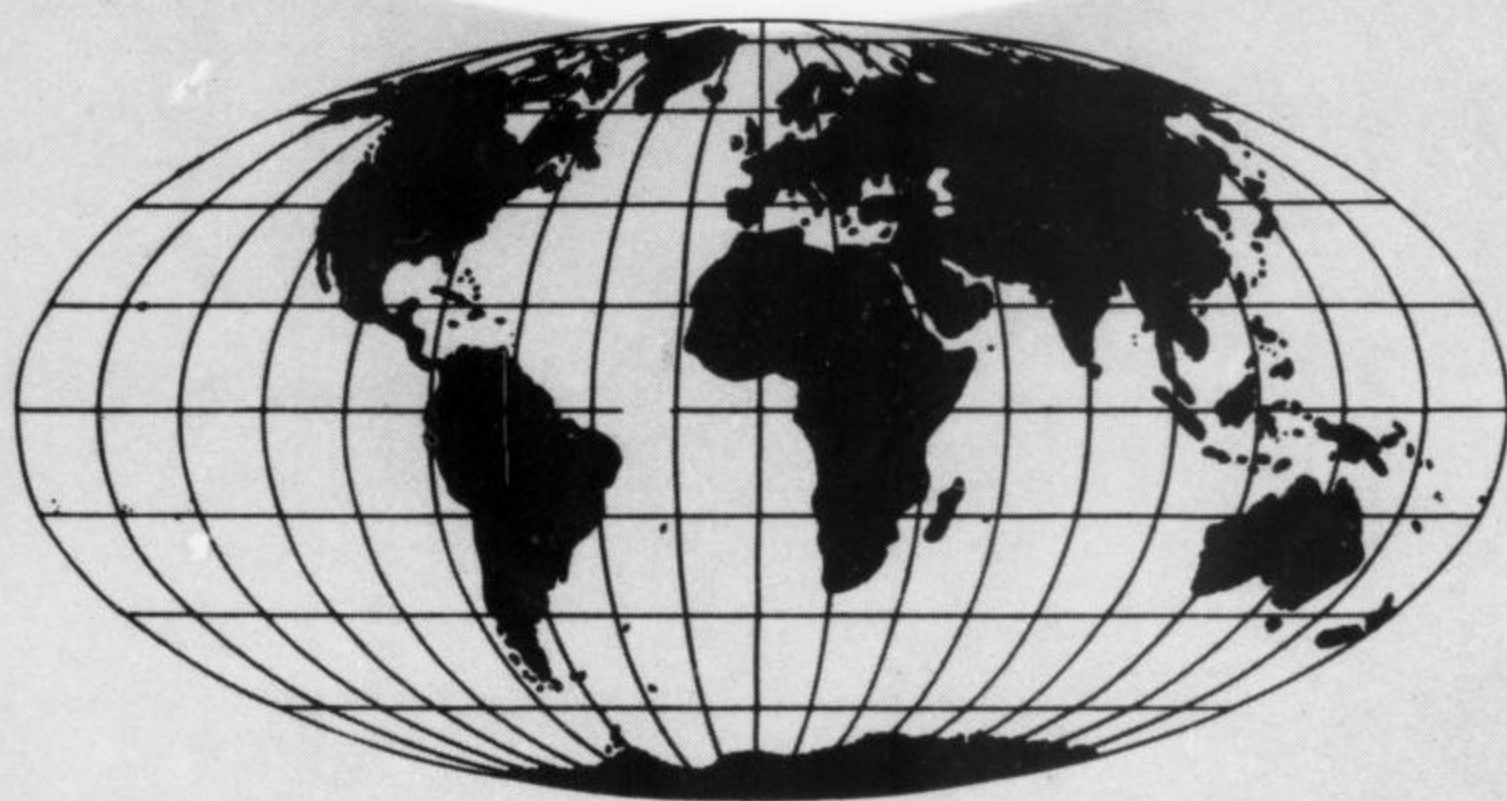


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

Unity Is the Guarantee of Success

—V. Slavik, N. Freed, M. Kouwattli

•

The Forces of the Left in Britain

—Konni Zilliacus

VOL. 7, NO. 1

January 1964

35 CENTS

***Happy New Year,
Dear Readers!***

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

VOLUME 7

JANUARY 1964

NUMBER 1

Contents

Unity Is the Guarantee of Success	V. Slavik, N. Freed, M. Kouwatli	3
The CPSU in the Vanguard of the World Communist Movement	J. Perez	9
Peace, the Nuclear Weapon and Politics	K. Oesterling	16
Some Problems of the Class Struggle in Brazil	G. Dias	21
A Major Issue of the Working People of Israel	E. Vilenska	25
The Peoples of Latin America Uphold Their Rights	A. de la Pena, P. Motta Lima, H. Barrios Klee, R. Amaya Amador, J. Cardona Hoyos	30

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The French Communist Party in the Battle for Peace, Bread and Democracy —J. Duclos • For a Mass Communist Party in Spain—E. Garcia • Popular Initiative—M. Lab • Colombia: Building a Mass Party—J. Viana • Meet- ing of C.C., Communist Party of Germany	37
--	----

W.M.R. COMMENTARY

The "Free World" and the Crime in Dallas—J. B. Thomas • The Labor Party Conference, 1963—H. Fagan	47
--	----

W.M.R. INTERVIEW

The Voice of the Awakened Continent	55
---	----

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Working-Class Unity in the Developed Capitalist Countries	58
---	----

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

Greece After the Elections—J. Rozak • U.S.-Inspired Coup in Honduras— P. Sanchez • The Forces of the Left in Britain—K. Zilliacus	69
--	----

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS

Repeal the Reactionary Decrees	A. Pedronsini 80
--------------------------------------	------------------

REVIEWS

Dawn Over Iceland—K. Selnes • The Path of Progress—M. Kremnyov	83
--	----

Published by

PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa, and for payment
of postage in cash. PRINTED IN CANADA.



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal Problems of Peace and Socialism published in Prague. The North American edition is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.50 a year. Single copies 35 cents. Bundle of five or more, 25 cents per copy. Outside Canada, add 15 cents exchange.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish and Vietnamese. Subscriptions to these may be obtained through Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto, at \$3.50 a year.

Unity Is the Guarantee of Success

Vaclav Slavik, Norman Freed, Mourad Kouwatli

INTERNATIONAL working-class solidarity, the solidarity of all working people, and unity among Communists at national and international levels are the prime prerequisites of success in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The content and underlying principles of the unity of the Communist parties are defined in their joint documents. The Statement of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, for instance, declares:

"The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries ever closer unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement.

"A resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism."

Unity in the Communist movement is a vital necessity in view of its role in the historical process as the most revolutionary trend projected into the future. Of all the political forces the Communists are the truly ascendant force.

The centenary of the First International to be observed this year highlights the growth of the Communist movement. The Communist League which Marx and Engels founded in 1847 began with some 400 members. Only four countries were represented at the First Congress of the First International in 1866. Today there are Communist parties in nearly 90 countries, with a total membership of more than 42 million.

No other social movement has ever gained ground so irresistibly.

The Communists have built a socialist so-

ciety over one-third of the earth, and in the capitalist part of the world they have rallied round themselves millions of working people. They are in the forefront of the fight for national independence, social progress and a better future for all peoples.

The resounding call issued by Marx and Engels, "*Workers of all lands, unite!*", which in Lenin's time acquired the new wording, "*Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!*", is rallying hundreds of millions to the struggle against capitalism.

In the course of the political actions against the monopoly capitalists initiated by the most class-conscious working people and the spontaneous protest of the overwhelming majority of mankind against the cynical mockery of the peoples' will by the ultra-reactionaries and atomaniacs, millions more are coming to realize that only under the leadership of the Communists can they build a society that will know neither war nor oppression. The peoples duly appreciate the Communists' selfless efforts to rid humanity already in our time of the incubus of thermonuclear annihilation.

Experience is bringing home to men and women everywhere that were it not for the revolutionary activity of the Communists the world would not have made the progress it has, and the outlook for the future would not inspire the optimism it does today.

The responsibility devolving on the Communists for the destinies of civilization is growing. Each major development in the life of society widens the range of their tasks, and for this reason cementing the *unity of the movement at national and international levels is becoming increasingly imperative*. Moreover, this unity acquires a broader meaning and its forms are enriched, although the underlying principles remain unchanged.

The meaning of unity should be examined in the light of both the past experience of the Communist movement and of the complex and multiform tasks ahead of it.

Basic in the relations between the fraternal parties which are not yet ruling parties, are identity of views, exchange of experience gained in the class struggle, moral and, when possible, political support within the compass of the opportunities which the working class

and the Communists are able to secure for themselves under capitalism. Needless to say, these relationships are not static; they are developed and enriched with the accumulation of revolutionary experience, in the course of the offensive against imperialism.

In the relationships between the Communist parties in power the principle of identity of views is fully retained, but new problems come to the fore, problems stemming from common interests in building socialism and communism, defense of the gains of the revolution, all-round cooperation and mutual aid. Pooling experience also acquires new content and new forms. The parties in power have common international responsibilities which determine the nature of their relations with the parties in the capitalist world and make unity all the more imperative, since these responsibilities can be discharged only by joint effort.

Marxist-Leninists have never regarded the unity of the Communist movement as something static, something established once and for all. The parties are living organisms functioning in a complex and contradictory social setting. They influence social processes, but at the same time they are exposed to pressures from diverse social forces. Hence Communists have always regarded their unity as the product of an incessant process. It crystallizes and develops in struggle against onslaughts from the Right and from the Left, in the process of overcoming contradictions and difficulties engendered not only by objective but also by subjective factors, such as the personality cult. *The touchstone of unity has always been loyalty to Marxism and the ability of the Communist parties to lead the masses into revolutionary action for the triumph of socialism.*

I

The emergence of the socialist world system cemented the unity of the international Communist movement. But at the same time a struggle had to be waged in the parties against sectarian, dogmatist, revisionist and other opportunist trends which, despite their ostensible differences and at times even seemingly contradictory nature, nevertheless sprang from the same social roots and actually nourished each other to one or another extent. Each Party concentrated on combating the trend that presented the biggest danger to unity.

On the international plane, Right-wing revisionism appeared as the main danger. This was primarily a petty-bourgeois reaction to

the difficulties encountered in the course of the socialist revolution. As we know, when revolutionary breakthroughs in a number of European and Asian countries dealt imperialism a series of heavy defeats, the monopoly bourgeoisie sought to check the march of history and to strike at communism both in the international arena and in most capitalist countries.

The consequences of the personality cult and the inevitable cost of overcoming these consequences in the struggle initiated by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which ushered in a new period in the Communist movement also seriously affected the revolutionary movement in general and the Communist parties in particular.

The Right revisionists sought to impose on the parties a passive reformist concept of conciliation with capitalism. They claimed that the changes taking place in capitalism due to the growth of the productive forces and also the greater activity of the working-class movement in general and the trade union movement in particular had so altered its nature as to make the idea of revolutionary transformation of society antiquated. In their view, the solution of the urgent national and international social problems should be sought solely in the gradual, peaceful evolution of capitalism into socialism. Moreover, they assailed the tried and tested principles of democratic centralism and sought to corrode the parties from within.

For the reactionaries this anti-party activity was a godsend. They hoped to use the revisionists to split the parties, to undermine their unity, to force communism to retreat and eventually to bury it. But the Marxist-Leninists launched a vigorous counter-offensive in the various parties and in the international arena.

As can be seen from the documents of the Communist and Workers' parties, the revisionist groups were defeated ideologically, politically and organizationally. Their concepts collapsed when put to the test of practice, and most of them withdrew from political life. The threat to unity from this quarter was liquidated.

But in recent times there has arisen a new and, we would add, an extremely serious danger to international Communist unity. This danger emanates from another kind of revisionists who are revising Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, the program documents of the world Communist movement, under cover of leftist pseudo-revolutionary slogans; these

revisionists have forced a debate on the Marxist-Leninist parties.

This debate, it will be recalled was initiated by the Chinese Party press in a number of articles put out in book form under the title *Long Live Leninism!* Having advanced their own interpretation of the Declaration and Statement, the Chinese comrades extended the area of controversy and assailed the agreed documents on the cardinal points of strategy and tactics. A concise exposition of their viewpoint was given by the Central Committee, Communist Party of China, in its June 14, 1963, letter which other parties assessed as an attempt to impose a new general line on the international Communist movement.

Discussion of the differing viewpoints within the context of jointly elaborated documents is not only permissible, it is desirable, inasmuch as a discussion of this kind could further Marxist thought, stimulate the activity of the parties and cement their ranks. No political movement can exist without exchange of ideas.

Regrettably, however, it soon became clear that the initiators of the discussion had departed from the Declaration and Statement, and the debate developed into a political struggle fraught with the danger of a split in the Communist movement. The standards, traditions and principles of inter-Party relations were crudely violated. Some of the parties were unjustly accused of revisionism and of complicity with the imperialists.

This disagreement has adversely affected state relations between the socialist countries. And this led to difficulties in the international mass organizations in which Communists play an important role.

Normal inter-party relations and Communist unity are seriously jeopardized by the concept that one Party is entitled to assume the prerogatives of supreme judge, of arbitrarily deciding whether the other parties are Marxist-Leninist or revisionist, internationalist or nationalist, revolutionary or reformist, capable or incapable of applying Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of their respective countries and leading the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the people generally.

This utterly false and subjectivist concept, alien to Marxism-Leninism, opens the doors to interference in the affairs of other parties, to disruptive activities in their ranks, in effect advancing the idea of an elite party standing above all others. *The right to decide whether a party is a revolutionary, Marxist-*

Leninist party and whether it is devoted to the people's cause is primarily the prerogative of the working class and the working people generally of the given country.

The unfounded accusations levelled at certain parties gave the green light to the splitters. In some countries small but vociferous factionalist groupings have emerged and are engaged in disruptive activities. They include such anti-party groups as the Progressive Labor, Hammer and Steel and others in the USA, consisting of renegades and adventurist elements rooting for a "new Marxist party"; the Hill group which is trying to subvert the Communist Party of Australia — moreover, with foreign aid; and the splinter group of J. Grippa which has set itself against the Belgian Communist Party.

In Brazil a group of renegades headed by Amazonas, Grabois and Pomar styling themselves the "real Communist Party" are attacking the Communist Party of that country.

In Switzerland half a dozen renegades who likewise claim to be the real Communist Party counterpose themselves to the Marxist Party of Labor.

Reports from other countries indicate that similar groups are being set up.

As often as not these splinter groups camouflage their underhand work, speculate on revolutionary traditions, appropriate names held in high esteem by the working people. They are a rallying point for the most diverse anti-Party elements, ranging from defectors pure and simple to Left and Right extremists and inveterate sectarians.

Space does not allow to go into all aspects of this disruptive activity. We should like to point out, however, that apart from the overt form there are also concealed forms of anti-Party activity which present a particularly great danger to the Communist movement.

The fact that these small breakaway groups often have at their disposal substantial material means and are able to publish factionalist literature affords food for thought.

It is very distressing to Marxists when they read that these splitters are hailed by the Chinese press as true Communists and revolutionaries, while whole parties and their leaders are smeared as revisionists and accomplices, and sometimes even as direct agents, of imperialism.

This charge has been levelled, for instance, at the Communist Parties of the United States, Italy, France, Spain, Chile, Iraq, India and many other parties which, as everyone knows, are waging a courageous struggle in

arduous conditions against the monopoly bourgeoisie, for peace, democracy and socialism.

No less disquieting is that the splitters provide a rallying center for all who hate the Communist parties and the socialist community of nations. All these elements, from the bourgeois nationalist and the irate philistine to adventurers pure and simple, cover up their anti-communist stock-in-trade with pseudo-revolutionary phraseology.

Trotskyites, too, rejoice over the differences in the Communist movement, over the emergence of disrupters and, of course, support them, hoping to see them multiply; indeed they are toying with the idea of calling an international assembly of all opponents of Communist unity.

Reactionaries in the capitalist countries are, of course, delighted, and extend a helping hand by giving wide publicity through press, radio and television to the breakaway groups and to the "new Communist parties." At the same time, genuine Communists are denied access to the mass media and in some countries are driven underground or otherwise denied democratic rights.

This totality of circumstances obliges us to state our attitude to the theory of setting up parallel Communist parties as a corrective to alleged mistakes. Is the idea of two Communist parties functioning side by side tenable from the standpoint of revolutionary theory? Can a true Marxist-Leninist work for or tacitly condone the forming of parallel Communist groups and parties?

The answer, as Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of more than 100 years of working-class struggle show, is an unequivocal no. Marxism-Leninism is a universal and integral teaching, and for this reason there cannot be two or several kinds of Marxism either on the international or the national plane. In no country can there be at once more than one Communist Party.

The argument that duplicate parties are justified on the grounds that the majority is "wrong" and the minority "right," or invoking historical analogies such as Lenin's struggle against the opportunists in the Second International, will not hold water.

Such analogies are built on sand, for it is common knowledge that the Leninists launched their struggle against the Second International after its leaders had betrayed the working class and made a deal with the bourgeoisie. Today, however, the accusation of revisionism is levelled against the genuinely

revolutionary parties fighting against capitalism, heading the struggle of the working class to overthrow monopoly rule and standing on genuinely internationalist Leninist positions.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the test of practice is decisive in defining the place in history and the significance of one or another political trend. And the practical realities of the class struggle leave not a shadow of doubt as to the truly revolutionary nature of the theoretical and political activities of the Communist and Workers' parties. The same criterion reveals with equal clarity the unsavory substance of the newly-baked groups and "parties." However revolutionary the phraseology of these groupings, in reality they perform only one role, that of an instrument of the bourgeoisie against communism.

While pointing to the dangers with which disruptive activities are fraught, Marxists are careful not to exaggerate or dramatize the differences in the world Communist movement or to overestimate the role the anti-party groupings can play.

Millions of Communists are taking a keen interest in the polemic, in the course of which the parties have kept their members informed of the issues at stake. The parties have conducted broad discussions of the basic lines of policy, strategy and tactics of the Communist movement. Criticizing the erroneous concepts running counter to the documents of the Moscow meetings, Communists stand foursquare by the Declaration and the Statement. They are closing their ranks on the basis of these documents in order to deal new blows against the monopoly bourgeoisie.

II

As stated above, reactionaries everywhere pin their hopes on the differences in the international Communist movement, diverting the Communists from the class struggle against capitalism. Some capitalist political seers have predicted that the disagreements will deepen, that the socialist world will be split into antagonistic groups and that this will enable capitalism not only to maintain but to extend its positions.

But these prognostications are doomed to fail. Past experience and the fact that the Communists are fully aware of the vital importance of unity give us every grounds for optimism on this score. The Communist parties have not forgotten that they are the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and the working people generally, or that their main adversary is monopoly capitalism:

they know that the guarantee of success in the offensive against international imperialism is the strengthening of their ranks on a world scale.

Revolutionary logic and the urgent tasks in the fight for peace, progress and socialism not only make it imperative to overcome the differences and to consolidate unity; they also provide new opportunities for cementing the solidarity of the socialist countries and of the Communist parties, for welding the Communists into a single close-knit army of champions of progress. Unity is an objective necessity which will inevitably assert itself.

In the course of their efforts for unity on the basis of creative Marxism and to safeguard revolutionary theory and their jointly elaborated general line against distortions and attacks, the Communist parties are doing much to educate their members ideologically and to strengthen their ranks organizationally.

The basic premise is that the members should be fully informed and take an active part in working out as well as implementing the political line of the Party. In many parties discussions of both theoretical problems and the practical tasks of revolutionary struggle are under way. All this is creative activity which has enriched the work of the parties, giving new confidence to every branch and every member in their work to carry out the decisions arrived at as a result of the discussions.

The parties draw on the experience of their particular countries to reveal the danger inherent in dogmatism and revisionism, sectarianism and petty-bourgeois adventurism. And when individual members are assailed by doubt they are patiently shown where they are wrong, and helped to return to the correct path of active struggle.

Special attention is devoted to the Marxist-Leninist education of new members to enable them to see the capitulatory essence behind the pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering of the splitters.

In working for unity, the Communist parties are eradicating survivals of sectarianism and exclusiveness and improving their mass work generally and activity in the mass organizations in particular.

At the same time, they take a resolute stand against individuals and groups who violate Party discipline and Leninist organizational principles, all who refuse to accept decisions jointly adopted by the parties and who resort to factional activity.

An examination of the processes under way

in the world Communist movement, of the arguments advanced in the current debate and of the experience gained in combating revisionism and dogmatism shows that *the highroad to overcoming the differences in the world Communist movement and cementing its unity lies through strengthening proletarian internationalism, the practical application of its principles in inner-party life, in relations between parties, and in mass work.* For the events of recent years have shown that the various deviations, all their superficial differences notwithstanding, are all essentially manifestations of a nationalism which has sprung up either as a reaction to the national oppression in the capitalist world or as an alternative to the practices which encroached on the independence of the parties during the period of the personality cult.

Ignoring the common interest, the nationalists aim at using to their own advantage the objective need to strengthen the independence of the parties and impelling the parties to overstep the demarcation line—which is politically, if not always outwardly, clearly defined—between vitally necessary independence and isolation from the Communist movement. For the sake of these aims they want to break up the movement into national compartments.

In these circumstances the Communist parties, as can be seen from their documents, attach especial importance to educating their members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, drawing on concrete examples of solidarity between workers of different countries. The true internationalist considers himself duty bound to support the revolutionary movement in all parts of the world. The world was given an example of genuine proletarian internationalism when the threat of U.S. imperialist intervention hung over Cuba, when the workers of all countries, the peoples of the socialist states, and primarily the peoples of the USSR, came to the aid of the Cuban people.

Proletarian internationalism presupposes not only the equality of the Communist parties in elaborating the general line of the revolutionary movement but also their equal responsibility for implementing this line, for strengthening the unity of world communism. In the Communist movement there are no leader-parties and parties that are led; hence it is up to each party to wage an active struggle against everything that might weaken its unity, against all who would sow dissension in the ranks. Every true Communist considers it his duty to fight for the unity of his

Party and to display solidarity with the entire world Communist movement.

Eradication of all the consequences and manifestations of the personality cult is indispensable for overcoming disruptive tendencies in the world Communist movement. *For nationalism breeds manifestations of the personality cult, while survivals of the cult, in turn, nurture nationalist tendencies.*

Elimination of the consequences of the cult, all-round promotion of collective forms of Party work, systematic deepening of inner-Party democracy and greater activity on the part of all members are a guarantee against the chance that individuals might exercise an adverse influence on the activities of a party. At the same time these are the most reliable safeguards against splitters, the best way to rectify mistakes and blunders. In this way all members can be drawn into shaping Party policy and implementing its slogans. And the more active the rank and file, the more new cadres are brought to the fore and the role enhanced of leaders able to assimilate, from Marxist-Leninist positions, the experience of the masses and increase the militancy of the parties.

Communists know that revolutionary struggle is the best way to strengthen the unity and the militancy of the parties. In the course of this struggle the masses put theoretical concepts to the test, accepting the correct concepts and rejecting the false. "True education of the masses," Lenin said, "can never be divorced from independent political and especially revolutionary struggle waged by the masses themselves."

The day-to-day revolutionary activity of the Communists, every success they achieve in the revolutionary reconstruction of society, makes for greater unity. In practical terms this is expressed in extending cooperation between the Communist parties of the developed capitalist countries in the fight against the inter-state monopolies; closer and multi-form links between the working class of the capitalist countries and the growing national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples which give rise to new forms of joint action against imperialism in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; enriching the methods of struggle for working-class unity in the various countries; a still more creative approach on the part of the Communist parties of the socialist countries to political and economic problems; the deepening of socialist democracy; more attractive and livelier forms of mass political work, and more vigorous efforts for peace on the part of the socialist

countries in the arena of foreign policy. These successes have been a painful blow to anti-communism. In some instances they have increased Communist influence among the working people and in others created new opportunities for the growth of this influence.

There is no doubt that the balance sheet of Communist accomplishment would today be even more impressive and the impact of the present achievements on the masses the world over greater if the dissension in the ranks had not created difficulties for the movement.

The fight against the danger of a split is not a matter of calling for unity in the abstract but of active work to solve from a Communist standpoint the theoretical and practical tasks posed by the march of history in all areas of social life.

The Marxist-Leninist parties and their members are disturbed by the disagreements. They know too that if the disagreements are not overcome, and especially if they are allowed to deepen, the Communist movement stands to suffer. This must not be allowed to happen.

The role and significance of the Communist movement and its unity are clear to the working class and becoming clear to increasing numbers of progressives all over the world. For the debate in the international Communist movement and the issues involved have drawn attention everywhere.

In recent times many Communist parties have suggested ways and means of overcoming the differences.

The parties believe that first of all the open polemic should be ended and other forms devised for examining the issues on a bilateral and multi-lateral basis, since a controversy exceeding reasonable bounds can only give comfort to the enemies of communism. It has been suggested that a conference of Communist parties be convened after due preparation.

To cement unity it is essential to put an end to attacks on parties and interference in their internal affairs, to refrain from all subversive activity in any form, and to give no support whatsoever to disruptive groups and their publications.

It is of prime importance for each Marxist-Leninist party to work for unity, to adhere to the agreed documents and creatively to develop both revolutionary theory and practice, to bend every effort to ensure our advance to communism.

Struggle to safeguard the unity of the world Communist movement is not the monopoly of any one party or of a few parties;

it is the international duty, the supreme historical responsibility, of all Communist parties without exception, of world communism. The world Communist movement is

passing through a decisive stage in its development, and we are confident that it will overcome the present differences and emerge stronger and more united than ever before.

The CPSU in the Vanguard of the World Communist Movement

Jaime Perez

THE imperialists have been in great haste to represent the present debate in the world Communist movement as a sign that world communism is in the throes of an incurable crisis. Forty-six years ago they indulged in exactly the same kind of wishful thinking. Yet as history has shown, the Communist movement has emerged from all tests, stronger and more vigorous than before. This is doubly true in our time. The facts attest to the upsurge of the Communist and working-class movement, to the steady advance of the socialist world system, the activity of the Communist parties whose efforts merge with those of all who are fighting for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

We are confident that the Soviet people, builders of the first socialist state in the world, will carry out their program for building communism within the time set. This will be an inspiration to millions and will act as a powerful stimulus to the world revolutionary process. The new successes in building communism, safeguarding peace and promoting the national-liberation movement will pave the way to the final solution of the historical contest with imperialism. There is no power on earth that can prevent us from winning this contest, though naturally the more united we are, the sooner victory will be ours.

Communists the world over cannot but be deeply concerned at the controversy that has developed in our movement and in the course of which the basic principles of agreed documents of world communism—the Declaration and the Statement—are questioned.

How the General Line of the International Communist Movement Was Worked Out

The Communist parties defined their political line during the meetings held in 1957 and 1960. The documents drawn up at these meet-

ings constitute the program of the world Communist movement and reflect the views of all the Communist parties.

The documents were drawn up and adopted in accordance with the following procedure. Meeting the wishes of the fraternal parties, the Central Committee of the CPSU undertook a major share of the organizational work in preparation for the 1957 Meeting. The draft which subsequently formed the basis of the Declaration was drawn up in advance and circulated to the Communist parties of the socialist countries. The draft Declaration was submitted to the Meeting jointly by the CPSU and the CPC. The delegations of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries examined the draft during the Meeting and suggested their own amendments. Thus, all the delegations in Moscow at the time worked on this document. Although the Declaration was signed by the representatives of 12 socialist countries, it was in fact the result of the collective effort and discussion of the representatives of some seventy fraternal parties.

The Declaration was subsequently endorsed by all the Communist and Workers' parties and came to be regarded as the program of the world Communist movement.

The draft Statement of the 81 parties at the 1960 Meeting was prepared by a committee on which more than 20 parties were represented. Every point, every phrase, every word of the draft was carefully weighed and considered and, after thorough discussion, adopted.

The Declaration and Statement summarized the development of the Communist movement and the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. The two documents reflected the experience of each Party on both the international and the national plane, and on the basis of an analysis of this experience

drew a number of important conclusions concerning the roads to socialism, on peaceful coexistence, the possibility of averting war, and on other issues.

As we have already said, all the parties participated in equal measure in elaborating the two documents. Naturally, the biggest contribution was made by the parties that have already accomplished the revolution, i.e., those which already have acquired *practical experience* in winning power and building socialism.

Why the Communists Regard the CPSU As Their Vanguard

The Communist parties in all countries have, in varying degree, their experience of class struggle. But owing to historical circumstances the richest experience has been acquired by the CPSU. It was in tsarist Russia that the first link in the chain of imperialism was smashed. The Russian revolution was accomplished under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. The CPSU made a historical contribution by proving that the proletariat could take over the power and build a socialist society. Moreover, by its elaboration and practical solution of the complex problems of building socialism the CPSU blazed the trail to socialism for other peoples. To the USSR, too, fell the heaviest share of responsibility for the defense of the revolutionary gains. When the whole world was threatened by the Nazi brown plague, the Soviet Union engaged fascism in mortal combat. The Second World War cost the USSR millions of lives. It suffered more devastation than any other country. History has shown that it was only thanks to the existence of a mighty socialist power that fascism was finally defeated. Today the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are building a Communist society. Besides having developed its own economy at unprecedented speed and raised the living standards of its own people, the Soviet Union is rendering aid to the other socialist countries and to those countries that have shattered the chains of colonial slavery and are building independent states.

We Latin Americans deeply appreciate the aid that is being given to Cuba. Comrade Arismendi was quite right when he said that the victory of the Cuban revolution has changed everything in Latin America. And this indeed is the case. The advent of socialist Cuba on our continent and the generous and disinterested aid extended to it by the Soviet Union have caused millions of Latin Ameri-

cans, whose minds had been poisoned by imperialist propaganda, to see the USSR in an entirely new light. Unfortunately, too few people as yet are aware that this aid to Cuba is only part of the extensive and multiform aid of the Soviet Union to the other socialist countries and to the peoples that have already won or are still fighting to win freedom from colonial domination.

Fidel Castro, referring to the Soviet aid, paid glowing tribute to a "country which for the sake of defending a small nation thousands of miles distant placed on the scales of nuclear war the well-being forged in 45 years of constructive labor and at the price of tremendous sacrifice. The Soviet Union, which lost more lives than the entire population of Cuba in the war against Hitler to defend its right to exist and to develop its vast resources, did not hesitate to risk another terrible war in defense of our small country! History knows no similar examples of solidarity.

"This is internationalism!

"This is communism!"

Besides the aid to other countries, the Soviet Union shoulders the burden of safeguarding the security of the entire socialist system. When we rejoice in the military-technical might of the USSR (which is unquestionably an important peace factor), we should always remember that this has entailed vast unproductive expenditure for the Soviet people.

In short, the Soviet Union, throughout its history has demonstrated how to accomplish revolution, how to build socialism, and today it is blazing the trail to communism.

A Communist Cannot Be Anti-Soviet

For 46 years the USSR and the CPSU have constantly been the target of slander by the imperialists and reactionaries of all shades and description. Hence the attitude to the Party of Lenin, the attitude to the USSR has always been the *acid test for Communists in all parts of the world*. No Communist worthy of the name can take an anti-Soviet stand. We Communists of Uruguay hold that a blow struck at the CPSU is a blow at the entire international Communist movement.

Some newspapers, however, assert that this principle, valid before the rise of the socialist world system, is, allegedly, out of date. But this view is totally at variance with the 1960 Statement, which says: "The Communist and Workers' parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recog-

nized vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international Communist movement. The experience which the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in building socialism and now in the all-out construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the entire world Communist movement. The example of the CPSU and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU are not only of great importance for the CPSU and communist construction in the USSR; they have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, promoting its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

Recognition of the outstanding role of the CPSU is not a concession to the demands of the moment, nor is it simply a token of gratitude for the contribution made by the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people as a whole. For every Communist this has been and is a question of fundamental importance for the revolutionary struggle. Moreover, even after communism has triumphed throughout the world, man will continue to cherish gratitude for the nation which was the first to demonstrate what a socialist revolution could mean, and what a pillar of strength it can be for all peoples battling for independence.

It should be noted, incidentally, that the Soviet delegation at the 1960 Meeting objected to the formulation concerning the vanguard role of the CPSU in the Communist movement being inserted in the text of the Statement. They stressed that there are no "leading" or "subordinate" parties in the movement, that all Communists are equal and independent, all are equally responsible for the future of the movement, its victories and reverses. Each Party is responsible to the working people of its respective country and to the international working class and the movement as a whole. It was the fraternal parties, including the Communist Party of Uruguay, that deemed it essential to include the above formulation in the Statement.

The contribution of the CPSU is a tangible reality that can neither be reduced nor augmented by one or another subjective appraisal. Whatever some people may say to the contrary, the USSR is indeed marching at the head of the struggle against imperialism and man's progress to communism, and

stands guard over the gains of the worldwide revolution. For us Communists the formula concerning the vanguard role of the CPSU is of the utmost importance. It fortifies our certainty in the durability of world socialism, the invincibility of the bulwark of human progress. It is impossible to educate Marxist-Leninists dedicated to the cause of proletarian internationalism and to the interests of their peoples without paying due tribute to the services rendered by the CPSU and to its role in the world revolutionary process.

The Declaration, Statement and the Line of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU

Of late the Chinese press has been giving what we consider to be an incorrect appraisal of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, criticizing its basic conclusions and even counterposing its decisions to the Declaration and Statement.

We Uruguayan Communists cannot agree with this. We are all aware of the beneficial influence of the Twentieth Congress on our own struggle, we distinctly see the direct connection between the political line elaborated at the Twentieth Congress and the general line of the world Communist movement. It seems to us that in every respect—chronologically, historically and theoretically—the Twentieth Congress was an indispensable prelude to the international meetings of Communists in 1957 and in 1960. The Twentieth Congress raised a number of issues of vital importance for the whole Communist movement. It defined the principal content of our epoch, it showed that the present situation differs radically from that existing prior to the Second World War when the USSR was the only socialist country. Taking into account the new balance of class forces on the international arena, and the enhanced economic and military might of the socialist system, the Twentieth Congress came to the conclusion that the possibility now exists of averting another world war, and showed that in the present conditions, with the advent of nuclear weapons, the policy of peaceful coexistence is essential. These points were included in the Declaration and Statement.

The eight years since the Twentieth Congress have confirmed the soundness of these conclusions. During this period the imperialists did not abandon their attempts to aggravate world tensions by every possible means. They went so far as to bring the world to the brink of war, although they did not succeed in thrusting it into the nuclear abyss. This prompts the question: if it is true, as

some assert, that questions of war and peace are decided by the general staffs of the imperialist countries, what has happened in the past few years? Have the imperialists become more humane? Hardly. We do not believe that imperialism has changed its predatory nature in the slightest. *What has changed is the balance of forces, the content of our epoch* as a result of which imperialism is no longer able to determine the course of events. Such an appraisal of the facts, however, does not lessen the danger of imperialism. Nevertheless, it offers a broader and more optimistic perspective to the peoples of the world, who thus see the possibility that the contest between the forces of peace and forces of war can end in the victory of the former.

A prominent place in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was allotted to the question of overcoming the Stalin cult and its consequences. As was pointed out by our Party at the time, the exposure of the cult by the CPSU did not detract from the prestige of the Soviet Communist Party; on the contrary, it demonstrated once again its vanguard role in the Communist movement and testified to its devotion to principle. The CPSU, of course, knew in advance that the enemy would try to take advantage of the open criticism of the mistakes committed in connection with the cult to attack the Soviet Union. But in taking this step the CPSU was prompted by considerations of principle, by the interests of the struggle for communism, the interests of the world Communist movement.

Criticism of the cult had the effect of stimulating creative thinking not only in the CPSU but throughout the entire Communist movement. Moreover, the Twentieth Congress followed up its exposure of the cult by restoring the Leninist standards in the relations between the Communist parties. It set a course towards wider democracy in Party and public life, and indicated ways of deepening and extending socialist democracy.

There is a direct connection between the Declaration and Statement and the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. That is clear to all. Hence those who attack the Twentieth Congress are, by so doing, admitting their rejection of the views shared by the entire Communist movement.

Peaceful Coexistence Is a Form of Class Struggle

"The Communists," says the Statement of 1960, *"regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty*

on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission." In these words are embodied the lofty humanism of our ideas, our class attitude to nuclear war and our supreme confidence in our ultimate victory.

Communists have always opposed wars of aggression, which profit none but the imperialists, the arms magnates, those who seek to subject other nations and to halt the march of history by violence. The working class and the people generally have no need of world war. They reject war as a means of attaining their goals. We emphatically deny the assertion that imperialism will perish of itself. The process will be painful and prolonged. But it will be carried out by the peoples, each in their own country. And that struggle will be headed by the Marxist-Leninist Communist parties.

It would be a mistake to believe that social revolutions are the result of some kind of revolutionary fever. Revolutions occur because capitalism is incapable of giving mankind a secure and happy future. Only socialism and communism can do that. Hence the primary international task of the Communist parties in power is to build up the socialist economy and to raise living standards, thus providing the people in the capitalist countries with tangible proof that socialism gives the working people more in every respect than capitalism.

