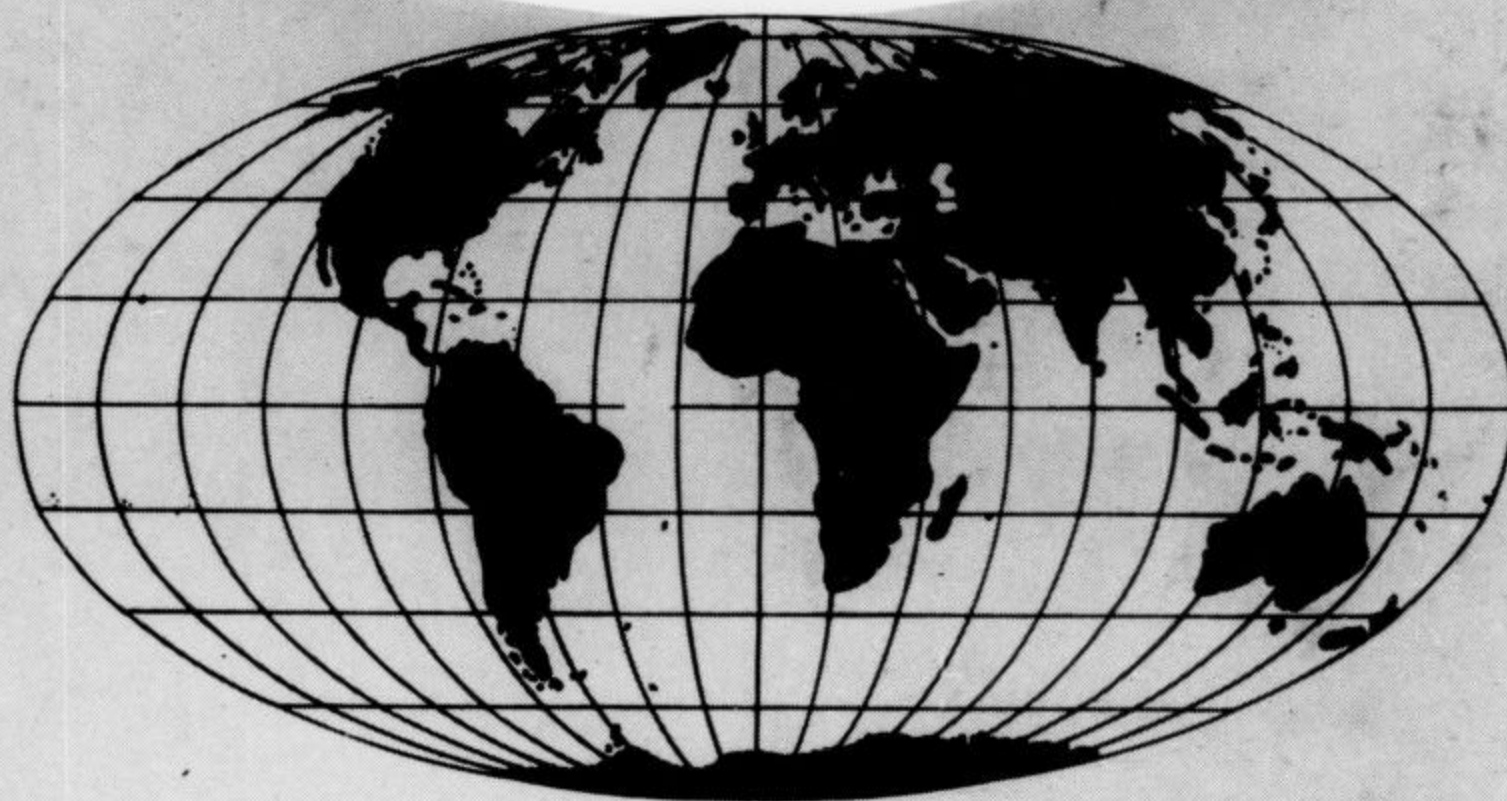


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

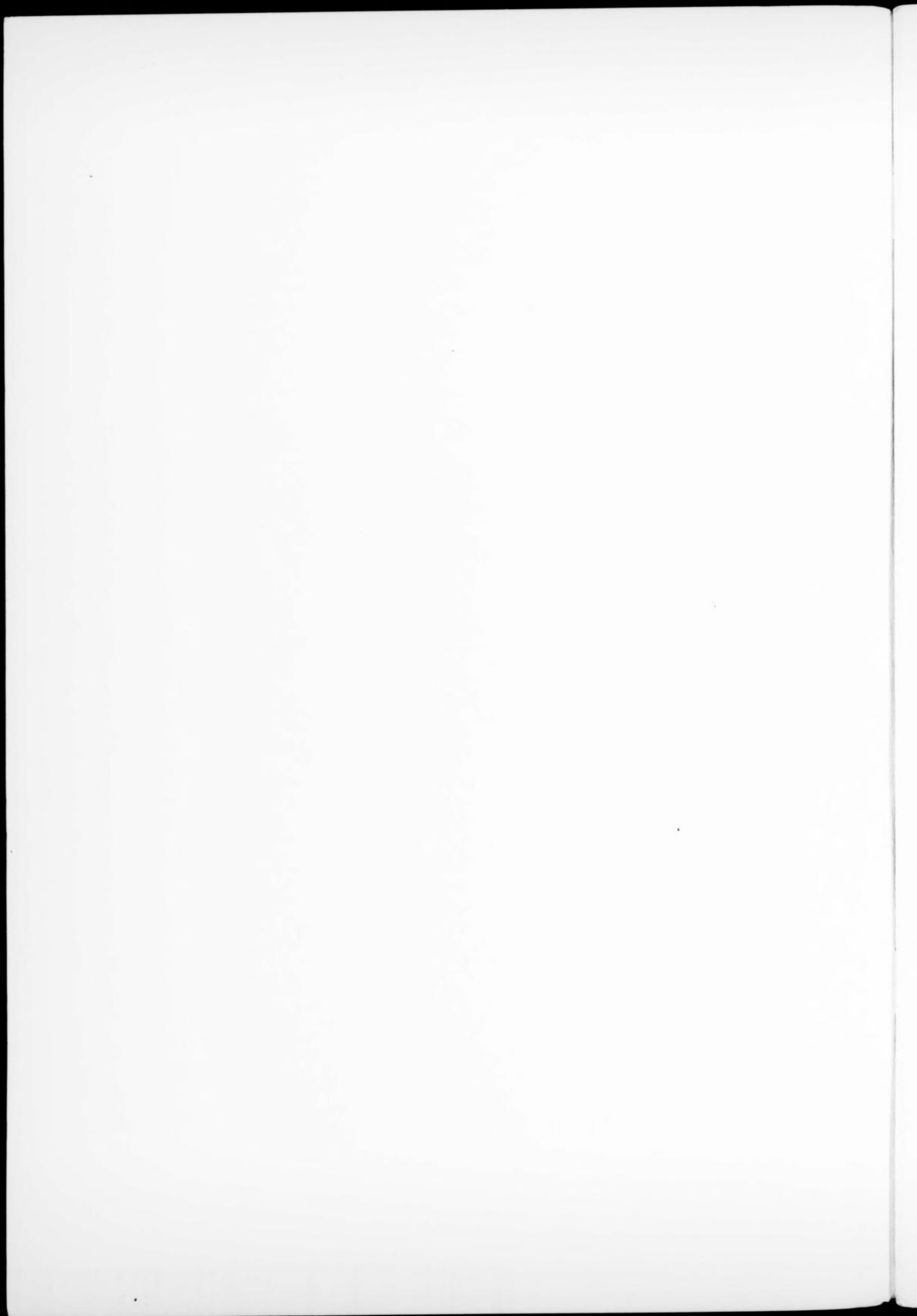


Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

**National and Democratic Revolution
in French Canada** —Leslie Morris

The Goldwater Peril
—J. Thomas



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Economic Cooperation of the Socialist Countries — A Vital Necessity

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal

THE rise of the socialist world system as the prototype of the worldwide Communist society of the future poses the task of economic cooperation and mutual aid between the socialist countries, steadily bringing their economies closer together, and gradually equalizing their level of development. The task of uniting the efforts of all the socialist countries and making the most rational use of their potential in the interests of each country as well as of the socialist world community derives from the essence and the historical mission of world socialism; it is dictated by the need to ensure the rapid economic development and to enhance the might of the socialist system as the decisive factor of human progress, the main force in the struggle to preserve and strengthen world peace and security.

Cooperation between the socialist countries multiplies the strength of each and makes for the rapid progress of all. This is a decisive factor accelerating the world revolutionary process. *The advance of the socialist countries, basically thanks to their economic achievements, is an organic part of the world revolutionary process, the main-spring of progress, and the main form of the class struggle on the international plane.*

1.

The growth of cooperation between the socialist countries presupposes a more effective international division of labor, which facilitates maximum utilization of the advantages of socialism as a world system, industrialization, fixing the proper proportions in the economy of each country, efficient utilization of manpower and of material and financial resources, and prevents duplication in production, thereby strengthening the socialist community as a whole.

The purpose of international socialist di-

vision of labor is to ensure greater industrial output, a rapid rate of economic growth and steady improvement in the well-being of the working people.

Strange as it may seem, these Marxist-Leninist axioms are questioned and even rejected by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who claim that international division of labor is an artificial contrivance, a cloak for the hegemonistic aspirations of the Soviet Union and its desire to exploit other countries.

The CPC leaders close their eyes to the objective necessity of socialist international division of labor. The idea of cohesion and the all-round drawing together of the socialist countries with a view to the ultimate creation of a single worldwide cooperative of nations runs through all of the works of Lenin, whom the Chinese leaders are so prone to quote in and out of context. But is it not clear that coming together and cohesion are impossible without deepening cooperation in the economic sphere, without international division of labor?

The Soviet Union, like most of the socialist countries, sees the objective necessity of international socialist cooperation and consistently adheres to this policy. The people of Mongolia resolutely reject the anti-Soviet insinuations of the Chinese leaders. "The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which has steadfastly pursued a policy of strengthening friendship and cooperation with the great Chinese people," a plenary meeting of our Central Committee declared in December 1963, "emphatically rejects and condemns the crude attempts of the Chinese leaders who are seeking to impose their anti-Marxist line on our Party by means of diverse kinds of pressure, to alienate it from the international Communist movement and its tried and tested vanguard, the CPSU, and to

divert our people from the correct path of everlasting alliance and friendship with the great Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries."

Most socialist countries fully agree that it is essential to promote international socialist division of labor in every way and are acting accordingly. There are people, however, who aver that closer cooperation should be put off until all socialist countries achieve the same level of economic development. They would make it appear that international socialist division of labor is incompatible with the rapid development of the formerly lagging countries, and in particular with their industrialization.

Both theory and practice prove the contrary. It is precisely thanks to cooperation and mutual aid between the fraternal countries that the less developed countries are advancing at an increasing pace. This is borne out by the entire experience of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Soviet deliveries of industrial equipment, raw materials and food were invaluable in putting our countries on their feet, and Soviet aid played an enormous role in their industrialization. The foundations of modern industry in China and Bulgaria, Mongolia and Albania, Vietnam and Rumania were built solely with the help of the Soviet Union. These are facts which cannot be denied.

All-round international cooperation in no way hinders the industrialization of formerly lagging countries. Indeed, the underlying idea of all the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid is accelerated development of precisely these countries. This is the object of consultations between the fraternal parties on coordinating plans.

Yet the Chinese theoreticians obdurately reject the idea of socialist international cooperation and instead propagate the theory of "reliance on one's own forces." In ignoring the inter-connection between cooperation among socialist countries and maximum utilization by each of its own forces and resources, and counterposing one to the other, the Chinese theoreticians indulge in sleight of hand. They ascribe to the socialist countries relations which are characteristic of capitalism. Under capitalism the weaker countries are indeed subordinated to the stronger. But division of labor under socialism does not imply one-sided dependence or subordination of one country to another; it implies equal, mutually beneficial *interdependence* of all the socialist states, mutual links which strengthen their independence and accelerate their

development. It is common knowledge that each of our countries will be able fully to harness its own potential and resources only in fraternal cooperation with the others.

The sole purpose of the Chinese assertions is to impel the other socialist countries towards economic autarchy and exclusiveness, to sever the equal and fraternal relationships between them and to make them dependent on China, which, according to the great-power doctrines of the CPC leaders, is destined to take the cause of the world revolution into its own hands. We in Mongolia, being China's neighbors, are keenly aware of the designs harbored by the Peking politicians.

