March has become an annual event. With each passing year it has grown in significance until today it is regarded all over the world as a symbol of the peoples' resistance to nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

The March is a remarkable manifestation of unity. There are no bans or proscriptions against anyone participating. All who wish to voice their opposition to nuclear war are welcome in its ranks. In the words of one of its organizers, the trade union leader, John Horner, it has no rules, no discipline, no order, except that which is self-imposed and which has become a striking feature of the March.

Because of this, Aldermaston has become a unique phenomenon in the political life of Britain. The March has brought into political activity tens of thousands of young people as well as ordinary men and women, most of whom have come into activity for the first time in protesting against the bomb. Thousands of housewives leave their homes for the week-end and, with their children, join husbands and brothers on the March—all united on a single issue—to rid Britain of nuclear weapons and save mankind from the horrors of nuclear war.

Members of the Communist Party from every district march together with members of the Labor Party, members of Parliament and rank and file alike, in unity and accord. Catholics join with Protestants, Quakers, Baptists, and Methodists and walk in line with atheists to protest against the bomb.

In particular youth is outstanding. The Young Communist League, in whose ranks this year marched the 81-year-old veteran Communist, William Gallacher, stride along with the Young Socialists, with Liberal youth and with the student youth. Practically every university in Britain is represented on the march, and so are many grammar and public schools.

In a press interview, the Left Labor M.P. and

a member of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, Mr. Anthony Greenwood, one of the leaders of the March, stated that they were marching against foreign military bases "and not merely the ones in our own country," and also against all nuclear tests, but for the success of the Geneva talks. And we shall be marching, said Mr. Greenwood, against the "cynical French test in the Sahara, an affront to Algeria and a violation of the United Nations resolution calling for Africa to be a nuclear free zone."

We are marching for a repudiation of the Nassau agreement and to persuade our people of the folly of Britain maintaining an independent nuclear weapon, "especially an independent nuclear deterrent for which we shall be dependent on America!" he declared. We are marching against Britain spending in the year 1963-64 no less than £1,900 million "on weapons of destruction, most of which will be obsolete by the time they come off the production line."

Since the Aldermaston March represents every shade of political opinion and religious belief, not all the marchers would agree with Mr. Greenwood, but the vast majority would accept his views as being the aim of the 1963 March.

And although Right-wing Labor is against the March, it continues with thousands of Labor Party members in its ranks. The general consensus of opinion was that this year's march was once again a great success and that is the main thing.

Since the distance from Aldermaston to London is 60 miles, overnight stops have to be arranged, and it is no small organizational task to find food and shelter for the thousands of marchers. But it is here that the sympathy and solidarity which is felt for the marchers, expresses itself. All along the route, local sections of the Labor Movement (Communist Party, Labor Party, Trade Union and Co-operators) offer their assistance and help and so do Quakers and other religious bodies. Labor local authorities as in the industrial town of Slough also give their active support.

As the march proceeded, more and more joined it until when it reached London over 30,000 were in the ranks. These included men prominent in public life like Sydney Silverman, M.P., Emrys Hughes, M.P., the Dean of

Canterbury, Michael Foot, M.P., many other well known Labor and trade union leaders, members of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party and large numbers of delegates, who joined in at the conclusion of the Communist Party Congress.

On Easter Monday the marchers reached London and proceeded to Hyde Park through streets lined with thousands of spectators. In some streets the people were standing six deep. A crowd of 80,000 gathered in the Park to hear the final speeches. The banners and slogans stretched for miles as the procession entered the Park. Included were banners of the North London Engineers, the Electricians, the Plumbers, the Printers, the Post Office workers, the Railwaymen, Transport and General Workers and many others.

There can be no doubt that the Aldermaston March has made a tremendous impact on the political life of Britain and has achieved a considerable measure of success in the fight for peace. "It is significant," said John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, in his opening statement to the Twenty-Eighth (1963) Congress, "that the first major revolt against government policy came on nuclear weapons with the growth and activity of the peace movement, the CND and the Committee of 100. For the first time since the thirties the working class, professional people and the youth were united in a mass movement. In all this the British Peace Committee had a pioneer role. We can be proud, too, of our part. The peace movement, despite its weaknesses, has played a vital part in bringing about the present political situation."

Its impact has been felt strongest of all in the Labor movement, for many of the young intellectuals are also members of the CND and they seek to win the Labor movement for the CND program of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

It is not accidental that at the Third National Conference of the Labor Party's Socialist Youth, held this April, the delegates called on Mr. Harold Wilson, the new leader of the Labor Party to fight to scrap the Bomb, to leave NATO, and to withdraw all foreign bases from Britain, and instructed its National Committee to launch a nationwide campaign against "the Tories' warmongering policies."

Two other Easter conferences, those of the Cooperative Party and of the Shipbuilding and Engineering Draughtsmen's Union, also adopted resolutions in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament. Only one, the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union, passed a resolution supporting the official Labor policy of continued participation in NATO.

The significance of the Aldermaston march is the broad unity it has built up all over Britain, and the way in which its influence has spread to other countries where marches also took place at Easter. Japan and West Germany in particular come to mind in this connection. This unity is invaluable today when every means is sought to divide the peace partisans.