Some publications, however, regard the development of the productive forces and the accent on high living standards in the Soviet Union as evidence that Soviet society is becoming "bourgeois." Needless to say, not a single fact or convincing argument is adduced in support of this incredible charge, for the simple reason that no such arguments or facts exist.

How can a nation, the first in the world to carry out a socialist revolution and establish a state of workers and peasants, be accused of being "bourgeois"? How is it possible to level such an accusation against a people who, though suffering the most cruel privations, took to arms and defended Soviet power at the time of the Civil War and the intervention; a people who, in fulfilment of their national tasks and their international duty, consciously denied themselves much in

order to lay the economic foundations of socialism?

The proletarian internationalism of the Soviet Union was most strikingly manifested during the Second World War. In fighting fascism, the Soviet people not only defended their native land, they defended the freedom of the peoples of Europe and Asia and delivered mankind from the deadly peril of fascist enslavement. And when the war ended, the USSR directed all its energies toward strengthening the socialist world system and supporting the national-liberation movement.

At present the international duty of the CPSU and all the Soviet people is to build communism in the USSR. This accords with the interests of the socialist world system, with the interests of the international proletariat and mankind generally. The progress made by the Soviet Union is winning over more and more people in the capitalist countries and thus furthering the development of the revolutionary process. In these circumstances to criticize the CPSU for raising the standard of living, to talk about "bourgeoisification," is to strike a blow not only at the CPSU but at the entire world Communist movement.

Marxist-Leninists maintain that the policy of peaceful coexistence is a line of strategy for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. They point out that peaceful coexistence creates all the conditions for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples to fight for freedom employing all forms of struggle but one, namely, an armed conflict between the two world systems.

But the imperialists are opposed to peaceful coexistence, for they know full well that each year, each day won for the cause of peace lessens their opportunities for unleashing war. Imperialism, the ruling classes, are interested in the cold war for it provides them the most favorable climate for waging their offensive against the working class, against the peoples, against democracy. The peoples, on the other hand, want peaceful coexistence because that policy facilitates their revolutionary struggle.

After the First World War the Soviet Union came into being; after the Second World War, the socialist world system emerged. But it would be utterly wrong on these grounds to conclude that for new revolutions to triumph there must be a third world war. To make such an assertion is to close one's eyes to the realities. Yet this seems to be the viewpoint of the Chinese leaders and of

those who, distorting the facts try to prove that peaceful coexistence implies rejecting support for the peoples fighting for their emancipation, renouncing class struggle.

The Soviet Union supports the just wars of the peoples not merely by declarations and manifestations, but by rendering concrete aid, as it has done time and time again. "Many peoples have used our arms in their liberation struggle," N. S. Khrushchov has said, "and they have achieved victory, have won their liberation from colonial oppression. The wars of the colonial peoples for their emancipation are just wars, and for this reason we have always been and always will be on the side of the peoples battling for independence."

On the Forms of the Development of Revolution

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, subjecting to a profound examination issues already raised in a number of fraternal parties and generalizing the new experience of the class struggle in the capitalist world and the new conditions engendered by the development of socialism, defined its attitude with regard to the forms of contemporary revolutions. It noted that these forms are becoming increasingly varied and that in some countries under definite conditions it may be possible for the revolutionary change to be effected peacefully.

The Twentieth Congress reaffirmed the Marxist-Leninist thesis that every nation will choose its own way in keeping with the conditions in its own country. The way may be peaceful or non-peaceful depending on the circumstances, and the parties must be ready to employ all forms of struggle. Of the greatest significance was the theoretical substantiation of the perspective of extending the peaceful forms of revolution.

For many years imperialist propaganda had built up an image of Communists as proponents of violence for the sake of violence, as advocates of bloody revolutions. The imperialists have always used this argument against us. And although we had explained time and again that we stood for a revolution that would bring happiness to all and not to a privileged group, our adversaries used this argument to mislead millions of people all over the world.

By returning to the question of the different forms of revolution, the Twentieth Congress knocked this poisoned weapon out of the hands of the ruling class and demonstrated once again that it is not the Communists but a handful of exploiters who resort to

armed force to impose their will on the peoples. The Communists, on the contrary, want an end to violence. True, in some cases the revolution may take the form of an armed uprising, in others it may be more or less peaceful. We cannot determine in advance what form it will take. In the final analysis the degree of violence will depend on the extent to which the bourgeoisie resist the onward march of the revolution.

The thesis concerning the perspective of the peaceful way and the need to choose the form of struggle — peaceful or non-peaceful — dictated by the actual conditions, was supported by all parties, and was duly reflected in the Declaration and the Statement.

In the program of the Communist Party of Uruguay, which was adopted at our Congress in 1958, we declared that it is our aim to make the revolutionary process in our country as painless as possible. And we did so because we are conscious of our responsibility to the working class, to the people. At the same time, however, we know that we are living in Latin America where U.S. imperialism rules, aided and abetted by our own militarists. Hence a really revolutionary party must be prepared for all contingencies. And if the ruling classes resort to violence, we must be ready, at the head of the masses, to retaliate in kind.

In 1956 when discussing the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU at an enlarged meeting of our Central Committee one of our comrades opposed the resolution that had been put to the vote on the grounds that it lacked clarity. He moved that the resolution should say that we would carry out the revolution *exclusively* by peaceful means. The meeting, however, rejected the motion. To have done otherwise would have been reformism of the first water.

The Eighteenth Congress of our Party noted that we are at present in the process of mustering our forces. This determines our policy on the question of party building as well. If we thought that this process could be accelerated by means of some "extraordinary device" we should not hesitate to use it. No one in our country desires revolution more than the Communist Party. It was for the sake of the revolution that our Party was established. And we fully agree with that part of the Second Havana Declaration which says that the accomplishment of the revolution is the primary duty of a revolutionary. But if we were to confuse our desires, our emotions, our yearnings with the stark reality, we would cease to be Marxist-Leninists and would become not revolution-

aries but mere windbags or reckless adventurers.

Yet the thesis of the CPSU and the other parties concerning the perspective of peaceful revolution has been used to charge the CPSU with revisionism, with refusal to support the revolutionary movement of the masses. All Marxists, all true revolutionaries welcomed the rebuff which Fidel Castro in his speech of July 26, 1963 delivered to those who claim that the USSR is opposed to revolutions carried out by the peoples. "We know from our experience," he said, "that any people who follow the example of the people of Cuba can depend on support from the USSR and the whole socialist camp."

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress were acclaimed by all the fraternal parties as an important contribution to the struggle for revolution, as marking a turning point in the Communist movement. A high appraisal of the significance of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was given by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China which was held in 1956 and whose decisions all Communists consider valid to this day, since there has been no Ninth Congress. "The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," said Comrade Liu Shao-tsi in his report to that Congress, "is a political event of worldwide significance. The Congress not only charted the grand program of the sixth five-year plan and set forth a number of highly important political theses aimed at furthering the cause of socialism, not only condemned the personality cult which had grave consequences in the Party, but also advanced proposals for the further development of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation, and made an outstanding contribution to the cause of securing a detente in international relations." That, clearly, was a positive evaluation of the position of the CPSU on the question of peaceful coexistence, the possibility of averting war, etc., in other words, the questions raised by the CPSU Congress. "The path to peace and progress," we read further in this report, "is bound to be a tortuous one, but the general trend of world development is toward a radiant future. Let the socialist countries and the forces of peace and democracy in all countries unite and pool their efforts and the struggle for lasting peace and human progress will be crowned with victory.

"The fight for world peace and human progress is our unswerving course in international affairs."

The reader has only to compare the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU with those of the Eighth Congress of the CPC to see that when the Chinese comrades adhered to a correct line there was no disagreement between us. But today they have adopted an incorrect position, with the result that they find themselves at odds with the entire world Communist movement.

We Shall Close Our Ranks

The controversy in which the Communist movement has been involved confirms the truth that mistakes in theory that are not rectified in good time are apt to develop into grave errors in practice.

The Communist parties, true to Marxism-Leninism, have never conducted any campaign against China. On the contrary, our every reference to the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China bespeaks the solidarity and support accorded them by the Communist parties. It is worth recalling that China was able to avoid direct intervention by imperialism and to forge ahead with the development of her economy thanks to the solidarity of the CPSU and the other Communist parties. It was this solidarity that caused large sections of the world public to take a sympathetic attitude toward China. Were it not for the work done by the Communist parties to spread the truth about China, the masses would to this day know little more about that country than the distorted picture presented daily by bourgeois propaganda. By conducting this work the Communist parties were fulfilling their international duty.

Our Party, true to the Declaration and Statement, firmly supports the line of the world Communist movement. We warmly welcomed the proposal made by Comrade Khrushchov at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to end the

open polemic. Unfortunately, the Chinese leaders have not responded to this appeal. They are continuing public attacks, seeking, evidently, to split the Communist parties and relying on the support of elements expelled from these parties. We emphatically condemn such actions as a violation of elementary standards of Communist behavior. We Communists stand for ending the polemic so as not to give comfort to our enemies. We stand for directing all our efforts to the struggle against imperialism and reaction. This, however, presupposes a similar attitude on the part of the comrades in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. He who has not forgotten Lenin's teachings should remember that one cannot remain inactive when our most precious possession — the unity of our party — is at stake. The fact that in our country the dogmatists did not succeed in getting their way should not lull our vigilance or weaken our sense of responsibility to the whole Communist movement of which we are a part.

Today the triumph of our ideas on a world scale is already in sight. Imperialism dreams of dividing us in order to postpone that victory. Let us, then, close our ranks and, together with the CPSU, with all the Communist parties, abide firmly and consistently by the principles contained in the Declaration and Statement. Only in this way shall we be able to preserve our unity.

Our Party holds that there can be no neutrals in the matter of upholding Marxism-Leninism. From the very first we have adopted a firm position side by side with the CPSU, with the entire world Communist movement. *Neutrality on such issues can only weaken our movement and play into the hands of the disrupters. Steadfast defense of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism by all is the condition for unity.*

Peace, the Nuclear Weapon and Politics

Kjoeld Oesterling

"WAR," wrote Clausewitz, "is the continuation of policy by other means." In the Marxist view, this formula advanced by the Prussian general and military theoretician, expresses the dialectical inter-connection between war and politics. But there are some who reason differently on this score. If, they aver, war is the continuation of an imperialist policy dictated by the aggressive nature of imperialism, then so long as imperialism exists any step toward peaceful co-existence, disarmament and averting world war will be nothing more than a chimera. And those who advocate such a policy, it is claimed, are sowing illusions and proceeding from a premise that ignores the class nature of war and the aggressive character of imperialism.

This kind of reasoning has brought down on Marxist-Leninists the charge of "modern revisionism," of having "betrayed the revolutionary struggle of the peoples."

No Marxist has ever suggested that imperialism has changed its nature. Imperialism has not ceased to be aggressive, and this determines its policy. Unjust, aggressive, predatory war remains the continuation of imperialist policy.

Imperialist policy has more than once brought the world to the brink of another world war. Nevertheless peace has been preserved. The Vietnamese crisis in April 1954, the Suez crisis in the autumn of 1956, and the Caribbean crisis in October-November 1962 are still fresh in memory. These were the most crucial moments of the postwar. In all these instances the imperialists were fully prepared both militarily and politically for a "big war." Yet this "big war" did not materialize.

Of course the chief factor here is the *changed balance of forces on the international arena in favor of peace and socialism*. But there is in addition the highly significant thing that in modern conditions world war is a *qualitatively new phenomenon* not only from the technological standpoint, but also as regards the methods and forms of policy. Today both sides possess sufficient nuclear

weapons and means of delivery to destroy each other completely. It was the military might of the Soviet Union that prompted Anthony Eden and the other representatives of British imperialism to oppose Dulles' plan to use atomic weapons during the Vietnamese crisis. Eden himself had to retire from the political scene when he overlooked that weighty factor at the time of Suez.

Under the impact of these two factors the process of differentiation in the imperialist camp is growing, and the same can be said of struggle between the "realists" and the "madmen." The realists incline to the view that with the present balance in the world nuclear war would not "pay." Hence the search for the "new frontiers," which brings them at times to recognition of the need to accept some elements of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Of course we must bear in mind that in doing so they are prompted by their imperialist interests and not by concern for the fate of humanity. But one thing is clear: for the world as a whole it is by no means a matter of indifference who makes the political weather in one or another country — the "realists" or the "madmen."

The dogmatists are complicating the issue by their one-sided and erroneous conception of the correlation of forces and by their virtual refusal to give any thought to the problem of the changes nuclear power has wrought in military techniques. Do these changes represent a *quantitative* advance or are we confronted here with a change in *quality*?

In our view the nuclear weapon signifies a *qualitative* change in the technique of warfare. Moreover, the forms and methods of policy, too, have acquired a new quality.

In the first place, never before have two powers accumulated in peace time a quantity of lethal weapons of incalculable destructive power capable of turning many parts of world into a barren wilderness. Means of delivery of these weapons are such that targets can be hit almost anywhere on the globe. Thus the *technical* possibility of wiping out the human race already exists.

Secondly, the nuclear weapon and the means of its delivery are something more than the "latest in military technique." The production and effective utilization of nuclear weapons are possible only on the basis of the most modern science and technology. This calls for the highest degree of coordination of research, the training of new kinds of experts, specialized production, not to speak of the enormous capital investment. No other type of weapons has ever required such a vast concentration of manpower and material resources.

Thirdly, the nuclear weapon represents an unprecedented concentration of "crystallized" labor. Yet it can be put into motion with the negligible participation of "living" labor. A few thousand men can now do more damage than a conventional army of millions.

Fourthly, the nuclear weapon has no precedent either as regards radius and destructive power or the speed with which the missiles can be delivered to the target. To this should be added the radiocative fallout after the explosion. Moreover, no effective means of defense yet exist that could guarantee the resumption of normal life within a reasonable interval following the termination of hostilities. Within a few hours, or at best days, missiles with nuclear warheads can cause more destruction than all the wars hitherto fought on this earth.

Fifthly, the nature of nuclear war necessitates a new military strategy. In the event of war, blows would be aimed not so much against the armed forces, as against big industrial centers, whole areas and even countries, which would mean annihilation for a large part of the civil population. This trend was revealed to some extent during the last war. Some military theorists are of the opinion that in the event of a world war fought with atomic weapons this would be the main tactic in all basic operations. There would be little or no distinction between front and rear, between military and non-military targets.

Do these changes in the nature and consequences of a future war negate the decisive role of the masses?

We sometimes hear it said that the "modern revisionists" exaggerate the importance of technology, and that they underestimate the decisive role played by the masses. At the same time, the dangerous consequences of nuclear war are virtually ignored. And that, for the most part is how the attacks on the policy of peaceful coexistence are "substantiated."

No one denies that the popular masses are the decisive motive force of history. It is also true to some extent that the role of technology should not be overestimated, although much depends on what exactly is meant by this. However, a correct policy cannot be worked out by restating abstract truths and "static" contradictions; the important thing is to understand how the masses give effect to their decisive role in history today, wherein lies the connection between human activity and the level of development of military technology.

In reality the role of the masses grows (in both the capitalist and socialist world) insofar as they alone can prevent a nuclear holocaust and thus eliminate the possibility of universal annihilation. But since changes have taken place in the conditions in which the mass struggle is waged, it is imperative that all the new factors, all the changes in the strategy and tactics of the fight for peace be fully taken into account.

In the first place the very existence of the human race and the rapid reconstruction of life along socialist lines depends on the prevention of nuclear war. After all, socialism and communism are higher forms of civilization as compared with capitalism. It is difficult to conceive of advancing from a lower to a higher stage on the ruins of civilization destroyed by the Bomb. In any case, the debate as to whether a nuclear conflict would lead to the complete or partial extermination of mankind belongs in the realm of the abstract and can lead nowhere.

Some time ago this writer read a statement printed by a Trotskyite organization in America which complained that the prospect of universal annihilation disheartens the masses and weakens their will to fight. Yes, this is so, but only if no other way out is offered, if there is no faith in the possibility of imperialism being defeated without wars, if nothing is done to search for ways and means of averting an armed clash, of preventing the imperialists from pursuing the dangerous policy of "brinkmanship" and plunging the world into the abyss of thermonuclear war.

If we turn to reality and see it as a contradictory process in which temporary lulls and even partial retreats are possible, we will find that it is the realization of the character and the consequences of a possible world war that has stimulated on a scale hitherto unknown — and will continue to stimulate more and more — independent political mass action against the outbreak of war, against all

the schemes and measures aimed at sparking off a world conflict. The upsurge of the anti-war movement was achieved not by hiding the truth about the horrors of nuclear war, but by bringing this truth home to the people, while at the same time offering them a positive alternative.

It should be stressed, too, that the nature of the nuclear weapon itself, as well as the industrial, scientific, educational and other problems involved in its manufacture have enhanced the *role of the masses* in the USSR and in the other socialist countries who, through the medium of their governments, are in a position to undertake diplomatic and other measures and thus influence the course of world events with maximum effectiveness. Thus, imperialism with its policy of preparing for world war is subjected to pressure from all sides.

The policy of peaceful coexistence creates favorable conditions for mass struggle, promotes the unity and *transforms the economic, political and military might of the masses in the socialist countries into the decisive factor of peace which, combined with the other peace factors, will gradually rule out any military solution of the problem of war or peace.*

In the light of these facts all the talk about a Soviet "nuclear monopoly" is sheer nonsense. And not only because this equates the Soviet Union with the imperialist powers, but also because the USSR manufactures atomic weapons not because of any subjective desire on the part of its leaders, but for the objective reason that economically it is the most developed of the socialist countries. The military capability of the Soviet Union enhances its role as the custodian of peace and furthers the development of the world revolutionary process.

Peace and the building of socialism have nothing to gain from proliferation of nuclear weapons. Is it not a fact that the policy of the Soviet Union with respect to defense of the other socialist states is the exact opposite of that which governs the relations in the imperialist camp?

The new technology of war and the consequences with which it is now fraught make all the more imperative new and more effective forms of mass struggle and that the masses in the socialist world should play an even greater role in world politics. Moreover, the experience of past wars or of any specific type of war cannot be the criterion.

For example, it is easier for the imperialists to shield from mass pressure the limited

number of people involved in handling nuclear arms than to protect millions of troops from external influences. There would be little point in the masses in the imperialist countries waging the "classical" type of struggle against nuclear war *after the war had already begun*. Struggle can be effective only if conducted *before the outbreak of war*. Anyone who has the interests of the people at heart must surely have the courage to admit that should a nuclear war break out there would be precious little time left to do any "combating" after the blast of the first Bomb.

The peoples' decisive role in the struggle against a nuclear war must be played *now*. And if this is so, it is legitimate to ask what conceivable purpose can be served by the vicious attacks against unity in the peace movement heard at the recent session of the World Peace Council in Warsaw and which reactionary imperialist circles were quick to seize upon?

Further. To assume that the way to peace lies through artificial aggravation of contradictions and artificial fanning of class conflicts on the grounds that at the "decisive moment" the masses will emerge to the fore is tantamount to deceiving oneself and misleading the people. If the masses were not *now on the move* it might well be too late for the Communists and all peace partisans to urge them to fight to prevent war; the world might already have been plunged into a nuclear catastrophe were it not for the policy of peaceful coexistence, were it not for the strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, were it not for the Soviet nuclear capacity. — all of which are factors safeguarding the peace and creating favorable opportunities for the anti-war actions of the peoples.

The world balance is clearly turning against imperialism and reaction. A global nuclear war has lost all significance as a *rational* instrument of policy for some sections of the imperialists, as can be seen, for example, from the position of those circles of U.S. imperialism which in recent years have exerted the dominant influence on U.S. policy, although that policy has been hesitant and far from consistent, often yielding to pressure from the "ultras." But no process develops smoothly and evenly, and hesitations of this kind are no argument against the policy of peaceful coexistence; they merely show how complex is the process at work in the camp of imperialism. But it is the complex character of the imperialist contradictions that offers the peace forces fresh opportunities

for influencing this process and for intensifying their struggle against the ultra-reactionaries.

The new balance of world forces, and the new nature of a possible conflict are not in themselves automatic guarantees against the outbreak of nuclear war. The imperialists, even the "realists" among them, are liable to overestimate their strength. The temptation to strike first grows with the growth in the destructive power of the new weapon and the faster it can be delivered to the target. The possibility of instant and devastating retaliation by the USSR unquestionably deters the hotheads. There is always the possibility, however, that at some point this "temptation" may get the better of reason, especially if the "madmen", seeing that the balance is tilting against them, decide that it is "now or never."

Other factors, too, may come into play. Nuclear warfare presupposes specific forms of organization of the military machine based on advanced technology and perfect coordination of the efforts of a large number of people. This should exclude the possibility of error or accident (the interval between the warning given by radar screens of the approach of an intercontinental ballistic missile carrying a hydrogen warhead and the explosion at the most distant target area is about 15 minutes). Hence there is the danger that the final fateful decision to launch hostilities may be taken by a small group of the more reckless militarists on the spur of the moment and without preliminary consultation with the political administration.

The press has reported the incident that occurred some years ago when the North-American Air Defense Command (NORAD) received the false warning that Soviet missiles "were in the air." There was only one minute in which to decide what action to take — a moment on which the fate of millions hung in the balance. Fortunately it was found that the radar installations had been at fault. Incidentally, Premier Khrushchov happened to be in New York attending a United Nations sessions at the time!

Moreover the possibility of war being started by "accident" cannot be excluded. It is common knowledge that on more than one occasion in recent years American bombers carrying nuclear weapons have crashed, some of them on U.S. territory. There is at least one instance on record of an atom bomb being dropped by accident when all but one of the safety mechanisms failed.

To translate into reality the possibility of

averting world war it is not enough merely to add to the defense capacity of the USSR and the other socialist countries. Much more realistic and revolutionary is the policy of combining all forms of struggle, all measures capable of easing the tension or lessening the danger of war by "accident" and depriving the "madmen" of any opportunity to have their way. Priority here belongs to the question of general and complete disarmament. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries simultaneously pursue *both* lines, which is an expression of one and the same policy — the policy of preventing war.

But, as we have said before, the nature of imperialism has not changed. The imperialists have not ceased to prepare for war, nor have they abandoned the arms race. Considerable effort is being invested in developing tactical nuclear weapons. Reactionary circles are constantly advancing theories of "limited" wars or wars in which both nuclear and conventional weapons will be used. There is speculation concerning the so-called neutron bomb which allegedly destroys life "only," leaving everything else intact, and bacteriological warfare is still being advocated in some quarters.

It would, however, be simplifying the issue not to mention the fact that the existence of nuclear weapons does not obviate the necessity of building up large "conventional" armies. The imperialists cannot do without conventional armies. They need them for the wars they are constantly waging in order to retain their domination in various parts of the world, such as the hostilities that took place in Korea, Vietnam and Algeria after the Second World War. Moreover they need large armies to implant militarism in their own countries and as a source of profit for the monopolies.

In face of growing pressure from the democratic and progressive forces, the imperialists are endeavoring to create privileged "professional" armies, or at least "specialized units" which, they believe, can be more easily insulated against public influences. Armies of this kind already exist in a number of Latin American countries.

All this activity in the sphere of military theory and policy is patently prompted by the desire to preserve war as an instrument of policy in the new conditions. This, unquestionably, is a serious threat to peace, since the imperialists hope in this way to be able to continue their economic and political blackmail of the socialist countries and by

threats and direct acts of aggression to hold back the national-liberation and working-class movements. They also see in this a means of placing the working-class movement in the capitalist countries at a disadvantage and creating a favorable climate for the spread of nationalism and militarism.

How should the masses react to this aspect of imperialist policy? Doubtless by intensifying their pressure on the forces of imperialism, and carrying on the struggle by all possible means, diplomatic included. The Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear tests is one example of what can be done in this respect. Would the peoples gain by taking a different course? Hardly, for this would mean not only that nuclear testing would continue, with all the perilous consequences this entails for man, but also that the entire peace front would be split and disorganized. Moreover, will it not be easier to ban all other tests and ultimately to prohibit the use of the nuclear weapon altogether once the resolve of world public opinion finds concrete expression in a document signed by the overwhelming majority of countries? Which is more effective — to stand outside the walls of a fortress and call for its immediate and complete destruction or to carry on the struggle within the walls, backed by thousands, and, in the given instance, by millions inspired by the initial success of having penetrated the fortress, moved by a common will and determination to end the evil? This applies also to a number of other fundamental problems of the fight for peace, when partial successes can serve as a powerful stimulus to continued struggle for the attainment of the objective.

It is dangerous to divorce oneself from reality, from the urgent tasks of the mass struggle against war, for the sake of abstract "revolutionary principles." Only by overcoming such mistaken views will the peoples be able to play their decisive role more resolutely and effectively, to fight more actively against imperialism and its preparations for a global thermonuclear war.

The question arises: does the Clausewitz formula mentioned at the outset still hold good? What is the exact meaning behind the formula? It emphasizes the idea that should war break out it will be the continuation of a definite policy. But it does not follow that this policy must necessarily be continued in the form of war.

As we have noted, some sections of the imperialists no longer regard a nuclear war as a *rational* means of "continuing" their policy.

If, of course, despite all the efforts of the peace forces, the "madmen" should succeed in gaining the upper hand and triggering off a nuclear conflict, then the war would indeed be a continuation of imperialist policy. But at the time of the Cuban crisis it was by no means a matter of indifference to mankind who was in power in the United States, Kennedy or the ultras.

There are, however, other wars besides global war. For example, an armed struggle for national liberation is being fought at the present time by the people of Angola and South Vietnam. The military operations of the Portuguese and American colonialists are the continuation of their policy of plunder and violence. The liberation struggle of the Algerian people was a continuation of a policy aimed at emancipation, and was therefore a just war.

There have been instances when the emancipation movement of oppressed peoples has "continued" all the way to the gaining of political independence without war, as was the case in Ghana and in Guinea. Averting the threat of U.S. aggression against Cuba last year was another aspect of this question.

The dialectical connection between war and policy expressed in the Clausewitz formula operates only in a society where wars are still possible, and at times indeed inevitable. Socialist society, on the contrary, has no need of war as a means of achieving its goals.

Of course so long as different social systems exist imperialism can — as indeed it has done in numerous instances — try to dictate its own particular form of political struggle. The socialist countries are therefore always ready to defend their gains, and the peoples fighting for emancipation frequently attain their objective only by taking to arms.

But even before the final victory of socialism, in a situation where its laws increasingly determine the march of world events, socialist society can "impose" its own forms of political struggle on the imperialists. It can ensure the peaceful settlement of controversial issues, prevent imperialist intervention and export of counter-revolution, ease artificially created tensions, etc.

The final victory of peace over war will be achieved when socialism has triumphed everywhere. For war has its roots in antagonistic class society. A passive interpretation of the tasks of socialism or a lack of confidence in its strength, no matter how "ultra-revolu-

tionary" the phraseology in which this is cloaked, may engender a policy that will fail to see the bearing which the new balance of forces and the new quality of modern armaments have on the struggle to safeguard man

from world war at a time when imperialism still exists. Conversely, a policy that takes cognizance of the new conditions and utilizes them is the correct and most revolutionary policy.

Some Problems of the Class Struggle in Brazil

Giocondo Dias

SOcialism is the Brazilian Communists' basic aim. Only in a socialist society will the people of our country achieve complete national and social emancipation. Imperialist and primarily U.S. monopoly exploitation and the concentration of vast tracts of land in the hands of the latifundists are, however, a brake on progress in Brazil.

Hence the tasks facing our people are liberation from imperialist domination, abolition of the backward agrarian structure, ensuring broad democratic freedoms and better conditions. Together with the other patriotic and progressive forces, the Communists are waging a persistent struggle for these changes, regarding them as an essential stage on the way to socialism.

These are tasks not of the socialist but of the national democratic revolution. But it should be borne in mind that these revolutionary stages are not separated from each other by any Chinese wall. The Party holds that the rate of radical social change cannot be predetermined at will. In our time, however, the diverse movements of the oppressed and dispossessed are able more than ever before to accelerate progress beyond all expectations provided these movements are given proper guidance and the vanguard of the working class wins them over to the mass revolutionary struggle.

Time and again Lenin urged the international Communist movement to concentrate on the "search for forms of *transition* or *approach* to the proletarian revolution." It is precisely this "search for forms" that determines the Brazilian Communists' attitude to structural reforms, which have become an urgent necessity. We are aware of the need to channel economic and political development along new lines, towards changes of a national and democratic nature which, limited though they

may be, would put an end to subordination to imperialism and the interests of the latifundists, who have long since outlived their time. Mass struggle for structural changes opens up new avenues for dealing telling blows at imperialism and its agents in the country, for building up the revolutionary forces, tipping the balance of strength in favor of the peoples, establishing a national and democratic government and laying the groundwork for far-reaching changes that would ensure complete political and economic liberation and pave the way to socialism. To achieve these aims an unflagging struggle must be waged against conciliation with the imperialists and latifundists.

Brazilian progressives are now debating problems connected with structural reforms. Naturally, there are certain differences of opinion. The Communist position is to unite all the national and democratic forces on the basis of a revolutionary program. This program should include both fundamental reforms and other demands of a positive nature which would facilitate the realization of these reforms and the formation of a government representing the working people and other progressive sections of the population.

The aim is to end the plunder of Brazil by the U.S. monopolies and the subordination of our economy to imperialist interests and to create conditions for independent development in conformity with the needs and aspirations of our people. We regard a number of structural reforms as essential for the achievement of these aims.

Currency Exchange and Foreign Trade Reform

A reform of the currency exchange system is essential to stabilize the balance of payments, to check the devaluation of the cru-

zeiro and to neutralize inflationary pressures from abroad. This calls for immediate measures to stop the outflow of foreign currency and to increase import capability without allowing any appreciable increase in foreign debt. The following points could be a basis for this reform:

The State Bank should be given the monopoly of foreign exchange operations and the free money market abolished. Rates of exchange should be fixed by the government. Only in this way can exchange manipulations and the illegal transfer of profits abroad be stopped.

Strict control should be established over transfer of securities and property abroad. This is necessary to end a state of affairs where a considerable part of our national wealth is invested in other countries although at home there is a shortage of investment capital.

Foreign-trade policy should be shaped so as to protect Brazil against the adverse effect of falling world prices for the products we export. This would increase the country's trade income and ensure the import of goods essential for its development. A policy of this kind should envisage:

—stabilizing the foreign-trade prices of raw materials and agricultural products through agreements with other interested countries and provision of export incentives. It is also imperative to abolish all obstacles to bilateral trade with the socialist countries and to remove curbs on the growth of trade with the socialist camp. In order to increase exports to the socialist countries it is necessary to import more industrial equipment, materials and fuel from them within the framework of Brazil's traditional foreign-trade structure;

—establishing a state monopoly of the export of coffee so as to end speculation by export firms which are largely controlled by foreign capital, primarily U.S. capital; stricter state control over our staple exports, especially cocoa, cotton and ores, in order to curb and gradually oust the imperialist monopolies;

—strict control of imports by regulating the issue of licences and the release of foreign currency, giving priority to purchases of industrial equipment, materials and fuel essential for our economy. Import of luxury goods and goods that can be manufactured at home, including some types of industrial equipment, should be prohibited.

Curbs on Foreign Monopoly Capital

Brazil can achieve complete economic independence only if the foreign monopolies are

expelled. Already today a number of measures could be carried out to restrict their operations, to eliminate some of the most pernicious aspects of their grip on the national economy and to create on this basis favorable conditions for independent development.

In this area we advocate immediate implementation of the following measures:

—compulsory registration of all foreign capital and constant and effective control over foreign investors;

—nationalization of the foreign-owned electricity, telephone and telegraph companies, keeping in mind the role they play in the country's life as well as the interests of national security. Compensation could be paid to the owners in the form of state bonds, the sum to be fixed through examination of the production performance and financial standing of the enterprises concerned and taking into account the initial investment. Moreover, all illegal profits obtained by the firms should be deducted from the overall sum. This should be followed up by nationalization of imperialist-owned food concerns, in particular meat-packing, flour-milling and milk powder enterprises;

—excluding international trusts from oil extraction and the marketing of petroleum products, for which purpose the Brazilian state oil company (Petrobras) should be given the monopoly of importing oil and oil products. All privately-owned oil refineries should be nationalized.

To safeguard national sovereignty and independent development a radical change is necessary in our foreign loan policy. All agreements detrimental to the national interest, such as those imposed by the International Monetary Fund, should be annulled.

It is likewise necessary to limit the operations of foreign capital in the sphere of credits so as to increase the volume of genuinely national investments. Foreign banks should be prohibited from accepting deposits in Brazil and the state banks from issuing credits to foreign enterprises, underwriting their bills of exchange or buying their shares.

A closely related measure is a tax reform with a view to increasing state revenue and balancing the budget; this would help to end the inflation caused by the federal deficit.

The fiscal policy of the government should be aimed at increasing investments essential for normal economic development, without, however, resorting to inflationary devices, sharply cutting government spending or curtailing public consumption funds.

The Agrarian Reform and Measures to Improve Peasant Conditions

An agrarian reform should be carried out with the principal object of abolishing the latifundia, strengthening the peasant farms, both those belonging to individuals and those operated by associations, and instituting state ownership of land which would make it possible to give land to those who till it, in particular to the landless and the land-hungry peasants. Only a radical agrarian reform can remove the obstacles now blocking the growth of the productive forces in agriculture, rapidly increase the production of food and agricultural raw materials for industry, raise the standard of living of the peasants and expand the home market.

The maximum holding should not, as a rule, exceed 500 hectares, irrespective of how the land is used. Bigger holdings could be allowed in exceptional cases when efficiency might be impaired by parcelling; these cases should be specially stipulated in the law. Holdings subject to expropriation, which it would be economically inexpedient to break up, should be handed over to cooperatives. In such cases the state would render technical and financial aid. Some estates of this kind could be turned into state farms.

Expropriation and redistribution of the land belonging to the latifundia should be the basic element in the agrarian reform. The reform should begin in areas adjacent to towns and transport arteries, i.e., areas where most of the land belongs to big estates, vast tracts of which are cultivated inefficiently or allowed to lie idle. As regards state-owned land, areas under intensive cultivation should be distributed free of charge to the tillers, who should be issued the title deeds without delay. Most of the state land, however, should go into a public land reserve to be used, when growing requirements necessitate the expansion of crop growing or cattle raising, to set up state-owned model farms or cooperatives.

Compensation for the expropriated land should carry a low interest rate (not more than five per cent per annum) and be paid over a prolonged period of time (say 20 years), without subsequent revision of the value assessed at the time of expropriation. Compensation value should be established on the basis of the land-tax assessment and the average price of land during the three years preceding the agrarian law. The Constitution should be amended to delete Paragraph 16 of Article 141 which stipulates

"cash compensation in advance" for property expropriated for public use.

The agrarian reform should provide each peasant free of charge a plot of land (a "family allotment") sufficient to ensure him and his family a minimum standard of living, the size depending on the conditions in each district, on fertility of soil and the types of crops raised. Peasants in a position to cultivate more than the family allotment would be extended low-interest credits to buy additional land, but not more than the maximum stipulated by law. In the Northeast economic considerations make it imperative to place the emphasis on joint cultivation.

Tenant farmers and sharecroppers would be entitled to the land they till, in allotments stipulated by law.

It is essential to amend Paragraph 2 of Article 156 of the Federal Constitution under which concessionaires may be given land grants up to 10,000 hectares without preliminary approval by the Senate, and with such sanction, unlimited areas. In these cases, too, the maximum grant should not exceed 500 hectares.

While working for a radical agrarian reform it is necessary to carry on the fight for immediate limited demands capable of improving the position of the peasants now, and of increasing the production of food and raw materials.

Such demands include:

- official registration of leases and sharecropping contracts. Rents should not exceed 20 per cent of the value of the produce obtained. The minimum term of the lease should be five years, to be automatically extended for another five years if the owner does not claim the land in order to till it by his own labor. The contracts should ensure the tenant or sharecropper compensation for his expenditure on improvements and provide guarantees against arbitrary eviction;

- immediate issue of title deeds to those who farm their land themselves, and safeguards for the peasants against illegal claims to their land;

- a progressive land tax, with higher rates for big holdings and, especially, unused land; exemption from taxation of smallholders whose land area does not exceed the family allotment;

- financial aid by state banks to small farmers, and safeguards against agricultural credits falling into the hands of the big landowners;

- promotion of cooperation among small and middle farmers; fixing of minimum prices

at levels which would stimulate production; cheap transport facilities for farm produce intended for the consumer market; credit financing of the purchase of farm implements; supply of seed, fertilizers and pesticides;

—steps to curb speculation by middlemen; establishment of a ramified network of state-owned storage facilities and improvement of the transport system;

—effective enforcement of the existing labor legislation and its extension to agricultural laborers, and immediate action by the government to prevent infringement of these laws. Special labor laws should be enacted for agricultural laborers, and their trade unions given official recognition.