Basic to the progress of each socialist country and of the entire socialist community is maximum use of the national material and manpower resources combined with all-round cooperation and mutual aid among all the countries. If even for China, with its vast territory, resources and population, economic isolation means retarding progress, for the small countries it spells disaster.

It is imperative that the peoples of the socialist countries and their vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties, correctly understand the laws of development of socialist society and elaborate and carry out measures fully according with the vital interests of world socialism and further cooperation to the utmost. The Chinese leaders, however, putting forward an anti-Marxist platform, are departing more and more from Marxism-Leninism. They are deepening their differences with the world Communist movement and working to disrupt it. Our Party holds that this can only be qualified as open betrayal of the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle. Our Central Committee declared last December: "By their adventurist policy and subversive activities the Chinese leaders are causing enormous harm to the unity and solidarity of the countries belonging to the socialist world system and to the international Communist movement, to the socialist and national-liberation revolutions."

The position of the CPC on the basic questions of building socialism, of cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries and of international life—a position fallacious from the standpoint of theory and harmful in practice—underscore once again the truly historical significance of the turn marked in the international Communist movement by the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties. These decisions creatively

developed Marxism-Leninism in step with the times. It is this, incidentally, which displeases the Chinese leaders, as can be seen from their latest documents. But how can Communists, genuine Leninists, renounce a creative approach to life? To do so would mean the death of Marxism.

Because of this the Marxist-Leninist parties are for convening another meeting to discuss the new and significant developments since 1960. The purpose of such a meeting would not be to "excommunicate" anyone, but primarily to make a scientific survey of the real processes at work in our time in order to elaborate our further strategy and tactics and to ensure true cohesion in the international Communist movement.

2

The advantages accruing from the new type of economic relationships developing among the socialist countries are apparent in the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

The Council was established in April 1949 as an international socialist economic organization comprising the USSR and the European People's Democracies.

The purpose of the Council, as set forth in the Statute adopted at its Twelfth Session in 1959, is to organize extensive economic, scientific and technological cooperation among the member-countries in order to make the most rational use of their natural and economic resources and to promote the growth of their productive forces; to advance the various economies by consistently promoting the international socialist division of labor, specialization and coordination of production; and to stimulate trade and exchange of scientific and technological achievements and experience with a view to ensuring a steadily rising standard of living.

The Council was a response to the objective need for the socialist countries to arrange their relations in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism, all-round cooperation and mutual aid, on the basis of complete equality, respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and national interests, and mutual benefit. These principles stem from the class essence of the socialist system, from the identity of the interests and aims of the peoples who are building socialism and communism.

Promoting economic cooperation precluding all discrimination in relations with one another and with third countries, the member countries combine their efforts to ensure the

continued advance of the national economy of each country and the overall economy of the community. Needless to say, in all its work the Council is guided by the principle of the sovereignty of its members, as can be seen, in particular, from the fact that all its decisions and recommendations are adopted with the concurrence of all the countries concerned.

At the initial stage when the predominant form of economic cooperation was trade on a bilateral basis, main attention was directed at expanding commodity exchange through short-term and long-term agreements, scientific and technological cooperation, and the solution of specific economic problems. Later, beginning with the mid-fifties, as the economy of the member-countries developed, the emphasis gradually shifted from the sphere of circulation to the sphere of material production proper, as well as investments. Priority was given to coordinating the basic branches and rational division of labor. The Seventh Session of the Council, held in 1956, set up permanent committees to draw up proposals relating to the various branches of industry and agriculture, exchange of production experience, better utilization of capacities, introduction of up-to-date technology, and joint effort in research and designing.

As time went on, the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other countries in building socialism and communism, their economic, cultural, scientific and technological progress, as well as the improved functioning and greater experience of the Council bodies created favorable conditions for advancing the economic and political cooperation among the member-countries to a higher plane.

Important in this respect was the conference of the First Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries held in Moscow in June 1962. This meeting was a landmark in the consolidation of economic cooperation as the socialist world system entered a new stage of its development—the stage of full-scale building of communism in the Soviet Union and the successful building of socialism in other countries, some of which are already engaged in the construction of a developed socialist society.

The 1962 conference summed up the experience gained in economic cooperation and called for a radical improvement in the functioning of the Council. It approved the "Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labor," recommended that a long-term program of economic cooperation be drawn up on the basis of these principles,

and stressed the need to create more favorable conditions for the planned extension of international socialist division of labor.

The principal means of extending the division of labor and dovetailing the production efforts of the socialist countries is coordination of the national plans. This is a new form of cooperation making for more rational harnessing of resources in order to accelerate the economic advance of each and of the socialist community as a whole. It stems from the requirements of the objective law of planned and proportional development of the socialist economy, which presupposes observance of the proper proportions in each of the countries and on the scale of the socialist world system.

Coordination of plans was practised also prior to 1962, for instance, when the member-countries were drawing up their plans for 1961-65. But at that time it was limited mainly to mutual deliveries and did not take in the basic branches of production, especially capital construction, introduction of new technology, or agriculture. The procedures too were not particularly effective. Up to 1962 each country first drafted its plan, adopted it and only then began to dovetail it with the similarly approved plans of the other member-countries. The 1962 meeting changed things, deciding that the member-countries should finally approve their plans after they had been coordinated.

Now the necessary conditions have been created for coordinating not the volume of production of particular lines of output but the principal proportions in the economy in keeping with the common interests, for working out a kind of integrated balance sheet which could serve as a collective development plan for all member-countries.

3

The "Basic Principles" point out that extension of international socialist division of labor through plan coordination presupposes stepping up specialization and coordination. This in turn calls for uniform standards and also planning methods and indices. Unless this is done the thorough economic analysis and comparison necessary for elevating co-operation to a higher plane is impossible.

Inter-state specialization means concentrating particular lines of output in one or a number of countries with a view to meeting the requirements of all, establishing stable economic relations and coordinating production between countries. International specialization will increase output and reduce pro-

duction costs, make for minimum expenditure of social labor and most effective use of material and manpower resources.

In defining the place of each socialist country in the system of international division of labor its requirements and potentialities as well as the interests of the entire socialist world system must be taken into account. To build socialism and ensure its final victory in each country it is necessary to put production on a *technologically up-to-date and economically most profitable* footing. But simultaneous development of all branches of industry and agriculture in every country is not rational, not to speak of the fact that not all countries, or even groups of countries, are capable of shouldering the load involved. This applies particularly to manufacturing industry, especially engineering. For example, it is estimated that the optimum annual output rate of a modern automobile plant is in the neighborhood of 600,000 passenger cars or 120,000-130,000 trucks. Otherwise it is impossible to make rational use of production facilities, employ the latest technology and reduce expenditure of labor and materials.

Clearly, not every socialist country is in a position to organize optimum production; the home market of most socialist countries could not absorb so many cars, for instance. Optimum production cannot be organized within the limits of national resources and markets.

Production can, of course, be geared to the home market. The socialist camp witnessed tendencies of this order, especially in the fifties. In the long run, however, this reduces the efficiency of the national economy, makes for high cost of production, retards the growth of labor productivity, slows down the rate of growth and dooms the country to lag behind others.

Both theory and practice show that the striving to produce at home all the items required at whatever cost is detrimental to economic development. Even such a big industrial power as the Soviet Union, which is in a position to produce almost any item in optimal quantities, stands to gain from international specialization and coordination. In view of this, the Council countries are now paying much attention to specialization, especially in the manufacture of types of machinery and equipment which as yet the member-countries produce in insufficient quantities or not at all.

The fact that owing to historical circumstances the socialist countries were not the most highly developed in the world when

they embarked on the building of the new society made the problem of meeting their requirements an urgent one indeed. Therefore in coordinating their plans, the member-countries seek to ensure the maximum advance in the raw material, fuel and power industries, since it is on these branches that the progress of the economy as a whole largely depends. Whenever several member-countries have deposits of one and the same raw material, the deposits offering the biggest returns on investments should be given priority. In order properly to distribute the burden of developing raw material sources, the basic guidelines should be worked out for cooperation between interested member-countries in extracting and processing raw materials wherever the conditions are most favorable. The July 1963 conference of the Party leaders and the heads of Governments of the Council countries agreed that the task of the *immediate future* was to coordinate plans for 1966-70 and extend specialization and coordination. As for working out agreed long-term perspectives, the conference considered it most expedient to do this on the basis of the coordinated plans and economic agreements covering the 1966-70 period.

It goes without saying that the main attention is focussed on such key problems as full satisfaction of the growing fuel, power and raw material requirements of the member-countries, promotion of the more modern branches, and steady improvement of quality and design through extensive introduction of the latest technological achievements.

Developing agriculture is another urgent problem. So far, however, the possibilities for mutually beneficial cooperation in this sphere have not been sufficiently utilized. A number of measures are envisaged both on national scale and within the framework of the Council for increasing the production of grain, meat, milk, etc., in the next few years; this will be facilitated by extended cooperation in the production of tractors and other machines, mineral fertilizers, pesticides, selected seed and concentrated feeds.

The decisions of the 1962 and 1963 conferences substantially broadened the scope of Council activities. This fully accords with the need steadily to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries and to bring their economies closer in keeping with the objective tendency which Lenin foresaw towards the eventual establishment of a worldwide communist economy regulated by the victorious working people after a common plan.

4

Although it was established as an organization of the European socialist countries, the Council for Mutual Economic Aid has from its inception helped to promote cooperation between all the countries of the socialist camp. Prior to our own entry into the organization, Mongolian representatives attended Council meetings as observers. This proved highly beneficial for our country.

In 1962 our government, expressing the interests and aspirations of the people and with the aim of accelerating the building of socialism, applied for membership of the Council. The session of the Council held in June 1962 admitted our country to the organization.

The Mongolian People's Republic, now at the final stage of building socialism, is concentrating on all-round development of its material and technological base. The progress made by our people in all spheres of economic and cultural endeavor is due to the correct policy pursued by the People's Revolutionary Party—a policy aimed at making maximum use of all the internal resources—natural, material and manpower—and at steadily strengthening our genuine internationalist friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Extension of cooperation within the framework of the Council opens new vistas before the Mongolian People's Republic. Its participation in the work of the Council and its committees during the past two years has helped to advance our economy; it has accelerated the rate of socialist upbuilding and raised the standard of living, and has given us the benefit of the experience gained by the fraternal countries in building the new life. The economic objectives of the MPR, and also the difficulties deriving from its past as well as from its specific situation today, make it imperative to ensure a rate of growth exceeding that of other socialist countries.

We reject the unscientific viewpoint that each country should develop all branches of modern industry. Mongolia proposes to organize the output of those lines for which it has the natural and economic conditions. In defining the perspectives of the various branches of industry and agriculture, we take into account not only our own requirements but those of other socialist countries as well.

In our opinion there are a number of specific circumstances to be borne in mind in

the cooperation with the other socialist countries.

For one thing, Mongolia is unable to harness all its natural resources by its own efforts alone. We believe that our mineral wealth should be tapped by the joint efforts of the fraternal countries. This would benefit both our own country and the entire socialist world system, for their interests are in complete harmony.

As a country which has by-passed the capitalist stage of development, a country relatively backward economically and anxious to advance to the level of the leading socialist countries within a comparatively brief space of time, Mongolia is in need of foreign credits. The best way to ensure rapid progress we see in increasing the share of credits in financing capital construction.

Further, our shortage of manpower makes it essential to mechanize production processes to the maximum, to introduce industrial methods in construction and sharply to raise the productivity of labor.

We believe the establishment of joint enterprises to be one of the most effective forms of aid from fraternal peoples in building our industry, utilizing our natural wealth and accelerating economic progress.

In general we regard the joint establishment and operation of enterprises as one of the most important forms of cooperation between socialist countries. There is nothing artificial about such enterprises, as some people think. They are the logical outcome of cooperation in keeping with the requirements of modern industry and productive forces, of each country's desire to advance its national economy to the utmost. The establishment of such enterprises, on a *strictly voluntary basis* needless to say, does not infringe the interests of any of the partners, on the contrary, it benefits each country and the community as a whole. Enterprises of this kind are built primarily in key areas where the expenditure would be too heavy for any single country. Instances are the trans-European Friendship oil pipeline and the Peace power grid which are extremely advantageous to all the parties concerned.

The cooperation has necessitated the establishment of the International Bank of Economic Cooperation, the freight-car pool and other joint undertakings. Now the trend is towards joint enterprises in industry proper as well as in research and designing, such as the recently established Intermetal (taking in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia) and joint Bulgarian-Hungarian research centers and enterprises.