Aldermaston has been an important factor in stimulating action all over Britain. Because of the March the great demonstration against Polaris took place at Holy Loch. Because of Aldermaston, peace fighters demonstrated in Pembroke in Wales, against giving bases to West German and other NATO troops for training purposes. Similarly marches and demonstrations have taken place against the U.S. bases where rockets are sited and where the U.S. air force are poised in readiness to drop nuclear bombs on the USSR.

What is more, these were united actions. Local Peace Committees, Communist Party branches, Labor Party and Trade Union branches and Churches all participated in these demonstrations, and such united actions are spreading throughout the country.

These actions inspired the Scottish TUC at its last Conference to pass an uncompromising resolution against atomic submarines being placed in Scottish waters.

Thus these peace campaigns bring in all sections of the community, both locally and nationally, united in the aim of banning the bomb. But there is a further aspect of the campaign which should not be overlooked. Because of its broad unity and the campaigns inspired by it, Aldermaston has become a school of political experience.

When the march first started it had one slogan and one objective: "Ban the Bomb." Today, the aims have been broadened. Experience has shown that the fight against nuclear weapons must take in all aspects of policy, not merely one, so that today the marchers are not only opposed to the bomb. They are also opposed to U.S. bases in Britain and against Polaris bases. They oppose West German bases and are against NATO troops being trained in Britain. They march against alliances based on nuclear weapons and support international agreements on disarmament.

The marchers have also participated in demonstrations against the terror in South Africa and in Portugal, and for freedom in colonial territories.

Thus what started as a stream, has now broadened into a mighty torrent, drawing in ever wider sections of the British people to the fight for peace.

H. FAGAN

Yankee Imperialism, Militarism and Military Dictatorships

(Letter from Ecuador)

IN ITS striving for world domination U.S. imperialism has always sought to turn the governments of the Latin American countries into docile tools of its policy. One of the instruments of U.S. political domination in Latin America has been military dictatorships. But the economic concessions these dictatorships have granted the U.S. monopolies and the shameless way in which they have bartered the national independence and sovereignty of their countries have made them highly unpopular at home and increased the Latin American peoples' hatred for North American imperialism. The policy of U.S. enslavement of Latin America is encountering more and more resistance on the part of the Latin American peoples.

Despite its far from successful attempt to pursue a colonial policy in Latin America, the U.S. State Department and the Pentagon continue to install military and fascist dictatorships in the Latin American countries. This policy takes a variety of forms, but the purpose is always the same: to convince the military that they alone are capable of rescuing Latin America from the "clutches of communism," that it is the military that must take power and control political and civic life in the Latin American countries. A poisonous, Nazi-type pamphlet, significantly entitled *The New Order* now being circulated in Ecuador declares that the military have every right to exercise full control over the life of the nation.

The U.S. military missions openly influence the top military echelons of the Latin American armed forces. Pentagon instructors are so well informed of the secret defense plans of every Latin American country that the secrecy is no longer of any value whatever. The USA has bilateral military agreements with many Latin American countries. Whenever conflicts arise between the Latin American countries—and some of them have even been at war with one another (for example, Paraguay with Bolivia and Peru with Ecuador) U.S. imperialism acts either as instigator or "mediator," turning the scales in favor of the particular country in which it is most interested. That is what happened during the armed aggression by Peru against Ecuador, when

under U.S. pressure Ecuador signed the Rio de Janeiro Protocol which wrested from it nearly half of its territory. Thus, the secrecy and the effectiveness of the defense plans of the Latin American republics are dependent on the economic and political value they represent for the United States.

On the pretext of building up the defense of the Latin American continent, the military intelligence services of the Latin American republics are subordinated to U.S. Intelligence. In Ecuador Communists were arrested by local military Intelligence acting on orders from the CIA. On the latter's instructions, "subversive" literature, films and gramophone records from the socialist countries are confiscated.

The United States is undermining the unity of our armed forces by granting some arms of the services privileges over others (the Air Force, for example, is in a privileged position as compared with the Army and Navy), and is depriving the armed forces of their basic *raison d'être*: to protect national independence and state sovereignty.

In Panama and Puerto Rico the North American instructors are teaching Latin American troops how to crush strikes and "mutinies." A typical example is the so-called Operation Surprise carried out by the Ecuador army in September 1962 during the strike of bank clerks who occupied the banks in Guayaquil. Early in the morning the troops raided the banks and ejected the clerks. Shortly before this incident, the Army, Navy and Air Force were used against striking dockers in the same town. Most of the recent strikes and demonstrations in Ecuador have been crushed by similar methods — many people were killed and wounded.

On U.S. instructions the Ecuador army is being used ostensibly to combat banditry, but in reality to wipe out the Communists and to suppress strikes. Banditry (which if it does exist is the result of poverty and injustice which causes some individuals to turn to crime) was the excuse given for dispatching a cavalry unit to the province of Manabí where the people have been waging a fight for their rights. In violation of the most ele-

mentary human rights, people were seized indiscriminately and shot on the spot. In Portoviejo, the main town in the province, Cristóbal Sedenó, sports secretary of the local chauffeurs' union, barely escaped being shot in this way. A few days later soldiers from the same unit attacked students in Portoviejo and a group of strikers in Mante.