The development of the Northeast is closely connected with the agrarian question and the land reform. In view of the economic and social differences between regions and in particular the plight of the Northeast, an effective program to solve this national problem should be worked out. A development program for the Northeast should envisage the resettlement of the peasants in areas with sufficient rainfall and fertile land, irrigation installations, and industrialization of this part of the country by drawing on national resources.

Structural Reforms and the Brazilian Revolution

In defining their attitude to structural reforms, the Communists hold that the implementation of these reforms depends mainly on the popular struggle, on the solidarity and strength of the united national and democratic front, and on the role which the most consistent revolutionary forces, and above all the working class, the peasantry and other sections of the working people, play in this front.

We believe that the basic task of the vanguard forces in the struggle for structural reforms now is to build up the national and democratic movements. It is along these lines that we envisage the possibility of a peaceful revolution.

Partial success has already been achieved in this respect. In the past two years there have been two general strikes supported by students and big sections of the public which prevented the pro-imperialist ultra-reactionary forces from establishing a dictatorship subservient to the U.S. monopolies and the local latifundists.

We are convinced that if the working people and all the forces opposed to the imperialist plunder and latifundist exploita-

tion exert effective organized pressure on the government, the people can ensure implementation of structural reforms. By supporting such reforms as a means of solving the most urgent problems confronting the nation we will impart a new impetus to mass struggle; this is a genuinely revolutionary political line. We reject any policy which is not based on rallying and organizing the masses and mass action.

In the present conditions mass pressure has a direct bearing on the formation of a national and democratic government committed to a program of far-reaching reform, economic independence and the consolidation and extension of democratic rights, a government which would pursue an independent foreign policy aimed at preserving world peace.

We consider structural reforms and other positive solutions to pressing problems to be an important though auxiliary means towards achieving the ultimate aims of the working class. In Brazilian conditions the demand for structural reforms stimulates the class struggle and facilitates the realization of the basic tasks of our revolution. We have no illusions that these reforms can be achieved through class "harmony," or through "agreement at the top." The decisive role is played by mass pressure, which can compel the ruling classes to make partial concessions to popular opinion.

Our time differs radically from the past when the democratic revolution was basically anti-feudal in nature. Today this revolution is directed not only against the feudal survivals but against imperialism and its agents. In other words, *the fight for structural reforms is fundamentally a fight against the self-same enemies against whom the working-class revolution for social emancipation is directed.* The two types of revolution have come close together. No longer can the solution of democratic tasks and the solution of socialist tasks be regarded as two different revolutions; they are merely two phases of a single revolutionary process.

By working for structural reforms and other positive solutions to urgent problems we are laying the groundwork for the full realization of the revolutionary tasks which the present stage in history has set for us. The fight for structural reforms is a form of mass revolutionary activity. In no way can it be equated with reformism, for it can be successful only if backed by a broad mass movement.

We are confident that if the struggle for democratic and anti-imperialist aims is waged

properly, a telling blow can be struck at the forces of imperialism and latifundism. Even if it is not socialist in nature, this struggle, far from consolidating the power of the ruling classes, will hit them ever harder. For it undermines the economic and political positions of the ruling classes. Hence the need to assess the internal situation in the country against the background of the overall social

and political situation in the world, taking into account the balance of class forces on the international arena. We should not overestimate the strength of our adversary, but neither should we underestimate our own strength or the opportunities for advancing the revolutionary movement in our country afforded by the struggle for structural reforms.

A Major Issue for the Working People of Israel

Esther Vilenska

THE capitalist press often speaks of Israel as an "oasis of democracy" in the Middle East, referring mainly to the fact that, unlike many other Middle Eastern countries, our country possesses the formal attributes of parliamentary democracy. For this very reason, however, it is essential to probe beneath the surface of the political scene in Israel and to examine more closely the social struggles waged around the issue of democracy.

The fact is that the social realities in Israel give the lie to the official avowals about democracy. An offensive against democratic rights is being conducted all along the line. It is expressed in the systematic restriction of the right of Parliament to decide major issues of domestic and foreign policy, in extending the powers of the executive at the expense of the legislative branch, in repeated attempts to change the electoral system, by substituting the majority system for proportional representation; in preserving the emergency decrees in force under British rule and in the new police laws aimed at abolishing democratic freedom; in increasing state interference in labor conflicts to the detriment of the workers' interests, and in the efforts to hamper the struggle of the working class.

"The policy of dependence on imperialism, on foreign and Israeli monopoly capital pursued by the government undermines not only our national independence and the national economy, but threatens our security, the vital interests of the working class and the popular masses generally," states the report of the Central Committee by the General Sec-

retary S. Mikunis to the Fourteenth Congress of the Party. "Israeli democracy is at stake. As we know from Lenin's teachings and as is borne out by history, wherever the monopolies dominate in the economy, policy is dictated by the reaction.

The Right to Strike

Formally the right to strike exists in Israel, but in practice whenever the workers launch a struggle in defense of their interests, the authorities retaliate with economic pressure, threats of dismissal and police repressions. This policy is dictated by monopoly interests and is supported by the reactionary majority in the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor). The history of the Israeli labor movement in recent years offers no few examples of the anti-democratic trend of government policy.

During the general strike against the rising cost of living in February-March 1962 the police attacked the strikers on Elit Square in Ramat Gan, arresting and prosecuting a large number of people.

In March 1963 the crews of the "El-Al" state airline went on strike to demand an improvement in the social welfare system. Instead of negotiating with the strikers, the management ordered the crews back to work on pain of dismissal. The government turned over the airline to a British company which brought in foreign strike-breakers.

Another instance of infringement of the officially recognized right to strike was the government's action in forcing engineers in state employ to work in enterprises where the engineers were striking for higher wages.

Civil servants who take part in strikes are victimized. Members of workers' committees which urge the workers to fight for their interests are threatened with dismissal (as was the case, for instance, during the strike at the Frumin biscuit factory in April 1963). The purpose of this policy is to disorganize the workers and weaken their militancy.

But experience shows that no amount of "disciplinary measures" can halt the development of the class struggle in our country. In 1962 some 146 strikes occurred in Israel, involving 37,665 workers and a loss of 243,000 work-days. Compared with the previous year, this is an increase of 14 per cent in the number of strikes, 53 per cent in the number of participants, and 72 per cent in lost days. Moreover it is noteworthy that although most of the strikes were not sanctioned by the Histadrut more than half of them ended in the full or partial satisfaction of the workers' demands.

As the anti-democratic essence of monopoly capital becomes increasingly evident, the workers are stepping up the struggle in defense of their rights. This struggle begins in the factories where the capitalists — often with the aid of the majority in the Histadrut leadership — are waging an offensive against the workers' right to have a say in the management of the enterprises. In the course of these struggles the working class is becoming more and more the champion of the interests of all the working people.

Foreign Policy and Parliament

The ruling circles of Israel, under pressure from the monopolies, are steadily whittling down the powers of Parliament. The most important issues — war and peace, relations between Israel and the imperialist countries, questions of foreign policy generally — are decided not by Parliament and not even by the government as a whole, but by the military clique closely associated with ex-premier Ben-Gurion.

For example, the decision to supply Israeli arms to West Germany (an example of how Israeli rulers are helping the German militarists) was taken by the government in 1959 without preliminary debate in Parliament, in other words, without the latter's consent. The public learned of the arms shipments to the FRG not from a government announcement in the Knesset, but from a report in the West German journal *Der Spiegel*.

International agreements are concluded over the head of Parliament. For example, Israel and the United States concluded an

"agreement on mutual aid for defense purposes" under which Israel undertook a number of military commitments. When the Opposition demanded that the agreement be discussed in the Knesset, they were told that the government was not obliged to submit this question for debate.

Nor was Parliament consulted in the matter of the atomic reactor built recently in Israel the appropriations for which, according to an official spokesman, were not included in the budget. This circumstance, combined with certain hints in the press that West Germany had a hand in building the reactor gives grounds for assuming that the project was financed by Bonn. Moreover, Israel has begun the manufacture of missiles — a step which is fraught with grave danger. All this is being done without any discussion in Parliament. A storm of indignation was aroused by reports that the Bonn government was supplying Egypt with missiles. This shows that the German militarists contemplate using the Middle East to further NATO's aggressive policy. In the meantime the Israeli government broke all records of subservience to imperialism by inviting Bonn's former War Minister Strauss, the arch-revanchist who still dreams of another war, this time a nuclear war, against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

By this action the militarists displayed their utter contempt for Israel and world public opinion, for the people's efforts in behalf of peace. Strauss' visit evoked angry protests from broad sections of the population. The big demonstrations in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem in May 1963 showed that the people resolutely condemn reactionary moves prejudicial to the cause of peace and democracy.

The government's collaboration with West German militarism and the general orientation of Israeli policy on the imperialist West, which is a corollary of its anti-democratic domestic policy, is encountering mounting opposition from broad sections of the public. A change in that policy toward a neutral foreign policy aimed at improving relations with the Soviet Union would serve in no small measure to strengthen Israel's position on the international arena as well as democracy inside the country.

End the Oppression of the Arab Population

The oppression of the Arab minority in Israel is an example of how even bourgeois forms of democracy are flouted by the present rulers. The Arab areas are virtually

ruled by the military administration, an instrument of oppression which has laid its imprint on every aspect of life in this region, expropriating the land of the Arab fellahin, depriving Arabs of the right to travel freely, and other measures.

The government tries to justify the system of military administration in the Arab areas on the grounds that it serves as a security measure in the absence of peaceful relations between Israel and the Arab countries. At first the Communists were alone in protesting against this regime of oppression. But as time went on more and more people began to realize to what extent the system of military government undermines democracy as a whole. During the debate on this question in the Knesset half of the deputies voted for the abolition of the administration. The motion, however, was defeated by a majority of one (57 against 56).

Abolition of the military government is being demanded by a broad front of social forces uniting five parties — the Communist Party, MAPAM, the Ahdut Ha'avoda, the Liberal Party and the "Herut" — by intellectuals and students, and by some sections of the parties who voted against the motion. This points to a considerable degree of political maturity, of a deeper awareness of the connection between suppression of the rights of the Arab minority and the threat of dictatorship. Public meetings, demonstrations, the sending of deputations to Parliament as well as the debate in the Knesset are all signs of a growing readiness on the part of large sections of the population to wage an active fight to end the national oppression in the country.

The "State Security Law"

One of the most reactionary measures calculated to undermine civil liberties and democratic freedom is the so-called "State Security Law." Under this law such "crimes" as subscribing to political views which conflict with the government's position are classified as "treason" on a par with espionage. It is aimed at protecting not so much the security of the state, as the security of the ruling circles. Under Article 24 of this law any contact with a "foreign agent" is punishable by a term of 15 years and, in some cases, life imprisonment. Anyone accused of trying to establish contact with a "foreign national," whether he succeeded in establishing such contact or not and even if he did not suspect the latter of being an agent, is nevertheless considered guilty under the

law. And if he did establish contact and is unable to give a plausible explanation of his conduct, he is liable to be considered guilty of transmitting secret information to a "foreign agent." Under this law the prosecution is not obliged to prove the guilt of the defendant who is assumed guilty unless he can prove his innocence, which is a gross violation of accepted standards of legal procedure.

The harshness of this monstrous law was strikingly revealed at the trial of Aharon Cohen, member of the Central Committee of MAPAM. "Even if the court is satisfied that the defendant did not hand over any secret information to the agent, but cannot accept his explanation for establishing contact as plausible, the defendant must nevertheless be convicted for handing over secret information . . .," Supreme Court Judge Landau declared at the trial. Clearly, even concern for the security of the state cannot justify such a flagrant distortion of universally accepted methods of establishing guilt in a criminal case.

In the Knesset the Communists alone opposed the Security Law. They warned that this law could be turned against anyone in opposition to government policy, that it created a serious threat to personal freedom and to democracy in general. The Cohen trial showed how timely this warning was. The absurdity of the law was accentuated by the fact that one of the three supreme judges voted in favor of acquitting the defendant while the two others declared that conviction was justified solely by the exceptional severity of the law.

Public opinion is becoming more vocal in its condemnation of this law which prevents judges from acting according to their conscience. At the end of 1962 four parliamentary groups moved several amendments to the law. The public, becoming increasingly conscious of the reactionary nature of this draconic law, are taking a more united stand against the encroachments on democracy.

The Tie-up Between Militarism and Anti-Democracy

The military element in Israel is doing its best to steer the country onto the path of reaction. They want to get rid of the system of proportional representation in order to cut down parliamentary representation of the forces of democracy to a bare minimum. The joint statement by five top chiefs of the General Staff in favor of abolishing proportional representation, published in the Israeli

press at the beginning of 1963, was symptomatic of the tie-up between militarism and the anti-democratic offensive.

The general opinion expressed by the military chiefs amounts to a demand to do away with parliamentary democracy and to replace it by a regime run on military lines in which civilian life would be governed by military decree. It is not by chance that Ben-Gurion told the Knesset he had been advised (by persons he described as "non-fascists") to form a government not subordinate to Parliament and thus revise the electoral system without parliamentary approval.

The danger inherent in militarism was revealed in 1954 by the sensational "Lavon affair" — a big foreign political gamble in which a group of top army officials close to Ben-Gurion were involved and which cost the lives of many people. Lavon, the then Minister of Defense, who, as it later developed, had known nothing of the affair, was subsequently framed on the basis of forged documents and fabricated evidence. Some time later a special commission established Lavon's innocence, but Ben-Gurion refused on "security" grounds to turn over the complete report to the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security and even to his own ministers. The "Lavon affair" furnished additional proof that vital political issues are decided by the military clique over the head not only of Parliament but of the government itself.

"Security" is being used by the government as a pretext for its anti-popular policy expressed in the inflated military expenditure, the political and military deals with Bonn, the adoption of laws restricting democratic rights. But the aura of mystery and awe which once surrounded the concept of security is beginning to pall, especially since the abuses and downright crimes committed by the military on the pretext of security have become public knowledge. More and more people are recovering from the hypnotic effect of that concept and are taking a resolute stand against the threat of a military dictatorship.

End the Violations of Legality

Israel to this day has no Constitution and her rulers are obdurate in their refusal to remedy this deficiency. The emergency decrees issued under British rule remain in force, despite the fact that at the very inception of the state the Knesset declared them to be contrary to the principles of democracy and ruled that they be abolished. Nevertheless these decrees continue to operate, still serv-

ing as legal grounds for the sentences passed by courts-martial and for the stringent censorship.

A typical example of the violation of individual freedom is the bill giving the security authorities the legal right to tap telephones and to install listening devices in private homes. Such devices were installed in the homes of Communist members of Parliament, in the home of P. Bernstein, former Liberal Minister, of M. Yaari, MAPAM leader and Knesset deputy, and many others. The parliamentary commission examining this question admitted that "there have been instances in the past (of telephone-tapping—Ed.) which may be defined as exceeding the bounds of immediate security interests."

That there is a link between these infringements of democracy and the increasing dependence of the ruling circles on imperialism in all areas of life—economic, political and military—was revealed in the tragic case of Dr. Soblen who asked for political asylum in Israel. His extradition by the government of Israel (although there is no agreement between the U.S. and Israel on the extradition of political emigres) was the direct result of pressure exerted by the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv. Ben-Gurion admitted that the American Ambassador had visited him in connection with the Soblen case. The fact that the arrival in Israel of the American police officer McShane coincided with Soblen's expulsion, that U.S. intelligence was informed of the date of Soblen's departure and the route of his plane, and that the public was kept in ignorance of the whole affair all shows how powerful is the hold of the U.S. government on the government of Israel. What makes this case all the more heinous is that while an arch criminal like Eichmann was granted the right of legal defense in Israel, this same right was denied to Dr. Soblen, who was a political refugee from the United States, an active anti-fascist during the war and who, we may add, as a Jew was entitled under Israeli law to enter the country without hindrance.

The expulsion of Dr. Soblen outraged public opinion in Israel. In this instance the struggle for civil rights merged with the struggle for the honor and dignity of the state, respect for national sovereignty and rejection of imperialist pressure on Israel's policy.

Despite the Policy of Anti-Communism

One of the weapons of the Israeli military in their assault on democracy is anti-com-

munism. Their efforts to undermine the influence of the Communist Party and to isolate it coincide with the desire of the monopolists to deprive the working people of their vanguard.

Experience shows that boycott measures directed against the Communist Party ultimately affect other opposition forces as well. A few years ago the authorities, on the pretext of "security," deprived the Communists of representation on the parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. Before long Ben-Gurion began to voice mistrust of other members of the committee. On these grounds, as we have noted above, he withheld the complete report on the Lavon case.

But the reactionaries have not succeeded in isolating the Communists. Cooperation between the Communist Party and other democratic forces is growing. The experience of the struggle for the abolition of the military government in the Arab areas showed that big sections of the public can be united both for separate actions, such as meetings and demonstrations, as well as for joint campaigns both inside and outside of Parliament.

Despite the anti-communist line of the ruling circles, the working-class movement has won victories in the sphere of united action not only in enterprises but in entire branches of industry and on the scale of the country as a whole. For example, the strike of December 25, 1962, in protest against the wage-freeze involved most of the industrial centers of the country.

The middle sections of the population are also organizing to uphold their interests which are being infringed by government policy. This was seen, for example, at the conference of representatives of all sections of the working peasantry urging a reduction of agricultural imports, long-term credits to enable them to get rid of their perpetual indebtedness to local usurers, and a cut in taxes.

Another example of growing unity was the congress for improving cultural relations with the USSR at the beginning of 1963 in Tel-Aviv and attended by a broad representative section of the public, including professional people, artists and prominent members of various political parties.

The attempts to curtail democracy are encountering the growing opposition of the masses, who are fighting not only to uphold the existing democratic rights but to strengthen and extend democracy in general.

Resignation of the Ben-Gurion Government

Ben-Gurion's resignation in mid-1963 was not a voluntary act on his part. It was precipitated by the crisis of his dictatorial system of government and by the growing dissatisfaction with his policy among the public.

It should be said that the government coalition rests on a rather limited base (it has only 68 seats in the Knesset out of a total of 120). For this reason, even under Ben-Gurion who tried to impose his own policy by invoking the law on coalition discipline, the voting on some important issues was frequently divided almost equally between the coalition and the opposition. This is what happened during the voting on the question of the military administration in the Arab areas, on the findings of the special ministerial commission concerning the extradition of Dr. Soblen, as well as on Article 24 of the notorious bill on state security. Serious differences were revealed also in the debate on certain foreign policy questions.

The Communist Party had repeatedly called for the resignation of Ben-Gurion, pointing to his government's responsibility for the crisis of Israeli policy. Subsequent developments showed that the Communist analysis of the situation was correct. Ben-Gurion's resignation created more favorable conditions for developing the struggle for democracy.

In his public pronouncements, the new Premier, L. Eshkol, has intimated that he is contemplating certain changes in policy. In reality, however, he is retreating under the pressure of the "ultras" who occupy the key positions in the military and political apparatus. This explains the contradictions between the government's avowals and its actual policy. In the sphere of international politics the new government adheres to cooperation with NATO. It signed the Moscow treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear tests, but it continues to oppose the idea of making the Middle East an atom-free zone.

In all fairness it should be said that, as distinct from Ben-Gurion, Eshkol has expressed his willingness to consider Israel's participation in negotiations for a settlement of the Arab refugee problem. Moreover, during the border conflict with Syria the new government abstained from military action, and suggested that the dispute be submitted to the Security Council. As Minister of Defense, however, Eshkol was empowered to take armed action should the "situation" demand it.

Inside the government a struggle is going

on between the more moderate elements and the military extremists who are itching to curtail the already restricted democratic rights still further. Within the ruling party the contradictions have sharpened, as is seen from the fact that when Eshkol announced his willingness to examine the question of abolishing the military administration in the Arab districts, the ultras opposed the idea on the grounds that the administration was essential to the country's security.

On the other hand the new government has instituted a number of anti-democratic measures: the dismissal of Arab school-teachers who were elected as candidates to the Congress of the Teachers' Union which was supported by the Communist Party; the refusal to hold elections to local municipal councils in a number of Arab villages and the simultaneous announcement of elections ahead of time to the municipal council in the Kufr-Yossif village which is led by Communist and democratic deputies; the banning of a congress in defense of the rights of the Arab population organized by the Jewish-Arab committee in Taibee village.

That the Eshkol government continues to pursue a policy detrimental to the interests of the working people is seen in the rising cost of living, the wage freeze, the refusal to increase wages to meet the higher cost of

living, the infringement of the rights of civil servants, and similar actions.

Ben-Gurion has gone but his policy remains. Perpetuation of this policy can only deepen the resentment of the people and harden their resolve to combat it.

Democracy is the vital concern of the people. They will carry on the struggle for the rights of the workers and middle sections, for democracy and peace until the policy of Ben-Gurion, like its author, is relegated to the past.

* * *

Participation in the struggle for democracy of ever broader sections of the population is a political education in itself. The working masses are not only becoming aware of the vital necessity to uphold democratic rights; they are beginning to realize that the existing system affords but limited opportunities for democratic progress. Active struggle for the extension of democracy within the framework of this system is not incompatible with struggle for far-reaching socialist changes. On the contrary, it helps to promote that struggle. "... Just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy." These are Lenin's words.

The Peoples of Latin America Uphold Their Rights

*Alcira de la Pena, Pedro Motta Lima, Hugo Barrios Klee,
Ramon Amaya Amador, Jose Cardona Hoyos*

FOR Latin America 1963 was a year of intense struggle.

Low wages, growing unemployment and a rising cost of living are worsening the already bad conditions of the workers and the middle sections. Direct and indirect taxes hardly affect the fantastic profits of the foreign monopolies, local capitalists and latifundists who use their power to evade tax payments. Annual income per head of the population is a bare \$120. The Inter-American Development Bank reports that in 1963 the income of 10 million families out of the 20

million living in rural areas was below the subsistence minimum.

The working people of town and country, refusing to reconcile themselves to this state of affairs, are waging a struggle for their rights. Strikes for the payment of withheld wages, for higher wages, and other economic demands took place in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala and elsewhere. In Brazil, Chile, Colombia and other countries the people are protesting against the high cost of living. In Peru (Cusco region) and in Ecuador Indian

peasants are seizing the land. The same is being done by Brazil peasants in the states of Pernambuco, Parahyba, Rio de Janeiro and by Mexican peasants in the states of Coahuila, Durango and Chihuahua. In Torreon, Mexico, the peasants demonstrated with posters bearing the inscription "Hunger stalks the countryside," demanding land and credits. This demand is echoed all over the continent.

The movement is steadily acquiring a political character as can be seen from the mass actions in Brazil where the influence of the working class is growing. This movement is developing under the united leadership of the trade unions in a broad national and democratic front which enjoys support also in the army. Nationwide strikes involving three million people were decisive in frustrating the repeated attempts to pull off reactionary coups. The same holds true of Argentina which only recently was the scene of a general strike and a demonstration, outside the National Congress, of thousands who demanded repeal of the repressive laws and recognition of their socio-economic rights. The strike and demonstration were organized and carried out by the General Confederation of Labor, together with the various democratic organizations in the country.

The victory of the Cuban revolution marked a new stage in the growing struggle of the Latin American peoples for national independence and national dignity, for civil rights and liberties. The Cuban revolution, it can be said, is the dawn of the continent's awakening. Hence the desperate attempts of the reactionaries to extinguish the light radiated by Cuba.

Today, when the Cuban revolution, celebrating its fifth anniversary, is showing the irreversible advance of the national-liberation revolutions towards socialism, the people of Latin America are conscious of the importance of its example and of the need to defend it.

On August 1, 1963, the late President Kennedy, discussing the Alliance for Progress program, spoke of the need for a Latin American "revolution." Very true. The need for revolution is felt on the entire continent. But hardly the kind that Washington has in mind.

According to U.S. Senator Humphrey this "peaceful democratic revolution" will be a development "unique in history, particularly in areas where oppression, exploitation, poverty and discrimination have existed for many generations." But to quote Rockefeller, Governor of the state of New York, "the Alliance for Progress represents neither an alliance

nor progress." Being yet another of the many Pan-American reforms promised, it is meeting with opposition from the oligarchy and monopolies and distrust on the part of the masses who regard it as a new device to perpetuate U.S. domination in Latin America.

The neo-colonialist policy of U.S. imperialism and its demagogic aims are holding back the development of the democratic struggle.

Kennedy's meeting with the presidents of the republics of Central America in San Jose, Costa Rica, in March 1963, which was followed by the meeting of ministers of home affairs with representatives of the U.S. State Department in Managua (Nicaragua), the recommendations of the Organization of American States regarding passport control and coordination of police actions against "Communist subversive activity," anti-guerrilla training in Panama, the "Fraternidad," "Unitas IV" and "America" operations in which Latin American armed forces participated under the command of U.S. officers—all conclusively show the true aims of imperialist policy.

But it is not only the U.S. imperialists who are trying to prevent the struggle for democracy in Latin America from gaining ground. The local oligarchies, frightened at the thought that the reforms envisaged by the Alliance for Progress might be an impetus to the protest movement of the people are, with the connivance of the U.S. monopolies, seizing power even in those countries where the regimes were docile tools of the reactionaries (Honduras and Ecuador), or where innocuous reforms were introduced as, for example, in the Dominican Republic.*

In face of the growing popular movement the reactionaries resort to open terror and trample underfoot the few remaining democratic liberties. This was the purpose of the military coups in Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador and the Dominican Republic in recent years. The same thing is happening now in Venezuela. In Haiti the Duvalier reactionary regime has long since deprived its citizens of any say in elections. In those countries where revolution is not an immediate prospect, though implicit in the actions

*Giving the reasons for his overthrow, ex-President Juan Bosch said: "My government had been in office for only five and a half months, and although we had not as yet been able to launch any significant program that would give work to the unemployed (who number 400,000 in a population of 3.3 million), we were doing many things to restore the national economy. . . . We were, for instance, engaged in a great many studies and the Agrarian Reform already had reached the point where . . . 350 families had been settled near La Herradura on lands owned by the State." (*Socialist International Information*, No. 46, November 16, 1963.)

of the democratic forces, repressions are carried out within a "legal" framework as is the case, for example, in Mexico. All the cock-and-bull stories about the "free world," "Western democracy" and "Christian culture" are designed to camouflage these regimes of brutal repressions and terror.

I

The paltry democratic liberties are becoming irksome to the home and foreign millionaires who exploit the natural resources of these countries, and the labor of their people. So-called "representative democracy" has become a hollow mockery. All that constitutes classical bourgeois democracy has disappeared in these countries or is disappearing. Even government by law has been largely distorted by subservience to the military, to whose services imperialism and the oligarchy resort whenever they are stopped or restricted in their actions by the law. It is true that in some cases a pretence of legality is preserved in an attempt to conceal the brutal oppression of the working people. Take the much-publicized Pan-American alliance, all of whose members in their time signed the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. This alliance is, in effect, a system that has been set up to trample underfoot the basic principles of this Declaration.

What does "representative democracy" amount to in Latin America? To the establishment of reactionary regimes through faked elections controlled by the military. This is the case in Mexico where the monopoly of power is exercised by foisting on the people candidates of the government party. Subtle anti-constitutional regulations are used to prevent the Left from participating in the elections. This is the case in Colombia, where the two-party system, legalized by the *ad hoc* constitution, gives the monopoly of power to the two traditional parties. This is the case in Salvador where arbitrary decrees turn the "civil dialogue" during elections into a reactionary government monologue of only one candidate, the government candidate. This is the case in Peru where Communists and other democrats are thrown into prison, and in Argentina, where the so-called Statutes for Political Parties, not to mention a number of other repressive laws, nullify practically all the democratic rights of the people.* This is the case in Paraguay and Nicaragua where openly dictatorial regimes continue to exist.

When "government" is established by such means Parliament becomes a tool in the hands

of the executive power and the "judicial power" — the law courts — the vehicle of the reactionary legislation drawn up in Parliament, which represents the interests of the foreign monopolies and the oligarchy.

However, the reactionaries find even this type of "representative democracy" irksome. Hence the coups to do away with even the curtailed liberties which still give the people a chance to develop some activities during election campaigns. Guatemala, Ecuador, Honduras* and the Dominican Republic are cases in point.

The "gorillas" overthrow submissive governments which, although they have loyally carried out the anti-national program dictated by Washington, have failed to ensure continuity of the anti-democratic policy. And yet the successors of Arosemena, Villeda Morales and Ydigoras lay claim to being pillars of "democracy." So does the military junta in the Dominican Republic which overthrew Bosch. As proof that their regime is "legally" instituted they have restored the Constitution of the ill-starred and somber "Trujillo era."

The Stroessner government has for nearly ten years now been upholding "representative democracy" in Paraguay by bringing death, poverty and terror to the country. Of the total population of 1,800,000, half a million have been forced to leave the country and live in exile. What more eloquent evidence of how the present regime guarantees human rights?

In short, the executive power has practically everywhere superseded the institutions of democracy or curtailed their rights to such a degree as to make it impossible for them to act even as some kind of counterweight to the despotism of the president. As for the remaining vestiges of legal formality they are merely rungs in the ladder on the way to naked dictatorship.

A case in point is Colombia where Parliament and the law courts still observe certain "constitutional standards." On the face of it it might seem that certain formal aspects of "representative democracy" still exist there. But closer scrutiny reveals a dictatorship of the oligarchy. Even the "alternation of presidents" every four years, when this supreme post passes from the hands of one party into the hands of another, is so designed that the people are prevented from electing the representatives of their choice. The "civilian" garb of this regime by no means testifies to

*See article by A. Pedroncini in this issue.

*See article by P. Sanchez in this issue.

its republican virtues. It is simply a "legal" disguise for violence against the people.

Not a single one of the above-mentioned governments recognizes human rights in practice. Arbitrary arrests for an indefinite period, particularly of peasants, have become customary. Terms of imprisonment are often decided upon by the police who find this a very convenient way of suppressing the people and of bypassing the courts. Military tribunals pass summary death sentences. Peasants are murdered en masse by police agents and gangs financed by the government.

Special laws directed against the Communists and other opponents of the government have been enacted in Argentina, Guatemala, Salvador, Paraguay, etc., on the outrageous pretext of "defense of democracy."

As in other parts of the world the barbarism and terror are camouflaged by anti-communism. The Communists, the vanguard champions of the working people and the nation, are the targets of the heaviest blows. But the same pretext is used to smash the other democratic forces on the continent.

There is hardly a mass organization in Latin America which has not, in its attempts to defend the elementary principles of democracy, felt the consequences of the anti-communist policy. And not only democratic organizations. The reactionaries pin the "Communist" label on anyone who might upset their plans. Against this background of unbridled terror, the anti-communist campaign is a nightmare even for people far removed from politics.

In Colombia thousands of liberals have been killed on the charge of "communism." Since the military coup in Honduras last October, political prisoners, liberals and Communists, are subjected to the most brutal treatment. The same is taking place in other parts of the continent.

Fearing that sermons on social subjects might indirectly further communism, a Catholic priest in Colombia was forbidden to speak over the radio, and another priest in Guatemala was not allowed to appear on TV. Their sermons against communism had set the audience thinking.

II

The anti-democratic forces are feverishly maneuvering, plotting and staging military coups in an attempt to extend their repressions to all parts of the continent. However, this offensive is opposed by the people's fight to preserve democratic legality (for example, in Brazil, Chile and Uruguay) or gradually

to win it (Argentina and Peru). The designs of the monopolies and the latifundists are one thing, quite another is the determination of the people to fight. They are meeting violence with violence where the reactionaries have arrested the peaceful course of developments, as in Venezuela, Paraguay, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

The trend towards continental unification under the aegis of reaction follows a definite purpose, namely, to preserve with the aid of terror the privileges which the very trend of developments and the growing consciousness of the masses will eventually consign to oblivion.

Against this background of savage repressions all reference to international charters of human rights is sheer mockery. Most Latin American governments stop at nothing to prevent the people from participating in public life, to gag them. Every conceivable method is employed — from censorship of correspondence, press, broadcasts, speeches and tapping telephones to wholesale reprisals, arrests and torture.

The Communist press and the press of the independent working-class movement in these countries are in most cases obliged to appear illegally or in a form which greatly lessens their effect. Only in a few countries (Brazil, Chile, Uruguay) are the rights of this press recognized, although even there permission for publication does not always "coincide" with the "desire" of the police to allow its circulation. In many cases because of the maneuvers of the government to abolish Communist publications, our comrades (as was the case recently in Colombia) have to change the name of the paper hastily and this, needless to say, entails many difficulties.

The right of assembly and public demonstrations is being curtailed more and more. It has been abolished, in effect, in Central America. In the rare cases where it still exists, the formalities involved in order to get it are so complex as to practically nullify it. The authorities reserve the right to appoint the hour, route and duration of the demonstration, the place where speeches can be made and even to reverse their earlier decision. The police organize provocations and resort to terror to suppress all demonstrations, bringing into play tear gas and truncheons, fire hoses and police dogs.

The employers and the police use brute force to crush strikes. The employers protract labor conflicts in an attempt to bring the workers to their knees. In this, needless to say, they have the support of the government.

The provocations against strikers are designed to stir them to anger and incite them to commit desperate acts.

Political and trade union leaders are in constant danger. Foul provocations are organized against them as a pretext for "justifying" repressions, the murder of working-class fighters, imprisonment, victimization and intimidation. This was the case during the recent strike of the oil workers in Colombia.* In Mexico several leaders of political organizations and of the railwaymen's and teachers' trade unions were jailed on trumped up charges of "social dissolution".**

In Venezuela a large group of Communist leaders have been thrown into prison, among them Jesus Faria, Gustavo and Eduardo Machado, Guillermo Garcia Ponce and Hector Rodriguez Bauza. The same has happened to the leaders of the Left Revolutionary Movement. The imprisonment of these men is, apart from everything else, a violation of the law, for they all are entitled to parliamentary immunity.

In Ecuador, too, where the military has instituted a reign of terror many Communists are in prison, including Pedro Saad and Enrique Gil Gilbert. Another comrade, Newton Moreno, has died as a result of prison treatment. His death brands with shame the oppressors of his people.

In the Dominican Republic the leaders of the Popular Socialist Party have been arrested. Their imprisonment is the consequence of reaction's animal fear of the mounting resistance offered by the masses, a resistance which it is desperately trying to crush.

The savagery of the Stroessner government in Paraguay has no parallel in Latin American history. Gunplay is common during the arrest of people whom the dictator wants out of the way. During one of these gangster raids Wilfredo Alvarez Jara, a leader of the Communist Party of Paraguay, was first wounded and afterwards murdered in cold blood. With torture the rule in the prisons, we constantly fear for the lives of political prisoners. For several years now the threat of death has been hanging over Antonio Maidana, a teacher by profession, and many other patriots, both Communists and other democrats. Neither women nor children are spared; they too are thrown in prison and, driven by brutal overseers, forced to perform humiliating tasks. The case of Ofelia de Peralta and her children is typical.

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 10, 1963.

**A legal formulation specially invented by the "revolutionary" Mexican regime to suppress the working-class and democratic movements.

Especially savage are the repressions against the peasants, hundreds of whom have perished in Colombia, Guatemala, Ecuador and Nicaragua. This reign of terror is directly connected with land-grabbing by the latifundists, for many peasants, fearing for their lives, flee from the villages, either selling their plots for a song or abandoning their land which is promptly seized by the land magnates.

Every effort is being made in Colombia to crush the peasant organizations which are demanding land for the tillers. The bandits here have gone so far as to behead and quarter their victims and to display the mutilated remains as a warning to others. This fate has overtaken even aged men, women and children. The entire family of the Mexican peasant leader Ruben Jaramillo was slaughtered by troops.

In Venezuela Romulo Betancourt used both the police he inherited from dictator Perez Jimenez and Batista butchers, who scuttled from Cuba, to force the people to submit to imperialist domination, plunder of the country's resources and loss of national sovereignty. The recent electoral farce was conducted in an atmosphere of police terror and vandalism by the army. Besides the terror organized by the government, the threat of invasion by the Pan-American armed forces mustered for maneuvers in neighboring Colombia was used to intimidate the public. Clearly, then, the results of the voting reflect not the will of the people but the *diktat* of the oil monopolies and the Betancourt clique.

In El Salvador working-class leaders advanced in years are persecuted. A typical instance is the case of Miguel Marmol who has played a prominent part in the trade union and peasant movement ever since 1930. During the Martinez dictatorship Marmol narrowly escaped with his life; shot down by Martinez men and left for dead, he nevertheless survived his wounds. Today the new dictatorship strangling his country has thrown him into prison regardless of his age and ill health.

In Mexico the "revolutionary" government has condemned to long terms of imprisonment on charges of "social dissolution" such eminent personalities as David Alfaro Siqueiros, painter, and Filomeno Mata, veteran journalist, men who are the pride of the nation.

Prison is the lot not only of political and trade union leaders and activists in Latin America. The repressions have acquired a mass character. Since the regular prisons are overflowing with political prisoners concen-

tration camps have been opened in which men and women detained under the open sky are subjected to beatings and torture. Such camps exist in Colombia (Armero), Venezuela (Orchila), Honduras (La Fortaleza), Paraguay, Ecuador, etc.