Our Party believes that international co-ordination and the creation of inter-state property in the form of joint enterprises are an objective necessity, one of the higher forms of cooperation and mutual aid among socialist countries, a definite stage in the transformation of national economies into components of a general communist economy, a way to the creation of a worldwide co-operative.

The question of joint enterprises is closely connected with the question of sovereignty. Are they national or common property? If they are common property, what about the rights and sovereignty of the countries on whose territory they are situated? We in Mongolia have accumulated much experience in building and operating enterprises jointly with the Soviet Union. And we can say that never have these enterprises damaged our interests in any way; on the contrary, they have proved to be in the *best national interest* and have helped to strengthen the sovereignty of our country. The joint Mongolian-Soviet enterprises have played an extremely important role in overcoming the inherited backwardness of our country, in building its socialist economy, creating modern branches of industry and transforming it from an agrarian into an agrarian-industrial country.

Sovereignty implies the right of each country independently to decide all questions concerning its home and foreign policy. But clearly this right should be seen in the light of the fundamental aims of the socialist system which are to uphold the interests of the people and ensure their material well-being and spiritual progress. *The exercise of sovereignty in our conditions implies working to advance the country, to secure its all-round development.* Today the exercise of genuine socialist sovereignty, the sovereignty of the people, is connected with co-operation among the socialist states inasmuch as this accords with the vital interests of the working people. Our Party declares our readiness to undertake any international commitment which benefits our people.

At the same time we always bear in mind—and hold that it is the duty of all true Marxist-Leninists to do so—the interests of the great family of socialist nations. Correctly understood, the interests of each socialist country do not conflict in any way with the interests of the community as a whole. And if the principle “all for each and each for all” is implicit in the concept of socialist internationalism, concern for the interests of fraternal countries is implicit

in the socialist concept of sovereignty. There is no contradiction, nor can there be, between the sovereignty of the various countries and socialist internationalism, the interests of the socialist world system.

As we see it, eventually it will be necessary, from the standpoint of the interests of our country and the entire community, to draw up an integrated general economic plan for all the member-countries and also to set up a permanent planning body. Needless to say, this must be preceded by thorough preparatory work. But it is a prospect that should be kept in mind, all the more so since the coordination of plans practised today is essentially an initial form of joint planning.

Joint planning is the best way to ensure the balanced development of the various links of the single socialist world economy which is already taking shape. The steady growth of the productivity of social labor is of course the principal condition for the triumph of socialism and communism. And the best way to achieve this is by consistently extending and deepening the cooperation, by sound joint planning, primarily in material production. As a result the objective trend toward the internationalization of economic life in our countries will gain momentum.

5

Socialization of production, manpower resources and investments on an international scale is a logical process. In our opinion the Council should facilitate this process in every way.

The MPR, which experiences an acute shortage of material, financial and manpower resources and whose national accumulation rate is lagging behind the growth of construction, is very much interested in closing the gap between the economies of the various socialist countries as quickly as possible. All-round cooperation and socialist mutual aid is of the greatest importance from the standpoint of overcoming our inherited backwardness.

In this connection I should like to note that the Council and its committees fully appreciate the needs of the MPR and respond to the requests and wishes of our government. The readiness of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries to render us all-round aid was expressed by N. S. Khrushchov in his article "Vital Questions of the Development of the Socialist World System": "We hold that one of the main tasks of the Coun-

cil is to study the question of extending mutual aid among the socialist countries, especially help to those still behind economically. This applies, for example, to the newest member of the Council, the Mongolian People's Republic, which needs the aid of all our countries."*

It has been the consistent policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government to render disinterested aid and support to peoples in need of it. The inestimable value and truly internationalist character of Soviet aid is clearly evident in the achievements of the Mongolian people, whose good fortune it was to launch out on the socialist road immediately after the Soviet people.

Ever since the MPR joined the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, the committees of the latter have been studying, at the request of our government, the economic situation and the specific features of our country. Programs are being worked out aimed at extending cooperation and rendering fraternal aid, primarily in agriculture and also in making a geological survey of our mineral resources.

Drawing on the aid of the Council countries, especially the USSR, we were able in good time to tackle the task of charting the basic lines of economic and cultural development up to 1980 and drafting our five-year plan for 1966-70. Our planning bodies are engaged in bilateral and multi-lateral consultation with the planners of other member-countries. It is clear that had we not joined the Council, we could not have accomplished as much as we have in the sphere of long-term planning.

The long-range prospect as tentatively envisaged provides for a rapid rate of advance with a view to raising our economy to the level of the advanced socialist countries. Industrialization will proceed at a rapid pace, with gross industrial output scheduled to increase more than tenfold and agricultural production fourfold; the average projected increase for the Council countries in 1961-80 is more than sixfold in industrial production and threefold in agriculture.

It goes without saying that we cannot ensure such a rate of growth alone, without relations of fraternal friendship, all-round cooperation and mutual aid with the other socialist countries. *We can achieve this only with the aid and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.* This once again underscores the value of all-round economic cooperation.

According to the Statute of the Council

*See WMR, No. 9, 1962.

all member-countries should be represented on all of its committees. At our request, however, it has been agreed that, apart from the Executive Committee and the Secretariat, the MPR should have representatives only in those permanent committees and other bodies in which it has a direct interest. At present we take a direct part in the work of about half of these committees and bodies. To promote joint effort in the sphere of geological surveying and prospecting, a permanent geology committee has been set up with headquarters in Ulan-Bator where its first meeting was held in October 1963.

Our entry into the Council marks a new stage in our fraternal relations with the other socialist countries, the stage of *multi-lateral cooperation* embracing all aspects of economic intercourse in both production and distribution.

This enables our country fully to utilize the advantages of socialism, in particular to achieve a rational structure of the national economy conforming to its conditions, to reduce expenditure of labor and funds to the minimum while expanding production, and to make the most effective use of financial, material and manpower resources.

Drawing on comprehensive cooperation and socialist mutual aid, making maximum use of its own resources and at the same time extending economic intercourse with other socialist countries, Mongolia will be able to reach the economic level of the most advanced socialist countries in a comparatively brief space of time. In keeping with the law of gradual equalization of economic and cultural levels which operates on the scale of the entire socialist system, the MPR will be able rapidly to expand its productive forces and to improve the well-being of the working people. This will pave the way for its transition to communism at approximately the same time as the other socialist countries.

In the light of this our task now is to strengthen in every way economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Council members as well as with the other socialist countries; to exert every effort to make the most rational use of the multiform aid rendered by the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries; to make maximum use of internal resources and possibilities; constantly to learn from the collective experience of

the Council countries in building socialism; to draw on the technological experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as on their methods of organization of labor and economic management.

We know that we can reap the full benefit of cooperation with the other socialist countries only if we marshal all our forces to carry out the tasks. Marxist-Leninists do not sponge on others. In our opinion, aid from fraternal countries should stimulate one's own labor effort. To put it to any other use, to squander it for non-productive purposes, will not benefit the country in the long run. To every instance of aid we shall respond by redoubling our efforts, doing our utmost to speed up the progress of our own country and of the entire socialist world system.

The Communist and Workers' parties and the peoples of the socialist countries are working all-out to accelerate the building of socialism, advancing from success to success in installing the material and technological base for it, and steadily raising the standard of living.

Our people, advancing shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people, the builders of communism, and the peoples of other fraternal countries, are successfully carrying out the tasks of the third five-year plan (1961-65).

We shall do our utmost to carry out this program and to create the conditions for the realization of future development plans. It should be stressed that accomplishment of this task largely depends on the extent to which we rally the creative energies of our people and use all our resources and possibilities. Consequently, all the efforts of our Party, state and mass organizations are directed at ensuring further successes in economic and cultural upbuilding.

In all its activities the MPRP has been and always will be guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles set forth in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. Our Party has always believed that unflagging work to strengthen the socialist world system and the international Communist movement, to cement everlasting fraternal friendship with the great Soviet people and the peoples of other socialist countries, is vital for our people, an inexhaustible source of strength and inspiration to them in the building of the new life.

Active Struggle Against the Danger of a Split

Oscar Vargas

FROM the very outset, when the differences with the Chinese leaders had only begun to appear, our Party, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, vigorously opposed the ultra-Left and dogmatic Chinese theses. We did not know then that the Chinese leaders intended to carry their differences with the international Communist movement to the point of a split. At first our Party felt that good relations should be preserved with the Chinese leaders, that the polemic should be conducted with restraint, that one should strive to help them overcome their delusions and to return to the positions enunciated in the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, from which, unwittingly, as we thought, they were departing more and more.

However, at a meeting of our Central Committee in 1963 we resolved to abandon the conciliatory tone inasmuch as we believed that in the circumstances it could only do harm. The Peking leaders regarded the moderate and conciliatory tone adopted by the fraternal parties in the spirit of internationalism, the desire to find a way of overcoming the differences and achieving mutual understanding in the interests of unity, as a sign of their success. The meeting was of the opinion that a position of tolerance might lead the Chinese leaders into error in estimating their strength and thus cause them to step up their attacks on the line defined by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960. And this is exactly what happened.

A subsequent meeting of our Central Committee examined the question of the ideological struggle in the international movement, and analyzed the class roots of the position and the practical activities of the Chinese leaders.

The class roots of the Chinese position can be traced chiefly to the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology. There was a time when the Chinese leaders themselves recognized the danger of petty-bourgeois pressure on their Party. "Our Party," Mao Tse-tung said, "is not only surrounded from without by this extensive social stratum, but within

its ranks as well persons of petty-bourgeois background constitute the vast majority. . . ." The petty-bourgeois ideology in the Party, he said on another occasion, "is expressed in a perpetual swinging now to the left, now to the right, in a penchant for Leftist revolutionary phraseology and slogans, and in sectarian exclusiveness and adventurism."

How did it come about that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, who but recently perceived and exposed the danger threatening the party, have ended up by succumbing completely to that danger? Experience shows that formal recognition of a principle is no guarantee that individual leaders or groups of leaders will not act against that principle.

Mao Tse-tung considers himself a master of dialectics. But he uses his "dialectics" today to justify undisguised attempts to split the international Communist movement after the pseudo-dialectical formula: "unity—struggle or even a split—a new unity on a new foundation." Sectarianism and dogmatism have nothing in common with dialectics. Nothing could be farther from dialectics than the hidebound, dogmatic and sectarian thinking that is the distinguishing feature of the current policy of the Chinese leaders.

The danger which the ideological struggle and the disruptive activities of the Peking leaders present for our Party cannot be overestimated. True, the splitters have not found a single convert in our Party, which stands solidly behind its Central Committee. But this should not be any cause for complacency. Costa Rica is an underdeveloped country with no large-scale industry and a relatively small, dispersed proletariat that has emerged only recently, and an extremely influential petty bourgeoisie. These and a number of other factors find their reflection in the social composition of our Party, making it susceptible in some measure to petty-bourgeois ideology.

The rank and file of our Party have implicit faith in the leadership and share its views on the ideological struggle. This, how-

ever, does not mean that they are altogether clear on all questions, that there is no doubting and vacillation among them or that they are completely immune to the influence of the petty-bourgeois "revolutionism" that is the essence of the Chinese leaders' ideology. Moreover, the Communists have thousands of sympathizers whose numbers far exceed the membership of the Party. Among these there are, of course, people who are influenced by petty-bourgeois ideology which engenders a propensity for hasty and thoughtless actions, for indulging in wishful thinking and switching from excessive optimism to the depths of despair.

Imperialist propaganda in Costa Rica, as in the other Latin American countries, reduces the ideological differences in the Communist movement to the simple formula: "The Russians favor a soft line, they are opposed to armed struggle." This is the bourgeois "explanation" of the theses concerning the possibility in certain countries and under certain conditions of carrying out the revolution by peaceful means, without armed struggle. Such "explanations" are a distortion of the truth, designed to deceive and confuse the people. On the other hand, bourgeois propaganda represents the Chinese leaders as adherents of the tough line, of armed struggle.

It must be said that the Chinese leaders also seek to present their position in approximately the same light. We are "revolutionaries," they declare; we want to put an end to imperialism as quickly as possible and hence we stand for the path which, though it involves violence, civil war and human sacrifice, is the only possible path of revolution. According to this concept, the fact that in Brazil, for example, the peaceful development of the revolution has suffered a temporary setback, that the imperialists succeeded in making a deal with the "gorillas" and ousting Goulart, is "proof" that the policy of peaceful revolutionary development has failed and that the path of armed struggle is the only correct one.