The Pentagon is planning to set up a special military school in Puerto Rico. The program and purpose of the school, which is intended for high-ranking officers of the Latin American armies, prompted an American Senator to remark: "Show me the roll of students and I will name you the future dic-

tators of the Latin American republics."

All this clearly shows that U.S. imperialism is beginning to discard its pose of champion of democracy and is about to embark on a far-reaching plan to undermine the armed forces of the Latin American countries in an effort to deprive them of their national character and turn them into a weapon for the suppression of their own peoples who are seeking to free themselves from imperialist domination. North American imperialism is impelling the armed forces of our countries toward the establishment of military dictatorships of the fascist type.

Ricard A. PAREDES

Letter From Costa Rica

WE publish here excerpts from a letter from Comrades Manuel More V., Carlos L. Fallas and Arnaldo Ferreto of Costa Rica. We received the letter after the publication in our issue No. 5 of the commentary by Hernan Barrera on the conference of Latin American Presidents in San Jose. The letter raises some new points which we think will be of interest to readers.

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With regard to the San Jose conference, it should be noted that U.S. imperialism, and especially the more aggressive and reactionary circles, can hardly regard it as an unconditional success. Indirect evidence of this is the negative reaction to the conference of the Cuban emigrés who are a rather reliable barometer of the moods in these circles.

It is now known that the conference had planned to discuss and adopt an appeal to the Organization of American States for an immediate conference of Foreign Ministers of the OAS countries to decide on "joint hemisphere action" against Cuba. However, no such proposal was even submitted to the San Jose conference. Nor were any decisions adopted with regard to exerting pressure through the OAS on the governments of Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay and Chile to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

We have learned that Kennedy told his Central American colleagues that in the present circumstances the United States does not agree with the demand for an invasion of Cuba. Naturally, Kennedy's statement should not be regarded as evidence that the United States has abandoned the policy of military aggression against revolutionary Cuba, nevertheless the fact of the statement is in itself symptomatic.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the struggle waged by the progressive and democratic forces in connection with the San Jose conference with the object of preventing action being taken against revolutionary Cuba was to some extent successful.

The imperialists, evidently, thought better of adopting any resolution at the conference demanding an "invasion of Cuba," and in this respect the position taken by the Soviet Union at the time of the Caribbean crisis proved the decisive factor which, as has been the case more than once before, foiled the plans of the more aggressive circles in the United States and elsewhere. The firm stand taken by the Soviet Union in defense of Cuban independence clearly showed the State Department that an armed invasion of Cuba would spark off a world nuclear war.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

SPAIN, TOO, WILL SEE THE TRIUMPH OF FREEDOM!

JULIAN Grimau Garcia, glorious son of the Spanish working class and people, was executed at dawn on April 20 in the Carabanchel Prison, Madrid.

By shooting Grimau — despite the indignation aroused in Spain by the death sentence, despite the worldwide protest movement and despite the millions of voices raised on Grimau's behalf — Franco defied the people of Spain and world public opinion.

The movement to save Grimau's life was joined by people in all walks of life. Like a mighty wave it billowed over the countries of the socialist commonwealth, over the capitalist world and reached to the newly-emergent and colonial countries. Proletarians and bourgeoisie, Conservatives and Liberals, Catholics, Communists and Socialists, famous scientists and men of letters, politicians, ministers and heads of government and ordinary people — all spoke up on behalf of the Communist hero.

The three main international trade union associations and independent unions representing millions of trade unions protested against the monstrous sentence on Grimau and fought to save his life. Hundreds of thousands of young people, students and women joined the workers in protest meetings and demonstrations in Stockholm, Copenhagen, West Berlin, Brussels, in the cities of Switzerland, in Mexico, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, La Paz, Havana, in Rome, Milan and other cities of Italy, in Paris and throughout France, in Algeria and in the towns and villages of other countries. Protest meetings were held in all the socialist countries. The telegram to Franco from Comrade Khrushchov and the intervention of Pope John XXIII convey an idea of the scale of the campaign to save the life of our comrade.

The crime perpetrated by Franco against Grimau angered all people who saw in the execution of Grimau a dastardly act of political vengeance, a political murder.

A few days before the hearings of the military tribunal Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of our Party, and Santiago Carrillo, the General Secretary, spoke over the Independent Spain broadcasting station and warned the Spanish people about the danger threatening Grimau. The Madrid Committee of the Communist Party and the Barcelona Committee of the

Madrid Socialist Party of Catalonia issued similar statements.

In Madrid, Barcelona and other towns and villages of the country the various organizations distributed thousands of leaflets in protest against the Prosecutor's demand for the death sentence. The government was flooded with letters and telegrams from all over Spain, from clergymen, scientists and intellectuals who appealed to the authorities to prevent the passing of the death sentence.

The moment the tribunal delivered its verdict, Menéndez Pidal, President of the Academy, acting on behalf of all Spanish intellectuals, launched an appeal for a reprieve. Cardinal Primate Pla y Deniel and Dr. Eijo Garay, Archbishop of Alcalà and Madrid cabled to Franco urging a milder sentence. The Archbishop of Zaragoza appealed to the Papal Nuncio to intervene against the execution. Bishop Lugo travelled to Madrid to ask for a reprieve. The Madrid Bar unanimously called for Grimau's acquittal. Ruis Giménez, dean of the lawyers' association, ex-minister Lain Entralgo, former rector of the Central University and other intellectuals also urged the acquittal of Grimau.