III

Whenever the popular forces unite and fight for a definite goal, they are able to make headway. The striving for democracy, freedom and legality, condemnation of abuses and injustice, and the revulsion evoked by the torture and murder of political opponents all help to bring together the most diverse sections of the public, political and social leaders and organizations. The canker of the Latin American dictatorships can not only be localized, it can be destroyed. For experience has shown that patriotic united action in defense of human rights can halt the repressions.

The Communists—contrary to the allegations of the reactionaries and the reformists of every hue who are playing into the hands of the imperialists—are working for the full flowering of democracy and legality in our countries. And not because they are cowed by the repressions to which our parties have been subjected, some of them for decades, for history has given ample proof that even the most savage of dictatorships cannot crush the Communist Party.

Legality provides the democratic forces, and especially the vanguard of the proletariat, better conditions for building contacts with the masses and their organizations and movements; it favors the growth of class consciousness and strengthens the faith of the working class in its own powers. Observance of legality creates the most propitious climate for the strengthening of the Communist and Workers' parties and the mass organizations.

"The irony of world history turns everything upside down," Engels says in his Introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France 1848 to 1850*. "We, the 'revolutionists', the 'overthrowers' — we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and overthrow. The parties of Order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves."

Experience has shown that the vicious onslaughts made by the reactionaries on the pretext of "anti-communism" are never directed against the vanguard of the working class alone. Those who, deceived by the anti-communist propaganda, turned a deaf ear yesterday to the Communist call for united

action to halt the reactionary offensive, find themselves today in prison together with the Communists. Therefore, as we set ourselves the task of fighting for democratic legality, we must always bear in mind these words from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: ". . . They (the Communists) labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries." Today this implies also agreement with all groups, associations and individuals who are prepared to join the struggle.

When the danger of fascism first loomed over humanity, the Communists, consistently adhering to this line, issued a clarion call to the international working-class movement. In his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Georgi Dimitrov declared that the International set "no conditions for united action excepting one elementary condition acceptable to all workers, namely, that the united action be aimed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy. That is our condition." What applied to class unity against the common enemy of that time applies today, taking into account the changed circumstances, to unity among all democrats and patriots. We put forward only one condition — that the joint struggle be waged against the reactionary offensive, to restore democracy and freedom which are being trampled by imperialism in its drive to secure its domination over Latin America.

That unity of all democratic parties and social forces against the brutal dictatorship of the reactionaries can be achieved on a national scale is evident from the example of Brazil, Argentina and other countries mentioned above. The united working-class and popular movement in Chile which is waging a grand battle for legality and the demands of the masses offers an example of united action and what it can achieve. No small success has been achieved by the Patriotic Union for the Release of Political Prisoners and the Return of Exiles, which plays a prominent role in Guatemala. Many similar examples from other Latin American countries could be cited.

Nowhere in Latin America have the masses remained passive in the face of the mounting repressions unleashed by the neo-colonialist policy of the North American monopolies.

Violence has proved powerless to suppress the popular movements in the Central American republics. The workers, peasants, students and intellectuals are joining to protest

against the political and social set-up. In Panama a united national movement is growing against the discrimination and exploitation which accompany the illegal appropriation of the Panama Canal by the United States. The call for national sovereignty is getting broad sections of the population in motion and giving new impetus to the struggle for democratic freedoms.

In the Dominican Republic, despite the stifling climate created by the military junta, mass struggle to establish a national democratic regime is being waged in a variety of forms. The People's Socialist Party, though forced underground, exerts every effort to achieve unity among the democratic forces ready to join the struggle, for unity is an essential precondition of victory.

The past year witnessed intense struggles in Colombia. Joint actions were undertaken by various Left groups in Bogota, Cali, Ibagué and Cucuta. The fight for full rights for the Communist Party has been joined by thousands and carried into the National Congress. The strike movement, which has embraced oil workers, gold prospectors, cement, metallurgical and textile workers, teachers and air-line personnel, has transcended the bounds of purely economic issues, the demands including the right to organize and hold demonstrations, and genuine democracy.

The peasants, who are demanding land and in some instances have actually seized it, are likewise fighting for civil liberties. Students, especially in the capital, have joined in a powerful movement in defense of academic rights, of the principles on which the so-called Free University was founded, and of genuine traditional university autonomy which would protect the higher educational establishments against U.S. inroads in Colombian cultural life.

Similar developments are under way in Peru, Bolivia, Mexico and other countries, where the immediate demands are directly linked with the aims of the national-liberation movement.

United actions in defense of human rights, provided they are conducted with vigor, can develop into powerful nationwide mass social movements, broaden the democratic struggle generally and draw into it diverse sections of society. Violation of legality, flouting the

rights of the individual and abuse of power tend to heighten the political consciousness of the people, who see in acts of lawlessness not only infringements of the rights of individuals, groups or political parties but also a threat to all.

International solidarity has always been an important factor helping to stay the criminal hand of the reactionary rulers. The Anti-Imperialist Leagues of which there were many in Latin America in the thirties gave effective support to the patriotic struggle waged by Augusto Cesar Sandino against imperialist intervention in Nicaragua. At present the international support given to the heroic people of Paraguay places some restraints on the Stroessner dictatorship. The broad solidarity campaign under way is similarly compelling the rulers of Nicaragua, Ecuador, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic to lend an ear to public opinion and to refrain from murdering imprisoned patriots and even to release some of them.

Modern communication media bring the peoples closer and keep them informed of the repressions in one or another country. The military putschists, such as the present head of the Honduras government, seek to conceal their complicity in the murder and arrest of patriots by brazenly claiming that the people abroad protesting against these crimes have been "misinformed"; but try as they might, they cannot get away from the fact that the truth is bound to leak out and arouse the indignation of world opinion. This once again highlights the importance of international solidarity. Many instances could be cited of patriots and revolutionaries having been released from the clutches of the reactionaries thanks to international solidarity.

Experience shows that solidarity among democrats and the oppressed peoples fighting for their liberation can be built on a world scale and, in Latin America, on a continental scale. It is imperative to improve the organization of this solidarity movement in order to prevent imperialism from engineering "continental" repressions against the people. The repressive actions of the reactionary forces must be countered with the militant struggle of all democrats and of all people in defense of civil rights, democracy and freedom.

*In the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

The French Communist Party in the Battle for Peace, Bread and Democracy

THE year 1963 in France was marked by a powerful upsurge of the popular movement for peace, social progress and democracy.

The signing of the partial test ban treaty in Moscow gave added impetus to the peace fighters. On the initiative of the Peace Movement a petition campaign was started in favor of France signing the Moscow Treaty. Hundreds of thousands of men and women affixed their signatures to the petition, thereby demonstrating the French people's support of the Treaty and their opposition to the nuclear strike force being built up by the de Gaulle government.

The wide scope of the mass movement in favor of peace made it possible to set up a broad committee against the nuclear strike force and for general and controlled disarmament. Represented on this committee are the Communist Party, the Socialist Party (SFIO), the United Socialist Party (PSU), the Radical Socialist Party, the Peace Movement, the General Confederation of Labor, the National Teachers' Union, various youth bodies and numerous other organizations. The committee plans to organize a nationwide demonstration which will be a continuation of the actions of November 17-24 in which more than 250,000 people in Paris and other cities participated.

The de Gaulle government, which intends to continue its disastrous course, is disquieted by these actions. But they are helping the people better to understand the reasons for the difficulties caused by the policy of one-man rule.

More and more men and women are beginning to perceive the direct connection between the vast sums spent on the nuclear arms race and the economic difficulties, with their attendant price increases, wage freeze, the plight of the schools and universities and the acute housing shortage.

One of the de Gaulle newspapers, criticizing the actions of the peace forces, made this comment: "It is claimed, and not without reason, that it would be sufficient to liquidate the 'strike force' for schools and houses to

grow like mushrooms. This, it must be admitted, is an effective argument."

In this way the Gaullists acknowledge that the sophisms used to justify the nuclear arms race — even though too many Frenchmen are still deceived by them — can be effectively exposed.

What is needed is a real ideological battle to prove that the policy of one-man rule is by no means adding to France's prestige, that, on the contrary, it is leading to its isolation on the international arena.

Parallel with the united peace actions the fight for economic demands is developing, particularly among municipal employees and civil servants. It is spreading also to the private sector.

According to reliable estimates, there were nine million strike days in 1963 alone. This is the highest figure since the August strikes of 1953.

In the light of this what is one to say about de Gaulle's boast in 1961 that there were only one million strike days and his claim that strikes have become an "anachronism" and that the class struggle is an "outdated concept."

Dissatisfaction with government policy is evident not only among the working class. There have been big demonstrations also among the peasants who are resisting de Gaulle's policy to abolish hundreds of thousands of small and medium farms.

The peasants have no desire to tolerate the consequences of the capitalist contradictions in the countryside. They want an end to the discrepancy between the price they get for their produce and the price they pay for manufactured goods, which brings the monopolies substantial profits.

November saw a strike by students and faculty members in protest against de Gaulle's policy which stifles education, research and culture.

The authorities replied to the actions of the students and faculty members with threats of force.

The real character of the one-man rule, which is an expression of the intensified domination of the capitalist monopolies, is thus manifested in all spheres of activity.

* * *

The scope and the diversity of forms of the popular protest movement bring to the fore the necessity of putting an end to the one-man rule.

It is true that not all those who are dissatisfied with de Gaulle's policy, and who express their dissatisfaction in different ways, realize that a change of system is called for.

The Communist Party is therefore working to show the causes of the justified dissatisfaction—the one-man rule and its disastrous policy—and the democratic way out of the situation created by the de Gaulle regime.

The Party, elaborating a program of genuine democracy, is showing the common interests in the programs of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the other democratic parties on vital issues of home and foreign policy.

The idea of convening a Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage on the basis of proportional representation, to draw up a democratic Constitution, is gaining ground. This idea has been accepted by the leaders of the Socialist Party (SFIO).

Not all the democratic parties, of course, share the view that the monopolies must be nationalized. The Socialist Party, however, like the Communist Party, is demanding the na-

tionalization of all banks, which would directly affect those banks linked with the government, such as the Rothschild Bank, the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, the Lazard Bank, etc.

Nationalization of the monopolies along democratic lines would make for their isolation, would curb their power and enhance the role of the working class in the life of the country. This idea, too, is winning growing support.

In view of the many things the programs of the democratic parties have in common it should be possible to draw up a common program for the working-class and democratic forces opposed to one-man rule.

A program of this nature would give impetus to a nationwide struggle of the working class and all the people to abolish the power of the monopolies and establish a genuine and lasting democracy.

Proceeding from this the Central Committee at its meeting on October 5-6 decided to begin a broad national campaign in support of a common program for all democratic parties and organizations that would put an end to one-man rule.

The success of the meetings and demonstrations held in this connection show that this campaign corresponds to the will of the working class and the democratic forces. The Party is preparing for its Seventeenth National Congress under the watchwords of peace, bread and democracy.

Jacques DUCLOS

For a Mass Communist Party in Spain

SHORTLY after the murder of Julian Grimau his wife received a letter from a Franco prison which said:

"In these days so sorrowful for you we wish to convey to you our sincere and heartfelt greetings. We witnessed Julian's last days.

"We were shocked by the brutality of the regime. And we were inspired by the staunchness of a man in the face of death. We were not members of the Communist Party at the time, we had not made up our minds about joining it.

"On the day they executed Julian each of us felt the urge to take his place in the Party. His courage and his nobility impelled us to make up our minds. He achieved that which his executioners had sought to prevent, for his objective was to see the people united,

that everywhere there should be those who consider it a matter of honor to belong to the Party of fighters against oppression, for a better life and a just society."

This letter was signed by two young men, a worker and a student, held in prison for anti-fascist activities.

Mrs. Grimau received a letter from another prisoner, an intellectual, who likewise told her of his desire to join the Communist Party. "For my part," he wrote, "I want you to know that I shall carry the name of Julian Grimau in my heart till my last day. If, as many others have done, I have applied for membership in his Party the inspiration has come from his life which is an example to all, and as long as I live I shall dedicate myself to his cause. I am confident that to-

gether with him, with your Julian and ours, we shall see the dawn break for the long-suffering people of Spain."

After the crime in Madrid against the true patriot and member of our Central Committee, our Party and Mrs. Grimau received many letters permeated with revolutionary enthusiasm, with the writers applying for membership of the Party and the Communist Youth League.

"Asturias," the recruitment call issued by the Party in October 1962, has now been followed by the Julian Grimau Call. Thousands have joined the Party and the Communist Youth League in recent months and many new branches have been formed in factories, in the universities and other educational establishments and in residential areas.

The new members are keen on making their contribution to preparing and holding the general political strike which is considered by our Party the task of the day. A student and a worker, aged 16 and 17 respectively, joined the Communist Youth League in Sama de Langreo which has been named after Julian Grimau. In their application letter they wrote: "To avenge the execution of Julian Grimau we shall do our best to organize the general political strike and carry it through."

While most of the new members have joined in Spain itself, large numbers who have emigrated to other countries in search of work have also joined.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the campaign to enroll new members initiated by the Asturias call in October 1962 and which reached peak after the execution of Grimau, has been a success. The Party, in addition to its growth, has matured politically. But this, of course, does not mean that we shall rest content with results achieved.

For obvious reasons we cannot write about the exact membership figures, but the following will give an idea of the advance. One organization alone, perhaps the biggest in the country, has more than 2,000 new members. Another organization which had 500 members before the Asturias call, now has 1,200. In Madrid the Party and the Youth League have been joined by hundreds of workers, students and intellectuals. In the Asturias, where thousands of miners were on strike last summer, hundreds more have joined. And this is the case everywhere: in Catalonia and Levante, Andalusia and Estremadura, Castile and Aragon, Galicia and Basconia.

Despite the difficulties associated with underground activity, the recruiting campaign has resulted in the setting up of Party organiza-

tions in a number of big enterprises. In not a few residential areas the membership ranges from 100 to 200. The same growth has taken place also in the universities and other educational centers.

An analysis of the composition of the new members provides an interesting picture. First, these are mostly young factory workers and students. Youth predominates throughout the Party, both among the rank and file and in the committees at all levels.

Many of them are sons and daughters of patriots executed by Franco. These youths, militant, confident of victory, are ready to do everything to put an end to the fascist regime.

Many more, it should be said, are the sons and daughters of men who fought against the Republic. The correct policy of our Party, that of ending the division which took place during the civil war, has made it easier for them to find the way to the Party.

This is the result of the policy of national accord pursued by our Party since 1956; this policy makes it possible to unite the efforts of all who, regardless of the side on which either they or their fathers fought during the civil war, now realize that the Franco dictatorship is a monster and that its preservation is an anachronism. Tens of thousands of militant Spaniards united in our Party are preparing for a decisive battle against the dictatorship.

Another feature of the recruiting campaign is the influx into the Party of workers and intellectuals who formerly belonged to other parties and organizations such as the Socialist Workers' Party, the National Confederation of Labor and the Catholic groups: the Catholic Workers' Youth and the Catholic Action Workers' Brotherhood. A veteran Socialist, in applying for membership of the Communist Party, wrote: "For years I have been a member of the Socialist Party. I believe, however, that now is the time when I should carry on my revolutionary activity in the ranks of the only Party which is fighting for the aims that brought me into the Socialist Party." We have also received applications from Anarchists and Catholic workers, many of whom enjoy great prestige among the masses. Our policy has made it easier for these people to join the Party, to take this step after long and difficult consideration. All of us, both old and young Communists, have received them with open hearts, and we shall do our utmost to enable them to feel at home in our ranks and to carry on their revolutionary activity.

Women and girls have also joined our ranks

and many of them occupy leading positions in the Party committees.

A woman from Asturias sent a letter to Radio Independent Spain in which she wrote: "Just now my husband is on strike. I would like to see all the wives of the strikers join our husbands and fight together. Our husbands must not return to work until we have free trade unions, until all the men now being tortured in jail are released. I salute the Communist Party and greet all the miners now fighting so devotedly for our people. Long live Asturias and its courageous fighters!"

This is indicative of the spirit of Spanish women, not only those from families of workers and peasants but also intellectuals.

The facts cited show that the task of building a mass party set by our Sixth Congress is being carried out. Neither the difficulties nor the police persecution can prevent us from completing this task. The Asturias call and the courageous example set by Julian Grimau have considerably reinforced our ranks. The facts are eloquent proof that we can have tens of thousands of members of the Communist Party. Without a mass party, we shall not be able to fulfil our historical mission.

Our members maintain close contact with the masses. Every day they are learning better how to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle.

The Party is firmly united around its Central Committee and its correct policy. True to proletarian internationalism our members are learning to apply creatively the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We fully and proudly approve the struggle which the Soviet people are waging, under the leadership of the Communist Party, for peace and for a communist society.

The growth of the Party makes it incumbent on us to elaborate flexible and specific forms of organization applicable to our conditions. In view of this, some comrades are not members of branches, a method which enables them to work with success and at the same time guarantees their security as far as possible.

We are decentralizing our Party organizations. Problems arising from the decentralization are resolved through the Central Committee and other leading bodies.

The results so far achieved, however, do not satisfy us. We must advance more rapidly and more boldly, without, of course, falling into adventurism. We still encounter manifestations of sectarianism on the part of leading comrades, young and old, and this retards our

growth. We are working patiently with these comrades, helping them to see and understand the changes taking place in our country, changes which call for a revolutionary, creative approach to the problem of building a truly mass Party.

The results in the countryside, especially among the poor and middle peasants, call for more attention to this work, for greater persistence in building our ranks and our influence among the millions of working peasants who are a big force in Spain. The Communist Party, which has advanced the slogan "land to the tiller," is the steadfast champion of the working peasants. Peasants in Castile, Galicia, Levante, Andalusia and Estremadura, reduced to ruin by the economic policies of the fascist dictatorship, are beginning to realize that we Communists are their staunch champions. Ours is not only a Party of industrial workers and farm laborers, it is also a Party of peasant cultivators who, experiencing privation and poverty, are fighting back. Among this important section of the population we can and must obtain good results.

At present we are heading toward large-scale mass actions in our country. The political strike of the miners of the Asturias and Leon, in which 40,000 workers took part and during which women encouraged and supported the strikers with selflessness worthy of admiration, has reaffirmed that the perspective of a general political strike is both sound and feasible. The miners, who are in the forefront of the working class, are steadily heading towards the strike.

After the strikes in Asturias the Central Committee of our Party noted with satisfaction the all-round growth of the Party. Although the terror caused losses in its ranks and among the leadership, it could not weaken it, the C.C. stated.

Extremely important and complex tasks face the Communists, but we are sure that we shall cope with them. Clearly we shall encounter difficulties, but the struggle tempers Communists, and for them struggle is the best of schools.

One thing is needed for success — a mass Party whose strength lies not only in the numbers of its members but also in their ideological maturity, their devotion and selflessness. Along this road we shall reach, together with all our people, the objective so passionately desired by the vast majority of Spaniards — a restored democracy, which is a necessary stage for the advance to socialism.

Eduardo GARCIA

Popular Initiative

(Notes from Czechoslovakia)

ONE encounters examples of popular initiative at almost every step in Czechoslovakia—and naturally enough, for this is typical of socialism. Civic consciousness is not only an individual or group attribute; it is characteristic of the public for it rests on a solid social basis—public ownership of the means of production, dedication to socialism and communism as the common goal, genuine equality for all, and an atmosphere of comradely cooperation. The well-springs of public initiative lie in the social system and the new relationship among people.

Mass initiative is not only a product of the new society, but one of the conditions of its development; building the new society requires the direct participation of the millions.

It has become customary in industrial enterprises to hold production conferences to discuss the problems of industrial development, the operation of the plants as a whole and the work of individuals. An idea of the interest evinced in improving production performance and advancing technology may be gained from the fact that in 1962 alone there were more than one million meetings at which shortcomings were subjected to frank criticism and suggestions made for improvements.

The most widespread manifestation of the new attitude to labor is the emulation movement for increasing production and working out new methods and forms of organization of labor. Some three and a half million people have joined in this nationwide competition which promotes the well-being of each worker individually and the progress of society as a whole.

One of the most popular forms of this competition is the Socialist Labor Team movement, the object of which is not only excellence in production but also self-improvement. To win this coveted title it is not enough to work well on the job. It is also necessary to improve one's education and skill, widen one's outlook and set an example in observing the socialist moral code. More than one million working people have joined this movement.

The socialist approach to work and the mass initiative also find expression in the movement of rationalizers and inventors. In the four years from 1959 to 1962 the working people submitted 1,227,722 suggestions for increasing production efficiency; of these 618,947 were ac-

cepted, yielding an economy of nearly 5,000 million crowns. Apart from the gain accruing to society generally, the volunteer rationalizers benefit from this personally, for they are paid bonuses for suggestions that prove valuable.

The winter of 1962-63 was an extremely rigorous one in Czechoslovakia. The severe frosts affected the operation of power stations and many other enterprises. The efforts made by the working people, however, made it possible quickly to overcome the effects of the hard winter. In response to a call issued by the Communist Party, the workers undertook to turn out 1,200 million crowns worth of production over and above plan in 1963. By the end of September the pledge had been carried out by 70.5 per cent, which yielded the country 846 million crowns worth of above-plan output.

On the initiative of members of the Youth League what are called Pathfinder Groups were formed in many factories and agricultural cooperatives. With the business-like approach of the youth to economic problems these groups pinpoint shortcomings in industry, in trade and in the public services, they make suggestions for overcoming the shortcomings, for speeding up the introduction of rationalization proposals, and help to improve quality.

The Party Is the Organizer of the Creative Activity of the Masses

Public initiative finds many outlets which are now part of everyday life. But these forms have not evolved of themselves; they are the result of the work done by the Party, its branches and its individual members.

The Party is now working to stimulate still more the activity of its branches and to make fuller use of the energies and abilities of the members in order to ensure further success. The idea is that each member should have his special Party assignment.

Branches in South Moravia, for example, send their members to the lagging sectors and enterprises and give them definite assignments in the sphere of promoting technological progress, increasing productivity of labor and improving quality. In this way the Party helps to overcome economic difficulties, influences management and channels the efforts of the people where they are most needed. The members study and assimilate the new technology and organize the work on the lagging sectors.

Non-Party workers follow their example. In this way mass movements develop which have a profound effect on both production and on the relationships between people.

Concrete organizational work which is based on a thorough knowledge of the production tasks and of local conditions, helps to overcome snags and makes the Party branches more efficient. As for the members, the knowledge that they have every opportunity to show what they can do as troubleshooters in definite areas of production is a source of inspiration. By helping to solve the urgent tasks they gave effect in practice to the Central Committee's call to top the output targets for 1963 which found such an eager response among the millions of working people in both town and country.

In response to the call a group of Communist engineers and technicians in the CKD-Praha factory drafted a technological plan for this large engineering works in the capital. Together with the workers, the engineers and technicians are now engaged in preparations for modernizing a number of shops. Their example has been followed at other enterprises.

Ample Opportunity for Talent

Many workers live far from their plants and hence their social life is largely concentrated in the residential neighborhoods. And here too we find numerous examples of initiative. One form which has emerged since the war is voluntary improvement work. Originally a form of mutual aid in postwar rehabilitation, this movement embraces hundreds of thousands. In 1962 alone 145 million man-hours were put in; the value of the work done amounted to 1,870 million crowns. Twenty-eight gymnasiums, over 800 sports grounds, 145 recreation centers, 39 premises for the local authorities, 80 kilometers of water mains, 931 kilometers of roads, etc., were built in this way.

In this sphere, too, the influence of the Party branches makes itself felt. Members not employed in production, such as housewives and pensioners, do much of the organizing work.

In the streets of Prague and other cities one can see notices to the effect that the particular building is under the joint-care of its tenants. The tenants keep the place clean and tidy and get together from time to time to discuss what they can do to help improve the neighborhood. Often such discussions develop into an exchange of views on political subjects and current events at home and abroad.

Here too we can see the shaping of a community which is not indifferent to the needs and interests of its fellow citizens and com-

bines efforts for the common good. In this way socialism provides every opportunity for people to find application for their talent and skill.

In a country where the working people, both young and old, are striving to see developments in their overall context as a succession of cause and effect the political consciousness of the citizen is usually at a high level. And this lays its imprint also on the methods of enlisting the public in solving political tasks as well as on the information media used to this end; here many changes have taken place, especially since the coming of television. Generally speaking, the mass information media play a highly important role in rallying people to carry out one or another task.

The Party branches advance slogans in keeping with the requirements of their particular localities or industries. For example, a wide response was evoked by the call issued to the farmers to make the most efficient use of tractors. This slogan has given impetus to the establishment in the cooperative and state farms of special groups working to mechanize all farm work from sowing to harvesting. By the end of the first quarter of 1963 over 2,000 of these groups, taking in roughly four per cent of the permanent agricultural labor force and cultivating 30 per cent of the total crop area, had been established.

Besides stimulating initiative from below with a view to utilizing the best experience, constant searching and experimentation are essential. Important in this respect is the use of press, radio and television to publicize the latest in technology and to improve labor organization. The example set by the best production workers gives rise to new forms of collective effort and strengthens comradely mutual aid.

A case in point is the wide recognition accorded the method introduced by Comrade Trousil in livestock farming. This method, the result of long experimentation with feed and regimens for dairy cattle, notably increased livestock productivity throughout North Moravia.

Experimentation and questing are essential not only in research but also in areas that at first glance may seem so simple and commonplace as to offer little room for improvement.

As Comrade Trousil has said, the really difficult problem is to stop venerating the generally accepted way of doing things, to break away from the old habits and traditions and to launch out on a search for new and better ways.

The Party urges the working people to strike

out boldly along new lines, to improve work methods and not rest content with past achievements. Creative questing is the keynote. And people are coming to realize more and more that the rate of progress depends on themselves.

Developing initiative is, however, not a simple process. In the localities, and in particular in the agricultural cooperatives, it often meets with a formidable obstacle in individual or group egoism stemming from a striving for personal advantage or prestige, and parochialism.

The new asserts itself in a process marked by obstacles which the Party is overcoming by upholding the interests of society whenever and wherever they are infringed by individual and purely local interests. As a rule, the social approach prevails inasmuch as it accords with the interests of all and with the logic of development. In a word, the overall tendency is for experimentation and the example set by the best workers to overcome parochialism and narrowmindedness and to sweep away the old and the conservative.

* * *

The force of example is of exceptional significance in promoting initiative. A positive example carries the people with it, while a

negative one acts as a warning. Hence both have political and educational value. This is something to be borne in mind in conducting our political work. Citing only positive examples and ignoring the shortcomings and negative aspects is an affront to the common sense and experience of the average man and hence apt to have a disheartening effect.

At the same time we take full cognizance of the impetus positive examples can give to the activity of the masses, who are learning to manage affairs of state, evincing a new attitude to labor and guided by a new moral code. This is evident from the response to the new forms of labor in both industry and agriculture. In view of this, publicizing the positive experience occupies a prominent place in our political educational work among the public.

Initiative is always a voluntary manifestation of people's aspirations and talents. It cannot be stimulated by orders from the top. That it is so much in evidence in Czechoslovakia is not at all fortuitous; it stems from the fact that the working people regard the building of socialism as their own cause and are bending every effort to advance from success to success in shaping their new life.

Miroslav LAB

Colombia: Building a Mass Party

(Experience of a District Committee)

THE district committee is one of the links in the organizational structure of the Colombia. Below we shall describe the experiences of one of these committees in a bigish town with a mixed population of factory and office workers, students and handicraftsmen.

The district committee was formed at the beginning of 1958 when the country was ruled by a military junta. At that time the Party was cautiously exploring the ground for legal activity. The caution was due partly to the fact that according to the constitutional reform (December 1, 1957) only two "traditional" parties — the Liberal and the Conservative — were recognized as legal although the decree banning our Party had been annulled. On the other hand, the Party organization was numerically small and isolated, a situation which, naturally, influenced the thinking of people who had been accustomed to underground work.

Most of the committee members were handicraftsmen and small bourgeoisie, and from the very beginning the task was to overcome the psychology of the underground period and switch over to mass work. At the time there were two dangerous tendencies in the committee. One, sectarian, was opposed to large scale recruitment of members on the grounds that "the fewer the better." This concept stemmed from the long years of underground activity when the Party was weak organizationally and ideologically and isolated. Its adherents held the view that those who refused to fight the dictatorship or who had not done so during the illegal period could not be trusted; the Party, they argued, had but few experienced leaders who could ensure adequate leadership in the event of a big influx of members.

The second, a Right opportunist tendency, claimed that the constitutional reform was a swindle spearheaded against the Communist

Party since Communists were allowed to vote but could not stand for election; from this they drew the conclusion that we should appear in the guise of Liberals and conceal the name of the Party. This attitude coincided with that of the big bourgeoisie who never liked to mention the Communist Party in view of the prestige it had won during the resistance to the dictatorship. The second tendency, it should be said, originated from among those who in 1956 got the municipal Party committee to agree to the setting up of so-called pilot branches. Branch members were put into categories of "active" and "passive," and the "active" ones were amalgamated into a "pilot branch," while the "passives" were regarded merely as "sympathizers." This decision, however, was never carried out because of the resistance on the part of the rank and file. The first district conference held in 1958 denounced the idea as one that would lead to the liquidation of the Party. The opportunist tendency was revived in the proposal for an organizational reform which envisaged "independence" for the subcommittee. This proposal, too, was rejected. Practical tasks were defined during the discussion, each committee member was allocated to a sector for which he was responsible, and all this is keeping with the policy of recruiting on a mass scale, of establishing closer contact with the masses and training cadres.

Four district conferences have been held since then. As a result membership has increased 15-fold compared with what it was in 1958; the number of factory branches has grown considerably, the Party is in closer contact with the trade unions and other organizations, and its prestige has grown. This is primarily the result of our factory-gate meetings, meetings in residential areas and in the universities, the result of the debates with Social Christian students in which we proclaimed our views, distributed thousands of letters, journals and other materials.

The ideological struggle was carried on also in the trade unions, not only against the corrupt elements in the pay of the big bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism, but also against those who engage in anti-communism, trying to split the movement and to sow confusion in its ranks. Many workers and officials highly respected in the trade unions and among the workers in the factories now see things in a different light. The Rights are steadily losing ground. Party members who are trade union officials are working to overcome the purely syndicalist frame of mind and to combine union work with political activity. This idea

is being taken up by growing numbers of trade union officials.

The district committee has considerable experience of building alliances with other political trends. The first step in this direction was made in 1958 when the Liberal Popular Front was created as a counterpoise to the "National Front" of the big bourgeoisie and the latifundists who until then had all the advantages in the struggle waged between the political parties. True, the Liberal Front could not then be described as a genuinely Left or democratic movement; it engaged only in election activity and was dominated by unscrupulous politicians and all kinds of opportunists.

Our experience has been further enriched by new factors and, despite the difficulties in carrying out the policy of alliances, many Liberals, Left Liberals, work with our Party on many issues. The policy of alliances is based on those political forces whose views coincide on national and local issues and who unite for specific actions. Such was the case during the 1960 and 1962 elections when the Communists supported the candidates of the Liberal Revolutionary Movement.

The district committee explains to the Party members that the policy of alliances can be effective only if the task of building the Party and raising its ideological level is kept in mind. With the growth of the Party and of its influence, and if the Marxist-Leninist education of its members is improved, the alliances will become more stable and extensive.

In solidarity with the Cuban revolution the district committee organized numerous mass actions, distributed thousands of pamphlets and other materials telling the truth about the gains of the Cuban people. It linked these actions with the revolutionary tasks of our own people as defined by the general line of our Party. It can be said that the struggle in defense of the Cuban revolution makes it possible to draw a demarcation line between the democratic and patriotic movement which is not anti-communist and has adopted a clearly expressed attitude vis-à-vis imperialism, and the opportunists who, while pretending solidarity with Cuba, carry on their anti-Party activities.

Useful experience has also been gained in other spheres. The factory branches function under the guidance of comrades who enjoy absolute trust. These comrades took the place of some of the committee men and members with a petty-bourgeois background, who wanted, as they claimed, to be "proletarianized," joined the factory branches where they indulged in factionalism and "left" tendencies.

They advocated "permanent" strikes and indulged in ultra-revolutionary speeches at union meetings, which discussed economic issues, causing confusion and chaos.

The action taken by the district committee in placing reliable comrades in the factory branches paid dividends. Today the need for this is not so great because the branch members are more experienced and vigilant.

An analysis of the class composition of the present district committee shows that nine members are workers and trade union officials, seven Party functionaries, four intellectuals and one handicraftsman. It should be explained that the four intellectuals are comrades whose profession enables them to be in touch with the workers at the point of production and with their struggle. With this composition the committee is able to coordinate Party policies with the working-class and trade union movement, with the mass struggles.

The committee abides by the principle of collective responsibility. Each committee member is responsible for a particular sector of work. The work of the sub-committees which carry out the general directives of the Party, can be illustrated by an example. The organizing committee consists of the district organizer and organizing secretaries of the area committees. It discusses organization and guides the implementation of the tasks set by the district committee and those advanced by the committee members. The organizer reports back to the executive of the district committee or to its plenary meeting depending on the particular tasks.

The trade union committee is composed of district committee members with contact in the unions, and of workers at the factory bench. This committee elaborates questions of Party work in the unions, and searches for avenues of contact with more trade unions. This is done in a practical way. For instance, while encouraging trade union initiative, the committee sees to it that the workers' demands are supported not only in the factories but also among the public; worker-peasant contacts are established with the result that in many rural areas the peasants help workers with food, thereby frustrating the employers' attempts to use the weapon of hunger. Schools are organized for workers on such subjects as the history of the working-class movement, the fight against reformism, philosophy, economics, and very often grammar and arithmetic; public lectures are held for working people generally. The committee organizes meetings

for Party members working in the factories and in the trade unions.

The district committee guides the work of the area committees functioning in the town. The area committees are elected at meetings of the branches in the particular area and are responsible to the district committee. One of our difficulties is that the bulk of our members are young people who when elected to the area committee, being inexperienced, need the help of the district committee. It should be said that ex-members who have rejoined the Party are now doing excellent work. But some incorrigibles have renewed factional activity.

The district committee encourages the initiative of the area committees in resolving matters affecting their particular area.

The area committee is a good school, as can be seen from the fact that seven members in the present district committee gained their experience in area committees.

Branch work is carried out in two ways: the area committees work with the territorial branches, while the special group of comrades works with the factory branches. Both methods of work are supervised by the district committee.

Much remains to be done. Some of the area committees are not strong enough. Organizationally the committees may be efficient, but ideologically and politically they are often weak, and the only remedy for this is more political education.

Another task is to secure a bigger circulation for our press and publications. Teams of sellers who go out into the streets work effectively and with enthusiasm, but the work is not done regularly.

The successes achieved in our work have demonstrated that those members who waged the ideological struggle from the positions of unity gained results and enjoy the respect of the Party, while those who resorted to disruptive activity find themselves in isolation. Some of them now occupy bureaucratic posts in the "National Front" government of the big bourgeoisie.

Of course, erroneous tendencies still exist, but they are no longer manifested in the same way. For example, we work with those comrades who think that we should not bother about having a mass Communist Party on the grounds that "a mass Party contradicts Leninism," that Lenin, allegedly, fought for a numerically small Party of "professional" revolutionaries. These views are combated in the course of ideological work.

The district committee is actively working

to build a mass Party, and with this in view it is strengthening and enlarging the leading group; strengthening and enlarging the factory branches and the area committees; raising the ideological and political level of all mem-

bers — rank and file and leaders, young people and veterans; strengthening and extending contact with the mass organizations, particularly the trade unions.

Juan VIANA

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

THE Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Germany, held in November, heard the report of the Political Bureau made by Willi Mohn and a report by Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Party, on "The Party in the fight for a detente, democracy and social security."

It was noted in the reports and the discussion that followed that developments since the last Party congress had confirmed the soundness of its conclusions and decisions regarding the fight for peace and democracy, the Communists' place in this fight, the sharpening of the class struggle in the Federal Republic, and that the factories and unions would be the main arena for establishing united working-class action.

The Moscow test ban treaty was a success for the Communist and Workers' parties and for all the peace forces. The German Democratic Republic was one of the first countries to sign this treaty. Under the pressure of the policy of the socialist states and of the peace movement in West Germany the Bonn militarists had no choice but to follow suit. This means, said Max Reimann, "that the action of the trade unions, of the peace fighters, the Easter peace marches and the calls issued by prominent public and church personalities have not been in vain."

The speakers described the varied activities of the peace partisans in support of the Moscow Treaty. These include the holding of demonstrations, film showings, distribution of leaflets, collection of signatures, torch-light processions, etc. A new feature, compared with the previous year, was the part played by the trade unions and their leaders. Young people too were to the fore during the international youth week in Stuttgart and at the regional youth congress in Baden-Wuerttemberg, which was attended by 8,000 metalworkers. These facts show what a wide field there is for enlisting the support of the youth in defense of peace and democracy.

It depends on our Party, said Max Reimann, on the working class, on all people of good

will in the FRG, whether West Germany is to continue hindering a detente being reached, or whether it will work for a detente and mutual understanding in Germany.