If one follows this curious method of reasoning it would appear that wherever armed struggle is waged this is a victory for the "Chinese line," whereas in countries like Chile, for example, where the Marxist-Leninists consider it possible to advance the revolution by peaceful means, the "Russian line" is operating.

Fallacious propaganda of this kind finds its way into the ranks of the masses and often confuses them. Hence we wish to stress

the urgent need for a deeper and more exhaustive examination within the Party of all aspects of the ideological struggle in the international Communist movement and to give the masses of sympathizers a clearer understanding of the points at issue. In other words, there is a need for constant vigilance and for improving our ideological work.

Individuals expelled from our Party and all those who had withdrawn from the revolutionary struggle for one reason or another today tend to adopt the Chinese position.

Persons expelled from the Communist parties for political corruption or unseemly conduct in their private lives, or for lack of discipline and revolutionary firmness, or for other reasons incompatible with party membership, invariably seek to attribute their expulsion to ideological motives, to their disagreement with one or another policy of the Party. The same justification is sought by those expelled for anti-Party actions, people who have never been able to overcome their personal shortcomings and who are incapable of developing the qualities essential to a Party member.

All the expellees seize upon any opportunity to take issue with the general line of the Party. Hence it is not surprising that today these people are climbing onto the Chinese bandwagon, attacking the Communist parties, and seeking to undermine and split them. This potential danger exists, and we must be constantly on our guard if we are to avert it. The anti-Party activity of such people would not be worth mentioning did they not tend to attract—and this is particularly true of countries where the industrial working class is weak—those who, although their outlook is essentially healthy, are politically inexperienced and immature and hence liable to fall for pseudo-revolutionary extremist slogans.

But while noting the danger of the Chinese leaders' ideas and activities for our Party, we do not exaggerate that danger. The statement adopted at our last Central Committee noted:

"We are not pessimistic with regard to the prospects, despite the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders in the international Communist movement. We believe that the phenomena we are combating today have occurred at all stages of the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The working class and its parties have always defeated and overcome these tendencies. Ideological struggle and struggle against the pernicious tendencies which penetrate the party as a result of the influence of the ideology of other

social classes has always been a concomitant of the revolutionary process, a part of its dialectical nature. Hence the CC meeting expresses the firm confidence that the world Communist movement will overcome the present difficulties, will unite its ranks under the banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and forge ahead to new victories in the struggle for the great cause of the working class for the cause of peace and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism and communism."

The problems we are encountering today affect the whole world Communist movement. The disruptive policy launched by the Chinese leaders is only on the face of it directed against the CPSU and the government of the Soviet Union; in reality it is directed against the general line of all the parties as set forth in the documents of the Moscow meetings, against all the parties who adhere to positions of Marxism-Leninism.

Some fraternal parties for whose decisions we have the deepest respect do not consider it timely to declare our positions openly in order not to aggravate the present debate. To some extent this was our own position in the beginning. However today we feel that to reserve our views, to hold aloof from the polemics, would be to blind ourselves to the danger threatening the world Communist movement and each party separately.

The efforts on the part of some fraternal parties to end the public debate have not made the Chinese comrades any less intransigent or altered their obdurate refusal to reach an understanding. More than that, the leaders of the CPC have now gone over to open factional activity. In view of this, the Meeting of the Central Committee declared:

"We do not believe that a middle or neutral position on the major ideological questions now being debated is the best way to help restore the unity of the international Communist movement. On the contrary, we are firmly convinced that it is the international duty of every party to adopt an openly militant position vis-a-vis the disrupters, to unmask them, defeat their arguments and put an end to their machinations."

The meeting pronounced in favor of holding another conference of the parties as soon as possible to discuss the problems. "We are against postponing the meeting, as the Chinese leaders demand," the statement says. "Our Party believes that to put off the meeting would be to give the Chinese leaders time to intensify their disruptive activities, which would worsen the situation, give rise

to new differences and to a further aggravation of the struggle."

The four years that have elapsed since the last Meeting of the Communist parties have been years of momentous events in all spheres of public life. The forces of peace, progress and socialism have grown, the forces of reaction and conservatism have declined. The economic, political and military might of the socialist camp, and primarily the Soviet Union, has grown stronger and continues to grow. Dozens of new independent states have appeared on the map of the world, especially in Africa. Many peoples freed from the imperialist yoke are launching out more resolutely on the path of socialist development. There is a big upsurge of revolutionary struggle on the part of the working people in the developed capitalist countries. In this period the Communist parties have accumulated rich experience of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, legal and illegal. Many parties have won outstanding successes, some have suffered reverses and defeats. There is clearly an imperative need to get together in order jointly to examine the experience gained and to outline the perspectives of our movement. This can best be done at an international meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties. We consider this to be the prime purpose of such a meeting.

Our Party, for one, would welcome such an opportunity to express its views with regard to the developments and to hear the opinions of the other parties. This would help us in our struggle against U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction.

Irrespective of the differences in the Communist movement the time is ripe for such a meeting, and the differences make it all the more imperative.

Every party attending the meeting will be able to state its position. Given good will and a desire for unity on the part of all the participants, such a meeting can and should overcome the differences. There should be no question of "excommunicating" any party. On the contrary, all the representatives of the parties attending the meeting should be concerned with cementing the unity of the movement. We fail to understand why the Chinese leaders should be opposed to convening an international conference having such constructive aims.

The activity of the Chinese leaders has had the effect of dampening the enthusiasm of many revolutionary-minded elements who feel that the strength and invincibility of

the international Communist movement lies precisely in its unity. This also retards the advance of the world socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement, and this is something we deeply deplore. In some areas the harm wrought by the unjustified struggle launched by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party is particularly grievous. Cuba is a case in point. The differences in the Communist movement have been a godsend to the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. They and their imperialist patrons have seized the opportunity to step up their aggressive actions which threaten to precipitate another crisis in the Caribbean. The imperialists have become more aggressive in all Latin American countries. The same may be observed in other parts of the world, especially in Indo-China. The American "ultras" are declaring that now is the time to take action, to wrest the initiative from the revolutionary movement. This shows that the disruptive activity of the Chinese leaders encourages all the dark forces presently at work in the world.

The decline of the Chinese leaders to positions of petty-bourgeois "revolutionism" has been a source of great satisfaction to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, whose regime was teetering on the brink of collapse. Nothing could have suited the leaders of the Taiwan puppet government more than a worsening of relations between the government of the Chinese People's Republic and the countries of the socialist world system, between the CPC and the world Communist movement.

There is no doubt that the present offensive of imperialism will be halted and that the national-liberation movement in Latin America and elsewhere in the world will continue to advance. However, at the moment all the bellicose elements, the "ultras" in the Pentagon and their accomplices, are stirring to life.

The world Communist movement has al-

ways viewed the victories and successes of the Chinese revolution with pride and enthusiasm. And today the lag in fulfilling the program of socialist construction in China as a result of the erroneous policy of the "Big Leap" and the "people's communes" and primarily because of the petty-bourgeois "revolutionism" and other forms of "leftist" opportunism adopted by the leadership, is a cause for deep disappointment. Similar disappointment is undoubtedly felt even more keenly in the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party itself, and among the millions of Chinese working people. The revolutionary path taken by the Chinese people has been suddenly overshadowed by the petty-bourgeois blindness of its leaders who are demonstrating their inability to direct the economic upbuilding of the country with the same competence and effectiveness with which they led the people during the civil war. One gets the impression that the Chinese leaders have not proved equal to the big economic tasks confronting them, and that the courage they possessed in time of war has not served them in conditions of peaceful labor and that they are anxious to return to wartime methods of struggle, to take up arms again, to preach the policy of "revolutionary war" which threatens to plunge the world into a thermonuclear holocaust.

We Communists know that sooner or later the people of China and its Communist Party will restore unity with the international Communist movement, will return to the Marxist-Leninist road of building socialism and communism. This is inevitable. But at the cost of how much sacrifice and effort? The mistakes of the Chinese leaders are causing grave harm to the entire international Communist movement, but above all to the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China.

These plain truths ought to give the leaders of the Communist Party of China food for serious reflection.

The Communists and the National Question

NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN FRENCH CANADA

Leslie Morris

He who does not recognize and uphold the equality of nations and languages, who does not combat all national oppression or inequality, is not a Marxist, not even a democrat.

In the interests of the unity of the proletarians, in the interests of their class solidarity, we must recognize the right of nations to secession.

V. I. LENIN

A CRISIS has overtaken the state structure of Canada on the eve of the 100th anniversary of the formation of the modern Canadian capitalist state in 1867. This crisis did not arise from the working-class struggle but from a resurgence of the French Canadian national movement. The most revealing aspect of this crisis is that it has developed not at the time of the formation of classical bourgeois-democratic capitalist states, but in a modern imperialist country and in the period of general crisis of capitalism. Because of this, there is a merging of a democratic anti-capitalist, anti-monopoly struggle with a national revolution in French Canada, spearheaded by a demand for self-determination up to and including secession from the present federal union with English-speaking Canada.

A Late Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution

In effect the French Canadian national movement is a late bourgeois-democratic revolution. The French Canadian people constitute a nation, whose legal, political, economic and cultural autonomy as a nation has never been consolidated, or recognized by the dominant Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie. The objective development of the French Canadian nation now is expressed in the demand for the formation of a French Canadian state, with or without a federal union with English-speaking Canada. This demand coincides with an internal democratic revolution against the rule of the Catholic hierarchy and the elements of reaction in French Canada which are quite strong in view of

the fact that the French Canadian nation did not experience the full force of the bourgeois enlightenment.

Of the 19 million people who make up the Canadian population about one-third are French, the vast majority of whom live in Quebec. A little over 40 per cent of the whole Canadian population are British in origin; the remainder is made up of Canadians drawn from many lands. There are, then, two nations in Canada: French, and English-speaking.

The British North America Act of 1867, passed by the British parliament on the demand of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie and supported by certain elements of the French Canadian bourgeoisie, did not recognize the existence of the French Canadian nation. While certain concessions were made to French Canada, such as a limited official recognition of the French language, and education was recognized as the prerogative of the Roman Catholic Church, French Canada was designated as a province of Canada, that is to say, a geographical area and not a nation. This codified in a constitution the English conquest of French Canada in 1760 and laid the foundations for Anglo-Canadian bourgeois domination of French Canada. The French Canadian Catholic hierarchy accepted this compromise in the interests of their own obscurantism and important sections of the French Canadian bourgeoisie likewise accepted this secondary and humiliating role in their own class interests.

One of the external forces making for this compromise was the fear of the spread of the American Revolution to British North

America following the English conquest of French Canada. Later, the impact of the American Civil War had a profound effect upon the establishment of the Dominion of Canada as a British Dominion via the British North America Act in 1867. A further influence in the formation of the Canadian State was the threat of annexation by the rising USA and the desire of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie to exercise its domination to the Pacific Coast, from "sea to sea" as they proclaimed.

An "Extension" of the British Metropolis

It must be said that at no time was the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie representative of an oppressed nation whose fortunes were at the mercy of and dictated by the British metropolis. Actually, as the program of the Communist International said, and as did Frederick Engels in his time, the British Dominions were an "extension" of the British metropolis. In that sense Canada developed quite differently from the British colonies, as for example in Africa and Asia, and cannot be historically regarded as a classical colony in the sense of a native population being oppressed and dominated by an imperialist metropolis, with a native bourgeoisie frustrated and blocked from the path of its "normal" development. The native Indian and Eskimo populations were quite small in number, in a vast country, and did not provide the source of exploitation that the teeming millions of Asia and Africa did.

In the twenties and thirties the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie loosened its profitable ties with Great Britain and retained quite deliberately those vestiges of a "colonial" relationship which were to its own interests. At no time in this process were French Canadian national rights considered.

Through and after the First World War British capitalist influence declined in Canada and United States capitalist influence grew, so that today many of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy are in possession of American monopolies while state power is effectively in the hands of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie, and the Canadian financial oligarchy, despite its "junior partnership" with U.S. monopoly, is coming into frequent collision with the American colossus.

Upsurge of the National Movement

Now, to complicate further this already complex situation for the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie, the French Canadian democratic and national revolution has sprung up.

Several immediate factors have accelerated the present upsurge of the basic and long-standing French Canadian national movement. French Canada has become remarkably industrialized in the past several years, and now the majority of its people are industrial workers, highly concentrated in the Montreal industrial area. The ancient and backward "habitant" farming system in French Canada is breaking down, and consequently the grip of Catholic obscurantism is weakening and Church rule is in a process of rapid decay, while a "left" movement is arising among the clergy and Catholic laymen. The rapid industrialization of Canada as a whole and the rise of the cultural and economic level of the entire country have had deep effects upon the French Canadian community. The impact of the national-liberation movements throughout the world, and particularly events in Cuba and the Negro liberation movement in the United States, have affected French Canadian public opinion.