Letters poured in to the Minister of Justice and Minister of Information urging a reprieve. Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed in towns and villages all over the country, and slogans were chalked on walls. But the national response left Franco unmoved. Relying on the camarilla of the "ultras" who honeycomb the military and repressive juridical apparatus, he added yet another crime to his long list of dastardly deeds.

The Grimau murder shocked the nation. Workers in Madrid factories stopped for a solemn minute's silence. In Barcelona workers marched in the University Square in a united demonstration. The walls of the University were covered with the words: "Franco, no! Grimau, yes!" People inscribed his name in one of the Barcelona streets. The May Day demonstration in the city was a demonstration of protest against the murder. Similar demonstrations were held in Madrid and other cities.

Modesty, courage and revolutionary staunchness were typical of Julià Grimau who remained true to the Communist Party despite fiendish torture. In the dock, unbowed and

defiant, he proudly declared: "I have been a Communist for 25 years, I will die a Communist." Facing the firing-squad, he said to the soldiers: "I have lived as a Communist, as a Communist I will die."

Millions are asking: Why did Franco commit this murder? How can this challenge to the people of Spain and world public opinion be explained? What prompted Franco to kill Grimau? What must be done so that this crime shall never be repeated?

It is common knowledge that the big strikes of last spring created a new situation in Spain, signifying a tremendous growth of working-class consciousness. These working-class actions had an impact on the other anti-monopoly sections of the population, and they contributed to the growth of the mass movement among peasants, students and intellectuals. This growth of opposition to Franco widened the cracks in the fascist dictatorship, and intensified the strains and stresses between the camarilla and the top political groups.

The growing struggle of the working class, students and other sections, expressed in strikes and demonstrations throughout the country, is paving the way for a general political strike. In its May Day appeal our Party *called on the working people to hold a general political strike.*

Following the Cabinet reshuffle last July, the Franco regime, yielding to the mass pressure, retreated somewhat; controls were loosened in the spheres of news and cultural activity with the result that freer expression of views was now possible.

And so in recent times the top people in the ruling groups — Opus Dei, Falange and Monarchists — have been discussing the question of the heir to Franco. Like previous discussions on the need for economic reforms, wage increases, abolition of the censorship, reform of the University, etc., this debate, now conducted in the open and influenced by growing public pressure, brought out the real problem facing Spanish society. It should be said, however, that the groups seeking to replace Franco are trying to evade the issue, since it signifies the democratization of society.

When Franco ordered the execution of Comrade Grimau, he did so with a view to nipping in the bud any development of this process, which had met with a large measure of success thanks to the policy of national reconciliation advanced by our Party.

By perpetrating this crime, Franco aimed at paralyzing the national and democratic

movement of the people by reviving the terror; he sought once again to create the watershed of civil war between the political and social forces and thus to prevent the triumph of the spirit of national accord. At the same time he wanted to ease the friction between the rival camarillas now scrambling for the "succession," to induce them to follow him to the end.

But Franco miscalculated; he miscalculated in his attempt both to halt the mass movement and the opposition to his dictatorship and to avoid bickering between the rival groups at the top. He is no longer able to stop the crumbling of his dictatorship, to halt the growing struggle of the masses. *The disintegration of the dictatorship and the growth of the democratic movement are irreversible processes.*

Moreover, the crime against Grimau cannot but accelerate the growth of political awareness among the masses and the opposition forces. This crime will make them realize that there can be no advance towards forms of democracy acceptable to the people unless Franco and his gang are removed from power by the united action of the people. And this reaffirms the soundness of the attitude and the political line of our Party which has always urged the stepping up of anti-Franco action and calls now for the extension of this action until it develops into a general political strike.

To Franco's latest crime our Party answers by calling for renewed mass struggle, thereby carrying out its mission of achieving national accord which, in view of the conditions in the country, is an expression of the class struggle.

We shall continue to work for a close alliance of the working class and the peasantry, headed by the working class, for unity and agreements — even if partial and limited — with all the anti-monopoly forces, with all groups opposed to Franco, for winning democracy peacefully insofar as this depends on us.

Our Party visualizes the peaceful way as the way of resolute action by the working people and all the anti-Franco forces. And we visualize the winning of democracy as not just *replacing* Franco and leaving the regime intact without him, which is how the ruling groups visualize it, but as a complete *break* with it, as the abolition of the dictatorship and the fascist regime and their replacement by a genuinely democratic system. No political combination of the reactionary top groups can be a bridge to that system. Only a provisional government can advance a program of

broad amnesty, restore political rights and prepare for genuinely free elections.

The murder of Grimaù is another heavy loss for our Party. But it will not prevent our Party from playing the role which has won for it the recognition of the masses and for which it is recognized by the leaders of the liberal opposition and by our opponents.