The speakers spoke of the growing strength and prestige of the GDR, noting that one of the contributory factors on the international arena was the proposal made by Walter Ulbricht at the Sixth Congress of the Party for a treaty of good will, and also the program of building socialism in the GDR. Everywhere the demand is being voiced that the German Democratic Republic be recognized, that relations between the two Germanys be normalized. Walter Ulbricht recently said: "Let every citizen of the FRG visit the GDR." Visits like this would make for better relations between the two states. We should encourage people to visit the GDR as a means of bringing the truth to the people.

In connection with the change of government in Bonn, the meeting stressed that the Communist Party directs its main blow against the more aggressive forces of monopoly capital and their men in the ruling parties of the government. This will accelerate the process of differentiation in the camp of the bourgeoisie and help to dispel any illusions there may be about the Erhard government which, like the Adenauer government, is pursuing a similar policy of nuclear armament and revenge; it, too, is demanding annexation of the GDR, and through emergency laws wants to suppress and abolish all social rights.

The meeting discussed the question of united working-class action in the enterprises and in the trade unions. The Party has registered some success in this sphere. "The workers of Mannheim showed us what should be our next step," said Max Reimann. "On November 7, at 3 p.m., 70,000 workers downed tools. They left their enterprises carrying red banners and held a demonstration in which 40,000 people participated notwithstanding the rain. Trams were brought to a standstill for 15 minutes. Taxi drivers from all parts of the town joined the demonstrators."

The working people of Mannheim demonstrated under the watchwords: "Monopoly means higher prices!" "Stable prices, not tanks!" "Out with the SS-men, no emergency laws!" This powerful militant class action was the outcome of the united action of Communists and Social Democrats in the factories and in the trade unions.

Many Social Democrats question the policy of the Right-wing leaders of going along with the ruling parties. They sense that this policy does not benefit the working class and the people generally. Even some officials of the SDPG are questioning the policy of the party leaders.

"We are convinced," Max Reimann said, "that today there is a possibility not only of talks about joint action by Communists and Social Democrats but of taking such action. The basis for this is our common interest in preserving peace, in preventing the nuclear arming of

West Germany, in preventing the establishment of a dictatorship as a result of emergency laws, in upholding democratic rights and the economic and social demands of the working people." The differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats should not be an obstacle to agreement on joint action. Until the Social Democrats are prepared to conclude an agreement with the Communists, we should at least wage the struggle for the same demands shoulder to shoulder.

The meeting unanimously approved the report of the Political Bureau and the report by Max Reimann; it also passed a resolution regarding the differences of the Communist Party of China with the international Communist movement.

The Central Committee addressed a message to all peace champions held in prison or being persecuted, and demanded that the Bonn government grant an amnesty to all victims of political persecution.

WMR COMMENTARY

The "Free World" and the Crime in Dallas

THE extraordinary circumstances of the assassination of President J. F. Kennedy shocked the conscience of the world. This tragic event has posed pertinent questions in the USA and in other countries. How could such a dastardly act be committed in a civilized country which claims to be the leader of the "free world"? What went wrong with American efficiency that it couldn't protect its President from the assassin? Who are the sinister forces responsible for this crime, and who actually pulled the trigger or the triggers that killed the President? What course will the United States pursue both as regards internal and external policies under the new President, Lyndon B. Johnson? Will he continue the policies of his predecessor who in many respects realistically assessed the political situation and the alignment of forces in the present-day world, and who sought to settle controversial issues through negotiation? These questions go beyond the boundaries of routine detective story investigations. The answers concern the present and future of the United States and the world.

That is why the sound democratic forces in the USA have insisted on a thorough investigation and disclosure of all the facts. They

hope that this investigation will not only establish beyond doubt the real culprits responsible for the assassination, but will serve at the same time as a means of changing the direction of U.S. policies. While it is not possible at this moment to answer all the deep-going questions brought to the fore by the assassination, it is possible and necessary to expose the forces behind the crime and to indicate the direction and the trends of the likely course of developments.

The assassination took place in Dallas, Texas — a city notorious as the citadel of the ultra-Right, the seed-bed of reaction and neo-fascism, where political gangsterism, corruption, racism and hate campaigns are the order of the day. It is not difficult to find there hate-maddened fanatics capable of any crime, especially when it is a question of blocking the way to progress and democracy.

Texas is often referred to as the "State of Flowing Gold" — oil. It is also the home of millionaire cattle ranchers. Texas oil has greased the wheels of the ultra-Rights. The late Senator McCarthy was the darling of the oil emperors and the big ranchers. Now Dr. Fred C. Schwartz, of the "Christian Anti-Communist Crusade," Robert Welch of the

John Birch Society, the organization known as "Texans for America" and other terrorist, fascist, racist organizations operate with impunity and with the direct and indirect support of the authorities. The Texas monopolists are not alone in their plots. They have been joined by others in Big Business. Without their money and support the Ultras would be insignificant.

Only a month before the Kennedy assassination the Ultras in Texas organized a hostile demonstration against Adlai Stevenson on his visit to Dallas. At about the same time a group of Ultras picketed a hall where Chief Justice Warren was the speaker, displaying such banners at "Hang Warren," "Impeach Warren." Was it any wonder that Stevenson and Governor Connelly warned Kennedy about the atmosphere in Dallas. On the day President Kennedy arrived in the town the reactionary *Dallas Morning News* carried a message of "welcome" with a thick black border, a form usually used for obituaries, which said: "Welcome Mr. Kennedy to Dallas, a city that rejected your philosophy and policies in 1960 and will do so again in 1964 — even more emphatically than before." This indicates the foul atmosphere that prevailed in Dallas, at the time of President Kennedy's visit.

When the American radio announced the assassination of President Kennedy to the world, nobody had any doubt that this was the work of the ultra-Rights. But the arrest of Oswald and the indecent haste with which he was described as a "Marxist" changed the picture. It became obvious that a plot was being concocted to shield the real culprits and to whip up a new anti-communist, anti-Soviet, anti-Cuba hysteria. It appeared that an American edition of a frame-up resembling the German Reichstag fire of thirty years ago was being prepared. This was the stuff that delighted the Birchite General Walker, a notorious racist, and Senator Goldwater. The thing had all the earmarks of a deliberately planned provocation, an operation calculated to cause panic and thereby enhance the political fortunes of the ultra-Right.

But the plotters miscalculated. The United States of 1963 is not the Germany of 1933, and the world today is not the world it was thirty years ago. Things have changed tremendously since the night in 1933 when Hitler's Nazis put the Reichstag to the torch, the prelude to lighting the world conflagration.

The events that followed the assassination began to unfold with such rapidity, the numerous version of "evidence" were so contradictory and the actions of the Dallas police were so crude that the wild story of a "new Communist

menace" was too much for even the reactionary press to swallow.

The incredible kaleidoscope of ensuing events confused the whole affair. Before the official charge could be made against Oswald as the alleged assassin, he was killed, while in the hands of the police, by the owner of a Dallas strip-tease joint known as Jack Ruby. The circumstances of the shooting of Oswald were such that most people felt that the Dallas police had so arranged the transfer of Oswald as to provide the opportunity for him to be killed. The plan worked — Oswald was shot and silenced forever.

Somewhere, apparently, there was the fear that Oswald might disclose something about the forces directly responsible for the assassination of the President.

It was not accidental that only minutes after Oswald had been conveniently removed from the scene, the police chief of Dallas gleefully declared to the press, television and radio: "Gentlemen, the case is closed." This indecent haste to close the case was calculated and deliberate. It was a crude attempt to shield the real culprits, an attempt to prevent the disclosure of all the circumstances surrounding the assassination and to prevent those responsible for it from being exposed.

The further investigation carried out by the Federal authorities revealed that Oswald was, if anything, an anti-communist. The U.S. Communist Party categorically denied that Oswald had ever been a member of that Party. The American Communists called for the fullest investigation of all the circumstances of this foul crime. They pointed to the poisonous milieu of the ultra-Rights as the forces responsible.

As the U.S. Communist Party emphasized, "such acts of violence and terror are diametrically the opposite of the policy and program of the Communist Party."

The same statement pointed out that "nobody who teaches or practises acts of terror and violence is allowed to be a member of the Communist Party."

In the hour of shock and grief the U.S. Communists issued calls to "Defend America! Punish the Assassins! Unite for Democracy!" In this way they expressed the democratic and humane feelings of the American people.

The Communists, of course, are far from overestimating the policy of the late President; they have noted its inconsistencies, its contradictions and its concessions to the pressure of the reactionary forces. However, Kennedy had a far more realistic approach to the solution of outstanding international issues than his

postwar predecessors. He saw, even if not always distinctly, the need for peaceful co-existence and cooperation between states with differing social systems. But the main thing is that John F. Kennedy realized what a disaster a world thermonuclear war would be for humanity. And this realization impelled him to take some steps towards easing the international tensions. The most important of these was, of course, the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty. Speaking in support of this treaty, Kennedy said that "it will curb the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, thereby holding out hope for a more peaceful and stable world."

The wild men in U.S. politics who savagely assailed the foreign policy steps of the late President, could not reconcile themselves to the fact that this man, ardent champion of their capitalist private enterprise, acted as a realistic representative of the ruling class of his country. In assailing the President the ultra-Rights joined with the Southern dixiecrats who could not forgive Kennedy his cautious steps towards alleviating the plight of the Negro in American society, his efforts to get the Civil Rights Bill adopted by Congress.

No small role in whipping up the hostile atmosphere that surrounded President Kennedy was played by those monopoly groups who are worried to death at the prospect of a detente and a cutback in armament expenditure.

Nor was the time chosen for the assassination in any way fortuitous. With the new Presidential elections in the offing, Kennedy's chances were considered high. And in the Republican camp feverish efforts were being made to choose a candidate capable of challenging John F. Kennedy.

The Ultras dreaded the prospect of Kennedy being President for another five years. Even the extremely cautious steps of the Kennedy Administration were unacceptable to these apostles of reaction and war. They were violently opposed to the Moscow Test Ban Treaty and did all in their power to prevent its ratification. They are dead set against Kennedy's limited Civil Rights Bill; they are equally dead set against even the tortoise process of integration now taking place in the USA. They oppose any concessions to labor, and they are against social security measures. They are against extending trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They are horrified at the growing trend towards easing international tension and ending the cold war, also the settling of outstanding questions through negotiations. They could not

stomach the development of cultural and scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They were wrathful about any steps which would lead to disarmament.

The Kennedy assassination revealed to the world the tragic picture of degradation and decline of American society, of the American ruling class. It was the atmosphere of violence and intimidation created by the Ultras that had inspired the assassin to pull the trigger.

The United States, as everybody knows, is a country with a high level of per capita production; but this remarkable development has not been accompanied by a solution of the problem of the comprehensive development of the individual, his real freedom and morality. The contrary is the case. The USA is experiencing a deep-going crisis in the spheres of ideology and human values. The cult of the dollar is all-pervasive. Gangsterism, crime, anti-communism, racism, anti-peace, pro-war hysteria, all part of the way of life, have poisoned the very air people breathe. And much of the responsibility for this foul atmosphere rests with the forces forming the so-called "military-industrial complex," the forces to which President Kennedy had referred on more than one occasion.

Dr. Martin Luther King, one of the leaders of the "Negro revolution of '63" put it aptly when he said:

"To see what is ahead, we must see what has passed. The murder of the President, regardless of the precise identity of the assassin, occurred in a context of violence and hatred that had been building up in our nation for the past several years.

"We have seen children murdered in church, men shot down from ambush in a manner so similar to the assassination of President Kennedy that we must face the fact that we are dealing with a social disease that can be neglected or avoided, as we have done, only to our deadly peril."

American society, it goes without saying, is not all gangsters, racists and atom-maniacs. The vast majority of Americans, like the vast majority of people in other capitalist countries, stand solidly for peace, justice and democracy. They are proud of their democratic traditions and institutions. And the desperation and the frenzy of the wild men and their backers reflect their fear of the growing strength of the peace-loving and democratic forces in America. The democratic forces are asserting themselves in the many-sided strug-

gles — in the fight for civil rights, for jobs and for peace.

The people of the United States want the U.S. Army to get out of South Vietnam, they want normal trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba, and more trade with the socialist countries; they want a better system of social security and more educational opportunities for the youth. All these movements and demands express the other side — the sound, democratic side of America.

Americans will judge their new President to the extent that he heeds the wishes and aspira-

tions of the people. They will, no doubt, press his Administration, as they did the Kennedy Administration, not to yield to the violence of the Ultra but to curb it. They will support every step taken to further the cause of peace and democracy.

The Communists of the USA, with their clarion call to "Defend America! Punish the Assassins! and Unite for Democracy!" have suggested the direction and the policies which should be followed now and in the immediate future.

J. B. THOMAS

The Labor Party Conference, 1963

THE Labor Party Conference took place at Scarborough from September 30 to October 4. It was attended by approximately 1,200 delegates elected by trade unions, branch, regional and area committees of the Labor Party, and by other affiliated bodies like the Fabian Society which support the aims and objects of the Labor Party.

New Situation — New Sentiment

Conference took place at a time when significant changes were taking place on the political front.

Twelve years of Tory rule have produced economic stagnation in Britain. Because of Tory policy, unemployment is higher than at any time since the 1930s. The country has been crippled by the heavy military expenditures incurred by the cold war policy. Despite all the Tory boasting the independent nuclear deterrent which was to make Britain secure and powerful is a myth. Britain is still abjectly dependent upon the United States.

Growing economic difficulties for large numbers of people, low pensions for the aged and low wages for big sections of workers, the growing threat of automation leading to redundancy not only among manual workers but also the "white-collar" employees and professional workers, the emergence once more of depressed areas, soaring rents, a grave housing shortage, and the general inadequacy of the social services have turned many people against the Tory government. By-election after by-election had shown this; so also had the many public opinion polls held by the newspapers. Disillusionment and disgust have, in particular, spread amongst the middle-sections of the community, the traditional supporters of the Tories. But, as recent by-election voting has shown, they have turned more towards the Liberal Party, not towards Labor.

But over and above this a new, more hopeful factor arose in international affairs. The Test Ban Treaty had been successfully negotiated. The first, if still small breach had been made in the cold war.

The chances of Labor being the next government are extremely favorable at the moment. This belief dominated Conference.

It was in this situation that Conference took place and which made it so significant. The new situation and the perspective of an electoral victory had brought two reactions from the Labor Movement. One was a heightened militancy, a sharper class feeling.

The new mood was clearly expressed at the Trades Union Congress held shortly before the Labor Party Conference. At the Trades Union Congress the delegates refused to endorse the official resolution supporting wage restraint. Instead it endorsed a resolution proposed by Mr. Ted Hill, leader of the Boilermakers, declaring unqualified opposition to wage restraint. The Congress passed a series of resolutions which called for the nationalization of road transport and the aircraft, steel, ship-building, car and electrical engineering industries. A motion for the 40-hour week, a long standing demand of the British working class, was passed by a mighty shout of "Aye." No need to take a vote here.

But a second, more instinctive reaction, was serious and dangerous, even though it was an instinctive move. This was the move to "close the ranks" in the face of the ruling class counterattack in the general election. If Labor was to fight, it must do so united, with closed ranks. This had always been the attitude of the working class movement, and with the approach of the general election it had been given a greater impetus. Mr. Wilson and the rest of the leadership were making constant

appeals for such unity, on the basis of declared policy.

The need of the hour was unity, declared the leadership. To face a general election with divided ranks was to court disaster. It would turn what was almost a certain victory into defeat. To reveal a divided party, especially over such sensitive issues as foreign affairs and defense, would be asking for certain trouble.

That the Right-wing would make such a plea was understandable, but what was less understandable was that this appeal was endorsed by the main Left-wing group of Labor MPs who, organized in the "Victory for Socialism" group, had long been the hard core of the fight against Gaitskell's policy. The Lefts called on the workers not to embarrass Mr. Wilson, to drop all criticisms of policy until after the general election. The workers were given to understand that what mattered most was not so much questions of policy, but the size of the majority which a Labor Government could obtain. Thus added impetus was given to the move to unite around a questionable policy.

In order to reveal the dangers of such a step, Comrade J. Gollan, in the name of the Communist Party, appealed to the workers to think things over a bit more. Agreeing that it was of the utmost importance that a Labor government should be returned at the next election, Gollan pointed out that dangerous consequences would follow if it were elected on the basis of wrong policy and principles, and if matters were not thrashed out beforehand. Unity was a splendid thing, it was essential in the struggle against the class enemy, but unity around what? To abandon the principled fight for a correct policy in the name of "unity" might well "damage the whole future of the Labor Movement," said Comrade Gollan.

Gollan also warned that the abandonment by the Lefts of the fight for a correct policy would strengthen the position of the Rights. In the event, this warning proved to be only too correct. From the very beginning of Conference the platform began to exert its domination, the appeal "don't rock the boat" became the slogan and it was in this atmosphere that Conference met.

Foreign Affairs and Defense

It is a tradition of the Labor Party that on the eve of Conference a mass rally of the delegates takes place in the form of a public meeting. It is here that the leader of the Party makes what is known as the "key-note" speech. On this occasion Mr. Wilson chose to

discuss defense and foreign policy. Sitting on the platform was Herr Willi Brandt to give added weight to the view that European Social Democracy is uniting, and that, in Wilson's view, a social democratic Europe is on the way. It was moreover the aim of Harold Wilson to try and win the SPD over more to the view of British Labor, that there should be a *de facto* recognition of the GDR, and that "in the high tension area of Central Europe" there should be a "nuclear free zone, with effective inspection, a zone of controlled conventional disarmament."

Wilson believes that "provided no change in the balance of forces between East and West" occurs, such a proposal "could greatly lower the tension in this area, could begin to create the conditions leading to a unified democratic Germany." He also believes, as he told the eve-of-Conference rally, that "a dynamic and imaginative program of East-West trade could be a powerful aid to peace." Mr. Wilson hopes to secure the support of the SPD for this program.

It will be seen, therefore, that Harold Wilson, unlike his predecessor Gaitskell, has a greater feeling for the Labor Movement. Wilson also supports a ban on arms for South Africa, and a resolution to this effect was passed at Conference. He supports the fight of the Spanish people, and wants the Chinese People's Republic represented in the United Nations. Wilson stands for all this, but there is also another side of the picture which Mr. Wilson has made clear, too.

He has declared his intention of following the general line on foreign policy laid down by Gaitskell, even though he gives different stress to certain aspects of this policy.

Wilson is against the spread of nuclear weapons and Britain having an "independent" nuclear weapon. But he accepts the United States monopoly and direction of nuclear policy, including nuclear bases in Britain. He also believes that West Germany should have an equal say, along with the rest of the NATO "allies" in deciding NATO nuclear policy, but with U.S. Administration having control over all the nuclear weapons.

On this point Harold Wilson apparently made a significant change in his attitude towards West Germany. In two debates in Parliament this year he declared that he was: "... completely, utterly and unequivocally opposed, and in all circumstances, to any suggestion that Germany, West or East Germany, directly or indirectly, should have a finger on the nuclear trigger, or any responsibility, direct

or *indirect*, for deciding that nuclear weapons are to be used."

But at this eve-of-Conference meeting, Mr. Wilson did not refer to "indirect" responsibility. He referred only to "the endowment of Germany with independent nuclear power" as "going beyond the point of no return." He did not mention "indirect" control at all.

This may have been another reason why, when Conference opened, the platform showed such determination to avoid any debates on foreign policy or defense.

Three important composite resolutions had been prepared and placed on the agenda out of the 26 resolutions on defense and foreign policy which had been sent in. This had been done after a long discussion between the Conference Arrangements Committee and the delegates from the branches which had sent in the resolutions. Yet, at the start of Conference, the chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee calmly announced that he had allocated no time for discussion on the resolutions. These issues had been debated time and again over the past years, he said. Nothing new had emerged which made a discussion on foreign affairs and defense essential.

The same attitude was taken over the resolutions on nationalization. Here was another issue which might divide Conference, and therefore the Conference Arrangements Committee refused to allow time for discussion. Nationalization "had been discussed over the years and a policy has been agreed," said the chairman. Therefore why spend further time on the "thorny problem?"

Several delegates appealed to Conference to reject these proposals, but they appealed in vain. No support was forthcoming from any of the leaders of the big trade unions, whose votes play such a decisive part at Conference. Mr. Frank Cousins, for instance, made no move to support the reference-back of the report. As a consequence, when a vote was called there was overwhelming support for the proposal that neither nationalization, nor foreign nor defense policy should be discussed.

There were delegates who spoke of a contradiction in Wilson's policy on these matters. How, they asked, can he combine his oft-repeated call for a nuclear-free zone in Europe and a *de facto* recognition of the GDR, with his support for a strengthened NATO?

Mr. Wilson talks about the importance of "exploring the possibilities of fruitful negotiations with the USSR on controlled disarmament," saying that the USSR wants peaceful coexistence, that the Test Ban Treaty has provided new possibilities, yet with the next

breath he supports the official Tory's view that "we must not drop our guard" and that a reorganized, more efficient NATO is essential.

There is a reason for this contradictory policy.

In face of the threat of the French-German axis, with its exclusion of Britain; in face of the relentless economic and strategic pressures being exerted by the United States; in face of the rapidly growing economic problems brought about by her cold war policies, the need is increasingly felt to seek some measure of accommodation with the USSR and to develop trade with that country. It is to be hoped that eventually Mr. Wilson will strengthen and develop the more positive side of his approach.

But if on the other hand, Labor policy is to remain tied to the NATO cold war nuclear strategy, advocated by Mr. George Brown and other Right-wing leaders, then it will endanger the magnificent new scientific society which Mr. Wilson presented to Conference with such brilliance.

Unless Labor breaks with its bi-partisan foreign and defense policies, unless it adopts an alternative independent policy of peace, breaking with subservience to the United States, closes down the Polaris and other U.S. bases and rejects nuclear weapons then the plans for Britain's advance under a Labor government will hardly be worth the paper on which they were printed.

Other Issues

Once the platform had established its control over Conference, the rest was easy. Conference allowed itself to be steered away from debating the nationalization of basic industries, accepting Wilson's assurance that steel, water and road transport would be nationalized, although he did not say on what terms. The demand for the nationalization of the building industries was defeated, as was the traditional demand for the nationalization of the land.

A number of rank-and-file delegates spoke up bravely for a more active, working-class policy. They demanded the closing of the "public" schools, which are in reality the private schools of the rich; they called for important changes in the welfare service, but their calls went unheeded.

The key debate took place on Planning, which included "incomes policy." Although, as already stated, the TUC had rejected wage restraint, the National Executive Committee had its way on this too. Conference endorsed a

policy which, in effect, meant support of wage restraint.

To make it taste sweeter, Mr. Frank Cousins, who fully supported the resolution, proposed a new formulation. "Wage restraint" would not be "wage restraint" under a Labor Government. Under such a government it would become a "planned growth of wages," he said. Labor's incomes policy would include "control of salaries, wages, dividends, profits (including speculative profits) and social security benefits."

But as delegates pointed out, how are dividends to be controlled in the capitalist economy? Mr. Callaghan, replying for the National Executive Committee, did not attempt to answer this awkward question. He agreed that profits and dividends were "very awkward things" to control and openly admitted that "Labor was not yet quite sure how to control them."

The inability to control dividends was however underlined by Mr. Ted Hill. No Labor government, he said, would succeed unless it protected the pay packet and the old-age pensioners. He would support an "incomes policy," but only if it means imposing it on all other incomes as well. He would not be party to anything which looked like wage restraint. "If you can't freeze dividends, then don't talk about freezing wages," he said.

The Outlook for Labor

Despite all the control and maneuvering, despite the attempts to block discussion around so many important issues, no matter how hard the Right-wing tried to deflect the delegates, the popular demand for socialism burned as brightly at Scarborough as it has done through the years.

It was this burning desire to make Britain a socialist country which made the delegates accept the platform's domination without the usual protests. The rank and file want the Tories defeated and cleared out, and they will do anything and everything to achieve this purpose. Now that this is a practical proposition after twelve long years, they wanted no one to stand in the way or to break the ranks. That was why they were impatient with those who raised points of order or insisted upon clarification of policy which they believed might divide Conference. Such issues, they sincerely believed, could be debated and fought out later, when the Tories had been defeated and when Labor was in power. The ranks must be united in order to defeat the entrenched Tory enemy. Argument must be

reserved for after the victory. To do so before the battle only weakened the forces.

The delegates wanted to get back to their localities and start the fight to lay the basis for this new Britain. Why waste time arguing? They had been arguing since 1959. Now Wilson had established unity. They trusted him, believed in him, accepted him as they had never accepted Gaitskell, so forward to victory and to socialism.

"An extraordinary feature of this Conference," wrote one of Britain's bourgeois newspapers, "is the enthusiasm for socialist principles. It seems Hugh Gaitskell fought in vain to bring moderation into the delegates' views." No truer word has been written about this Conference. Every mention of socialism was acclaimed by the delegates. Sitting silently, sometimes bored by Right-wing speeches, the delegates broke into passionate applause when a militant Left-wing speech, attacking capitalism and calling for an intensification of the class struggle, was made from the tribune.

An old-age pensioner of 78, a life-long Socialist, managed to get to the tribune. He brought Conference to its feet by his rousing appeal to fight for a socialist Britain. He had been fighting all his life, he cried, and he wanted to see socialism in Britain before he died. "Why should not we old folk live under socialism as well as you young people," he asked, and he concluded, "A labor government has got to be a socialist government, or it will be nothing."

* * *

The present situation in Britain has presented the Labor Movement with a supreme opportunity to grasp the leadership of the country. Moreover, since the resignation of Mr. Macmillan, and the way in which Home was foisted on the nation, this feeling and desire for Labor to take over has grown more overwhelming.

The burning need of the hour is an end to the cold war, and an end to nuclear weapons.

There is a golden opportunity to work to broaden the opening created by the test ban. There is a greater chance to work towards peaceful coexistence, with a comprehensive step-by-step understanding between East and West, together with the development of a new world trade policy based on this growing understanding. Moreover, alliance and friendship with the colonial peoples and the new independent countries is also an urgent necessity as Conference clearly recognized.

There is, therefore, the most urgent need for a real alternative policy to place before

the people, one which the Communist Party has already proposed.

The fight for an effective alternative policy corresponds to the mood and the needs of the hour. There is a growing class consciousness, a greater militancy showing itself. There is a move towards genuine unity, not only in Britain but also in Europe, as recent elections in France and Italy have shown.

The growing national-liberation movements add to the militancy of the Left. (Above all the power of the socialist world has an ever greater impact and influence upon the masses, which in turn adds to the problems of the West, forcing it still more on the defensive.)

The alternative program proposed by the Communist Party stresses that it is the private ownership of Britain's 500 monopolies which is the core of her problems of class division, comparative stagnation, planlessness and economic chaos. Unless placed under public ownership, the monopolies will dominate the economic and political life of Britain under a Labor government as they do under the Tories. Therefore, in order to advance and to carry out even the limited aims of home policy announced at Conference, the power of the monopolies will have to be broken. The only basis for real overall planning is large-scale nationalization. This alone can break the power of the great monopolies.

The resolutions passed at the Trade Union Congress will undoubtedly give added impetus to the struggle. The organized working class did not reject wage restraint at the TUC in order meekly to accept it at the Labor Party Conference, no matter what fancy name is attached to it. Nor will the working class stand idly by under the growing threat of the giant monopolies with their policy of automation and redundancy.

Communists share with the delegates at Scarborough the supreme aim of sweeping the Tories from power. The practical next stage in the fight is a Labor government, but equally vital is the policy which that government is to carry out. Right-wing policies can never be the basis for a successful Labor government. If it is the aim of Labor to be re-elected for a further five years after their first term of office, then it must understand that there is not much chance if Right-wing policies are pursued. The experiences of 1945-51 should have made that clear.

What is needed is mass struggle on all the issues and a national campaign to sweep the Tories from power now. This and the attraction of a real alternative policy is the road to certain victory in the coming general election. And this will ensure a Tory defeat on a scale that could well be a turning point in British politics.

H. FAGAN

WMR INTERVIEW**The Voice of the Awakened Continent**

The part played by the national-liberation movement in Africa in the fight for peace, peaceful coexistence and for general and complete disarmament was described in an interview given to our correspondent at the recent World Peace Council session held in Warsaw by Marcelino Dos Santos, leading figure in the national-liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies and Foreign Relations Secretary of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

Below we give a digest of the interview.

THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA have entered the final stage of the struggle for national liberation. More and more countries are becoming independent. Imperialism is compelled to surrender one position after another. But, having no intention of capitulating completely, it is trying hard to retain its hold on the continent.

Among the worst of the diehards are the Portuguese colonialists. By means of bayonets and napalm bombs they hold sway over more than 11 million Africans in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, St. Thomas and Principe.

On St. Thomas Island, which has a population of about 60,000, some 1,000 people were killed for refusing to do forced labor.

In 1959 more than 50 dockers in Portuguese Guinea were killed for demanding wage increases.

In the Mueda region (Mozambique) hundreds of peasants were shot by punitive expeditions for demanding land.

In July 1960 several hundred were killed in Angola for demanding the release of one of the leaders of the national-liberation movement who had been unlawfully arrested.

Between February and June 1961 alone, the colonial war in Angola, which is still continuing, took a toll of 50,000 human lives.

The facts show that the Portuguese colonialists are not operating single-handed, that they are carrying out their policy of repression against our peoples with the support of the NATO countries. It is not accidental that some representatives of the Western powers supported the statement made by the dictator Salazar in August 1963 in which he lauded Portugal's colonial policy.

Although some Western powers, particularly the United States, Britain, France and West Germany pay lip service to the right of the colonial peoples of Africa to self-determination, in practice they support the policy of op-

pression pursued by the Portuguese government in Africa.

We regard the attitude taken by the Western powers as amoral. We think it impermissible that in our day some governments resort to all kinds of stratagems to buttress anti-democratic systems like the colonial regime of Portugal. The time has come when the Western powers will have to choose between friendship with our peoples and support for the fascist government in Lisbon.

One cannot fail to see that world imperialism stands in the way of our freedom. NATO supplies Portugal with arms for its war in Angola, helps it to build military airfields in Mozambique. The napalm bombs used in Portuguese Guinea bear the trademark "made in USA."

The struggle against colonialism is an historical necessity for our people. The experience of this just struggle shows that in the present conditions Portuguese colonialism can be destroyed for all time only by force of arms. During the long night of colonialism we on repeated occasions and in various forms expressed our disagreement with foreign rule. We have now passed from the stage of passive resistance to resolute action to overthrow the Portuguese yoke.

Our goal is: destruction of colonial relations in every guise, abolition of the exploitation of the people and the resources of our countries by foreign monopolies. We want to become the masters of our own destiny and enjoy the fruits of our labor.

We have done our best to settle peacefully the conflict between the colonial administration and our people, a conflict which for us can end only in one way — in national independence. Time and again we have urged the Portuguese government to discuss matters, our only preliminary condition being that it recognize our right to self-determination and national independence. Salazar's fascist regime, however,

showed itself to be incapable of assessing present-day realities. Refusing to recognize our lawful rights, the colonialists took the way of force and made an armed conflict inevitable.

Sometimes it is asked: have people who are waging an armed struggle in their countries the right to participate in peace conferences? All we can say to those of our friends who are doubtful about our right to attend such conferences is that they would have had no such doubts if they were more familiar with the specific problems of the struggle for peace today.

By fighting for the abolition of Portuguese colonialism we are weakening the imperialist system as a whole. The liberation of entire peoples from colonial oppression deprives imperialism of a rich source of profits and this, in turn, weakens the forces of war. By waging a struggle for the complete destruction of colonialism our peoples are making their contribution to the general movement in defense of peace.

It does not follow from this, however, that we stand aloof from other forms of the peace movement, from the mainstream of the struggle against a thermonuclear holocaust. We are fully aware of the fact that the swift development of science and technology has made possible means of annihilation on a scale that threatens the very existence of the human race. The struggle against colonialism which is taking a heavy toll of our peoples, is a struggle for a new life, for peace and happiness. We do not believe that our future can be built on the ruins of civilization, in an atmosphere poisoned by radioactive fallout.

We do not believe that Africa would escape the flames of a world war, and therefore hold that the struggle for peace is not the concern of only the white, the yellow or the black race. We believe that it is the concern of all. That is why the Africans at the Warsaw session unanimously voted for the document submitted by the Presidium, calling on all people of good will to join forces in the most noble struggle of our time—the struggle for peace.

COLONIALISM is a constant source of unjust, predatory wars and oppression. So long as this oppression exists there can be no talk of lasting peace in Africa. It will come only with the complete destruction of Portuguese colonialism.

But when we say that there can be no question of coexistence between oppressed and oppressor this does not mean that we reject the policy of peaceful coexistence on a world scale. We see the policy of peaceful coexistence as a form of struggle between the two socio-economic systems existing in the world today—the

socialist and the capitalist. This form excludes war as a means of resolving controversial issues between the two systems.

Some people equate preservation of world peace with maintenance of the status quo. This concept is an utterly erroneous one, if we consider the main forces which are championing world peace. They are the very same forces that are in the van of the movement for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world, for the national emancipation of the colonial peoples, for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. In the battle for peace the countries of the socialist camp, the international proletariat and the national-liberation movement are merging into a single stream.

Africa faces big and pressing tasks. It has to do away with all forms of colonialism, achieve unity and bring the continent onto the high-road of economic and cultural progress. But this does not mean disregarding the many problems agitating mankind as a whole. To do so would be the height of folly, for all international developments directly affect Africa. We cannot expect to achieve our internal tasks without making our contribution towards settling the world issue of today, to the struggle for peaceful coexistence, for the preservation of world peace, and to foil imperialism's aggressive designs. The struggle being waged by the peoples of Africa weakens imperialism, compels it to make concessions, to accept the policy of peaceful coexistence imposed upon it by socialism.

What does peaceful coexistence give the peoples of Africa? First and foremost, it lessens the danger of a thermonuclear war. Peaceful coexistence and peaceful settlement of outstanding issues greatly restricts imperialism's possibilities of unleashing and waging local wars, of waging an armed struggle against the national-liberation movement. Peaceful coexistence makes for a healthy international climate, creates the conditions in which any act of aggression or violence strikes a jarring note in international relations, arouses the indignation of world public opinion.

The voice of world public opinion, the voice of the peoples is making itself heard more distinctly and confidently. International imperialism can no longer ignore it. Salazar's racist policy arouses the wrath of peoples. The question of the Portuguese colonies figures at all international forums. It has been discussed more than once in the United Nations. It is mentioned also in the resolutions of the present session of the World Peace Council, which note that it is the sacred right of the people of our countries to overthrow the universally con-

demned colonial rule, that the Portuguese government by its actions against African people is imperilling peace in Africa and, consequently, world peace.

THE FIGHT for general and complete disarmament is an integral part of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The struggle against the colonialists, which is often an armed conflict, to a large extent explains the incorrect view regarding the importance of general and complete disarmament for battling Africa. The peoples of Africa know only too well how difficult it is to procure weapons. The imperialists' idea of disarmament is that the fighters for freedom should give up their arms which would make it easier for the colonialists to retain their military superiority and to continue their oppression of the peoples. Needless to say, the national-liberation forces and the armies of the newly-independent countries are but a negligible part of the world's potential. General and complete disarmament therefore means the destruction primarily of the vast military machine of the highly developed states.

The victories scored by the national-liberation movement over imperialism have been won in conditions of the military superiority of the latter. To a large extent these victories are determined by the balance of forces in the world arena which is changing in favor of

peace, freedom and socialism. They are determined by the might of the entire world revolutionary process.

In their struggle the peoples of Africa rely not only on their own forces, but also on the fraternal support of the peoples of the socialist countries, on the solidarity of the international working class and of the peoples fighting for their freedom on other continents. All these factors contributed to the victory of the Algerian people. All these factors also inspire us with confidence in the ultimate victory of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies who are militarily much weaker than Portuguese imperialism.

The ultimate victory of the national-liberation movement and the abolition of colonialism are inevitable. They are predetermined by the march of history. But this victory could have been achieved with less sacrifice were it not for the military might of imperialism. That is why the liberation movement of the African peoples stands to gain from even partial disarmament.

As for general and complete disarmament it would, in effect, spell the end of colonialism which has always been maintained by force of arms.

If the liberation of the peoples is to be accelerated, the imperialists must be disarmed.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Working Class Unity in the Developed Capitalist Countries

The main obstacle with which the working-class movement has to contend in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that the movement is divided. The Communists, as the 1960 Moscow meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties stressed, are working to overcome this division. They know that only united action can guarantee the successful solution of the problems confronting the working-class movement in the West, can further the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The international situation as well as the internal trends in the imperialist countries are now more favorable for the growth of working-class unity. Indeed, progress in this respect has been a feature of all the big mass movements of recent years in Italy, France, Japan, Belgium, West Germany, Spain, Finland and elsewhere. And the success of these actions corresponded to the degree of cooperation achieved between the various detachments of the working class in the course of the struggle.