Within the French Canadian community a sharp contradiction is now visible between the demands of modern industrial education and the fact that hitherto higher education has in the main been confined to non-technical, non-scientific subjects. French Canadian higher education has been preoccupied with philosophy à la the Catholic hierarchy, which meant that young French Canadians were excluded from positions in advancing industry. The occupation of the main posts in industry and commerce by English-speaking Canadians is a source of great indignation among the young French Canadian people.

In the federal civil service, in industry and commerce, the main positions are held by English-speaking Canadians. In the main cities of French Canada French Canadian workers do the work and English-speaking Canadian professionals reap the benefits. This is often extended to such a specific expression of Anglo-Canadian chauvinism as demanding that French Canadians speak both English and French in order to fulfil most jobs, while English-speaking Canadians are expected to speak only the English language—this in the heart of French Canada.

In short, a gathering together of a whole gamut of traditional complaints and inequalities, the aftermath of the English conquest of French Canada, has brought into being a crisis of the Canadian constitution.

It can be summarized as follows: more than a century of national inequality containing elements of outright chauvinist, national oppression, in the conditions of modern life

has culminated in democratic and national revolution.

So far, this has taken the form of massive peaceful political agitation, but already there is in existence among young people the conviction that only violence will bring about the satisfaction of French Canadian national rights. Already young people are in prison as a result of activity flowing from this conviction.

As resistance to the demands of French Canada hardens, the demand arises for the separation of French Canada from English-speaking Canada. Unless some means can be found to renegotiate federation on the basis of the coexistence in one federal state of two equal nations, the movement for separation will gain strength.

Role of the National Intelligentsia

Up to now the leadership of the French Canadian national movement has been in the hands of the intelligentsia. When the reactionary regime of Quebec Premier Duplessis was swept away in the provincial election of 1960 the resurgence of democratic feeling was to be seen in all avenues of French Canadian life. Not only the discriminatory legal ties with English-speaking Canada, but all social problems came under active discussion.

This democratic process goes on also within the Roman Catholic Church where the lower clergy early on gave voice to a demand for church reforms which are definitely connected with French Canadian national and democratic feeling. Movements among French Canadian Catholics for secular education are arising and for the first time a ministry of education has been established by the Quebec "provincial" government, that is, the Quebec edition of the "provincial" government which exists in each of the ten provinces of Canada as provided by the British North America Act of 1867.

French Canadian national agitation has been supported by French Canadian trade unionists who belong to the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the trade union center of French Canadian workers which some time ago dropped the word Catholic from its title, as well as to the trade union center which embraces most of the organized workers in English-speaking Canada, the Canadian Labor Congress, the expression in Canada mainly of the AFL-CIO unions.

The tone of the national agitation is set by the French Canadian intelligentsia, some of whom are also spokesmen for and officials

of the French Canadian trade union movement. Up to now the clearest expression of the demand for the separate national existence of French Canada within a federal state composed of French Canada and English-speaking Canada has come from the working-class movement — the Communist Party, Socialists, and large numbers of trade unionists.

Naturally there is a great deal of confusion as to explicit demands, or rather, how the demand for a national existence can be put into effect, while it is safe to say that the overwhelming majority of French Canadians demand a state of their own.

Naturally, too, bourgeois nationalism is the prevailing ideology of the French Canadian national movement. You cannot have a national revolution without nationalism, and you cannot have nationalism without bourgeois ideas. Objectively this national movement, including its nationalism, is progressive and is part of a developing change in the whole of Canada towards struggles against the *status quo*, and particularly against monopoly and the United States economic domination of Canada.

A Crisis of the Bourgeois State

To the class struggle against monopoly and capitalist exploitation—and, in the conditions of Canada, against the domination of the main sectors of the economy by the United States monopolies—there has been added a national movement of profound proportions. In the midst of the enormous domestic and international problems besetting the dominant Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie, there has been added a crisis of the bourgeois state itself.

This crisis affects not only the present "provincial" structure of government in French Canada as set down in the British imperialist statute which is the Canadian constitution, but also the whole state structure of the country. The nine English-speaking provinces which make up the English-speaking Canadian nation are provinces because of the existence of French Canada; that is to say, the "provincial" device whereby French Canadian national inequality was preserved in the British North America Act is at the same time the foundation upon which the nine English Canadian provinces relate to the central government. The growth of demands for greater "provincial rights" among the nine English-speaking provinces historically comes from the provincial status of French Canada. Should there be a renegotiation of

the terms of federal union to provide for the recognition of French Canada as a national state within a new federal union, then the relationships between the federal government and the nine English-speaking Canadian provinces will also have to be renegotiated. The cunningly devised structure of the Canadian bourgeois state, designed to perpetuate Anglo-Canadian rule over French Canada, is upset by the French Canadian revolution.

This is a remarkably clear example of how the national question in a modern imperialist country cannot be isolated from the entire structure of that country, with respect to the economy as well as to the state structure itself.

And all of this is taking place, not during the period of the formation of capitalist states, but in the period of their decline.

How is the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie dealing with this crisis? As Lenin wisely remarked, there is no situation for the bourgeoisie from which, for them, there is no way out. So the Anglo-Canadian ruling class of Canada is endeavoring desperately to turn this crisis of its own state structure into a question of language and culture.

The federal government has set up what is known as the "bilingual, bicultural commission." Its terms of reference are to inquire into the ways by which the French Canadians and the people of English-speaking Canada can "resolve" their differences by means of better acquaintance of each other's language and culture. This is a rather clever and unscrupulous way of distorting the real question, for what is at stake is not the necessity of English-speaking Canadians learning the French language or French Canadians learning the English language, or a better acquaintance of each other's culture, but the extension to the French Canadian people of the right of self-determination up to and including secession, and recognition of this right by the Canadian ruling class.

Nations and the National Question in Canada

The issue is further complicated by the fact that the English-speaking Canadian nation, which was formed during the past century, is itself now seeking a more clear expression of its identity under the impact of events in French Canada. Large numbers of people came to Canada as immigrants from central Europe with their national feelings and traditions, and quite often in the case of postwar immigration, with reactionary feelings arising out of the social struggles in Europe.

Some of the spokesmen of these people are demanding "ethnic" recognition on a par with the recognition of French Canadian "cultural rights" and place themselves on the same footing as the French Canadian nation. They demand a cultural autonomy which would in effect recognize them as "national minorities." Of course, they are nothing of the sort. They are groups of people of various national origins who are merging into the English-speaking Canadian nation, and in some instances into the French Canadian nation. While there is every reason to support their right to preserve as long as they wish the cultural heritages and the language of their forebears, in no sense of the word is this a state question for they cannot be regarded as nations as the French Canadian people are a nation.

The Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie is anxious to promote these divisions among Canadians as a means of delaying the final just solution.

The complexity of the problem is to be seen in the very terminology of this article. While there is no difficulty in designating French Canada as a nation and French Canadians as members of the French Canadian nation, there is a difficulty in designating English-speaking Canada. The term "English-speaking" is used because of the fact that a large number of the residents of English-speaking Canada are not English but are multi-national in origin. However, they are distinguished by the fact that the common language used between them is the English language and that the schools are conducted in the English language. The dominant bourgeoisie are Anglo-Canadian in their origin; the people as a whole are not. Therefore we can use the words "Anglo-Canadian" to designate the dominant bourgeoisie but we are compelled to use the words "English-speaking Canadians" to designate the population of Canada, apart from French Canada.

The best words that have been found hitherto to designate the two nations that inhabit Canada is *Canadian* to describe those living in English-speaking Canada and *Canadien* to describe French Canadians—the word they themselves use. It is likely that these words will gain popular usage.

While the French Canadian democratic and national revolution complicates the problems for the Anglo-Canadian ruling bourgeoisie at the same time it raises problems of unity for Canadians generally. The prevailing chauvinism is Anglo-Canadian chauvinism—"superiority" shown by the Anglo-Canadian bour-

geoisie and in the mores of English-speaking Canada. This is an expression of anti-French Canadian feeling which penetrates deeply into the population of English-speaking Canada as a result of the educational system and the "psychology" which has been implanted by the ruling class.

To combat the attempts of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie to perpetuate this chauvinism a great educational campaign is required, particularly in English-speaking Canada.

On the other hand, there is to be seen in French Canada a narrow provincialism or exclusiveness, but this is not the main problem before the Canadian working class at the present time. The most pressing need is to bring about the recognition among the English-speaking Canadian workers of the national rights of their French Canadian brothers.

What are the class positions adopted in this crisis, what of class relationships?

The Policy of the Anglo-Canadian Bourgeoisie

The dominant Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie is opposed to the just and democratic solution of the French Canadian national question. It continues the tradition of regarding French Canada as an inferior, second-rate community. It reaps special benefits from the economic inequalities of the French Canadian people. (Here it should be said that the demands for French Canadian economic equality cannot be treated in isolation from the whole psychology of French Canadian nationalism, and it would be a gross error to seek the explanation for the French Canadian people's aspirations solely or wholly in economic questions. That would be to vulgarize the Marxist position with respect to the nation.)

The Anglo-Canadian ruling class will not deal with the national question in French Canada except at the expense of the French Canadian people, and indeed of the whole Canadian community. A just and democratic solution to the French Canadian question, that is, the right to self-determination up to secession from the unequal federal union of 1867, would open up the whole question of the bourgeois state structure. Therefore the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie is opposed to it, and can be expected to resort to all sorts of demagogical devices to evade the fundamental solution. They can expect to receive a great deal of support for so-called "solutions" which are not solutions at all from the Anglo-Canadian bourgeois and petty-

bourgeois interests across the country who are in charge of the provincial governments in the English-speaking provinces, and they also anticipate support for moves evading fundamental solutions from large sections of the English-speaking working class who have shared in the special exploitation of French Canada.

But the objective course of development is towards a stronger and more militant struggle by the French Canadian people for self-determination, and this struggle will mount against the Anglo-Canadian rulers. It can be a peaceful struggle; but, depending upon the type of resistance to these just demands by the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie, it can break into violence.

The Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie has to take into account the international setting of the French Canadian revolution. Now that national-liberation revolutions throughout the world join with the socialist revolution in a massive struggle for democracy and national independence directed against U.S. imperialism, the French Canadian national struggle will receive great impetus from outside of Canada. This restricts the room for maneuvers by the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie, while they can be expected to make full use of whatever means are remaining for them.

The middle class of French Canada are in the vanguard of the national movement. The middle class of English-speaking Canada, by and large, support the present terms of Confederation. There is as yet little meeting ground or *rapprochement* between the intellectuals of French Canada and those of English-speaking Canada. This is a great weakness.

Ambitions of the French Canadian Bourgeoisie

The French Canadian bourgeoisie with its own class ambitions in the newly-industrialized French Canada and anxious to "make up for lost time," is in favor of a modicum of national freedom for the French Canadian nation. However, at moments of crisis it makes common cause once more with the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie as it did in 1867, prior to 1867 and since 1867. Above all, it is fearful of the French Canadian workers. Since, however, there is a growing anti-American, "nationalist" striving among the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie composed of elements who are becoming more vocal in opposition to the United States domination there is a possible unity of interests between these groups and the French Canadian nationalist bourgeoisie which may lead to an

internal bourgeois conflict over how to "deal" with French Canada.

Signs are present of a certain amount of agreement between the French Canadian bourgeoisie and their counterparts among the anti-American wing of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie. To what extent this will emerge as a political movement it is not yet possible to say. However, one of the constituent parts of the French Canadian nationalist movement is the desire of larger and larger sections of the French Canadian bourgeoisie to receive what they regard as their "fair share" of the product of the exploitation of labor.

For Solidarity of the Workers of Both Nations

There is as yet no real and workable understanding between the working class of French Canada and the working class of English-speaking Canada. There are signs of an emerging understanding in the resolutions of French Canadian trade unions and the Canadian Labor Congress, but as yet there is no coordinated effort or movement on the part of the workers of both nations to unite their forces for a new constitution based upon the equality of both nations.