All the experience of our struggle is that the place of the Communists who fall in the fight against the dictatorship, is quickly taken by tens and hundreds of new fighters — workers, peasants, students and intellectuals. Our people, and especially the younger generation whose wholehearted desire is that Franco should go, see the Communist Party as their own Party. And in Julià Grimaù they see the symbol of the struggle waged by all our people against Franco; the people will never forget that Grimaù was a Communist. And when the people loathe a regime — the prestige of those parties and organizations whose ranks include men like Julià Grimaù rises enormously.

It is safe to say therefore that the murder of Grimaù will soon be avenged — not by way of blind vengeance expressed in "an eye for an eye," or "tooth for tooth," but by rallying the people for mass action, by a nationwide political strike.

The working class and the people of Spain deeply appreciate the worldwide movement to save the life of Julià Grimaù, which confirmed that democrats and progressives all over the world reject Franco and support the Spanish people in their struggle for freedom.

We have repeatedly said that the cause of Spanish freedom, to free Spain from Franco, is a cause, perhaps the sole cause — if we omit the striving to avert a nuclear war — on which all trends and opinions are in agreement, a cause which inspires the democratic and progressive working-class movement. The solidarity movement with Grimaù is further proof of this. *We are confident that this solidarity and the support for the struggle of the people of Spain will continue to grow until, eventually, freedom triumphs in Spain.* And the growing scale of these actions will be effective help to the cause of democracy in Spain. Such, for example, was the significance of the West European Conference for an amnesty for Spanish political prisoners and exiles held on May 4-5 in Paris. The various parties, organizations, groups and individuals who attended this conference were united by common goals. The conference decisions are

another valuable contribution to the solidarity with the people of Spain.

The same should be said about the call issued by the World Federation of Trade Unions to hold an International Week of Solidarity with Spain between June 7 and 15.

The WFTU, addressing the working people of the world, has advanced a broad program of common demands and actions in support of the Spanish working class. It proclaims solidarity with them in their fight for the repeal of the fascist trade union law, for trade union freedom and democracy, for the right to strike, for a general amnesty for the political prisoners, for the reinstatement of exiled workers, support for the struggle waged by the people against the torture and police reprisals, for an end to the practice of transferring to military tribunals the cases of those arrested for taking part in strikes or political activity.

During the strikes in April and May last year the working class showed that it is in the forefront of the struggle for democracy. The policy of national reconciliation has helped the older generation to overcome the barriers of the civil war and has completely demolished them among the youth. For a certain part of the people Franco is no longer either the "defender of the faith" or the leader of the "national revolution." Many who supported him in the past now see that his rule, while enriching the monopoly and land-owning oligarchy, has brought still greater misery to the overwhelming majority of the population. The anti-communism of Franco and his regime help him less and less to retain his rule.

The conditions for abolishing the dictatorship have matured. And the question of its actual abolition is but a matter of time, depending on the unity and action of the working people and all who are opposed to the regime.

Although establishing unity and developing action, like the issue of liberating the country from the dictatorship, are tasks for the Spanish working class and people, the international solidarity campaigns are a rallying factor for the Spanish people and in large measure facilitate this process, being an incentive to them in their struggle, imparting to them the strength to carry it on, and showing them that the world forces, filled with loathing for Franco, support their struggle for democracy.

In the international situation which has set in in the course of the campaign to save

Grimau's life, when in view of the revision of the U.S.-Franco agreement and the postponement of the talks on Spain's possible entry into the Common Market, we see a crisis of the external relations of the Franco regime; and at this time when the Spanish working class is called upon to conduct a general political struggle, the international solidarity campaigns acquire a special importance.

Solidarity with our people has a beneficial influence not only on the cause of emancipating our country from the dictatorship; creating a broad area for a rapprochement of views, for mutual understanding between the political trends influencing the working class and its international organizations such as the WFTU, the ICFTU and the ICCTU, the numerous independent unions and also the national and international democratic trends, this solidarity is simultaneously a contribution to international working class unity, to mutual understanding between the democratic and progressive forces, a contribution to the general struggle for democratic rights, so-

cial progress, against nuclear war and for peace.

When Spain becomes free from fascism and takes the way of progress and democracy, when it becomes a country standing for peace and neutrality, it will be able to make a contribution to the cause of universal peace, to the struggle against reaction, imperialism and war.

The abolition of fascism is an aim which must be achieved by the Spanish people. But realization of this aim transcends the purely national boundaries and acquires an international, particularly European, character. The ending of a fascist regime like that of Franco is a task also of the international working class and the democratic and peace-loving forces of the world. Realization of this aim will be the best memorial to the thousands of Spanish patriots, who have given their lives in the fight for freedom, the best memorial to our dauntless comrade, Julià Grimau.

Santiago ALVAREZ

SAVE OUR LIVES!

(A letter from political prisoners in the UAR)

HUNDREDS of Communists and Democrats languish in prisons and death camps in the UAR. A large group of Communists and democrats is imprisoned in one of these camps in the heart of the desert. Although completely cut off from the world, the prisoners have managed to forward a letter and an appeal to all people of good will and to democratic organizations. These documents which relate the tragic lot of political prisoners came into the possession of an Egyptian comrade. Fulfilling his duty of proletarian internationalism he sent them to the editors with this message:

Dear Comrades,

A few days ago I received a letter from our comrades in the Al-Kharija Oasis prison of the United Arab Republic. Together with the letter was a list of the names of the prisoners who are university professors, engineers, physicians, lawyers, journalists, writers, trade unionists, workers, students, military men and shopkeepers.