The Communist parties in the developed capitalist countries have gained much experience in working for unity, experience which reflects the specific features of the working-class movement in their countries. The editors of World Marxist Review have received a number of contributions concerning this experience, stressing

the need for an interchange of information on the progress made and the difficulties encountered, and raising questions of fundamental importance in building unity. The points raised concern the new openings for uniting the working class and the search for ways and means of surmounting the obstacles still standing in the way.

Needless to say, for the discussion of these questions to be even more fruitful, representatives of the other trends in the working-class movement, including the Social Democrats, should take part. As pointed out in the 1960 Statement, the Communists "are ready to hold discussions with Social Democrats, for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the division among the working people, and of establishing cooperation." Below we publish, in abridged form, contributions from West Germany and Finland. The editors invite readers, Party and trade union functionaries, Communists and non-Communists, to express their views on the points raised. This, we trust, will stimulate further discussion and thereby contribute to promoting unity in the working-class movement.

THE POSITION OF THE WEST GERMAN COMMUNISTS

1. New Possibilities

The time when class-consciousness among West German workers was dulled largely by violent anti-communism and by chauvinistic and revanchist campaigns has been followed by a new period when, under the impact of the changed balance of forces in the world and the aggravation of class contradictions, the economic, social and democratic interests of the working class conflict more and more with the state-monopoly system. Workers are evincing a growing interest in the basic problems of their movement. Thanks to the existence of the Democratic Republic in the eastern part of the country, the fight for socialism is becoming a political issue.

The conditions in which the class struggle is developing in Federal Germany derive, on the one hand, from the rule of the giant monopolies

and the handful of reactionary militarists and, on the other, from the popular striving for peace, democracy and social security. The incompatibility of the two makes joint action between the different classes and sections of the population increasingly possible.

The metalworkers' strike in the spring of 1963 ushered in a new stage in the West German working-class movement. The ruling circles, stepping up the arms drive and militarization in general and seeking to strengthen their positions in the competitive struggle on the world market, are out to make the working class foot the bill by imposing a wage freeze. The metalworkers' strike showed, however, that although the time has passed when economic gain could be won without undue effort, the workers' determination to uphold their interests is growing. The strike was distinguished for the unity

and militancy displayed by all, including the foreign workers.

The aggravation of the contradictions between the monopolies and the people which found expression in this strike has posed before the working class a number of vital problems, such as the attitude of the trade unions to the monopolies and the Bonn administration, and the role of the unions in public life generally. This new awareness made itself felt, for instance, in the discussion on the new program of the trade unions. The unions submitted to the extraordinary trade union congress held in November 1963 in Duesseldorf more than 1,000 amendments to the draft program. This testified to a striving on the part of the membership clearly to define the unions' anti-monopoly line, to counterpose a program of democratic reforms to the authoritarian schemes of the monopolies, and to intensify the efforts of the unions for the policy of detente.

Concern for peace is the principal political factor uniting the majority of the Federal German population—workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Whereas in the past Adenauer and the monopoly groups were able, by whipping up anti-communism and invoking the myth about the "danger from the East," to hold back the workers' struggle against remilitarization and to preserve and strengthen peace, *in recent times new angles have appeared in the approach of the working class to questions of war and peace. The demand has been advanced in the trade unions that the Republic, too, should make its contribution to these efforts undertaken on an international plane for a detente and disarmament.* In its statements on the international situation and its appeal "To all people of good will," the Sixth Trade Union Congress, held in Hanover in 1962, urged that all channels be explored for a peaceful settlement of the existing differences. Both documents stressed that there are no questions that cannot be solved by negotiation, and that war as an instrument of policy must be ruled out. These demands already contain elements of the policy of peaceful coexistence. *This is something new, for previously the question of preserving peace had been posed chiefly in general terms.*

The Moscow test ban treaty impelled the West German working class too to define its attitude to this problem. The trade unions welcomed the treaty and urged the Federal Republic to adhere to it. Pressed hard by public opinion, the government had no other choice. Although the leaders of the Communist Party of China claim that the treaty dooms the masses

to passivity, our experience shows that this is not the case. On the contrary, the Moscow treaty gave new inspiration to the public in West Germany. It had a dual effect: it stimulated mass activity and clarified the tasks in the fight for peace. New impetus was given to joint effort by the Communists, Social Democrats and the trade unions for the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The influence of the Moscow treaty is felt in many ways. Significant steps were the decision of the Chemical Workers' Union to oppose nuclear arms for the Bundeswehr and the support it is giving to the Easter march against the Bomb. The chemical workers' stand facilitates the enlistment in the projected march of trade unionists generally and the organization of more vigorous action against nuclear armament for West Germany. The trade unions for the first time played a big part in the Anti-War Day last September 1.

A big obstacle to the further consolidation of the peace-loving and democratic forces and their unity is confusion as regards the attitude to the Democratic Republic. For us in West Germany the most important thing in the new world balance is the existence of the GDR and the relations between the working class in the two Germanys. To avert the danger of war it is imperative that the two should pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence. Indeed, recognition of the independent existence of the two states and their peaceful coexistence are basic to preserving peace in Germany. Hence we regard it as our primary task to work for cooperation among Social Democrats, Communists, Christians and non-party people also in this area on the common ground provided by trade union decisions. The fact that some of the resolutions submitted by the unions to the extraordinary congress called for a common-sense approach to the relations between the two Germanys shows that progress is being made in this respect in the trade union movement.

The existence of the GDR thus imparts specific national features to the question of united working-class action. The Communist Party is alerting the West German workers to the fact that the building of socialism in the GDR is also in their interest, and that the role played by the working class in the GDR as the ruling class is decisive for the future of all Germany. One of the ways in which the bonds uniting the entire German working class can be strengthened is visits to the GDR by delegations of workers. This would enable the visitors to see for themselves what worker-peasant rule and the building of socialism really mean and that the GDR is steadfast in

its policy of peace. A useful function in defining the joint objectives of the entire German working class and discussing ideological problems is performed by the workers' conferences held twice a year during the spring and autumn fairs in Leipzig.

2. The Program of United Action

The decisions of the United German Trade Unions are a platform of working-class united action. The debates at the trade union congress favored those forces whose position on many questions contains elements of an independent working-class and trade union policy. We have in mind such issues as defense of peace, opposition to nuclear armaments, and the fight for democracy and social justice, against the threat of dictatorship contained in the so-called "emergency" laws, against encroachments on the gains of the workers and for an independent trade union movement. This line finds support above all in the three big unions: metalworkers, public transport and communications, and chemical, paper and ceramics workers' unions. It is also reflected in the unions' new program. The basic demands in this program are of an anti-monopoly nature and offer a point of departure for class criticism of the despotic rule of the monopolies.

The program calls for an active wage policy, and places the emphasis on workers' participation in managing the economy and directing public affairs as a basic task. Peace and democracy are accented as fundamental principles of trade union policy. There are, in addition, many other demands which we Communists fully support, for example, the demand for full employment, for the right to work, the right to strike, full freedom of trade union activity, equal pay for equal work, longer holidays, improved labor protection, 10-year education, no compulsory arbitration, etc.

The issue of fair distribution of income and wealth is of particular significance. The unions demand a share for the workers not only in newly created wealth but also in the wealth accumulated in the past. The means envisaged for achieving this is an active wage policy designed to give the workers a bigger share of the social product. Many of these demands, which provide new stimuli to working-class struggle for better conditions and against the plundering of the people by the monopolies, were put forward under the influence of the gains of the workers and peasants in the GDR and reflect the new balance of forces in Germany and in the world generally.

The influence exerted by the Right-wing

union leaders and leaders of the Social Democratic Party who are trying to divert the unions from their class mission should be borne in mind. Due to them two lines can be discerned in the trade union movement, both of which are reflected in the above-mentioned program. First of all the program does not approach the reunification of Germany from a working-class standpoint. It merely speaks of the right of the German people to self-determination without defining the true meaning of self-determination. And this at a time when the monopolies and the monopoly-controlled government equate self-determination with revenge-seeking, with the abolition of the GDR.

The program bears the imprint also of the "community of interests" policy in relation to the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union, a policy aimed at making the trade unions a "factor of order," the chief proponent of which is Leber, chairman of the building trades and laborers' union. Its milk-and-water nature is explicit also in the fact that, unlike the Munich program of 1949, it accepts the principles of the capitalist commodity-money economy and competition, not to mention the many other contradictions.

Still, the program contains points that are in line with the demands enumerated in the Program Statement of the Communist Party aimed at extending democracy and the social gains of the working class. The reforms advocated by the trade unions, which we support and around which we seek to promote united action with Social Democrats, Christian and non-party workers in the unions, could be the starting point for efforts towards more far-reaching changes. In the course of this effort the unity, class-consciousness and militancy of the workers would grow.

It should be pointed out that for the first time in the history of the German working-class movement the trade unions are more to the left than the Social Democratic Party as regards both their program and their approach to the tasks. The reason for this is that some of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders have climbed onto the bandwagon of the monopolies. Indeed, their hostility to communism and to worker-peasant rule in the GDR differs little from the stand taken by ex-Nazis such as Strauss, Brentano and von Hassel.

The ideological differentiation under way in the Social Democratic Party is a highly contradictory process. Despite the doubts that have sprung up in their minds, many Social Democrats still believe that the tactics pursued by their leaders will improve things in the Federal Republic. This is due primarily to anti-

communist propaganda and to the illusions about the permanency of prosperity and the nature of the West German state. But paradoxically, even if the rank and file passively follow the Right-wing leaders, the unions show signs of greater activity. The so-called policy of "community of interests" with the Christian Democrats pursued by the Social Democratic leaders is diametrically opposed to the interests of all working people. This contradiction has become even more pronounced since the Essen Social Democratic conference on economic policy in 1963 gave its blessing to the so-called free exchange and competition. Hence, in carrying out trade union decisions, the Social Democrats are becoming increasingly aware of the conflict between the policy of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders and the interests of the working class. This opens up new opportunities for isolating the Rights, for steering away from collaboration with the Christian Democrats, and advancing a Social Democratic alternative policy.

A change of policy in the Social Democratic Party, or at least the emergence of a strong opposition in it would benefit the working-class movement. Since the signing of the Moscow treaty a debate has been taking place in the party about what it is doing to bring about a detente and disarmament. A similar controversy has developed around the question of democracy. The stand taken by most European Social Democratic parties on issues of this nature has favorably affected this debate, which extends all the way to the top echelons of the Party.

The Communist Party believes that the solution of democratic tasks in the Federal Republic would also facilitate the achievement of the ultimate aims of the working class, and for this reason should be regarded as a component of the struggle for socialism. As the working class and other sections become aware that the obstacle to progress is militarism and the monopoly rule behind it, the fight for peace and democratic rights is bound to develop into a struggle to end the rule of the monopolies, for a democratic system supported by the people. The growing unity of the working class and the alliance and joint action of all the popular forces would make for radical changes in the composition and functions of Parliament and lead to the establishment of a people's government. The peaceful and democratic system which would emerge from the popular movement against militarism and monopoly rule would rely on the working class, on the peasants, intellectuals, urban middle strata and on those sections of the bourgeoisie

which stand for peace.

A democratic system, once it had smashed the pillars of monopoly rule, would go ahead with the far-reaching reforms which the overwhelming majority of our people demanded after 1945, such as nationalization and democratic management and control of the big enterprises and banks, and the right of the factory councils and the trade unions to have their say in economic management. Some of the prerequisites for the achievement of these aims are now taking shape in the unions. For instance, the program of the unions calls for extending public ownership to undertakings occupying the commanding positions on the market and in the economy generally. The Chemical Workers' Union urges nationalization of the key industries and a bigger say for the workers in economic management and planning. Similar demands have been put forward by the metalworkers' and miners' unions. The Program Statement adopted by the last congress of the Communist Party expresses the conviction that as it gains experience and grows in militancy the movement for peace and defense of constitutional rights will, in time, pose more far-reaching democratic aims.

We are confident that the working class and the overwhelming majority of the West German population, prompted by their own experience, will strive for these aims and, following the example of the GDR, advance towards socialism. It is clear that the fight for democratic reforms, for a change in the social system, for socialism in the Federal Republic is closely linked with building socialism in the Democratic Republic, with the struggle for the reunification of Germany through a confederation taking in the two Germanys. This perspective, too, necessitates new forms of united action by the working class.

3. The Policy and Forms of United Action

The trade unions in Federal Germany include Communists, Social Democrats, Christian workers and unaffiliated people. This unity is in itself an achievement, and to strengthen it is the common task of all.

Yet there are different ideological trends in the trade union movement. Of these the line advocated by Leber is the biggest obstacle to the further advance of the trade union struggle, to the growth of class-consciousness in the unions. Leber and his supporters, pursuing the policy of the Wehner-Erler group in the Social Democratic leadership, are bent on making the unions what they call a "factor of order" in the state-monopoly system. This line coincides on a number of points with the so-called "Catholic

social doctrine" which glosses over class contradictions, is against class struggle and seeks to harness the unions to monopoly policies.

Reformist ideology is strong in the unions. Although this trend could be the starting point for a generally anti-capitalist and anti-monopoly line, its spokesmen look to the government and Parliament as instruments of social and democratic reform. They have little faith in the masses and do little to rally them to carry out the trade union decisions. Reformist influence is particularly evident in the illusions regarding the West German state, and the ways and means of implementing trade union decisions.

Work in the trade unions implies constant ideological debate, which, however, should be conducted in a comradely spirit. It is the duty of the Communists, drawing on the workers' own experience, to foster socialist consciousness. This is facilitated by the fact that the fallacy of both pro-monopoly and reformist ideology becomes manifest in the course of practical actions for the demands put forward by the unions and expressing the common interests of the working class. A case in point is the blow dealt at the "social partnership" theory by the recent strike of engineering workers in Baden-Wuerttemberg which stimulated open opposition to the Leber policy. Thus, carrying out union decisions helps to heighten the class consciousness of the membership.

Trade union schools likewise provide an opportunity for ideological debate with the proponents of views hostile to the working class. Participation by Communists in these schools provides opportunities for discussing the basic issues of union policy.

In recent years socialist educational societies have been established in some West German cities. These societies discuss, from a Marxist standpoint, urgent questions of educational work in the enterprises and in the unions. Although at the lectures and discussions attendance is still not very great, the texts of the lectures are often printed and are circulated among the workers. We see in this activity an avenue for building contacts between adherents of different trends in the working-class movement.

The strengthening of socialist influence is extremely important also in view of the fact that West German industry now employs 800,000 foreign workers. The German workers' attitude towards the immigrant depends on the level of class consciousness, the inadequacy of which is often expressed in nationalistic behavior. And this hampers the struggle of both the German workers and the foreign workers.

During the Baden-Wuerttemberg engineers' strike the immigrant workers stood solidly by the strikers. In some factories they elected strike committees and issued bulletins. Foreign workers are also taking a growing part in protest demonstrations and the Easter anti-Bomb marches. At times they have initiated political actions, such as the demonstrations against the execution of Julian Grimau. In other words, united actions are developing on the basis of international solidarity. At the same time cooperation with the foreign workers is useful in establishing contact with trade unions in other countries.

The union leaders still have hankerings for the European Economic Community, but their idealized picture of a "united Europe" comes into conflict with the practical consequences of EEC policy. Because of this the first warning notes have already been sounded in union publications. The prerequisites are maturing for negotiations between the unions for support of each others' struggles and a joint program of action for all the trade union federations of the Common Market countries. This was urged, for instance, at the Sixth Congress of the West German unions.

But here, too, the main obstacle to unity is anti-communism. Extension of the slogan "no cooperation with the Communists" to the other EEC countries would be tantamount to the West German working class spurning the support of the strongest trade union centers in the neighboring countries as well as the support of the Christian and other unions working with these centers. Prejudices of this kind are overcome, as was the case during the French miners' strike, whenever the union members take a militant stand. The French miners' strike had a powerful impact on the West German working class and set off a strong solidarity movement among the union rank and file. This response forced the union leaders to support the strikers.

The opportunities for united action are growing both in the trade unions and in the Social Democratic Party. The Communist Party is utilizing the new developments in the West German workers' movement to deepen their class consciousness, to overcome ideological influences hostile to the working class, and to promote socialist thinking. We are very much interested in the opinion of the comrades from fraternal parties on these questions.

4. Immediate Prospects

All the signs point to an early upswing in the struggle of the masses for their economic, social and democratic demands. Last year's

wage increases have not kept pace with either the growth of the national product or the rising cost of living. For many workers this signifies a reduction in real wages. The steady increase of the price of milk and higher rents are a major cause of discontent, and the trade unions are beginning to take counter-measures. In many areas the workers are demanding higher wages to meet the higher cost of living.

The monopolies are out to nullify the wage increases won during last year's revision of wage scales, utterly inadequate though they were, by doing away with the so-called "social expenditure" in the enterprises and cutting rates for piecework. The situation is aggravated by the government's "social package," which includes a revision of sick benefit funds.

Mass meetings have been held in a number of cities to protest against the latest monopoly offensive, the "emergency" laws and against the growing expenditure on armaments. In this we see a growth of class consciousness and a deeper understanding of the causes of the present problems. And we see also the prerequisites for united action by Social Democrats and Communists, especially in the trade unions.

Wherever the Communists have worked perseveringly in the unions they have made closer contact with the union rank and file.

During the discussion of the draft of the union program the proposals made by the Communists found wider recognition and approval than in the past. Many of the debates between the Communists and Social Democrats, sharp though they were, had useful results. But not all our members are working in the right way. Many have not yet rid themselves of sectarian habits. They fail to proceed from that which is practicable now, to give priority to the issues on which agreement can be reached, and do not search actively enough for points of contact with Social Democratic workers. They tend to hold the rank and file responsible for the policy of the Wehner-Erler group and, at best, are prepared to cooperate only with Left Social Democrats. Those of our members who take this attitude see themselves as the opposition in the unions, and do not combine criticism with constructive suggestions as how best to carry out union decisions.

On the other hand, there are members who concentrate exclusively on economic and social demands, avoid ideological debate and work only in the unions and only to the extent that the work is organized by the higher trade union committees. Despite the difficulties arising

from its illegal status, the Communist Party is striving to overcome both Left and Right tendencies by intensifying ideological work in its ranks and by publicizing the best examples of work in the unions.

A useful role in building unity is played by the shop stewards in the enterprises and by the factory councils. The shop stewards are the living link between the unions and the workers; they convey the demands of the latter to the unions, bring union policies to the masses and rally them in getting policy carried out.

The shop stewards play a special role in preparing and carrying out mass actions. Since they include Communists, Social Democrats, Christian and non-party people, they help to enlist all the workers in union activities, and they act as leaders of the strikes. Hence unity in the plant largely depends on the unity achieved among the shop stewards. The factory councils, too, have their role. In elections to these councils our Party supports the joint lists of candidates, thereby promoting solidarity among the workers both on the factory floor and in the unions. The nomination of an agreed list of candidates is, moreover, an important factor cementing the unity of the councils. We make a point of opposing every attempt to sow dissension at the nomination stage.

The strike committees, consisting of shop stewards, representatives of the factory councils and the local unions, act as unifying centers during the strikes. The engineering workers' strike in Baden-Wuerttemberg offered an excellent example of what can be done by a properly constituted strike committee.

The same can be said of the conferences of shop stewards and factory councils at district, regional and national levels. On many occasions the conferences have initiated actions by the trade unions.

Other forms of the struggle waged by the working class and other sections of the population for peace and economic demands are usually in the hands of the anti-nuclear committees, the Easter March movement, local committees in defense of democratic rights and against missile bases and confiscation of land for military uses, peasant associations to counteract the consequences of the Common Market, etc.

The Program Statement of the Communist Party pointed out that proper coordination of all the popular forces presupposes equality of all organizations and individuals. Rights and responsibilities should be equally shared

by Social Democrats, Communists, Christians, Liberals and pacifists.

Decisive for the success of the popular struggle is the political activity and united action of the working class. The Communist Party, striving to develop the new forms of struggle for peace, democracy and social justice, is

exerting every effort to ensure that the working class really plays the leading role in this struggle.

HUGO . . .

Member, C.C., Communist Party
of Germany

FOR UNITED WORKING-CLASS ACTION IN FINLAND

1. The Disunity of the Finnish Working-Class Movement

The Communist Party of Finland is working to restore and consolidate the unity of the working-class movement under very specific conditions. Finland has three working-class parties and two trade union centers, as well as a number of autonomous trade unions. Other working-class organizations are similarly divided.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party, which lost control over the Central Trade Union Federation after the general strike of 1956, forfeited the support of the forces on which it had relied for decades. In November 1960, having failed to regain its former positions in the Federation, the Social Democratic Party set up a new Trade Union Amalgamation. Signs of a split in the Social Democratic movement had been observed for some time. The opposition had broken away and formed a separate party—the Social Democratic Alliance of Workers and Smallholders. Social Democratic deputies formed an opposition group in Parliament. In the 1962 general election the Social Democratic Movement was represented by two parties—the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Alliance, polling 19.7 and 4.4 per cent of the total vote respectively.

The leaders of the Social Democratic movement disagree chiefly on matters of a personal nature or on methods of work, but such questions as the attitude to the Soviet Union, to the Common Market and problems of peace are also involved. There was sharp disagreement also on the question of which bourgeois group the Social Democrats should ally themselves with. These are differences of principle that strike at the roots of both Social Democratic parties, affecting the life and activity of the mass organizations and influencing the rank and file.

Such a situation often leads to the break-up of mass working-class organizations, and hinders the work of rallying and organizing the masses.

The splintering process, which is sapping

the organizational foundations of the working-class movement, has strengthened the positions of big capital in its offensive against the working masses. This is evident if only from the fact that real wages have declined in recent years. According to official data, the cost of living rose by 47 per cent between 1956 and 1962, while wages increased by only 34.7 per cent. The capitalists alone have benefited from the increased labor productivity. In 1963 the cost of living again went up by at least six per cent.

The deepening of the split was one of the main reasons why the working-class parties lost the majority in Parliament in the 1962 election; the Social Democrats alone lost 11 seats.

This disunity can be traced to Tanner and his policy, the policy of collaborating with the big bourgeoisie on the basic issues of home policy and foreign policy.

The Tanner supporters, however, should not be identified with the Social Democratic Party and its supporters. When the Communists criticize this ultra-Right trend they by no means imply that all Social Democrats, or even all the leaders of that party, are followers of Tanner. Nevertheless we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the Tanner influence is still felt both in the activity and in the program of the Social Democratic Party.

This program states that the "capitalist system, now based on state ownership and social production, is moving in the direction of planned economy." According to Tanner and his followers, exploitation no longer exists in Finland, and all talk about contradictions between the proletariat and the capitalists is out of date. Their mission, they say, is to combat communism and socialism, thus revealing themselves as the accomplices of the bourgeoisie and opponents of friendship and co-operation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

This policy culminated in the Social Democratic Party forming an electoral bloc with the Coalition Party, the most reactionary of all the bourgeois parties and with other reac-

tionary groups during the presidential election early in 1962. The main purpose of this bloc was to change Finland's foreign policy.

"Since all the participants in the electoral bloc take the same stand on the given question," K. Pitsinki, the Secretary of the SDPF said shortly before the elections, "it is not important which of the candidates wins in one or another area."

This line, naturally, suits the book of the Right who are reaping the fruits of the Tanner line. Candid admissions on this score were made in a book by T. Junnila, one of the out and out reactionaries, a bank director and former coalition deputy. "... At present," he wrote, "the line in our country should be drawn not between 'bourgeoisie' and 'socialists,' but between the supporters of Western and Northern democracy, on the one hand, and those who support the Communists and their sympathizers, on the other. . . . In the battle for the support of the industrial workers the Social Democrats alone can act as a substantial counterweight to the Communists. Should the Social Democrats lose this battle, it may well mean the end of democracy in Finland. As a bourgeois Conservative, therefore, I must stress that what we need is a united, militant Social Democratic Party wholly committed to Northern democracy."

And although the pre-electoral bloc ended badly—it broke up on the eve of the elections and the Social Democratic Party suffered a heavy defeat (obtaining 36 seats in the electoral college as against 72 at the previous presidential election)—the Tanner dichards refused to budge from their line.

Cooperation between the Communists and the Tanner wing is, for the reasons stated above, out of the question. What is more, a relentless struggle against these views and positions is an indispensable condition of united action. We must explain this to the workers and show them that the policy of the Right Social Democrats is an obstacle to any joint working-class action.

2. Possibilities and Ways of Fighting for Unity

Notwithstanding the anti-communism of the Tanner leadership and the disunity in the working-class movement, it would be wrong to say that there is no united working-class action in our country. Despite the division, the desire for united action is growing, finding expression primarily in the joint economic struggle waged by the workers. (Although, as we have already noted, the struggle is weakened by the lack of unity among the various labor organizations.)

The mass working-class actions, and particu-

larly the open clashes which occurred in the latter part of 1962 and at the beginning of 1963, played an important role in the political and economic life of the country. They testified to the aggravation of class contradictions and to a profound change in the attitudes of civil servants and other office employees who, for the first time participated on such a scale in open mass struggle.* Nearly 400,000 industrial workers and 100,000 office employees joined in the movement for higher wages, which took the form of strikes, demonstrations, slow-downs, big campaigns of solidarity with the strikers, etc. These actions—the largest and most militant since the general strike of 1956—demonstrated the preparedness and the ability of the masses to fight despite their organizational disunity.

Additional evidence that the idea of united action is gaining ground is the debate under way in Social Democratic circles on united action and on the attitude to the Communists. At the time of their Congress in June 1963 many Social Democrats spoke of the need for cooperation. The central organ of the Party recommended "cautious cooperation with the Communists in defense of working-class interests" as the wisest policy under the circumstances. The removal of Leskinen from the leadership of the Social Democratic Party suggests that the rank and file are dissatisfied with the disruptive actions of the Rights. The Congress criticized the party's policy with regard to the Soviet Union.

The growing trend toward unity is stimulated by the successes in building socialism and communism in the socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union. The policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union, too, has had a marked effect on the Social Democrats, their leaders included. The leadership of the Social Democratic Alliance, whose policy on domestic and economic problems approximates that of the Social Democratic Party, is more favorably disposed toward the Soviet Union and the peace movement. For example, the Alliance took part in the recent campaign for signatures to a petition to support the idea of peaceful coexistence (only a few of the top officials and organizations of the Social Democratic Party took part in the campaign).

The program of the Social Democratic Party is anything but Marxist, and there is much in

*Between 1950 and 1960 the number of industrial workers in Finland increased by 49,000, or 2.5 per cent; office employees by 137,000 or 42.8 per cent; in agriculture and forestry the number of workers declined by 21 per cent (191,000). The increase in the number of office employees applies mainly to the lower-paid categories, a fact which has brought the latter still closer to rest of the wage-earners.

the program of the Alliance too that is based on false premises. Nevertheless, both programs coincide with that of the Communists on such questions as, for example, reduction in working hours, revision of the system of taxation and cultural measures. On the basis of these demands the Communists strive for the broadest possible united action in Parliament, in the municipal councils, in the enterprises and in the trade unions.

Although these demands cannot be described as socialist, the Communists attach the greatest importance to joint action for their satisfaction. For we realize that many ideological questions can be clarified in the course of joint struggle for partial objectives. In the first place the workers see for themselves that they have common interests opposed to the interests of the capitalists. Moreover, joint actions help to establish comradely relations between Social Democrats and Communists, and afford an opportunity to end the mutual recriminations. Any joint action in support even of seemingly insignificant reforms serves to counteract the influence of anti-communist, disruptive tendencies, for the struggle teaches the workers that reforms can be effected only by their combined effort.

3. The Problems of Trade Union Unity

With the collective bargaining agreements affecting over 500,000 factory and office workers due for renewal early in 1964, the working people are preparing for a new stage in the struggle for wage increases.

The organizational diffusion of the trade union movement in Finland is a serious obstacle in this respect.

The Central Federation of Trade Unions which unites industrial workers, is still the biggest trade union center in Finland. It includes 24 unions with a total membership of approximately 220,000. Most of the supporters of the Communists and the Social-Democratic Alliance belong to this Federation. The fact that many Social Democratic workers have remained members of the Federation against the wishes of their party is proof of the desire for unity.

Several unions have broken with the Federation and are not affiliated to any center. There are eight of these "independent" unions with approximately 50,000 to 60,000 members.

The Trade Union Amalgamation set up on the initiative of the Social Democratic Party, functions under its leadership. It includes 17 unions with a total membership of 55,000-60,000 and aims at organizing the workers on a political platform. Its program states that workers who display "anti-democratic tenden-

cies," (meaning Communists) should not be elected to the union leadership.

And lastly, besides these trade union centers which unite industrial workers mainly, a number of unions cater for civil servants and other employees.

Despite the organizational disunity it must be said that the total membership of the Central Federation, the "independent" unions and the Amalgamation now exceeds the membership of the Federation in 1957 (prior to the split). Consequently the disunity has not so far caused any decline in the degree of organization of the working class, although a united trade union movement would obviously have made more rapid progress.

The common interests of all the workers demand that the separate organizations should not dissipate their energies on mutual recrimination. The task of both the trade union centers and the "independent" unions is to join forces to combat the capitalist exploitation, and to fight for higher wages and better working conditions. Without united action the workers cannot effectively defend their rights and interests and win new rights.

The Communists consider it impermissible to use the struggle of the workers for wage increases as a "stepping stone" in some political game. It is the duty of every working class party and organization to support the workers' struggle unconditionally, and to see to it that the leadership of these organizations abides by democratically adopted decisions.

The procedure for examining demands for wage increases and better conditions should be a broad democratic procedure. The demands, as well as the methods of fighting for them, should be agreed upon by the workers in every enterprise, in all the unions in the given industry. This presupposes preliminary discussion among the workers and talks between union leaders and worker delegates.

We believe that a basic condition for negotiation and discussion should be the equality of all concerned, with no discrimination and recognition of the right of every trade unionist to belong to the union of his choice. Enmity towards "dissenters" does not further the workers' cause.

It would be wrong to make the uniting of all trade unions under a single centralized leadership a preliminary condition of joint struggle for higher wages. The struggle itself will teach the workers to appreciate the value of unity and the importance of having a single trade union center. Moreover, in the course of the struggle the seeds of inner trade union democracy will ripen, serving as a guarantee

against any encroachment on or violation of the rights of the membership.

4. Some Political Aspects of the Fight for Unity

Some of the leaders and members of the Social Democratic movement are apprehensive that united action will strengthen the position and influence of the Communist Party at the expense of the Social Democratic movement. They go so far as to declare that the Communist Party, the moment it builds up sufficient strength, will establish a one-party dictatorship. Hence our Party strives constantly to explain to the working masses its true position on this question. As far back as 1954 the Central Committee of our Party, appealing for united working-class action, voiced the conviction that the way to unity was not by Social Democratic workers joining the Communist Party. "The Social Democrats," stated the appeal, "can effectively consolidate unity by remaining in their organizations, and by giving support to those Social Democrats who sincerely champion the workers' cause." In its call for united action issued in 1960 our Party again emphasized that "united action aimed at defending the interests and rights of the working class cannot weaken any genuine working-class party. . . . Serious, business-like and sincere activity in defense of the workers is the sole source of strength for a working-class party, whereas cooperation with the enemies of the working class is the surest way to undermine the party and weaken its influence."

Our program states that the Communist Party "desires fruitful cooperation with all parties enjoying the support of the working masses both now under capitalism and afterwards during the transition to socialism."

Thus, our unity policy is clearly a long-term proposition and cannot be based on "cunning and trickery" as the Social Democrats charge. The interests of a party which has socialism as its ultimate goal, cannot conflict with the interests of other parties which uphold the cause of the workers. That the Communists have no interests other than the interests of the proletariat is a truth that was stressed long ago in the Communist Manifesto.

Closely bound up with this problem is the debate on working-class unity in the countries of people's democracy. The Social Democratic leaders maintain that the merging of the workers' parties in these countries was effected by terminating the activity and virtually suppressing the Social Democratic parties. A deeper study and elucidation of this question is of the utmost importance for us.

The debate on unity directly affects also the question of the attitude to the socialist countries. The most diverse views on this score are held in the Social Democratic Party both among the leaders and among the rank and file—some purely negative, some based on the "rational, sober-minded approach," while others are cautiously favorable. Our Party believes that the different views on this question need not be an obstacle to united action on other issues. At the same time, it points out that not a single party has ever won support by adopting a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The Communists stress their deep conviction that the successes achieved by the socialist countries have facilitated the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries and the development of other progressive movements. This is particularly evident in Finland since it was thanks to the defeat of Hitler by the Soviet Union that we were able to restore and extend democratic rights and democratic institutions.

The building of socialism has had a tremendous, indeed a decisive influence on all oppressed peoples. As Ville Pessi, General Secretary of our Party, observed: "The social achievements of the Soviet Union and its accomplishments in the sphere of science and technology have done more to spread the ideas of socialism among the masses than could have been accomplished by 'exporting revolution,' which, as we know, is a method Marxism-Leninism utterly rejects."

The attitude to the policy of peaceful co-existence plays an important role in the joint actions of the workers and the democratic forces in Finland. The chief aspect of this policy in our country is the relationship between Finland and the Soviet Union.

The turning point in the relations between the two countries was the signing of the armistice by Finland on September 19, 1944. The end of the war and the signing of the peace treaty brought about a fundamental change in the country and in the relations between our two states. Throughout the 26 years from 1918 Finland's foreign policy had been one of hostility to the Soviet Union. The only political party which had worked for friendship with the Soviet Union was the Communist Party. But it was forced to carry on its work in conditions of illegality, persecution and terror.

In 1948 Finland and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid. This, together with the peace treaty, is the foundation on which our mutual relations rest. At first the Social Democratic Party opposed the friendship treaty, but later, dur-

ing the debate in Parliament it voted in favor of ratification.

The past 15 years however have shown that the Social Democratic Party has not changed its former line of foreign policy. As before, that line is based on cold war, a policy fraught with disaster for Finland. One can say that the stronger the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries become, the more hostile the reaction of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders. As mentioned above, during the presidential election in 1962 the central issue of which was Finnish-Soviet relations, the Social Democratic leadership formed a bloc with the ultra-Right in the hope of effecting a change in government policy which, as we know, is based on friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union. It was the resolute action taken by the masses that caused the collapse of the bloc on the eve of the election.

As correctly pointed out by the Thirteenth Congress of our Party, "the vast majority of our people support the policy of friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union." Nevertheless, "there still are reactionary circles which are out to subvert these friendly relations. The tough-policy advocates from among the bourgeoisie and Right-wing Social Democracy want to harness Finland to the chariot of the imperialist powers, a course that would jeopardize Finland's independence and security."

The policy of Social Democratic leaders aimed at whipping up hatred for the Soviet Union is the source of serious disagreement among the workers. Finland's relations with the Soviet Union are the subject of lively debates in working-class organizations. But as the mutual ties between Finland and the Soviet Union grow stronger, the prejudices are disappearing and a more favorable attitude to the Soviet Union is gaining ground. In recent years the Social Democratic Party has been faced with the choice of either continuing its old anti-Soviet line, which threatens to weaken its influence still more, or revising the basic principles of its foreign policy.

To date there has been no radical change in the anti-Soviet policy of the Right-Social Democrats. True, they have begun to exercise more caution in their choice of words when speaking of the Soviet Union. Experience has taught them a thing or two. Relations between Finland and the Soviet Union figured prominently in the special resolution on international problems adopted at the party's congress last summer. In this resolution the Social Democratic Party declares that it has always advocated "establishing and cementing friendly ties between Finland and the Soviet Union"

and that it "supports all steps genuinely aimed at bringing the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union closer together. It is highly important that both sides should spread truthful information in order to dispel prejudices and improve mutual understanding."

Since the congress, however, the Social Democratic Party has given no sign of its intention to put that resolution into effect. In point of fact, the Congress virtually gave the lie to the professed desire for friendly relations with the Soviet Union by endorsing the statements adopted by the Socialist International in Frankfurt in 1951 and in Oslo in 1962 concerning the stand of the Social Democratic movement on international problems. The foreign policy pursued by the leaders of Finnish Social Democracy is based on these essentially anti-Soviet statements.

The Social Democratic Party's stand on questions of foreign policy, of war and peace, is a major obstacle to full-scale working-class united action. Our Party cannot enter into any compromise with the advocates of anti-Soviet policy. This would not be in the interests of the workers, since genuine working-class unity can be founded only on a policy of peace and good-neighborly relations.

* * *

"The Communist Party of Finland," our Program states, "supports the striving for freedom on the part of all social groups suffering from the dictatorship of big capital, and to this end it is prepared to cooperate with organizations and individuals representing these groups. The Party believes that firm working-class unity is a decisive condition for realizing the demands common to all workers anxious to ensure victory of the working-class cause."

The common class interests of the proletariat, the aggravation of the contradictions between the proletariat and the capitalists, especially the big capitalists, are the natural objective basis for unity in the working-class movement. Nevertheless unity will not come of itself: the obstacles to it are too great and the bourgeoisie is too much interested in splitting the labor movement. In order to establish unity there must be a conscious desire on the part of all the working people, all their organizations, and especially the working-class parties, for united action. "Every effort must be made to bridge the gulf dividing the working people and to further the great cause of unity," states the Appeal of the Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party on unity (1954).