The part played by the leadership of the New Democratic Party (the Social Democratic party in Canada, which takes the form of an affiliated labor-farmer party) has been to flinch from full support for French Canadian national rights. The NDP leadership play with words and speak of some form of "co-operative federalism," that is to say, a vague "cooperation" between the two nations based upon the existing federal union, but which is not based upon the recognition of the state rights of the French Canadian nation. The New Democratic Party, for this and other reasons, has little appeal among the French Canadian masses. Their efforts to form a mass NDP in French Canada have failed largely because they have failed to become the champions of French Canadian national freedom. The NDP leadership is tinged with Anglo-Canadian chauvinism and even those among them who sense the historic nature of the French Canadian movement refrain from drawing the full conclusions for fear of having to combat the ingrained chauvinism of their followers.

In French Canada there are new strivings towards a socialist outlook. Significantly a march of French Canadian university students to the government buildings in Quebec City carried signs saying: "Enough of bourgeois politics! Up with social politics!" A

French Canadian Socialist party has been formed, standing for self-determination and the socialist transformation.

Communist Policy on the National Question

It has been the responsibility and duty of the Communist Party to put forward a consistent internationalist, democratic and working-class position on the struggle of the French Canadian people and to popularize it on a mass scale. For more than thirty years the Communist Party has championed French Canadian national rights. However, until recently this did not include the forthright demand for a new constitution, which is the basic means of the democratic solution.

The program of the Communist Party demanded an end to the national inequalities suffered by the French Canadian people, but did not spell out the *full* program of national self-determination. It required the mass upsurge of the French Canadian people to produce the realization that in French Canada there existed not only grievances against national inequalities but potentially, and now actively, a mass demand for complete self-determination. This demand is now at the center of the Communist Party's position.

In summary: the French Canadian nation must be in possession of its own state and in complete charge of its own affairs. The best and most peaceable solution would be a renegotiation of the terms of the federal union between the two Canadas. A constitutional conference should be called representative of English-speaking Canada and French Canada, with equal voting powers for the representatives of the two nations and with all fundamental matters decided upon by a unanimous decision — that is, without a right of veto being given to the English-Canadian majority.

The national rights of the French Canadian state would have to be spelled out in detail according to the concepts of the French Canadian people of their national state existence. Agreement could be reached, given a democratic desire to do so, and if the right of both nations to secede from a federal nation were agreed upon. There could be established a federal authority with certain specific rights relating to international relationships, foreign trade and the like, that is, possessing authority delegated to it by each of the participating nations.

No doubt, because of the encrusted suspicion that has been generated during the existence of French Canada as a subordinate in the present federal union, there will be

many difficulties in arriving at agreement. But it is quite clear, and gradually it is beginning to gather weight, that a constitutional conference between the nations is bound to take place if a two-nation Canadian state is to continue to exist.

Over the past century a certain Canadian identity common to both peoples has been established, not so much within the country as in its foreign relationships and foreign trade. This is an achievement. It is a tribute to the democracy of the Canadian people of both nations that in the almost 100 years that have elapsed since the constitution of the present Canadian federal union, there has not been any significant outbreak of violence between the two peoples. This is a progressive achievement that can be preserved, but only on the basis of full recognition of French Canada as a nation.

If this democratic solution for the reconstruction of the Canadian state on a more equitable basis is not agreed to by the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie, or if it is not supported by the mass of English-speaking Canadians, then, given the inevitable militancy of the French Canadian national movement, there can be a partition of Canada. This would be a setback.

The interests of the United States would be served by a partition of the Canadian state and community. The Americans would fish in troubled waters. At the same time it would be entirely wrong to suggest to French Canadians that they should voluntarily withhold the fulfilment of their national demands in order to defeat United States aims in respect to Canada, as is sometimes proposed. As the Communists point out, the

best resistance to American pressure could be made only if the two Canadas were united in a new federal pact. While the partition of the country would weaken the all-Canadian community, and be in the interests of United States expansionism, by the same token the unity of the two peoples in a new federal constitution would strengthen all-Canadian resistance to United States.

The French Canadian struggle for self-determination and for the democratic reconstitution of the Canadian state is at bottom a social question. At this period of world development it is impossible to confine a national movement of this kind in a highly-developed capitalist country such as Canada, to narrow bourgeois legal ties. The anti-monopolist, social demands of the Canadian people for democratic controls over Big Business, for giving to the people the benefits of the new scientific-technical revolution, for peace and new trade policies, merge with the French Canadian struggle for national freedom.

The recent Eighteenth Convention of the Communist Party combined national-democratic and working-class policies in its Three Point Program: for peace and disarmament, for a new Canadian constitution, and for a new economic policy to break the power of monopoly.

The rise of the democratic and national French Canadian revolution in an imperialist state such as Canada constitutes an amazing verification of the truth of Marxism-Leninism that in the time of imperialism national movements inevitably take on an anti-imperialist character and are a constituent part of the road to socialism.

People's Poland: Some Problems of Its Development

Artur Stariewicz

THE Fourth Congress of our Party met on the eve of the 20th anniversary of People's Poland. Its decisions, aimed at solving the key problems of economic and social development and strengthening the country's positions in the world arena, thus rest on the solid foundation of a 20-year record of successful socialist upbuilding.

Having taken over the reins of government, the working people of Poland steered the country along the path of socialism and in two decades radically reconstructed every aspect of its life. Formerly weak, economically backward, ravaged by war and occupation, Poland has become a powerful industrial-agrarian socialist state with every chance of achieving the level of the most highly developed European countries within the life-span of a single generation. Once ruthlessly exploited by foreign capitalists, a mere pawn in the intrigues of the Western powers which assigned it the role of an anti-Soviet springboard, a country trampled underfoot in every big war in Europe, it is now an independent state united in alliance and friendship with its neighbors, a member of the camp of socialism and peace.

In the years of people's government its overall industrial output has increased ninefold, and per capita production tenfold, as compared with prewar. Farm output per hectare of farmland has increased by 67 per cent. The national income has trebled. Out of a population of 30 million, i.e., 5 million less than the prewar figure, 11 million are engaged directly in agriculture as against 21 million before the war. At the same time the number of workers and office employees in other sectors of the economy went up from 2,900,000 to 8,500,000; the industrial working class grew fourfold.

Socialism has released the vast store of creative talent once latent in the working people and enlisted in productive labor the popular energy for which there was no proper outlet in capitalist Poland.

The Report of Wladyslaw Gomulka, the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers'

Party, and the decisions of the Congress outlined the prospects ahead and defined the Party's position on the most important questions of home and foreign policy as well as questions concerning the world Communist movement.

The Congress focussed attention on concrete economic problems, in particular the guidelines for the 1966-70 economic plan.

Poland, now in the process of intensive industrialization, is rapidly developing its productive forces and laying a modern technological foundation for its economy.

Under the new five-year plan the rate of growth of production of the means of production will continue to exceed the rate in the production of consumption goods, though the difference between the two growth rates will be less than in the current five-year plan period. Industry will undergo further structural changes, with emphasis primarily on increased production of modern lines of engineering and chemical output. With industrial production as a whole scheduled to grow by 45-47 per cent in the five years, the engineering industry is to expand output by 65-67 per cent and the chemical industry, by nearly 100 per cent.

The new five-year plan is to provide above all for the *continued development of industry on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements while making maximum use of the existing capacities, channelling capital investments into the most economical and profitable sectors, and simultaneously expanding the domestic raw material and power supply.*

Our second most important branch of the economy—agriculture—has steadily become more intensive in recent years. A gradual process of socialization of production is taking place. Although the average annual increase of farm output has amounted to three per cent in the past ten years, the overall volume of output, especially of grain and fodder crops, has not caught up with the growing requirements, making it necessary to import large quantities of grain annually.

The solution of the grain problem is one of the most important tasks of the coming five-year plan. A comprehensive program of measures provides for a 350-400 kg. increase in the average grain yield per hectare, more extensive use in livestock raising of factory-prepared feeds with a high protein content instead of grain, and intensification of all branches of crop cultivation. To carry out this program it will be necessary to use 2.5 times more mineral fertilizers per hectare, to undertake extensive land reclamation work, and double or treble the proportion of field work done by machines. Crop cultivation is to expand at a higher rate than livestock farming.

The large investments earmarked for agriculture and those branches of the machine-building and chemical industries which serve agricultural needs (these investments are to amount to one-quarter of the total under the five-year plan) should ensure the fulfilment of this program.

The plan calls for increasing the share of publicly-owned means of production in agriculture. Private farms, which produce the bulk of the country's agricultural output and are linked with socialist planned economy through the state marketing and supply system, contracts and credits, will continue to expand and be modernized, increasing their productivity primarily by means of socialized forms of economic activity and use of up-to-date means of production.

Intensification of agriculture by expanding its technical facilities and substantially increasing the supply of the means of production, continued modernization of farming methods, and a simultaneous growth of the elements of socialist joint endeavor constitute the second cardinal objective of the five-year plan.

Poland's economic progress depends to a considerable extent on the growth of foreign trade. One out of every four workers in our industry works on imported raw materials. The raw and other materials and the industrial equipment we do not produce ourselves can be imported in sufficient quantities only if we export more, primarily machinery, other industrial equipment and manufactured goods. The five-year plan calls for doubling the export of machinery and trebling that of chemical products.

The principal place in our foreign trade is occupied, and will continue to be occupied in the future, by exchange and economic cooperation with other socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic

and other countries affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. Poland is very much interested in the promotion of economic cooperation among the socialist countries, long-range coordination of plans and specialization of production along lines advantageous to all the countries concerned, including extensive coordination and joint utilization of raw material and power resources to meet the needs of each.

The plan also calls for extensive trade and economic cooperation with the newly-emerged states of Asia and Africa as well as the Latin American countries in line with their specific needs and requirements. We shall continue to expand mutually advantageous trade with the West European capitalist countries and the USA, provided these countries do not impose discriminatory restrictions on imports from Poland or resort to other practices tending to make such trade disadvantageous to us.

The third basic objective of the five-year plan is *expansion of exports and changing their structure so as to increase the proportion of manufactured items bringing in bigger returns.*

A notable feature of present-day Poland is the rapid growth in the numbers of young workers and a generally high rate of population increase. In the course of the coming five-year plan some 3,300,000 young people will reach working age (18). Half of them will launch out on life with a secondary or higher specialized education and generally possessing higher skill ratings than any preceding generation. These are young people with a new outlook shaped in socialist schools, a generation brought up in socialist society. At the same time nearly 1,500,000 workers will retire on pension. The average age of the labor force will thus drop considerably in all branches of the economy with the exception of agriculture.

Providing nearly 1,500,000 new jobs in the non-agricultural branches of the economy to ensure the maximum utilization of the youth of the nation to advance the economy and ensure fuller satisfaction of society's needs is the fourth basic objective of the coming five-year plan.

Proper economic planning presupposes above all the creation of reserves to ensure an adequate flow of investments into agriculture and to cover the foreign trade balance of payments, greater flexibility and more efficient methods of economic analysis and correlation. The present methods of planning and management are no longer adequate to ensure the necessary harmony between the

stipulations of the overall plan and the material interests of the various enterprises, to provide for sufficient inter-branch and local coordination.

To improve planning and management it is essential to proceed from correct criteria of production and more flexible economic indices. Gross production cannot serve as the yardstick in defining the number of workers needed or fixing labor productivity standards and wages. It is imperative to work out a system of indicators based on the net product.

The material incentives provided, in other words, the entire system of wages and bonuses, should make for technological progress, higher productivity of labor, better quality, economy of materials and the harnessing of all available production reserves. The envisaged reform of the system of management should enhance the role of the industrial amalgamations, above all in planning, coordination of production and extensive application of the principles of cost accounting, and give them a greater measure of economic independence.

As the methods of planning and management are improved, a bigger role will be played by workers' self-management, which ensures the active participation of the representatives of the workers, trade unions and Party organizations in the management of the enterprises. Workers' self-management has already become an effective instrument of public control over the management of socialist industry.

Improvement of planning and management in accordance with the new demands presented by the rapid, all-round growth of the economy and the heightening of the role of workers' self-management is our fifth basic task in the next few years.

The fulfilment of these key tasks will improve the material well-being and raise the cultural standards of the people. The national income is expected to increase by nearly 30 per cent and the consumption fund, by 27 per cent.

The nationwide discussion which preceded the Party Congress showed that we have every opportunity of carrying out this program of economic progress, expanding our productive forces and improving the well-being of the people.

Development of the material basis of socialist society remains the main factor in the building of the new system and hence predetermines the sum total of socio-political changes in the country.

The Congress concentrated on the leading

role of the Party in this sphere, outlining its policy as regards development of socialist democracy, shaping the socialist consciousness of the people and promoting cultural development, as well as on inner-Party work.