You will see from the letter the criminal conspiracy plotted by the authorities against the lives of these fighters who refuse to betray their national and international honor, despite torture, deprivation and the danger of

death to which they are exposed every minute.

I hope that you will agree to publish the letter in your journal, so that progressive world public opinion will know the facts of the tragedy around which Nasser's government has drawn a heavy iron curtain.

This shows that the principles of freedom, democracy and socialism proclaimed by the President are trampled underfoot in Egypt. Publication of this letter in the *World Marxist Review* will help in organizing a solidarity campaign with these fighters and all the progressives in Egypt and in a number of other Arab countries who are the object of a rabid campaign of repression unleashed by the rulers in these countries.

At the moment Egyptian Communists and democrats have no other possibility of making their voice heard in defense of fighters whose lives are in peril. For this reason, I am sending this letter to your journal.

PERSECUTION OF COMMUNISTS AND DEMOCRATS IN EGYPT

Hundreds of Communists and other democrats live at the moment exiled in Al-Kharija Oasis of the United Arab Republic. They were taken there from the various Egyptian concentration camps and prisons, such as the

notorious torture camp known as Liman Abu Za'abal, the old Citadel camp, Al-Fayum concentration camp (which was for prisoners of war during the Second World War and for notorious criminals and narcotics peddlers) and from the Barrage, Assuit, Tanta and other Egyptian prisons. These prisons and concentration camps still hold hundreds of others, especially the Al-Fayum camp, the Barrage prison and the military prison.

Four years have passed since the big campaign of arrests was launched against the Communists, a campaign which resulted in throwing thousands of citizens into concentration camps.

In November 1959, nearly 700 of those arrested were transferred to the notorious Liman Abu Za'abal camp, where they were subjected to fearful torture; the penal labor in this camp consisted of quarrying, men were forced to carry boulders bare-footed and deprived of rest and sleep. In addition the prisoners were brutally beaten during the meal breaks. Worst of all was the complete absence of medical treatment after months of torture; wounds were not cleansed, nor was there any care for the cases of typhoid fever, malaria and meningitis.

The camp administration rigorously punished all who asked for sulphadizine tablets to protect themselves against an epidemic of meningitis which was rampant among the guards and soldiers. The design was to expose the prisoners to the epidemic so that hundreds of them who were too weak to have any immunity would contract the disease and die.

The administration of the death camp forbade the transfer to hospital of severe appendicitis cases, and the sick were made to perform the hardest manual labor under the lashes of whips and daily clubbing.

The deprivation and torture led to the death of Dr. Farid Haddad, specialist in internal diseases; Chohdi Attia El-Chafei, inspector of languages at the Ministry of Education, died as a result of clubbing; Ali Mitwalli al-Dib, a worker, died from dysentery; and the engineer Rushdi Khalil died from typhoid fever.

When these facts became known to public opinion, the rest of the Communists — hundreds of physicians, engineers, lawyers, teachers, trade unionists, workers and peasants — were transferred bare-footed, in rags, weak and nearer to death than to life, to their present exile in the Al-Kharija Oasis. Here they were joined by hundreds more from the other concentration camps and prisons. Had

the facts not been made known to the world about this concentration camp, the continued torture would have led to hundreds of others contracting TB and other infectious diseases.

Although the direct physical torture ceased, the denial of medical treatment, of proper food and of visits by relatives, and failure to deliver letters forced two hundred of the prisoners to go on a hunger strike which lasted for 20 days in July 1961. The strike also aimed at stopping the forced labor, putting an end to the pressure to force the prisoners under physical and mental torture to give up their political convictions and renounce communism. The hunger strike further undermined the already poor health of the prisoners.

The present policy laid down by the responsible authorities in the UAR and executed by its repressive and spying machinery such as the CID can be summed up in the phrase repeatedly used by the officials: "renunciation of communism or death in the desert." This is being implemented in the following ways:

1. isolating the exiled completely from the life of society and what is happening in the world;
2. denying them completely the simplest human rights stipulated in international agreements and treaties which the UAR government is officially obliged to respect and implement;
3. and trying to force them to renounce their principles.

LIFE IN THE AL-KHARIJA OASIS

The Al-Kharija camp is located in the heart of the Western Desert of Africa and is nearly two hundred kilometers from the nearest town. It has one source of water — a well in which the water level is steadily falling. The camp consists of three unhealthy stone barracks not unlike the concentration camps and barracks where the Nazis kept hundreds of thousands of democrats and Communists during the Second World War. Up to 14 prisoners occupy small rooms five meters square. Each room has two small windows with iron bars and contains a small tin mug for drinking water and a pail. The prisoners sleep on dirty mats, crowded and without enough cover to protect them against the severe cold of the nights in this area. They wear the uniforms of the Egyptian prisons — which amount to rags — and have no shoes. There is no heating. During the summer months the unbearable heat attracts flies, to say nothing of the lice and bugs, which cause many infectious diseases. Scorpions and poisonous snakes com-

mon in the desert roam unchecked outside the barracks.