T. SINISALO,
P. AURA

Communications and Comment

Greece After the Elections

THE word "democracy" is of Greek origin. It denoted the political system that arose in ancient Greece. Yet it has been made into a travesty by the reactionary forces in modern Greece, and particularly by their party, the National Radical Union (ERE), until recently in power. They instituted a reign of terror, hounded the Communists, Left leaders and all patriots. Even the newspaper *Akropolis*, closely associated with ERE, cynically commented: "It is true, democracy does not exist in Greece."

But the people have not been cowed. The murder of Dr. Lambrakis, the Left M.P., aroused such indignation that the government had to resign. A bitter election battle began which ended on November 3 with a victory for the people over the reactionaries and their NATO and Common Market patrons. The electorate said "no" to the ERE party and gave their vote to the democratic opposition parties—the Center Union and the United Democratic Left (EDA).

The ouster of the Right-wing government which had been in power for 11 years was a hard-won victory. After the civil war and at the height of the cold war the reactionaries set up a ramified machinery of repression and terror. Using the weapon of anti-communism and cold war the Rights pursued a policy of national disunity to suppress all opposition to their policy. They indulged in demagoguery, falsified election lists and enacted anti-democratic electoral laws.

In the recent election campaign, however, the people, in contrast to what happened in 1961, broke through the barrier of fear, paralyzed the machinery of terror, and, by voting for the opposition, nullified the falsified results. A new situation was thus created and the Karamanlis government had to go.

The electorate also demonstrated that they condemn the policy of the Royal Court which panders to the reactionaries. It might be noted in this connection that reigning monarchs in Greece have on repeated occasions departed from constitutional and democratic standards to suit the interests of the Right, and have even supported fascist dictatorships (Metaxas). The condemnation of this policy, most evident

during the eight years Karamanlis ruled the country, may be seen as a warning.

By putting an end to the intolerable conditions of *today*, the Greek people thereby prevented an even more intolerable *tomorrow*. They foiled the plan to amend the constitution along neo-fascist lines, which the reactionaries wanted to rush through Parliament, and which they included in their election platform. They prevented the establishment, allegedly with the "consent" of the people, of a neo-fascist regime draped in legal garb.

The election victory was the fruit of a long and heroic struggle. In the van of this contest in which the Center Union also participated, especially in the last two years, were the representatives of the Left. It was they who, with their clear-cut program, with their faith in the people and in the justice of their cause, inspired the struggle; it was they who shouldered the main burden and made the greatest sacrifice.

This is no overstatement. Without the Left, without their correct policy, the reactionaries would not have been vanquished. It is therefore not by the number of seats and votes EDA received—which, incidentally, does not reflect its true strength—that the extent of its success should be gauged. The fact is that EDA won a moral and political victory in the November general election. The Communist Party fully supported it.

A significant contributing factor to this victory was the international solidarity of democratic public opinion. The international campaigns demanding the release of political prisoners and the restoration of democracy in Greece, the criticism in London of Greek royalty as being the representative and pillar of the pro-fascist regime, the indignation that swept the world in connection with the murder of Dr. Lambrakis and with the fact that the machinery of state had been turned into an instrument of political coercion—all speak of the scope of the international solidarity movement with the Greek people. International support was of particular significance for a people who were aware that their intolerable conditions were due to the interference of "omnipotent" foreign imperialism and its arbi-

trary rule. Furthermore, this international solidarity upset the plans of the inspirers and organizers of the tyranny. It prevented a repetition of the election swindle of 1961.

How should the people's verdict be assessed? What is the mandate it gave the parties of the democratic opposition in voting for them and not for the policy of the ERE? The general features of this policy were: wholesale robbery of the working people in favor of the home and foreign monopolies, bartering the country's wealth and national rights, continuation of the cold war, transformation of Greece into a nuclear base and, finally, the use of terror and violence as the principal methods for achieving these aims.

In answer to this anti-national policy the people advanced their own demands, viz.:

- a) restoration of democratic institutions, a constitutional system and a normal political life;
- b) better conditions for the people and economic development of the country;
- c) a foreign policy of peace.

The people pressed for these demands in a hard-fought election struggle which, embracing all social strata, spread far and wide. The parties of the democratic opposition pledged to pursue a policy that would give effect to these demands and so the people voted for them.

In response to the people's will and in the interests of democracy the Center Union should have formed a government jointly with the EDA on the basis of a minimum program. But the Center Union leadership has rejected the support of the Left even for its one-party government, a support which the EDA is ready to give provided the Center Union honors its election promises. The latter, however, is more concerned with winning the support of the Royal Court and the Americans than with the interests of the people. It wants to secure a "self-supporting majority" by collaborating with some of the Rights. This will create the danger of the people's will being misrepresented, will create loopholes for new intrigues by the reactionary forces against democracy, the people and the country.

The Center Union has formed a government that will be able to serve the purpose only if it has the support of the EDA deputies on whom it does, in point of fact, rely. Official recognition of this support would enable it to give effect to its election promises. And this, in turn, would assure it that solid majority needed to rule the country confidently and effectively.

Instead the Center government has preferred to follow another course. It has announced that it plans to carry out a series of measures aimed, for the most part, at improving economic conditions. It has also announced that if the government does not secure a "working majority" in Parliament (by enlisting the support of the Right-wing deputies), the "only possible" solution will be to hold new elections at the end of January.

But the Center Union leadership has done nothing as yet to democratize the machinery of state which it repeatedly declared was essential to the holding of free elections.

It has done nothing about further investigating the murder of Dr. Lambrakis and exposing the terrorist apparatus of the Rights. It has not dissolved the neo-fascist organizations, nor has it annulled a single one of the existing anti-democratic laws. As a matter of fact it recognizes in its bill on political prisoners the validity of the fascist law No. 375 which defines political activity as espionage. Many prisoners are still kept behind bars on the charge of being "dangerous criminals." This means that even now, after the election victory of November 3, some 200 political prisoners will not be given their freedom.

Thus the Center government is artificially creating a political crisis and steering the country towards new elections, but is leaving intact the strongholds of the Rights which the latter can use to offset the results of the recent popular vote. It is clear that the Center Union leadership, under pressure from the Royal Court and foreign "advisers," is inclining more and more towards a policy of compromise which can only jeopardize the people's interests. Steering towards anti-communism and anti-democracy, it is seeking to exclude the nation's most dynamic forces from the political scene. In other words, it is taking the very course that fostered the anti-national policy rejected by the people.

Post-election developments show how erroneous and harmful is the view of those who at the time of the election campaign urged that the forces of the Left should align themselves completely with the Center. Apart from the fact that the EDA, the only legal and democratic party that pursues a consistent policy, would have disappeared from the political scene, the country would now be swept by unbridled anti-communism and its advocates would be claiming that they have the support of the vast majority of the people, including the Lefts.

The guarantee against Greece's political life being imperilled by the intrigues of the reac-

tionaries and foreigners (and also by the compromising and inconsistent attitude of the Center Union leadership) is mass action. The people of Greece who have vanquished many an enemy, have overcome many a difficulty and who have won their first major victory, will not allow anyone to ignore their will, or

to distort it. They will find the forces and the means to consolidate and extend their victory and to compel the government to steer a democratic course which will usher in a new era in the life of the country—the era of democracy, peace and prosperity.

Jan ROZAK

U.S.-Inspired Coup in Honduras

DEMOCRATS everywhere have denounced the latest military coup in Honduras. This coup, which took place on October 3 at the bidding of the U.S. monopolies, is yet another link in the chain of Latin American "gorilla" putsches engineered by U.S. imperialism, through its local stooges.

The coup staged by Colonel Osvaldo Lopez Arellano, chief of the armed forces under the liberal regime of Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, took a heavy toll of 800 lives—a large figure for a small country like Honduras. It has brought untold suffering to the people, especially to the working people. Even before the coup, its organizers launched unrestricted terror wherever the scales were tipped in favor of democracy and progress (in San Pedro Sula, Progreso, Puerto Cortes, etc., and even in the capital).

The situation in the country before the coup was characterized by a growth of political activity, a growth engendered by the forthcoming general election for a new President, three Vice-Presidents and 64 members of the National Congress.

The splits in the Liberal and National Parties resulted in the formation of another two groupings—Orthodox Republicans and People's Progressives. Therefore, four Presidential candidates should have been nominated. The Communist Party, which was illegal, could not contest the elections in its own name.

The ruling Liberal party, which nominated Modesto Rodas Alvarado, ex-President of the Congress, was expected to win. All parties, except the People's Progressives, were bitterly anti-communist, vying with one another in invective against the Communists and in currying favor with the U.S. Administration whose support was decisive if a government of "representative democracy" was to be elected.

As the Liberals still enjoyed the support of the majority of the electorate, they had to say something about agrarian reform and democracy. Their candidate campaigned against the local oligarchy which had imposed on the people one dictator after another in the past

25 years. On the other hand, the people who had suffered so much during this time were responsive to any promise of a just trial for their torturers who are still unpunished.

Most of the people still support the Liberals as a party opposed to the old dictatorships, despite the fact that it too has ties with the reactionary oligarchy as the rule of the Liberal Morales showed.

The Villeda government, brought to power by the will of the people, betrayed their interests and made a deal with imperialism. By doing so it lost the truly historical possibility of asserting the independence of the country.

However, under pressure from the masses it had to carry out some democratic measures, but these were timid and superficial to the extreme.

In the ruling party the national bourgeoisie and the radical small bourgeoisie clashed with the oligarchy and the landlords. These antagonisms were manifest even in the government. At the same time they prevented the Pentagon from achieving its aims of using the Liberal government to accelerate the fascization of Central America and to secure war bases in Honduras for aggression against Cuba. Although the Villeda government was "anti-Castro" and had severed diplomatic relations with Cuba, its hands were not altogether free to take a direct part in the U.S. aggressive designs. The constitutional and, to a certain extent, anti-imperialist character of the regime made it unacceptable to the wilder men in the Pentagon who needed a secure rear-line in Latin America for the preparation of another world war.

Neither U.S. imperialism nor the militarists in Honduras bothered to conceal their designs, and it became clear that the elections would not be held; the preparations for the coup were conducted almost openly. The coup was the constant topic of conversation, and the only man who sought to minimize the danger and to calm the people was President Villeda himself. Instead of relying on the people and on those who were ready to stand by him out of considerations of principle, Villeda preferred

to seek support from the U.S. State Department.

It was in this atmosphere of an impending coup that the bourgeois parties opened their election campaign. At the same time the government embarked on a savage anti-Communist crusade, for the President knew that by throwing the Communists behind bars he would qualify for the support of the State Department which would protect him from the "gorillas," whom he lauded as "patriots."

The coup came only ten days before polling day. It was carried through by the military on the pretext of ending "the grave threat to the republic emanating from Communist infiltration." Since the anti-communist repressions carried out by the "representative democracy" were not enough for them, the colonels set in motion the machinery of the army well equipped and trained by the U.S. military mission in Tegucigalpa.

Very soon, however, it became obvious that the coup had been plotted in the Pentagon, organized by the U.S. military missions and by the CIA and financed by the United Fruit Company.

Such are the facts, and the U.S. press supplied detailed information about them; in point of fact the *Washington Post and Times Herald* published in advance much of the plans for the coup.

The geographic situation of Honduras in Central America is important to the U.S. design to dominate the area. They had previously installed reactionary military regimes in Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. With the coup in Honduras, the picture that existed in the thirties and forties when U.S. imperialism had on its payroll the four most brutal dictatorships in the history of Central America, has been restored in the main. Next in line are Costa Rica and Panama, and then the Pentagon can consider its plans completed: "gorilla" rulers will be installed throughout the isthmus.

The United Fruit Company which controls 70 per cent of our national economy and which is, so to say, a state within a state in Honduras, was another force which had a stake in overthrowing the indecisive and half-hearted Villeda government.

The population of Honduras is about two million, of whom 83 per cent are peasants and persons economically linked with the countryside. Latifundia dominate in agriculture, and United Fruit is the biggest landowner. About 47 per cent of the cultivated land belongs to farmers possessing more than 100 hectares, and to the latifundists; 68 of the biggest lati-

fundia (over 2,500 hectares) own 13.2 per cent of all arable land.

In 1959 the annual per capital income in Honduras was \$152.3, which means that the majority of the population can hardly make ends meet. The bulk of the people live on corn, bananas or yucca; 47 per cent of Hondurans have no footwear; 73 per cent of the homes have no water supply. Small wonder therefore that, according to the U.N. Demographic Year Book for 1961, infant mortality in Honduras rose from 3,937 in 1955 to 4,275 in 1960. At the same time United Fruit rakes in huge profits. In order to retain its monopoly and control over the economy of Honduras, the company has imposed on it this new military dictatorship.

The government sought to counter the demand for land advanced by the peasants who in many places (even in the Banana Company zone) were taking over latifundia land, with an agrarian-reform law in keeping with the Alliance for Progress scheme. Inconclusive and demagogic though it was, this law nevertheless had several positive aspects, hence all attempts to put it into effect came up against the veto of United Fruit. The government shame-facedly bowed to the *diktat* of the colonialists, and the agrarian-reform law remained on paper.

The Liberal candidate promised during the election campaign that he would implement the reform law. Although Rodas Alvarado is himself a landlord, he could not be trusted by the U.S. monopolies. Alvarado is one of the feudal landowners who have taken the way of capitalist development. And so the United Fruit Company, fearing that he might win the election, decided to frustrate it.

The coup found support among the feudal landowners who are dead set against reforms in agriculture, even those proposed by the Alliance for Progress. It also found a support in the comprador bourgeoisie which is closely associated with and dependent on the United Fruit Company. It found support in the National and Orthodox Republican parties which represent those forces and which immediately proclaimed the coup "patriotic" and were invited to form the government.

* * *

The plotters, having taken all the necessary precautions in advance, did not anticipate any great resistance from the people.

They had concluded agreements with the military juntas of the neighboring countries—Guatemala and Nicaragua. Peralta Asurdia promised help, if needed, with aircraft (which he did), and the Somosa brothers were ready

to oblige with units of motorized infantry, including the Cuban mercenaries undergoing training in Nicaragua.

After the coup, in the early hours of October 3, the "gorillas" used the tactic of intimidating the people. They threatened bombings, raided the barracks of the Civil Guard, the premises of the political parties and trade unions, and homes of citizens known to be Communists, Liberals, democrats and militant trade unionists.

Despite this, however, the plotters encountered the resistance of the people which took the shape of armed clashes. The murders perpetrated by the military on the morning of the putsch added fuel to the fire. In San Pedro Sula and Tegucigalpa hundreds were killed in street fighting.

Actions taken against the regular troops, the numerous actions of partisan units in town and countryside on the eve of the putsch, the assaults on garrisons, the fact that two military commands—the fourth and the fifth—actually refused to support the coup, the summoning of the Guatemalan airforce to bomb towns in which the population resisted—all show that the plotters encountered something they had not expected, and that their success is far from being what the Pentagon and the CIA would like it to be.

This is also confirmed by the following. On the first day of his so-called government Colonel Lopez Arellano declared that he would be "the sole ruler." Two days later he had to invite civilians in order to form a government headed by lawyer Roberto Ramirez, spokesman of the financial groups and the comprador bourgeoisie. This, naturally, was not a voluntary step on the part of the putschists. *It was made under the impact of the unfavorable circumstances brought about by the armed resistance of the people and by the formation of guerrilla units.*

From the very beginning the so-called public security troops controlled by the FBI went into operation, making wholesale arrests of Liberals, democrats and Communists. Two concentration camps were filled with patriots. As the number of the arrested was beyond anything the camps could hold, many were herded like cattle behind barbed wire and kept under the open sky. Most of the prisoners were peasants from the southern and eastern parts of the country. After some time an order was issued "to release all political prisoners except Communists. . . ."

The Right-wing leaders and functionaries of the Liberal Party have been released, but the Left Liberals are still in prison. The reaction-

aries are taking reprisals against patriots, raiding their homes, encouraging armed gangs and organizing shootings with a view to intimidating the people.

It is now clear that one of the aims of the military is to abolish the trade union movement, and in the first instance, the unions led by workers true to their class. Another aim is to destroy the Communist Party, to intimidate progressives among the middle sections and the national bourgeoisie. In this way they aim at halting the growth of the liberation movement and at preserving U.S. colonial domination.

Those arrested after the coup include outstanding working-class leaders such as Dionisio Ramoz Bejarano, who since his early years has dedicated himself to the cause of the working people; also among them are Luis Manuel Zuniga, Rafael Alberti, Jorje Zu, Efrain Garay, Juan B. Canales, Moises Moreira — patriots whose sole "crime" is that, true to their people, they fought for the great ideals of liberation.

Other trade unionists held in prison are Hector Acosta Romero, Anibal Moradel, Felix Palencia, Pablo Sosa, Ramon Moncada, Lizandro Cruz, Modesto Martinez, Javier Argijo, Jose Saravia, Emilio Calderini, Antonio Constanza, Anibal Crespo, Filipe Lopez and Jorje Herrera.

Also in prison is Maria L. Ramoz who was arrested in La Seiba. Edgardo Caseres, Rolando Valerio, Ismael Gutierrez, Rodil Rivera Rodil, Salvador Avilez and many other students have been tortured and exiled together with many university professors.

Workers and peasants who have advocated agrarian reform, opposed the imperialist monopolies, the big landowners and the capitalists or who expressed sympathy for the Cuban revolution, are persecuted in every way.

The Patriotic Committee for the Rights of the People has issued an appeal to all democrats at home and abroad calling for solidarity with the victims of this corrupt regime.

The fact that President Villeda, who a few days before the coup urged the people to have "faith in the democratic spirit of the military," knew about the forthcoming events, makes the deposed ruler a party to the crime, and the people are determined to make him shoulder his share of responsibility.

The Communist Party, working underground, called on the people to uphold the Constitution and to be on the alert against the danger of a military coup. That was how the Communists acted at the time of the coup of 1959, and that was how they acted this time.

True, the Communist Party adopted this attitude not out of a desire to support Villeda Morales and his camarilla, but in order to preserve at least some of the democratic gains which had cost so much suffering and which had been won thanks to the fight put up by the people—primarily by workers, peasants and students. It was they who through their mass actions (influenced in no small measure by the Communists) won the restoration of elementary freedoms in the last decade, securing rights for workers, for women to take part in political life and, ultimately, the advent to power of a Liberal government.

* * *

It is too early as yet to predict the future of the new government which relies on bayonets and on imperialism. But an assessment can be made of the conditions which existed before the coup and of the immediate reaction to it on the part of the democratic forces, which took the shape of armed resistance; the situation of naked repressions, the terror of the "gorillas" and their desire to destroy all democratic rights, the new balance of forces in the world arena. And assessing all this, we can say that the fight of the people of Honduras, in which we Communists will play our part, will become extremely dangerous for imperialism and its agents in the country.

The outlook for the democratic camp is good. But in view of the conditions in the country, this will call for a spirit of self-sacrifice and a correct united front policy.

Liberation will not be an easy matter. But the militancy displayed in the face of the fascist coup by the workers, students, peasantry, democratic intellectuals (and by part of the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie) will be able to restore not only the liberal freedoms but also a genuinely popular regime expressing the interests of the majority of the population.

The conditions obtaining in Honduras make it possible for the forces of democracy and progress to pass over to a higher stage of the revolutionary struggle. But one should not be surprised if in the new conditions imperialism will try to find a way out by taking recourse to a farce, as has been the case on more than one occasion. For it still has room to maneuver, having at its disposal many pawns in the bourgeois parties and among the reformist intelligentsia.

But the times have changed. The people are beginning to get a better understanding of things. And this understanding is aided by the coups (of course, contrary to the will of their sponsors) organized on orders from Washington. Moreover (and this is most important), the people of Central America see the live and tangible example of the socialist revolution in Cuba. This example is exerting a big influence on the minds and hearts of the workers and people of Central America and the entire American continent, helping them to grasp the tasks of their struggle.

Pedro SANCHEZ

The Forces of the Left in Britain

Konni Zilliacus

L "EFT" and "Right" are geopolitical, relative concepts. Their meaning at any given moment is determined by the relation of these forces to the state of the nation, which evolves and changes with the march of events.

At the time of writing the three determining factors in the state of the nation are: our economic situation; the conclusion of the nuclear test-ban treaty; and, last but not least, the approach of the general election, which must be held not later than October 8th, 1964, and in practice will almost certainly take place before next July. The reactions of the forces of the Right to these factors to a considerable extent influence the alignment and actions of the forces of the Left.

The views expressed in this article are the personal views of the author.—Ed.

In analyzing the confrontation of Right and Left in Britain, the vitality and deep roots in the history and life of our people of the parliamentary way of government should be borne in mind, as well as the nature of our electoral system: British parliamentary democracy has evolved from a near absolute monarchy and feudalism, through oligarchy, resulting from the fusion of the old landed aristocracy with the tycoons of the new mercantile and financial community, to a modern industrial democracy based on universal suffrage and freedom of action for organized labor through its trade unions and political representatives. Of course, the power of property and privilege distorts and cripples our democracy, and there is much inequality and injustice. But it is the well-nigh universal belief

here that, as Karl Marx originally said, and the 20th Congress of the CPSU repeated, this is one of the capitalist countries in which the change-over from capitalism to socialism may be effected by peaceful and constitutional means and enacted through Parliament.

Our electoral system is based on single-member constituencies, with the candidate obtaining the top vote becoming elected even if the combined vote of his opponents is greater than his. There is no form of proportional representation, or single transferable vote, or second ballot. This system makes it next to impossible for small parties to win a seat in Parliament, particularly as at general elections the voters think primarily in terms of the government they want, and only secondarily of the personal merits of their candidate, and are accordingly reluctant to "waste" their vote on an independent, or on a candidate belonging to a party which has no hope of becoming the government.

The head and front of the forces of the Right, of course, is the Conservative Government and Party, buttressed by the forces of high finance and big business, and supported by those who live by rent, interest and profit. In the last few years the Liberals have emerged as serious competitors of the Tories in a number of by-elections. The Liberals talk of themselves as "radicals," and claim to be to the Left of the Labor Party. But this is not the view of the voters: Liberal candidates take about four votes from the Tories for every one from Labor. It is the dearest wish of a Labor candidate in a marginal constituency that providence might vouchsafe him a Liberal candidate. For in that case he splits the bourgeois votes going to the Tories, while hardly affecting the working class and Left votes for Labor.

The Tories claim that the Liberal vote is a mere flash in the pan, an outlet at by-elections for dissatisfaction with the government by people who can be relied upon to revert to their Tory allegiance instead of "wasting" their votes at general elections. The truth is that the Liberals have a fresher and less unconvincing appeal than the Tories to those sections of the middle and lower middle classes and the skilled labor aristocracy who want to be progressive in a free enterprise society, but are frightened of public ownership. These intermediates have yet to learn that in the age of monopoly capital this is like wanting to be a champion swimmer without getting wet.

The perennial problem of the Conservative Party is how to persuade the underprivileged

majority of the electorate to vote for them while in fact representing the overprivileged minority. This problem becomes peculiarly acute in the last year before an election. This year it is being made even more acute by competition from the Liberals.

In economic and social affairs the government have accordingly become deathbed converts of planning, social justice, schemes for building more houses to let, and to an enquiry into the evils of racketeering and exploitation in private enterprise housing. But these measures are at best too late and too little, and at worst open to grave suspicion that they are merely pre-election demagoguery and fine words, with no serious intention to take any action. Nor do they touch the basic problem of the vast new production forces released by the "scientific revolution," i.e., by the application of chemistry, electronics, automation, cybernetics to industry and agriculture. To harness new forces to production purposes, and maintain full employment, calls for drastic change of property relationships in a socialist direction.

In international affairs the government are now claiming all the credit for the nuclear test-ban treaty concluded in Moscow. At the same time they are claiming that this great role of world leadership was made possible by the awe inspired by Britain's "independent nuclear deterrent" (two per cent of that of the United States, and supplied by grace and favor of Uncle Sam on condition that the weapon is in practice used only under American command). The Tories assert that their "independent" deterrent enables them to pursue an independent foreign policy. That is their way of appealing to the widespread, strong and growing desire in the British people of all parties to assert our independence of the USA.

But the Conservative Party is rent by deep-seated differences over policy; it is demoralized by the evidence of by-elections and public opinion polls alike, which show Labor holding a commanding lead, which, if maintained, will put them into power at the next election without a shadow of a doubt.

The Conservative Party Conference, which met in October in Blackpool, lived up to the gloomy forecast of the Conservative *Evening Standard* (October 8):

"The Tory Party Conference meets this year in an atmosphere of doubt and unhappiness. The Socialists have presented an image of harmony and brotherhood. No longer do they seem destined for an eternity of opposition. No longer is power alarming or distasteful to them. Yet the Conservatives, whose record

of achievement is so impressive, have lost touch, lost face, lost heart."

Incomparably the biggest, and politically the most important, part of the forces of the Left in Britain, is the Labor Party. In structure this party is a mass party of the working class with a semi-federal framework, owing to the collective affiliation of the Trade Unions, which form over five-sixths of its six million membership.

The individual members of the Party, grouped in constituency parties, are also at least 80 per cent Trade Unionists (although only about 850,000 strong, the individual members are the most politically conscious and active section of the Labor Party, doing all the work at elections and responsible for most of the resolutions on the Agenda of Annual Conferences.) The structure of the Labor Party makes it comparable to a cross between a Social Democratic Party and a Popular Front, harboring a wide variety of views and giving considerable freedom of propaganda and maneuver not only to individuals but to groups within the Party. In its outlook the Labor Party displays in full measure the national trait of preferring rule of thumb to doctrine. It is strong in class instinct and weak in theory. Policies are to a considerable extent evolved from below as the outcome of the competing pressures of groups, in particular the unceasing battle between Right and Left.

In the fifties, the Labor Party displayed alarming symptoms of the disease of senile Rightism. During those years the Right wing climbed into the saddle, and the normal tussle between Right and Left about how far and how fast the Party should go along a path and toward a goal on which all were agreed, changed into a much more dangerous struggle as to which path the Party should take and what was our basic purpose: to transform Capitalism into Socialist society, or to try to prove that Labor could manage Capitalism more efficiently than the Tories.

Aneurin Bevan's death prolonged the rule of the Right. Gaitskell's death brought it to an end. But even under Gaitskell, the Party had begun to close the ranks in face of the impending election, making the best of the compromise policies evolved during the years of struggle. The decisive change came when pressure from below and the logic of facts convinced Gaitskell that he must reject entry into the Common Market on the terms being negotiated by the Tory Government, and must stick to Labor's five conditions, which he well knew would never be accepted by the Six, for they would spell the end of the EEC.

Harold Wilson began where Hugh Gaitskell left off. Under him the Party has taken a new lease of life and is united, confident, and poised for victory. His immediate problem was how to reconcile the Right with their loss of power, and make them accept his Left of Center leadership, which represented the view of the overwhelming body of opinion in the country, but a minority in the Parliamentary Party. (Although at his election by the latter the Center joined with the Left and some anti-Common Market members of the Right decisively to defeat the Right-wing candidate Mr. George Brown, who has continued to occupy the position of Deputy leader). He did so by announcing that he would apply the policies on which the Party had already agreed under Gaitskell, subject to interpreting them in the light of the changing situation. This left no loophole for the Right, while giving him enough freedom of maneuver to develop the rather vague compromises in Labor's policy along more militant and realistic lines.

In home policy the Party now stands for far-reaching planning and control of economic life, directed to expansion and equipped with a Ministry of Production, as well as enlisting the services of science and technology more fully than has ever been done before. Its policy gives the Party a mandate to nationalize the steel industry and a free hand to go in for such public ownership as it considers necessary for the effective carrying out of its policies, and to overcome resistance to them by private interests. Much stress is laid on more and better education, modernizing and developing the National Health Service and making it wholly free, and on repealing the iniquitous Tory Rent Act and reforming the Town and Country Planning Act, which make housing a happy hunting ground for racketeers, slum landlords and land speculators. In their place Labor intends to put an entirely different policy, starting with the idea that houses are a social responsibility and not a legitimate field of investment for private interests, nationalizing land needed for urban development, imposing rent control, and giving local authorities adequate powers and subsidies to build houses for rent, accord 100 per cent mortgages for owner-occupiers, and to take over houses let at exorbitant rents or allowed to degenerate into slums.

The Scarborough Conference early in October overwhelmingly endorsed these policies and broke fresh ground with the National Executive Committee's report on "Labor and the Scientific Revolution" and Harold Wilson's speech endorsing that report, which won him

a standing ovation and made a major impact, through the press, television and radio, on public opinion. The *Times* called it "Labor's policy for harnessing science to socialism and socialism to science."

"The period of fifteen years," Wilson said in his report, "from the last time we were in Scarborough, in 1960, to the middle of the 1970s, will embrace a period of technical change, particularly in industrial methods, greater than in the whole industrial revolution of the last 250 years."

Within that period Britain would, he said, have to provide 10 million new jobs for workers, a vast extension of higher education, especially in science and technology, accept national responsibility for the training of apprentices and retraining on full pay of workers for new jobs who had seen their old jobs disappear as a result of automation.

"Since technological progress," Wilson stressed, "left to the mechanism of private industry and private property can lead only to high profits for a few, a high rate of employment for a few, and to mass redundancies for the many, if there had never been a case for socialism before, automation would have created it. Because only if technological progress becomes part of our national planning can that progress be directed to national ends."

This national planning would include a great extension of public ownership, both in the creation of new industries, the revitalizing of old industries, and mobilizing both for new tasks.

Wilson then went on to give an example. "Anyone," he said, "who has discussed trade prospects with Soviet leaders, as many of us have, or with some of our great Commonwealth countries, knows that there is a great demand for new chemical industries based on British research." "A Labor government," he said, "would initiate a state-sponsored chemical engineering consortium to meet the needs, not only of Eastern Europe, but far more important, of developing Commonwealth countries."

Wilson associated this with the economic problems that will confront Britain when the present arms race is superseded by a comprehensive disarmament agreement. For the economic consequences of disarmament cannot be dealt with except on a basis of socialist planning. Advanced capitalist countries, Wilson said, are maintaining full employment today only by virtue of vast arms orders and panic would be the order of the day in Wall Street and other Stock Markets, the day peace breaks out. We, he declared, have announced that the

Labor government will include a Minister for Disarmament, and among his duties will be to prepare for the economic problems that will follow hard on the heels of massive disarmament.

The feature of Labor's Commonwealth policy is the emphasis laid on conducting our national planning on lines which will dovetail with the planning of the economies of the members of the Commonwealth, most of whom now have introduced a good deal of public ownership and planning as the only way to catch up rapidly with the modern world.

The Scarborough Conference unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that:

"The task of raising the standards of living of the underprivileged two-thirds of the world's people is the greatest political and economic challenge of the present day and calls upon a future Labor government to place increasing aid to underdeveloped countries at the forefront of its program by releasing manpower, money and raw materials through disarmament and by guaranteeing markets for their primary produce by bulk purchase and long-term agreements."

The resolution further pledged the Labor Party to full support of the U.N. Development Decade and the U.N. Conference on world Trade and Development. An emergency resolution voiced Labor's condemnation of *Apartheid* and its determination to stop the sales of arms to South Africa.

A further resolution, also recommended by the NEC and unanimously adopted, reiterated the intention of the party that the next Labor government should base its relations with other states on the principles, purposes and obligations of the U.N. Charter and not on military alliances.

In international affairs, Labor now lays much stress on doubling and trebling trade with the Socialist states, particularly the USSR, within the next few years, by measures which include coordination of our planning with theirs on similar lines to those proposed for the Commonwealth, and eventually on a multilateral and not only bilateral basis. This is really enlarging and reshaping the policies already initiated under the Tories: there is a growing desire among British industrialists to expand trade with the Socialist states, to which expression was recently given in a remarkable report by a group of 20 leading businessmen.

But what they are doing on a private basis by "planning together" with Soviet enterprises on a 5-year basis, Labor would supplement or replace by direct agreements between the

governments, and by links between our national and Commonwealth planning and the plans being coordinated through Comecon.

In the field of disarmament, Labor stands for Britain making her own proposals for splitting the difference between the American and Soviet disarmament plans, and for adding the prohibition of underground tests to the newly concluded test-ban agreement, starting with the existing national systems of detection plus a moratorium on all tests, pending the perfection of these systems and/or agreement on some form of international monitoring.

In his eve-of-Conference speech, Wilson devoted considerable attention to foreign affairs.

Reverting to his visit to Moscow, he said, "As a result of our talks in Moscow, I am convinced there is a chance of a breakthrough on two fronts, first an agreement to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, second, agreement on areas of complete nuclear disarmament and progressive conventional disarmament. Why can we not agree now that the whole of Africa should become a nuclear-free zone? We must not pass on to new African states the vices of so-called advanced civilizations. And Latin America and the Middle East. Above all, in the high-tension area of Central Europe, we press again the urgent relevance of what has always been our policy, the creation of a nuclear-free zone, with effective inspection, a zone of controlled conventional disarmament."

Labor's foreign policy calls for a provisional Berlin settlement, on the basis of a full and final recognition of the Polish frontier and *de facto* recognition of the East German state, in exchange for a treaty to which both Germanys, as well as the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Western powers, would be parties, guaranteeing the independence and freedom of communications of West Berlin, with the association in some form of the United Nations in these guarantees. This, in labor's view, should be accompanied by a policy of disengagement and regional disarmament negotiated on the basis of the Rapacki Plan, and opening the way to the unification of Germany by stages through the efforts of representatives of the two Germanys, within the framework of the Berlin and disengagement agreements.

Labor has declared its total opposition to Germany having any share, direct or indirect, collective or individual, in the control of nuclear weapons, as well as to the idea of a mutilateral nuclear fleet and a multinational nuclear force in NATO.

Willy Brandt, who was present as a fraternal delegate, sticks in the throats of many Labor

folk, although he did assure Conference that the SPD was opposed to Germany having nuclear weapons. The SPD under its present leadership is widely regarded as no longer a Socialist Party, even nominally, and no friend of peaceful coexistence.

Labor also rejects the position, imposed on Britain by the USA in connection with the Cuban crisis, of the USA taking decisions single-handed that might lead to nuclear war, and calls for collective political control of NATO.

But having thus rejected the conditions which in fact are the price that must be paid for staying in NATO, and put forward a policy of disengagement which would entail winding up both NATO and the Warsaw Alliance, the Labor Party declares its support of NATO!

In short, Labor's foreign policy, which represents the victory of the Left over the Right in a fight lasting for years, and Labor's defense policy, which represents the successful defiance of Conference decisions by the Right, are contradictory and cannot be combined in a single, coherent policy. On top of that, Labor's defense policy is self-contradictory, for it calls for equality of rights, on the basis of the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons in NATO, whereas the American view is that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Not unnaturally, Harold Wilson, who inherited these contradictory policies, has preferred to start by concentrating on home affairs, where there is no basic conflict, but only questions of degree, between Left and Right, and where both can be relied on to support the leadership in deciding how boldly to apply the agreed policies to the existing situation. But for one thing, the sums spent on armaments are so huge, and would rise so substantially if Labor's policy of bigger conventional forces were applied, that they would almost certainly have to be drastically cut to make it possible to keep the Party's social and economic promises to the people. In the second place, the conclusion of the partial nuclear test-ban treaty is being used by the Conservative Party to make pre-election capital: extravagant claims are advanced for the magnitude of this achievement and Mr. Macmillan's allegedly leading part in bringing it about. The Tories are going to make a major issue in the campaign of the claim that they are the peacemakers, and that thanks to their "independent British deterrent," they have preserved Britain's independence and influence in world affairs.

These claims are, of course, false, and the Labor Party will expose them for the shams

they are. But at the same time the Labor Party must outbid the Tories by showing why and how, on our policies, we could come to terms with the Soviet Union and stand on our own feet and pursue an independent policy, whether our allies liked it or not, and must convince the electorate that we really mean to do this.

The Left of the Labor Party is insisting that the way to do that is to apply the principle proclaimed by Harold Wilson and by the Party's deputy leader, Mr. George Brown, that defense must be the servant of foreign policy: this, says the Left, means that we could cut down our forces to a mere token force in NATO, since on our policies we can negotiate a settlement from common interest with the Soviet Union. We do not need a nuclear deterrent, to induce the Soviet Union to negotiate on the Rapacki Plan, for instance, what we need instead are political deterrents against our allies, who do so refuse. The way to do that, further says the Left, is to draw attention to the fact that NATO comes into operation only in cases of "unprovoked aggression." That means a Labor Government would be entitled to tell its allies that so long as they pursued policies we regarded as provocative, they would not be entitled to and would not receive British help under NATO. The acid test would be whether they would come to terms with us on a basis of negotiation with the Soviet Union, for Britain would refuse to be committed to war by allies who failed to agree with us on how to make peace.