With the growth of socialism and the profound transformation of the class structure of Polish society, and also owing to the increase in the proportion of the younger age groups in its population structure, the old classes and reactionary political forces which sought to wrest Poland from the orbit of the socialist world and to restore capitalism have vanished (with the exception of some members of the church hierarchy who are not reconciled to the new system). The need for administrative measures and especially legal action against political opponents has, consequently, greatly diminished. There are practically no political prisoners in our country.

But the struggle is not over. It goes on primarily in the ideological and political sphere—against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men, against petty-bourgeois mentality, for a new attitude towards labor, the state and public property, against the influence of imperialist propaganda which seeks to capitalize on our every difficulty and to implant a cult of the West. It is a struggle against clericalism and bigotry and for complete secularization of our life, against nationalism and for the patriotic and internationalist education of the youth and the people generally, a struggle to imbue our national culture with a socialist content.

The decisions of the Congress gave concrete embodiment to these ideological and political tasks of the Party.

OUR PARTY has always regarded its national tasks in the overall context of the general struggle of the forces of socialism and peace, and its efforts to build up Poland as a modern socialist state possessing a highly developed economy and advanced culture as our most tangible contribution in the competition between socialism and capitalism.

The Congress assessed the principal trends in the European world arena, paying particular attention to the problem of Germany and to the differences in the world Communist movement.

The German problem continues to be the source of the greatest danger to peace. Germany remains the seat of a smouldering conflict which can flare up into a world war at the slightest provocation. The source of this conflict is not the existence of the two

German states as such, but the policy of the Western powers, in particular the USA, which immediately after the Second World War set out to revive the militaristic German state and to use it as a striking force against the socialist camp. These schemes found embodiment in the aggressive imperialist Federal Republic, now economically the second strongest power in the capitalist world after the United States, and the main military bulwark of the Atlantic pact in Europe. The policy of Federal Germany, which openly calls for the "unification" of Germany through the annexation of the GDR and harbors designs on territories belonging to Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR, is the biggest factor of tension in Europe. West German imperialism obstructs the conclusion of a peace treaty because it is bent on taking revenge for its defeat in the Second World War.

In the light of all this the plans for the nuclear armament of the West German army which the Bonn militarists are more and more insistently demanding are fraught with dangerous consequences. This step, the way to which is being prepared through the establishment of the so-called multi-lateral nuclear force, would result in a further ominous shift in the Western-bloc balance of strength in favor of the most aggressive and adventuristic trends in NATO. The Western politicians who deceive themselves and others by assuming that possession of nuclear weapons would moderate the appetite of Bonn and keep West German imperialism in check are running the risk of involving their own countries in conflicts liable to precipitate world war.

Confronted with the failure of the "positions of strength" policy and nuclear blackmail, the leading circles in NATO, who have renounced neither the arms drive nor cold-war methods, are placing their stakes on what they call the disintegration of the socialist countries, pinning their hopes, in particular, on the differences in the world Communist movement. Diverse Western and Federal German circles have embarked time and again on maneuvers designed to undermine Poland's firm support of the policy of the USSR and the GDR on the German question and even to set us against the German Democratic Republic. But all these efforts have been in vain. The Fourth Congress emphatically underscored our resolve to give full support to the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries on all the fundamental issues pertaining to the international

struggle for peace, independence of peoples, and socialism.

"We regard the unity of the socialist countries based on the principles of internationalism, equality and mutual aid," Gomulka said in his report at the Congress, "as the prime guarantee of world peace and at the same time an essential condition for the strengthening of the international positions and the political prestige of our country as well as of all other socialist states."

The only possible way to solve the German problem and abolish the breeding ground of war in Europe is through recognition of the GDR, respect for its sovereign rights, acceptance of the present German frontiers as final, rejection of nuclear armaments by both German states, solution of the West Berlin problem and conclusion of a peace treaty. Poland consistently adheres to the principle of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist states. It advanced the well-known proposal for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, as well as a proposal for a nuclear weapons freeze in this area, which represents an even more far-reaching compromise. In putting forward these proposals, Poland is prompted by a desire to hasten the peaceful settlement of the main European problems without which tangible and lasting detente is unthinkable.

* * *

"The Polish United Workers' Party regards unity and solidarity among the Marxist-Leninist parties in power in the socialist countries as the decisive prerequisite of the unity and might of the socialist camp, as an essential condition that must be met if the forces of peace and socialism are to outweigh the forces of imperialism and war," the resolution of the Fourth Congress declares.

Proceeding from this premise, the Congress subjected to thorough critical examination the ideological and political positions of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who have departed from the principles of the joint platform elaborated in 1957 and 1960 by the international Communist movement on the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism, and have embarked on a path fraught with the danger of a split.

In his report Comrade Gomulka, rejecting the fabrications and slander resorted to by the CPC leaders and the purely imaginary differences they have invented which only tend to hide the substance of the controversy, defined our stand on the most important and essential issues involved.

The platform which the CPC leaders coun-

terpose to the stand of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties is a dogmatic platform divorced from life which does not provide a concrete, realistic answer to any of the key problems of our time.

As the Statement of the 1960 meeting points out, the cardinal task of our epoch is prevention of world war which holds the threat of destruction over entire nations and the main centers of civilization. The Communist parties consider it their paramount mission to free humanity from the incubus of nuclear war. The CPC leaders, however, reject this fundamental task, arguing that it is tantamount to "renouncing the historical mission of the world proletarian revolution." The CPC seeks to compel the Communist movement to choose between the fight for socialist revolution and the fight for peace. This is a false choice. In our time the struggle for socialism cannot be separated from the struggle to prevent another world war, from struggle for lasting peace. For the new, socialist system to win, peace must triumph.

The Chinese leaders repeat after Stalin that in order to abolish the danger of war imperialism must be destroyed. But how is imperialism to be destroyed? The Chinese leaders give no definite answer. They consider it enough merely to call for "world proletarian revolution."

Is world war necessary to destroy imperialism? The idea that for socialism to triumph a world nuclear war must be unleashed is incompatible with Communism. Sober-minded people can only shudder at the prospect.

But if the Communist movement rejects war as running counter to the very spirit of socialism, how, then, can imperialism be abolished? The Communist parties which adhere to the agreed principles laid down at their international meetings unanimously declare that this can be done through struggle waged in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, closely linking the cause of socialism with the cause of peace. Indeed, nothing speaks more eloquently in favor of socialism than the unflagging efforts of the Communist parties and the socialist states against aggression, against war, for general and complete disarmament, for abolition of the weapons of mass destruction, for peaceful coexistence of nations. The CPC leaders aver that to them too the idea of socialism winning through war is alien. But if this is so, why do they claim that the principle of peaceful coexistence is "revisionism" and "capitulation to imperialism"? Why do they qualify

the idea of general and complete disarmament as "deliberate deception of the peoples of the world" and as "cultivation of illusions"? Why do they assail so violently every attempt to reach agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, every attempt to lessen international tension? Why does their dissenting platform ignore such an important sector of the class war front as peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism for maximum progress in the economy, in technology and in productivity of labor and for the highest standard of living? Why do they stubbornly ignore the deadly danger to humanity of nuclear war and cling to the theses rejected by the 1960 meeting that in the event of such a war, "on the debris of a dead imperialism, the victorious people would create very swiftly a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future"?

The CPC leaders have not given a definite answer to a single one of these questions on which the CPC platform is patently at variance with the realities of life. For one can hardly consider platitudes and ultra-revolutionary calls for the "establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of armed struggle" to be an adequate answer.

Needless to say, revolutionary situations cannot be conjured up by exhortations of this order. The masses in the capitalist countries can be led towards socialism only by combining the class struggle against the dictatorship of the monopolies with the struggle for peace and democracy, with the tangible economic achievements of the socialist system in its competition with capitalism.

Another central issue of our time which the CPC leaders evade is the question of what path the peoples fighting for complete freedom from colonialism and neo-colonialism should take in order to overcome their age-old lag and catch up with the developed industrial countries, in order to win full sovereignty and to share in all the achievements of modern civilization, technology and culture.

The fight against imperialism is to a considerable extent a struggle waged by the "third world," but at the same time it is a struggle for this world. There is no doubt that the countries constituting this "third world" which have entered the arena of history as a new dynamic force, countries with a vast human potential and unlimited needs and representing a focal point of the contradictions of imperialism, are the weakest link in the capitalist system. But merely

to state this fact is not enough. To offer all these countries, with their great diversity of socio-political conditions and different levels of development, and their search for tangible support for their sovereignty and concrete, technological and cultural aid—to offer them all the one universal slogan of “armed revolutionary struggle,” as the CPC leaders do, amounts to substituting revolutionary phrasemongering for concrete revolutionary strategy. There are of course countries whose peoples are waging an armed struggle for independence. But in most the slogan of armed struggle is no longer on the order of the day since they have already won their independence, in many cases thanks to the political support and aid in the form of armaments extended them by socialist countries.

Juggling with radical-sounding phraseology, the Chinese leaders pose as the sole champions of the interests of the peoples of the “third world” and accuse other Communist parties and socialist countries of having betrayed the cause of the liberation of the peoples. In the national question too the CPC leaders are trying to impose on the Communist movement the purely artificial choice between peaceful coexistence and competition between the two systems, on the one hand, and the revolutionary, liberation aspirations of the peoples of the “third world,” on the other. Only disdain for the facts can account for the obvious falsehood spread by the CPC leaders that the CPSU and other Communist parties are allegedly paralyzing the independence struggle of the peoples by advocating peaceful coexistence, that they are out to “substitute peaceful coexistence with imperialism for revolutionary struggle.”

The policy of peaceful coexistence, which presupposes respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and the termination of the armament race can only facilitate the people's struggle for complete independence.

The peoples of the “third world” above all need to be rid of foreign armed intervention and other interference in their internal affairs. They need far-reaching democratic reforms which would remove puppet rulers from power and turn the reins of government over to the progressive patriotic popular forces, and more economic aid to promote their independent economic development.

The capitalist way of industrialization and economic progress is now closed to the underdeveloped countries because of the ruthless exploitation to which they are subjected

by the monopolies and their former colonial masters. The gulf between the economically less developed and the industrial countries, far from diminishing, is steadily widening. The rich are becoming richer, and the poor poorer. No exhortations or calls to “armed revolutionary struggle” can solve these complex problems.

The peoples of the many “third-world” countries can break out of the vicious circle only by taking the non-capitalist way.

As Lenin foresaw, the ways leading to socialism have proved to be immeasurably more varied and complex than was thought at one time.

“The truth is more profound, rational and multiform than the theory of the past,” Gomulka said. “As the capitalist path of development becomes more and more obviously impracticable, some genuinely independent governments in the newly-emerged national states, even though headed by ideologically non-Marxist and non-proletarian forces, are not only declaring for the socialist way of development but are carrying out social reforms essentially similar to those already effected in the People's Democracies. Of the Arab countries Algeria and the UAR have already embarked on this path of development, and other countries of Asia and Africa are approaching it.”

Life itself will undoubtedly compel the patriotic forces of these countries to associate national regeneration with socialist reorganization in hitherto unknown forms. The chances of things taking this course will be the greater the more durable world peace, the faster we achieve economic and political preponderance over capitalism, and the greater the aid rendered by the socialist countries to the newly-emerged states.

The idea of peace combines the struggle for socialism and the struggle for national independence, for the solution of all the problems of the “third world.” Socialism has opened to man the prospect of a world without nuclear war, the possibility of preserving peace on earth. The new historical role of socialism implicit in the thesis of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU that in our time, owing to the new balance of forces, world war is no longer inevitable—a thesis which all the Communist parties unanimously accepted and included in their international documents—makes the ideas of socialism increasingly attractive and wins over ever broader masses of working people in all parts of the world.

The CPC leaders seek to impose on the world working-class movement an ideological

and political line which would deprive it of this weighty argument and leave it outside the mainstream of struggle for lasting peace, or even counterpose it to this struggle. This line is divorced from the realities of life and from the masses and should hence be rejected by all the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The platform of the CPC leadership and its continued attacks on the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties have nothing in common with ideological debate. The central issue, essentially speaking, is the unity of the world Communist movement, of all the anti-imperialist forces, and above all the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp. This unity—unity of action vis-à-vis the imperialist world—is one of the cardinal factors on which the superiority of the socialist world over the forces of imperialism and war depends.