Most harmful is the absence of contact with families and relatives. The relatives of the prisoners have to overcome many hardships such as the long distances and high expenses (which are beyond the reach of many) in order to visit the prisoners. But as a rule, visits are forbidden by the CID. As for those detained for investigation, and they are the majority of the inmates, they are denied the right to see their relatives or to receive letters from them. This state of affairs has lasted for four years, a situation to which no prisoner anywhere else in the world is exposed.

The purpose of isolating the detainees from the world is to cause them to be forgotten and in the meantime to undermine their health and hasten their death.

The prisoners are not allowed to read books or journals. After some strikes and sacrifices, during which the authorities killed the teacher Abdel Kader Muftah when they fed him forcibly during his hunger strike, newspapers were allowed irregularly.

There is no radio or any other form of recreation.

A DELIBERATE PLAN FOR SLOW DEATH

The amount of meat in the prison fare was cut recently. Breakfast consists of a small quantity of sour black honey or hard, dry, stone-like cheese served in filthy containers. For lunch there is a meager portion of black Egyptian beans crawling with insects. Food is pilfered by those responsible in the prison and even the meager ration allotted rarely reaches the prisoners. Previously the prisoners were able, after hard labor, to cultivate some plots in the desert. But the administration confiscated the small piece of land they cultivated and deprived them of the vegetables they grew. The prison receives the worst and cheapest vegetables every two weeks. The supplies reach the prison rotten, after transportation over a long distance. Sick prisoners suffer badly from lack of a proper diet. The extra food formerly given to sick prisoners has been cancelled.

Instead of quick direct death, the deprivation condemns the victims to a slow death.

The medical treatment in the Egyptian prisons is a farce. Dozens of prisoners die daily in UAR prisons of the simplest diseases which could be easily treated. No sick prisoner can enter the prison hospital — where there is one — unless he pays a monthly bribe to those responsible for treatment to be

allowed to sleep on a hospital bed without receiving medicine. The prison hospital physicians issue prescriptions solely to protect themselves and to appropriate the medicines.

Formally the authorities allot £20 a month for the purchase of medical supplies for the prisoners. But every month reasons are found for postponing payment of the sum. Obstacles are also placed in the way of relatives sending medicine. In the Oasis camp there is no resident doctor. The doctor of the primitive hospital (25 beds), 50 kilometers away from the prison, pays a visit every seven or ten days. He, too, is subjected to all kinds of pressure from the administration who blame him for ordering the transfer to the hospital of a prisoner suffering from, say, acute appendicitis without a written permission from the Cairo CID. He is under orders not to transfer any prisoner to hospital who has been in the hospital before. The local authorities threaten the doctor with imprisonment to prevent him from treating the sick. There have been numerous occasions of the sick being refused treatment and told that they would not receive it unless they give up their Communist views. The prison authorities went further than mere threats. They preferred to act. As a result the condition of many of the sick became worse, and some of them paid with their lives for their convictions.

An imprisoned doctor, the letter continues, pleaded with the authorities and the prison doctor to transfer the late Sha-ban Hafidh (a militant fighter who was suffering from angina pectoris) to the hospital, but they refused, and he died before the eyes of the prisoners.

The refusal of the authorities to transfer the late Ahmed Bakkar after months of severe illness led to a hemorrhage which at last forced the authorities to transfer him to a university hospital where an examination showed that he had stomach cancer too far gone to be treated. He died shortly afterwards.

The writer Ismail Abdel Halim also suffered from lack of medical care. Inflammation of the liver had been neglected resulting in the poisoning of the liver, but the sick man was saved miraculously by the imprisoned doctors. When his condition again grew worse, the authorities, fearing he would die on their hands, released him.

This procedure was followed by the UAR authorities earlier in the case of the late militant fighter Saad Al-Turky, who suffered from heart disease. He too was released only a few days before his death. The practice is to keep

the patient until the authorities are sure that he will not survive; he is then transferred to hospital and when death is approaching he is subjected to every pressure to get him to write a renunciation of his political convictions. The patient who refuses is completely neglected and released only a few days before his death, so that the authorities are not held responsible for his death. When detainees demand by all means at their disposal, including hunger strike, that patients be transferred to hospital, the authorities evade doing so. The sick are taken to other prisons on the pretext that they are being transferred to hospital. In the new prisons they are kept in solitary confinement. This practice was followed three times in succession with Fathi Khalil Abdel Fattach, a member of the press syndicate, who suffers from severe eye trouble which threatens him with complete blindness. The authorities refused permission to operate on him until they were sure that he would go completely blind. Other patients in need of operations are transferred to the prison in Assiud where they are kept in a special room for lunatics. Heavily armed guards stand in front of the room and neither the doctors nor the nurses are allowed to visit the patients unless they register the time they spend with the prisoners — a fact which frightens the doctors and nurses. The secret police and the spies are a constant menace to the doctors and the nurses and this further endangers the lives of the operated patients.