Just as Gaitskell united the Labor Party and rallied support far outside its ranks when refusing to enter the Common Market unless our conditions were met, and did so in defiance of the USA, so, argue the Left, Labor would attract support far outside its ranks if it reduced the collective defense obligations in NATO to a dead letter unless our conditions were met. And this policy would arouse such a response among large sections of the people in Western Europe, the United States and Canada, as to give a Labor Government all the bargaining power it needed to induce its allies to come in with us on a reasonable basis of negotiation with the Soviet Union.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is an appreciable, but limited, part of the forces of the Left. Its campaign has undoubtedly made a considerable impact on public opinion, particularly in the Labor Party and among the young, whom all parties are trying to enlist. But it has chosen to limit itself to demanding British renunciation of nuclear weapons and refusal to be part of military alliances which contemplate the use of nuclear weapons. It is only recently that it has broadened its program to include a set of political demands very similar to those of the Labor Party. Not the least attractive of the arguments of the Left is that if the Labor Party were to adopt the line they propose, they could count on the formidable energy and ingenuity and appeal to youth of the CND on their side in the election campaign.

The British Communist Party is well organized, energetic and active along lines which on major issues generally, but not always, differ little from those of the Left in the Labor Party. But it remains small, its membership approximating to 35,000, and except for one M.P. in the thirties and two immediately after the war, has never been able to get a candidate elected to the House. This is partly due to the specific features of our electoral system mentioned above, the anti-communism of the Rights and some other reasons. In the Trades Unions Communists play a larger, but still minor, part.

This completes the tale of the forces of the Left in Britain today. The important thing to remember is that these forces are not static: they are evolving as the state of the nation develops and the world situation changes. The Moscow nuclear test ban treaty has made a hole in the cold war barrier to common sense and humanity. The pre-election competition between the Parties, each trying to convince the electorate that they are the peacemakers, proves that there is already a politically effective demand for peace in the British people. The combined results of their efforts may well be to enlarge the test ban hole in the cold war barrier to a gaping breach through which the rising tide of the people's longing for peace will pour in and change the political landscape.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

REPEAL THE REACTIONARY DECREES

IT MAY BE that the repressive laws in Argentina will have been substantially changed by the time this article appears in print. But inasmuch as the laws express the ideology and political aims of the classes and social groups which enacted them, we shall dwell for a moment on the underlying concepts of the laws.

The preamble to the so-called decree "on the security of the state" promulgated in January 1963, sets forth the doctrine of the "internal front," a hackneyed theme among the top military circles. According to this concept, the function of the armed forces should be not only and not so much defense of the national frontier as "defense" of the ideological "frontier." Thus, a political party, a trade union, any social organization or newspaper can become the object of the attention of the armed forces and persecuted as an "enemy."

This concept directly infringes on the legal rights of citizens since their sovereignty, as well as the sovereignty of the constitutional authorities, are subordinated to considerations of "continental security," interpretation and assessment of which is the province of the military, and in the final analysis, of foreign military bodies such as the Inter-American Defense Union.

It is in the spirit of this doctrine that the statute concerning political parties and the numerous decrees against communism and Peronism have been drawn up. The preamble to the decree concerning measures against communism declares that in order to meet its international commitments "the Republic of Argentina has adopted a categorical attitude with regard to communism in the international arena, and these commitments necessitate supplementing this attitude by similar measures inside the country." This "categorical attitude" is illustrated by the decision — taken behind the backs of the people—to send an Argentine contingent to take part in the criminal blockade of Cuba in October 1962.

The complete subordination of the life of the nation to the military is thus fully evident and calls for no comment. But this is not to say that the military are omnipotent, for in our country, as elsewhere in the capitalist world,

the system over which they stand guard is in the process of disintegration.

Our Party is adapting the content and forms of the struggle against these laws not only to the specific conditions created by the ferocity of the repressions but also to the principal aim of the present stage of development of our country, namely, a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution.

The design of the reactionaries and their propaganda is to isolate our Party from the people and especially from the radically-minded rank and file Peron followers who are now turning to the Left. To this the Party has responded by taking the steady course of united action for the particular tasks of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. This unity, like any dialectical process, does not develop without contradictions. At the critical moments of the recent socio-political upheavals it reached a high, militant level, despite all obstacles. Special attention is devoted to our factory branches because of their decisive role as centers of organizing, rallying and educating the worker politically.

Placing our hopes on the working people, who under the impact of the economic and political crisis are becoming more radical, our Party jointly with other parties is promoting united action in the most diverse forms.

Useful experience in this respect was provided by the "democratic assemblies" (*cabildos de la democracia*). Dating from the time of the Frondizi government, these assemblies fought to uphold civil liberties, to obtain the release of the political prisoners condemned by the military tribunals and to safeguard the national wealth from imperialist plunder. The assemblies were supported by the Parliamentary deputies of the Civic Radical Union of the People (now the ruling party), by a group of deputies who had broken away from the then ruling Civic Radical Union of Intransigents, by representatives of the Communist, Peronist, Socialist and Progressive Democratic parties, the University Federation, the Trade Union Unity Movement, the League for Defense of Human Rights and by other organizations.

Conscious of the danger of a rising working-class struggle, the reactionaries bent all their efforts to keep it in check. A special decree

was issued practically abolishing the right to strike. Militant workers labelled as "Communists" were barred from holding leading posts in the trade unions. An order was issued to dissolve the Trade Union Unity Movement. According to the Statute for political parties, trade union officials could not stand for election to political posts. The authorities busied themselves with the affairs of those workers' organizations led by democrats and in some cases banned them. They meddled in trade union elections, insisting that the list of candidates should include stooges of the ruling class (Right-wing union bureaucrats helped in these machinations). The U.S. Ambassador, too, displayed an unusual interest in trade union matters; Right-wing Peronist leaders were invited to the U.S. Embassy where the talk centered on how to expel Communist trade unionists from leadership of the Unions.

The Twelfth Congress of our Party emphasized that "we Communists should be quite clear that we have a militant working class searching for the way to struggle, conscious that its strength lies in organization; but the trade union leadership, holding back the struggle of the working class, is ready to compromise with its class enemies. This being so, the Trade Union Unity Movement is called upon to play the role of a guiding and organizing center which, by uniting the will of the workers would stimulate an organized rank and file struggle capable of overcoming the resistance at the top."

Somewhat later the Trade Union Unity Movement adopted a program the main features of which were reflected in the struggle waged by the General Confederation of Labor and the "week of protest" which preceded the big strike of May 1963. The Right-wing leaders came under heavy pressure from the mass movement which called for a return to constitutional standards of life, an end to the state of siege, to the proscriptions and repressive laws and for the abolition of the apparatus of repression.

The movement made advances in various spheres of the national life. The democratic students repelled the armed gangs of fascists who committed all kinds of outrages, shot and killed students with impunity, burning their premises, etc. Students held meetings and demonstrations demanding the release of political prisoners and repeal of repressive laws. The scale of these actions enabled the progressives in the universities and colleges in alliance with the progressives in the Catholic movement to defeat McCarthyism in the University Council.

The mass movements and united actions against the repressive laws were also aimed at upholding the legal status of the Communist Party. People realize that anti-communism and anti-democratic repressions go hand in hand.

The struggle of the Party in defense of its legal status has some specific aspects.

The Communist Party is not prohibited by law. But the persecution has placed the Party in a state of "de facto" illegality. The reactionaries proclaimed a state of siege, enacted repressive laws and resorted to disfranchisement and other proscriptions to prevent our Party from taking part in the political life of the country. But here, too, they were defeated. In 1957 the legal status of the Party was reaffirmed in the verdicts passed by all the courts. The Communists took part in the elections to the Constituent Convention in 1957 and won a number of seats. In the Convention the Party set forth its program of agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. The legality of the Party and the compatibility of its program with the national life were thus recognized by the supreme body and expressed in its participation in the constituent authority.

Later, when the Frondizi government bowed before imperialism, the Communist Party was banned by special decree and its premises and press organs were closed. The Party was denied the right to take part in elections. In an attempt to "legalize" the actual ban, the authorities staged trials in 1959 in order to deprive the Party of its legal status and to dissolve its national and provincial committees. But this time, too, the reactionaries suffered a heavy political and ideological defeat.

Our Party, taking the offensive, turned these court proceedings into a real trial of anti-communism. It exposed the false charges, revealed the technique of the falsification, and pointed to the coincidence in time between the capitulation to imperialism and the witch-hunt. Because of the fight put up by the Party, the authorities failed to obtain the desired verdict. Then, in 1961, they drafted the so-called "defense of democracy" act, and sought to rush it through the Congress. The Party inaugurated a movement of protest against this fascist legislation. In view of the pressure of democratic public opinion the Congress threw out the bill. Hence, despite all the attempts made by the reactionaries, there is no Congress-endorsed anti-communist law. There are instead only juridical distortions in the shape of reactionary decrees issued by the usurpers of power.

The ruling circles were powerless to prevent

our Party from holding demonstrations throughout the country on the day the new President, Illia, took office. The Party held these demonstrations under the keynote of democratic legality which is under attack in the guise of "representative democracy."

The state of siege and the decrees by the Guido military-fascist dictatorship have brought the number of political prisoners to 500. But if these outrages have surpassed the worst our people have experienced, the response of the democratic circles affected in one way or another by the repressions has likewise surpassed all previous movements.

The struggle was headed by the League for Human Rights — an organization with deep roots among the masses. The struggle reached out to the most remote parts of the country, to the jails in the far south where people sentenced by military tribunals to 25 years' imprisonment are, in fact, buried alive. The League enjoyed the support of all democrats, and above all of our Party, who saw in its fidelity to the cause of the people, in its experience of struggle against the different dictatorships guarantee of ensuring the physical security of the prisoners, a guarantee of success in the struggle for their release.

After the July 1963 elections which brought President Illia to power, the main efforts in the struggle for democratic legality were concentrated in the National Committee for the Repeal of Repressive Laws, composed of repre-

sentatives of most political parties, trade unions, students and progressive members of the National Constituent Convention. The aims of the Committee are shared by the General Confederation of Labor which offered premises for the founding meeting. The meeting was held, despite intimidation by the police who surrounded the building. The Committee is now working to convene a national congress which will organize the struggle for the repeal of all repressive decrees and laws.

The National Committee is another step towards building a united national democratic front. But clearly, much will depend on the degree of public support and on the unity of those who are interested in resolving the great problems of democracy, national independence and peace.

Giving priority to the common struggle for democratic rights and criticizing the ultra-Left who underestimate this struggle, our Party is inspired by the best traditions of Marxism-Leninism. "It would be a fundamental mistake," wrote Lenin, "to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

Alberto PEDRONISINI

Reviews

Dawn Over Iceland

THE people of Iceland — numerically one of the smallest nations in the world—have behind them a long history. Their island home was first settled in the ninth century by sea rovers from Norway and from the Viking settlements of Scotland and Ireland. The latter brought along their Celtic bondsmen, but since there was no state authority to sanctify it in law, slavery did not become an established institution. Soon a commonwealth was founded; it was governed by a parliament — the Althing. The 1000th anniversary of the Icelandic state was celebrated in 1930.

Internal strife following the disintegration of tribal society in the 12th and 13th centuries resulted in Iceland falling under Norwegian rule, and towards the end of the 15th century both Norway and Iceland came under the Danish crown.

The long years of foreign rule, which lasted until 1943, were a period of grim struggle against poverty, alien overlords and Denmark's economic monopoly.

The population consists mainly of fishermen and peasants; Iceland never had a wealthy upper class in the generally accepted sense of the word. And in the lifetime of the present generation the country's history is in large measure identified with the history of its working-class movement, a landmark in which was the struggle waged to safeguard the freedom of the Icelanders against encroachments by the USA and to abolish its military bases on their territory.

An outstanding personality in the Icelandic workers' movement is Einar Olgeirsson, Chairman of the United Socialist Party, which was founded in October 1938 when the Communists and the Left Social Democrats joined forces. Olgeirsson, active in political life for more than forty years, has been a member of the Althing since 1937. He is also the author of several books.

The present volume, published last year on the occasion of Olgeirsson's sixtieth birthday and entitled *Dawn Over the Land*,* is a selection of his articles written during the past twenty years. The book traces the history of these two decades and in particular the strug-

gles waged by the workers for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Following an introductory chapter on Marxism and its significance for humanity generally and social development in present-day Iceland in particular, the author examines the relationship between freedom, democracy and state power. This is a theme that has long interested Olgeirsson; as a matter of fact, he published a book on the subject in 1954 under the title *Tribal Society and State Power in the Period of People's Rule in Iceland*. After making a brief excursion into history, he discusses political development in the country and the features of its advance towards socialism.

Democracy has always been a central issue for the Icelandic working-class movement. The decisive stage in this struggle was ushered in by the October Revolution in Russia and by the victory won over fascism in the Second World War which gave added impetus to the fight for democracy and socialism. Today the possibility of achieving socialism in a peaceful way is more tangible, but to translate the possibility into reality maximum use must be made of all the factors favoring the full development of democracy.

What are these factors?

First, Iceland has no firmly established reactionary civil service or military strata, and the relatively young capitalist class is weak and isolated. On the other hand, this makes it essential to go ahead with democratic development with utmost speed before these forces are able to infiltrate the whole fabric of society.

Second, in the author's opinion, the fact that Iceland has a relatively small population favors the development of direct democracy.

Third, the struggle the Icelanders have been waging against foreign oppression and exploitation for 600 years has steeled and tempered successive generations of working people. Foreign oppression and the constant struggle to eke out a livelihood have cultivated in the people strength of will, a striving for equality and a sense of their own dignity.

The peasants, fishermen and workers have not forgotten their difficult past. For them freedom means economic emancipation, social security and democratic rights. This love of freedom can be traced back to the times of the sagas which still are very much part of the

*Einar Olgeirsson. *Vort land er i dogun*. Heimskringla, Reykjavik, 1962. 286 pp.

life of every Icelander. Equal right to work and a decent life and equal educational opportunity are vital demands which only the full flowering of democracy under socialism can satisfy.

The program of the United Socialist Party outlines the road which will take Iceland to socialism. It is envisaged as a peaceful way and, as such, it is one that appeals to every working man. For the people have so far won the rights they enjoy not on the battlefield but in a struggle in which their weapons have been their resolve, initiative, and unity.

The Party's economic program shows the way to full employment through a rational policy of investment and expansion of trade, including trade with the socialist countries. The profits of the capitalists must be placed under strict control. And above all the way must be barred to all forms of militarization.

Capitalism in Iceland is weaker than in other countries. Consequently, the working people may find it easier to win power and to nationalize the means of production. But this will nevertheless require determined struggle, for weak though they are, the Icelandic capitalists, under the protection of NATO and the U.S. military bases, are working hard to bolster up their rule.

Two other sections of the book are entitled "Break the Chains of Colonialism" and "The Icelandic Spirit Versus Dollar Violence." These sections discuss the struggle against the U.S. military bases and against the threat emanating from British and U.S. monopoly capital.

The Icelandic working-class movement is now combating a conspiracy engineered by the leading imperialist powers. Just at a time when national independence seemed to have been won after 600 years of foreign rule, forces ready to sell the country once again into bondage raised their heads. The Party called upon the people to combat these elements, and the people responded.

What was the alternative proposed by the Party? Iceland had at its disposal after the war more than 500 million kronur in foreign currency. The capitalists wanted to spend this money on automobiles, while the spokesmen of the people wanted modern trawlers and other equipment for the fisheries. The working class wanted modernization and expansion of industry, investment to meet the needs of the people and not to serve the interests of the capitalists.

The Party proposed that Iceland seek new markets, among others in the socialist countries. In doing this it voiced a vital popular demand and won support among the people and a firm place for itself in the political life of the country. It pointed the way forward and organized the people to fight for peace, against the U.S. war bases. All this involved persistent effort to overcome the resistance offered by the reactionaries. And even if the workers' parties were in the minority in Parliament, many of the demands were won.

In 1956 a coalition government was formed by the Progressive Party, the party of the peasantry, and the People's Alliance, a bloc comprising the United Socialist Party and the Left Social Democrats. This marked the beginning of a struggle which is still going on to put an end to the infringement of Iceland's territorial rights by some of the big Powers. There have been dramatic situations when Icelandic fishing boats were confronted by British warships that had violated Iceland's territorial waters.

The coalition government initiated another important measure: on March 28, 1956, the Althing decided to revise the treaty with the USA and to abolish the U.S. bases. But before this decision could be carried out the coalition broke up when the leader of the Progressive Party, who held the post of Premier, succumbing to pressure from the reactionary press, betrayed the country's interests. The United Socialist Party members had to resign from the government.

Political antagonism sharpened. Struggle against Iceland's membership in NATO remains the basic problem. Other issues are opposition to Iceland's entry into the Common Market and the fight to improve the position of the working class. At the moment inflation is growing and serious inroads are being made on living standards. The workers, however, are advancing new wage claims. Under the circumstances it may well be asked: what would be the position of the working people today if they did not have a socialist party to fight for their vital interests? If there were no socialist party, would Iceland still be independent?

The struggle waged today is a modern saga no less dramatic than those of olden times. And Olgeirsson's book throws light on the place of honor which the United Socialist Party occupies in this struggle.

Kare SELNES

The Path of Progress

AFRICAN problems have never commanded so much attention as at the present time. The process of national rebirth now under way in the new states of that continent gives rise to political and social developments which do not always conform to established notions or fit into the customary patterns. A correct understanding of these developments depends on a thorough knowledge of the life and problems of Africa and an insight into the driving forces of the processes under way in the various countries.

The latest book by Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, is interesting from this standpoint.* Nkrumah is the spokesman of a generation of Africans who were destined to usher in a new epoch in the life of their peoples. He began his political and revolutionary career some 20 years ago when Africa was just awakening from its slumber. The outstanding role he has played in the continent's freedom fight is well known.

Nkrumah, like other progressive leaders in Africa, is deeply concerned with the destinies not only of his own country but of the continent. In this book he discusses the future of all Africa in the light of its past experience and its present developments. His purpose, he says, is "to trace briefly the African background and the effects of centuries of colonialism on the political, economic and social life of Africa as a whole; to place developments in Ghana in the broader context of the African revolution; and to explain my political philosophy based on my conviction of the need for the freedom and unification of Africa . . ." (p. xi).

For Nkrumah it is clear that Africa's backwardness is the direct result of the colonial system. The European colonialists left the peoples of the young African states an appalling legacy of poverty and almost complete illiteracy. Industry was in an embryonic condition and agriculture primitive, much of the land was left untilled, and disease and malnutrition were rife. Platitudes about the European "civilizing mission" and the "white man's burden" covered up outrageous plunder and monstrous exploitation.

In view of the state to which colonial rule reduced Africa, getting rid of the backwardness and building a modern society is, of course, a truly herculean task. Nkrumah correctly associates the solution of this task with the

choice of the way forward, with the capitalist way and the socialist way as the two alternatives. In this book he shows that only socialism will enable the African peoples to overcome their backwardness. "Socialism," he says, "is our only alternative" (p. 119).

It is common knowledge that many African leaders have declared for the socialist way, a fact which reflects both the declining prestige of capitalism and the growing strength and prestige of the socialist world system.

Spokesmen of diverse political trends have advanced concepts of "African socialism." Some of them use socialist slogans as a smoke-screen for neo-colonialism, others eulogize the "originality" of African society, claiming that it is a "classless" society and hence not to be assessed by the standards of Marxist socialism. Moreover, imperialist politicians, using subservient African leaders as their tools, are trying to channel the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiment of the masses into non-revolutionary, reformist openings.

But there are also convinced opponents of capitalism in Africa, people who sincerely want to lead their peoples onto the highroad of progress and, hence, are turning to socialism as they understand it. Kwame Nkrumah is one of these. "For socialism," he says, "assumes the public ownership of the means of production, the land and its resources, and the use of those means in fulfilment of the people's needs" (p. 119).

Expanding his concept of socialism, Nkrumah dwells on the changes which, if realized, would enable the country to launch out along the non-capitalist road, leading eventually to socialism. Ghana, he points out, still lacks socialist means of production, but the groundwork for these can be laid through modernization of agriculture and industrialization carried out by the national-democratic state. Nkrumah advocates public ownership of the basic means of production and distribution, regarding this as the principal condition for a planned socialist economy.

Further, he points out that the economic policy of his government is founded on the *growing participation of the state in economic life*: restrictions are being imposed on private capital, the emphasis is on the state and co-operative sectors, and planning is promoted; the government has bought out a number of foreign mining, insurance, commercial and transport companies, and new state-owned industrial and trading enterprises are being

*Kwame Nkrumah. *Africa Must Unite*. Heinemann, London, 1963. 229 pp.

established. Major steps have been taken in the spheres of health care, education, housing and social security.

It should be pointed out that going over to non-capitalist lines is a somewhat more complicated matter in Ghana. The class lines are comparatively sharply drawn, since capitalism has developed to a point and there is an incipient national bourgeoisie (especially in agriculture). So far the Nkrumah government is only restricting capitalist relationships and not seeking to abolish them. In particular, foreign private investments are permitted, as are big foreign-owned enterprises (these, however, are under strict government control); mixed enterprises jointly owned by the state and foreign private interests are being set up and Ghanaian capitalists can establish small enterprises provided they are neither agents nor partners of foreign entrepreneurs.

Needless to say, the socio-economic reforms in Ghana are not socialist measures even if they do help to create the objective prerequisites of socialism. The road to capitalism is not yet closed, especially since private enterprise has deep roots and, given the conditions, the capitalist tendencies are likely to gain ground. There is class struggle in the country, with disguised agents of the colonialists carrying on their insidious work. Hence the forces tending towards the capitalist road may exert considerable pressure. As Nkrumah sees it, the outcome of the struggle will be decided by a well-organized mass political party supported by the people. Such a party, in his opinion, is the Convention People's Party which led the struggle for independence.

"... Ghana's economic independence and the objective of socialism," he says, "cannot be achieved without decisive party leadership" (p. 128).

Mass political parties with a following drawn from diverse sections of the population are now the ruling parties in a number of newly-emerged African states. They enjoy considerable support primarily because of the wide appeal of the anti-imperialist struggle and the realization that for this struggle to succeed maximum unity of all the national forces, all the patriotic anti-colonial sections of the population, is essential. Consequently, these parties include workers, peasants, intellectuals, the small bourgeoisie wherever it exists, and even feudal elements.

Parties like the Convention People's Party of Ghana are not Marxist-Leninist parties even if they make socialism their objective, and understandably so, considering their class composition and the limited role played in

them by the working class, which is still numerically weak, even in Ghana.

But consistent implementation of measures of a non-capitalist nature in Ghana and in other African countries furthers the growth of the working class, helping it to crystallize and heightening its political role and ability to win the masses over to its side. The Ghanaian working class accumulated no little experience in the national-liberation struggle and can, eventually, become the leading force in the national-democratic revolution, the decisive factor in steering the country to the socialist road.

Active participation of the masses in political life, in deciding the destinies of their country, is an essential condition of non-capitalist development. Measures from above alone, no matter how well-intentioned, cannot carry the national-democratic revolution to consummation. Nkrumah, too, makes this point, stressing that in all its actions the government should rely on the masses, "consult" with the people and hearken to their wishes and aspirations.

The people played the main role in freeing Ghana from British imperialist rule, and to them belongs the decisive role in winning economic independence. "... The building of a new state requires more than the preparation of programs, the design of plans and the issue of instructions for their implementation. It requires the wholehearted support and self-identification of the people. . . ." (p. 103).

Nkrumah dwells on two main aims which, in his opinion, will determine the policy of the Convention People's Party for a long time to come. *The first is the building of a socialist Ghana; the second, the laying of the foundations for the political and economic unification of Africa.*

Unification is one of Africa's cardinal problems. The unity of its peoples was born of the struggle against colonial oppression and played an important part in ensuring the success of this struggle. Now it is still more important for the African states to stand together, to take coordinated action to extirpate the last vestiges of colonialism, to ensure their economic independence and to foil the neo-colonialist intrigues. "The greatest danger at present facing Africa is neo-colonialism," Nkrumah says (p. 173).

Neo-colonialist machinations in Africa are facilitated by the aftermath of the "balkanization" policy which the imperialists pursued in the heyday of their rule. The boundaries of the present sovereign states were fixed in the most arbitrary way, completely disregarding national interests. This could only plant

the seed of territorial disputes and conflicts, which are now being fanned to the utmost by the colonialists who have not given up the tried and tested divide-and-rule method. Border claims have already led to bloodshed between some of the new states—the Algerian-Moroccan conflict is a case in point. Such clashes benefit only the imperialists and damage the interests of the African people, for whom unity is indispensable for complete liberation from imperialist domination.

"This policy of balkanization," President Nkrumah writes, "is the new imperialism, the new danger to Africa. . . . We must stand firmly together against the imperialist forces which are engineering our division and seeking to make Africa a war-ground of contending interests." (pp. 179-193.)

Nkrumah's book was written before the conference of independent African states held in Addis Ababa in May 1963. This conference initiated the implementation—true, with certain reservations—of some of his ideas. In particular, an Organization of African Unity was founded and an African Unity Charter adopted proclaiming the need to coordinate efforts in the spheres of defense and security, foreign policy and diplomacy, the economy, science and technology. And at the Eighteenth U.N. General Assembly the independent African states stood together on a number of important issues of the struggle against colonialism.

We should not, of course, close our eyes to the difficulties which have to be overcome before African unity is fully translated into reality. The differences between the social systems and foreign and home policies of the various African states as well as the disparity of their levels of social and economic development are still too great. Moreover, imperialist politicians are working hard to obstruct African solidarity, to rob the movement for unity of its anti-colonial and anti-imperialist content. There are also isolationist tendencies which are fostered in every way by those posing as "friends" of the free peoples, trying to drive a wedge between these peoples and the international working-class movement, the socialist camp, and the progressive forces generally.

Nkrumah is aware of the importance of cooperation with the socialist countries, in particular with the Soviet Union. He examines the experience gained in building socialism in

the Soviet Union and finds in it much that is useful and instructive for the new Africa, especially in the sphere of economic upbuilding.

The concepts outlined in the book are not Marxist-Leninist concepts although they reflect the influence of Marxism, especially as regards the non-capitalist path of development in Africa and the characterization of imperialism and neo-colonialism. As a matter of fact, Nkrumah has never concealed what Marxist-Leninist philosophy has meant to him. In his autobiography he recalls how he turned to the works of Hegel, Marx, Engels and Lenin in search of solutions to the problems of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. According to his own testimony, he was particularly impressed by Marx and Lenin inasmuch as he was certain that their philosophy could solve these problems.

The program advanced by Nkrumah is a general democratic program and mentions socialism only as the goal of the future. Like some other African leaders, he somewhat exaggerates the "originality" of African society and the specific nature of the development of the continent as a whole and the various countries in particular. And he is most cautious about consistently applying Marxist economic theory to African conditions.

One cannot, of course, ignore the multiformity of African social and economic conditions. Indeed, it is these conditions that will determine the forms and methods of the transition to socialism in Africa, and no doubt these forms and methods will be highly specific. But for all that, socialism as a socio-economic formation is, in all circumstances, subject to the general objective laws governing the development of socialist society whether in Africa, Asia or Europe.

As the book shows, tangible conditions exist in many African countries for bypassing capitalism, or at any rate the developed stage of capitalism, and advancing towards socialism. How things will work out will be decided in a collision of political and class forces, in the course of the arduous struggle already under way in a number of African countries. And in this struggle a big role will be played by the progressive national-democratic forces Nkrumah represents.

M. KREMNYOV

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication;
the titles are given in English)

- Crisis of Confederation.* Toronto, Progress Books, 1963. 96 pp.
- Desyatyi sjezd RKP(b).* (Tenth Congress of the RCP/B/.) Stenographic report. Moscow, Politizdat, 1963.
- DZIEWICKA, M. *Chlopi-robotnicy.* (Peasants-Workers.) Results of a public opinion poll carried out by the Institute of Rural Economy. Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1963. 206 pp.
- EATON, J. *Political Economy.* A Marxist Textbook. New Revised Edition. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1963. 255 pp.
- Filosofhkiy slovar.* (Vocabulary of Philosophy.) Edited by M. M. Rosentahl and P. F. Yudin. Moscow, Politizdat, 1963. 544 pp.
- FISZEL, H. *Efektywnosci inwestycji i optimum produkcji w gospodarce socjalistycznej.* (Effective Investment and Optimum Production in Socialist Economy.) Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1963. 212 pp.
- GALL, E. *Sociologia burgheza din Rominia.* (Bourgeois Sociology in Rumania.) Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1963. 278 pp.
- HABER, A. *Mity ekonomiczne w NRF.* (Economic Myths in Federal Germany.) Warsaw, Ossolineum, 1963. 229 pp.
- Istoriya diplomatii.* (History of Diplomacy.) Second, revised and augmented edition. Edited by A. A. Gromyko, I. N. Zemskov, V. A. Zorin, V. S. Semenov, S. D. Skazkin and V. M. Khvostov. Vol. II — *Diplomatiya v novoye vremya, 1871-1914.* (Diplomacy in Modern Times, 1871-1914) by V. M. Khvostov. Moscow, Politizdat, 1963. 820 pp.
- KLOFAC, J., SVOBODA, M., TLUSTY, V. *Problemy determinizmu a pokroku.* (Problems of Determinism and Progress.) Essays on Historical Materialism. Prague, Nakladatelstvi Ceskoslovenske akademie ved, 1963. 303 pp.
- LABRIOLA, A. *Del materialismo storico.* (On Historical Materialism.) Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1963. 160 pp.
- Lenin i literatura.* (Lenin and Literature.) Symposium. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1963. 271 pp.
- MITEV, D. *Za sjvremennata strategiya na komunisticheskoto dvizheniye.* (The Modern Strategy of the Communist Movement.) Sofia, Bulgarian Communist Party Publishing House, 1963. 177 pp.
- Nove meze nemeckeho imperialismu.* (New Frontiers of German Imperialism.) Prague, Nase vojsko, 1963. 395 pp.
- OESTERLING, K., FREED, N. *Peace, Freedom and You.* Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1963. 32 pp.
- ORBAN, S. *Munca politica si intrecerea socialista.* (Political Work and Socialist Emulation.) Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1963. 102 pp.
- ROSSI, M. *Marx e la dialettica hegeliana.* (Marx and Hegelian Dialectics.) Vol. II. The Genesis of Historical Materialism. Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1963. 1040 pp.
- SNEJDAREK, A. *Revansiste proti Ceskoslovensku.* (Revanchists against Czechoslovakia.) Prague, Nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1963. 261 pp.
- Sovetskiye konstitutzii.* (Soviet Constitutions.) Reference Book. Moscow, Politizdat, 1963. 349 pp.

Among Our Contributors

JACQUES DUCLOS: Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the C.C., French Communist Party.

JAIME PEREZ: Member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the C.C., Communist Party of Uruguay.

VACLAV SLAVIK: Member C.C., Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

NORMAN FREED: Candidate Member National Committee, Communist Party of Canada.

MOURAD KOUWATLI: Syrian publicist.

ESTHER VILENSKA: Member Political Bureau, Communist Party of Israel.

GIOCONDO DIAS: Prominent Brazilian public worker.

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

PEDRO MOTTA LIMA: Brazilian publicist.

HUGO BARRIOS KLEE: Guatemalan publicist.

RAMON AMAYA AMADOR: Honduran publicist.

JOSE CARDONA HOYOS: Member C.C., Communist Party of Colombia.

JUAN VIANA: Member C.C., Communist Party of Colombia.

KJOELD OESTERLING: Danish publicist.

MIROSLAV LAB: Czechoslovak journalist.

KONNI ZILLIACUS: British publicist, Member of Parliament.

H. FAGAN: British journalist.

FIRST TIME IN ENGLISH . . .

Complete Text of
COLLECTED WORKS of V. I. LENIN

THIS AUTHORITATIVE EDITION WILL RUN TO 40 VOLUMES, AND CONTAINS MUCH MATERIAL NEVER BEFORE TRANSLATED. VOLUMES 1-14 (incl.), 17 and 38 HAVE NOW APPEARED.

SPECIAL OFFER

Become a subscriber for the complete set

**\$1.00 per volume
(\$40.00 for the complete set)**

Volumes not on subscription sell at \$1.50 each. A deposit of \$3.00 is required with your subscription. — to cover the **last** three volumes of the set. As volumes appear they are immediately mailed **C.O.D.** to subscribers.

Mail your subscription deposit now to:

PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ont. (in Canada)
WORLD BOOKS, 747 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y. (in USA)

NAME

ADDRESS

..... Deposit enclosed \$.....

REPRINTED IN ENGLISH

Copyright 1914

COLLECTED WORKS OF V. J. LEVIN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 1914
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1215 EAST 57TH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

SPECIAL ORDER

Price 1.50 per copy
\$2.50 for the complete set

These works are published in English for the first time. They are of great value to all students of the history of the United States and of the world. The author is one of the most distinguished historians of our time.

With four illustrations

By the author of "The History of the United States" and "The History of the World".

Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL discount OFFER!!!

for a **limited time only** you can
get this extraordinary value!!!

two handsome clothbound editions

FUNDAMENTALS of Marxism-Leninism

A must for every library . . . school, home or public. This edition (revised 1963), is hot off the press. It includes valuable materials on the new program of the C.P.S.U. The two previous editions were both completely sold out only a short time after publication, and orders are pouring in daily for the new edition! We are able to make this valuable book available through this special offer as a result of quantity purchasing.

This book previously sold for \$3.50

History of the C.P.S.U. (1960 edition)

Another valuable item to add to your collection, this book gives a stirring account of more than half a century of the heroic struggles, severe trials, and epoch-making victories of the working class, the victories of socialism and communism.

This book previously sold for \$2.50

NOW

you can get **both** of these invaluable works—for the
EXCEPTIONALLY LOW PRICE of

\$3.00

This offer is good only until
FEBRUARY 29th

Place your order immediately!

PROGRESS BOOKS

44 Stafford Street - 368-5336 - Toronto 3, Canada

29541

1003216

OFFER

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

FREE SAMPLE COPY

We would like to send a sample copy of

World Marxist Review

to interested people. Will you

fill out the coupon below and mail to us.

• • •

PROGRESS BOOKS
42-48 STAFFORD ST.
TORONTO 3, CANADA

WORLD BOOKS
747 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Please send a sample copy of **WORLD
MARXIST REVIEW** to the following:

NAME.....

ADDRESS

.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

Sender.....

Address.....

.....



Editions of the Journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH
(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,
42-48 Stafford St.,
Toronto 3, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITION:
(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION:
Stredisko pro rozširovani tisku,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3
Czechoslovakia

BRAZILIAN EDITION
(in Portuguese):
Rua da Assembléia, 34
3.º andar, sala 304,
Rio de Janeiro, Estado da Guanabara
Brazil

BULGARIAN EDITION:
Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen
Sofia

CYPRUS EDITION
(in Greek):
Laikon Praktorion,
Tricoupi Street, 53 T, Nicosia

CZECH EDITION:
Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

DUTCH EDITION:
Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam W

GERMAN EDITION
Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH,

"Globus" Vertrieb ausländischer
Zeitschriften, Wien XX, Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturvertrieb
Zürich, Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46,
Switzerland.

HUNGARIAN EDITION:
Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,
Arpad-U6

ITALIAN EDITION:
Libreria Rinascita, Via de le Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION:
Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

MONGOLIAN EDITION:
Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:
P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION:
Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G.
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa
Praha 6, Thakurova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,
Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo,
Uruguay

SWEDISH EDITION:
Arbetarkultur, Söderarmsvägen 36,
Johanneshov 6, Stockholm

VIETNAMESE EDITION:
So'o xuất nhập khẩu sách báo 32,
Hai Ba trung, Hà-nôi

Editions of the Journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH
(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,
42-48 Stafford St.,
Toronto 3, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITION:
(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION:
Stredisko pro rozsirovani tisku,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3
Czechoslovakia

BRAZILIAN EDITION
(in Portuguese):
Rua da Assembléia, 34
3.º andar, sala 304,
Rio de Janeiro, Estado da Guanabara
Brazil

BULGARIAN EDITION:
Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen
Sofia

CYPRUS EDITION
(in Greek):
Laikon Praktorion,
Tricoupi Street, 53 T, Nicosia

CZECH EDITION:
Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

DUTCH EDITION:
Progressief Algemeen Vertaalbureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22',
Amsterdam W

GERMAN EDITION
Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH,
"Globus" Vertrieb ausländischer
Zeitschriften, Wien XX, Höchstädtplatz 3,
Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturvertrieb
Zürich, Zürich 4, Feldstrasse 46,
Switzerland.

HUNGARIAN EDITION:
Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,
Arpad-U6

ITALIAN EDITION:
Libreria Rinascita, Via de le Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION:
Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

MONGOLIAN EDITION:
Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:
P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION:
Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G.
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa
Praha 6, Thakurova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,
Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo,
Uruguay

SWEDISH EDITION:
Arbetarkultur, Söderarmsvägen 36,
Johanneshov 6, Stockholm

VIETNAMESE EDITION:
So'o xuất nhập khẩu sách bao 32,
Hai Ba trung, Hà-noi