Ahmed Farrage, a lawyer, is held in solitary confinement in Assiud prison despite the fact that the reason for his transfer was to enter hospital; the same is true of Adib Dimitri, member of the teachers' syndicate, whom the doctors ordered transferred to hospital because of lung cancer. These cases are proof of the policy of condemning the prisoners to a slow death. In the case of Adib Dimitri the Secret Police and the doctors informed him that they will not treat him as long as he remains loyal to communism. The transfer of any patient from Assiud prison to any hospital for treatment is done by a committee of three doctors headed by a police doctor who cannot act except on orders from the police headed by officer Abdul Azis Shaker who supervises the torture of Communist prisoners in the Fayum concentration camp. This sadist personally tortured the late Ahmad Bakkar and Faouzi Habash. Thus the authorities have placed a murderer in charge of Communist prisoners.

The CID has arranged for the Cairo prison

doctor to state that patients needing hospital treatment can be treated in the prison. In such cases, the patient is placed in solitary confinement and forbidden to contact relatives. The doctor personally asks the prisoner to renounce his beliefs in order that he may treat him, otherwise he will let him die. This doctor's name is Kamal Kassim; he is acting as a police agent and flouting the responsibilities of his humane profession.

Cases are known of sick prisoners being put in chains. This happened to Fakhri Makari, a secondary school teacher, in Assiud hospital and to the worker Kamal Allam in the Al-Kharija hospital.

In a period of six months the doctors, despite the pressure and fear, wrote 62 reports requesting the authorities to transfer the sick prisoners to hospital. When such reports reach the medical department of the prisons, which is under the control of the CID, they are neglected or answered in a routine manner, suggesting, for instance, that the cases be treated in the Al-Kharija Oasis, as happened with Taufik Fanous, or, orders are given to transfer the patient for formal treatment to another prison, as happened with Ahmad Farrage, Fathi Khalil and Taher Al Badri. Twenty-three patients were transferred ostensibly for treatment but received no treatment whatever.

In the concentration camp there are 155 prisoners suffering from acute diseases such as pulmonary tuberculosis and other grave illnesses. There are 40 cases in need of surgery and 20 cases of various internal diseases. Among the ill is Mahmoud Attallah, the President of Kafr Al Dawwar Syndicate, which is one of the biggest trade unions in Egypt with a membership of 15,000 workers. There are 30 cases of rheumatic fever, yet the authorities do not allow these prisoners a proper mat or enough cover despite the fact that the daytime temperature in winter drops to 2°C. Acute anaemia (10 cases) and skin diseases, some of them contagious, are common.

The case of the textile worker Hassab Allah Ali Mursi is a striking example of life in the concentration camps. He died after the end of his term in the torture camp of Abu Za'abal as a result of malnutrition, inflammation of the kidneys and anaemia. As usual with their dying victims, the administration transferred him first to the Kasr Al Aini hospital and released him exactly one month before he died.

This, then, is the ordeal of the Communists

and other democrats in the prisons and concentration camps in Egypt where they are exposed to hunger, cold, disease, complete isolation from life and even from families and friends. Even visits and letters are forbidden. A government decree issued at the end of 1959 is in crying contradiction to the inhuman treatment of the prisoners. This decree is violated daily and all the human values trampled underfoot. Prisoners and detainees are deprived of food, cover and treatment which are guaranteed to all prisoners by international agreements.

GIVE US A HELPING HAND . . .

We raise this cry from the heart of the desert, from the Al Kharija concentration camp, asking all democrats and public opinion everywhere to stand by the Communists, progressives and trade unionists who are held in the prisons and concentration camps of the UAR, to demand the immediate release of all prisoners, and to put pressure to bear on the UAR government and the medical organizations, such as the doctors' syndicate, in order to stop the policy of murdering the imprisoned patients by denying them treatment.

We appeal to public opinion to do everything to secure the instant release of the seriously sick, those suffering from TB, cancer and heart troubles whose lives are in danger.

We demand the establishment of a hospital in the Al-Kharija camp where a resident doctor could supervise the treatment of hundreds of sick prisoners. We demand adequate medical supplies in the prison pharmacy, a decent diet, transfer of the sick to hospitals, guaranteed treatment and an end to the policy of direct murder through being deprived of medicines, medical treatment and food. We insist on the right to receive regular visits and letters from our relatives.

Finally, we appeal to the international organizations such as the International Red Cross and the United Nations Human Rights Commission to send a commission of doctors to investigate all the charges contained in this statement and to examine the sick prisoners and thus obtain proof of the negligence and of the deaths caused by the torture and denial of medical treatment.

We ask all international organizations and democratic forces and organizations throughout the world to send medicine, food, clothing and blankets to the Communists and democrats in the UAR prisons and concentration camps, and especially in the notorious Al-Kharija Oasis camp. If this is done, hundreds of political prisoners will be saved from certain death.

Extend to them the hand of moral and material help in order to secure their release and to save their lives.

CORRECTION

The last sentence of the opening paragraph in S. Pierre-Justin's article *Growing Militancy of the Youth of Guadeloupe* published in issue No. 1, 1963, on page 67, should read: "According to official figures, the mortality rate for newly-born infants is as high as 51 per thousand, and the child mortality rate—56 per thousand."

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication;
the titles are given in English)

- Agrarny vopros i natsionalno-osvoboditelnoe dvizhenie* (The Agrarian Problem and the National-Liberation Movement.) Symposium sponsored by *World Marxist Review* in Havana and Bucharest. July-September 1960. Edited by A. Rumyantsev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1963, 532 pp.
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