The concrete aspects of this unity and its principles are bound to change in the process of historical progress. At the present stage, when the Communist parties are faced with different national, social and political conditions, when some parties are in power while others are still either fighting to win power or have only entered the initial stage of their development, differences between ideological positions are inevitable. But these differences will not undermine the common front of the world Communist movement if the relations between parties united by the common principles of Marxism-Leninism are based on internationalism and respect for the sovereignty, equality and independence of each Party, if all parties are equally determined to cement their solidarity and to relate their positions to the realities of life.

The differences between the CPC and the majority of the Communist and Workers' parties are, however, of another order. The dissenting platform of the CPC leaders and the charges of revisionism and betrayal they level at other parties stem from a desire to split the movement. The CPC leaders rejected the proposal made by a number of fraternal parties, our Party included, to end the public polemic. They proclaimed division to be the "dialectical law of development" of the international working-class movement ("unity—struggle or even a split—new unity on a new basis") and proceeded to act accordingly in the world working-class movement and in all the progressive international organizations.

The reasons why the CPC leaders have adopted such a policy should be sought in their striving to win for the Chinese People's Republic the status of a world power. People's China is the state of the biggest

nation in the world, a people who traversed a path of immeasurable suffering and sacrifice, a path of heroic revolutionary struggle, to break the chains of slavery and oppression and to win freedom. It is by right a world power and entitled to influence the march of world developments. From the moment it came into being, the Soviet Union, Poland and all other socialist countries upheld its rights in the international arena against the discrimination to which it was subjected, combatting the blockade and aggressive acts by means of which the USA sought to prevent China from taking its place among the great powers. There is no doubt that were it to draw on the support of the entire socialist camp and many of the countries of the "third world," as well as the support of sober-minded peace-loving people in the capitalist countries, the Chinese People's Republic would eventually win its rightful place in the world arena.

However, the CPC leaders decided to take historical short-cuts and to achieve their aims by counterposing to the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries their own policy, a policy of splitting the socialist camp and building up an international grouping of their own, a policy of counterpoising the less-developed countries not only to U.S. imperialism but also to the more developed socialist countries, a policy of independent nuclear armament of China.

Hence their sharp attack against the Soviet concept of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons and against the Moscow partial test-ban treaty, and the accusation they have levelled against the USSR that it is conspiring with the USA against China. The CPC leaders hope that by attacking the policy of the USSR and undermining the unity of the socialist camp they will be able to induce the imperialist powers, for whom the Soviet Union will always be the main adversary, to change their policy towards China and accept it as their partner.

To subordinate the historical interests of socialism to the transient national aims of the CPR is to pursue a shortsighted and dangerous policy. "The present general international policy line of the CPC," Comrade Gomulka said at the Congress, "can never be accepted by the international Communist movement inasmuch as this line is characterized by nationalism and great-power aspirations alien to Marxism-Leninism."

By attacking the USSR and undermining the unity of the socialist camp, the CPC leaders are eroding the very foundations of People's China's own security, which is de-

pendent, as the Chinese leaders know full well, on the missile and nuclear strength of the Soviet Union, the main bulwark of peace and the independence of all the socialist countries. Hence it is legitimate to question whether the Chinese leaders actually believe in the theory of the inevitability of war which they propagate. Are they really concerned about the possibility of imperialist aggression against the socialist world? Are they really convinced that U.S. imperialism will "never reconcile itself to living at peace with a socialist state"? If they believe in the theses they have proclaimed, are they not displaying crass irresponsibility in working to split the socialist camp and weaken its international positions and thereby undermine their own security? Are they really blind to the hopes which the ultra-aggressive imperialist circles pin on the policy they are pursuing?

The strength and the international role of People's China, as of all other socialist countries, depend on the unity and cohesion of the entire community of socialist states, on their agreement as to the policy to be pursued towards imperialism. The vital interests of peace and the struggle for socialism and the independence of peoples make it imperative to persevere and strengthen this unity. Our Party, as well as all other parties which are guided in their policies and practical activities by the principles of internationalism and the common interests of peace and socialism, will not cease to work for the unity of the socialist camp and the entire Communist movement.

"We reject the fatalistic idea that division in the Communist movement and the ranks of the proletariat is inevitable," Comrade Z. Kliszko said at the Congress. "The historical interests of the working class, of the peoples

defending their freedom and the peoples building socialism are identical. This, consequently, provides an objective basis for the unity of all the Marxist-Leninist parties."

Preparations for a new international meeting to work out a platform for the restoration of unity in the world Communist movement are now on the order of the day. The Chinese leaders, in their letter of May 7, 1964, propose putting off such a meeting for 4-5 years or even more. Evidently they want to wait and see what the practical results of their present policy will be.

Needless to say, an international meeting requires patient and thorough preparation. This preparatory work should be begun already this year and be conducted in the spirit of businesslike constructive discussion in order to work out a common program of action on the main sectors of struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. "In the course of the preparatory work," Gomulka said, "it is essential to set the date for the international meeting in which all parties should take part. If one or several parties disagree, this should not, however, be considered an insurmountable obstacle to convening the meeting."

THE FOURTH Congress gave our Party a clear-cut program of action both for the solution of national problems of socialist construction and in the sphere of international policy. It is a realistic program deeply rooted in life itself. It is based on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Party's inseparable ties with the working class and the people generally, and a deep sense of responsibility for the future of the country and of socialism. The Congress fortified our firm conviction that our Party is well equipped to carry out this program.

Hungary's Cooperative Agriculture

Karoly Nemeth

I

PROFOUND changes have taken place in the Hungarian countryside in the last few years. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture has been completed. The former one and a half million backward peasant plots have been replaced by 3,800 big up-to-date socialist farms. The biggest obstacle blocking progress in agriculture has thus been removed. A uniform socialist economy has been created, and one of the main contradictions of the transitional period from capitalism has been resolved, namely, the contradiction between socialist industry and small-scale farming. The Hungarian peasant has gone over from individual farming, which engenders exploitation and profiteering, to large-scale socialist farming, thereby eliminating the last source of capitalist restoration in our country. The principal political base of our people's democratic state—the alliance of the working class and the peasantry—has grown stronger and is continuing to develop on a higher level.

The victory of the producer-cooperative movement marks a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in Hungary. To quote the resolution of the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: "With the socialist reconstruction of agriculture socialist relations of production now hold undivided sway in the national economy—the foundations of socialism have been laid. The Hungarian people have won an historic victory and have entered the epoch of the full-scale building of socialism."

During the three years of reconstruction (1959-61) farm output increased by 8.4 per cent compared with the three previous years; state purchases in 1961 exceeded the 1958 level by 13.7 per cent. Thanks to our expanding socialist industry and our economic cooperation with other socialist countries, we were able to invest 19,000 million forints in agriculture. The socialist reorganization of agriculture proceeded simultaneously with the socialist construction in other spheres.

Our next tasks are to strengthen the producers' cooperatives, to overcome the inher-

ed backwardness of agriculture and to increase agricultural output. This calls for patient political and organizational work and, of course, for time. The Party's agrarian policy is to promote intensive farming, to complete socialist reconstruction of agriculture and to reinforce socialist production relations.

In view of the fact that the density of population in Hungary is relatively high, making it practically impossible to extend the crop area, and since agriculture plays a significant role in determining the living standard, it is most important to conduct intensive farming, to secure a greater productivity of labor and reduce production costs. With this in view, we are going ahead with mechanization, use of chemicals, capital construction, land reclamation and irrigation, and fruit and wine growing at a more rapid rate than originally planned.

Consistent implementation of the principle of *material incentives* helps to expand the production base. Together with political education, this is an important factor in increasing production and developing the socialist consciousness of the peasant co-operators.

Organizational and economic consolidation of the socialist farms, first and foremost of the producers' cooperatives, and developing their socialist character are basic to achieving our aims. As for the personal plots held by the peasants in keeping with the rules of the producers cooperatives, we regard them as an organic part of the collective farm and fully support their continued existence.

The main factor that made possible the successful reorganization of agriculture and the relatively rapid consolidation of the producers' cooperatives was the liquidation of the personality cult and its harmful consequences and rejection of both Left and Right views and practices in agrarian policy; the peasant's confidence in our Party has been restored. The peasantry are for the producers' cooperatives. As the Central Committee of the Party pointed out last February, our agrarian policy has proved to be the correct policy.

II

The immediate task facing our agriculture is to fully meet the country's grain requirements; to build up stable feed reserves essential for animal husbandry; to increase the output of meat and dairy produce and to promote large-scale growing of grapes, fruits and vegetables.

We have made good progress in overcoming the relative backwardness of our agriculture and putting it on an up-to-date footing. In the two years since the socialist reorganization of the countryside 16,000 million forints have been invested directly in agriculture, i.e., 4,600 million more than originally planned. During the second five-year plan period (1961-65) capital investments will total 45,000 million forints instead of 34,000 million as originally planned. In other words, 23-24 per cent of all capital investments in the national economy will go into agriculture. This has made it possible to replace a substantial part of the old agricultural implements with modern farm machinery; farm work has become both easier and more productive and the farmer less dependent on the weather. The 1963 output, even though because of unfavorable weather it fell short of expectations, was seven per cent higher than in 1961, the last year of the reorganization; agricultural purchases topped the 1961 figure by 13 per cent. This has made it possible to increase substantially agricultural exports and home consumption.

Continued *mechanization* and *chemicalization* are essential to put agriculture on an up-to-date footing. Since the beginning of the reorganization the number of tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units) has risen from 36,000 to 72,000. As a result, the efficiency of farm work has greatly improved, particularly as regards soil cultivation. Almost all of the ploughing and 80 per cent of the harvesting of grain and fodder crops are done by machines.

However there are still not enough machines, especially at the height of the season, and mechanization of livestock farms is proceeding rather slowly. Matters are complicated by the fact that the share of the agricultural population in the total labor force has decreased from 42 per cent in 1959 to 33 per cent.

Agriculture receives about 10,000 new tractors annually. Efforts are being centered on completely mechanizing the cultivation of the principal crops—grain, corn and fodder crops—which cover 77 per cent of the

arable land. Livestock farming, too, will be further mechanized.

Chemicals play a decisive role in intensive agriculture. Artificial fertilizers, weed and pest killers, factory-made feed, antibiotics and proteins have already yielded good results. The amount of artificial fertilizers used per hectare of cultivated area in 1965 will average 350 kilograms, double the 1961 figure.

New fertilizer factories are being built, while the old ones are being modernized and their production expanded. On nearly half of the area under cereals and on 25 per cent of the area under corn, herbicides are used in the war against weeds. Increased output of factory-made feed has played an important part in raising the production of combined feeds to 1,000,000 tons in 1963 compared with 282,000 tons in 1960. Production of combined feed will be doubled in the next three years.

During the second five-year plan vineyards and orchards covering a total of 120,000 hectares will be laid out in sandy and hilly areas unsuitable for other crops. This will make for large-scale fruit and wine growing, enabling us to expand both home consumption and exports.

Irrigation will be extended. In the second five-year plan the irrigated area will be tripled, reaching 400,000 hectares in 1965. Besides ensuring bigger and more stable crops, this will help to control floods and combat subsoil erosion.

The big investments made during and after the socialist reorganization of agriculture laid the groundwork for large-scale livestock raising. At present 54 per cent of the country's beef and dairy cattle and 45 per cent of its hogs are owned by the cooperative and state farms. Even though considerable capital investments will continue to be made in large-scale livestock farming in the coming years, much of the cattle will be raised on the personal plots for a long time yet, for the process of modernizing the large-scale farms is a slow one.

Agricultural development needs, in addition to the material and technical base, skilled people. The state farms and the producers are receiving more and more machines, chemicals and combined feed. Their effective application calls for considerable *professional knowledge*, for rational *organization* of production and labor. In short, socialist agriculture needs well-trained specialists and skilled workers. Much attention is therefore being paid to expanding the network of agricultural schools and colleges. These will

give agriculture in the near future some 1,300 specialists with a higher education and about 8,500 graduates of technical schools annually. At the same time machine operators, tractor drivers, cattle breeders, gardeners, and other skilled workers are being trained. All this is important for putting agriculture on a sound *scientific basis*.

With the widespread introduction of new varieties of plants and breeds and of new methods of production and organization of labor, science is becoming a powerful productive force. By popularizing scientific farming methods we are setting into motion effective levers for increasing production.

III

Ninety-seven per cent of the crop area is cultivated by socialist farms; of this, 13.5 per cent is occupied by 200 state farms, 80 per cent by 3,600 producer cooperatives and 3.5 per cent, by cooperatives of a less advanced type. The average cultivated area of the state farms in 1963 was 3,100 hectares and of the producer cooperatives, 1,100 hectares.

The state farms play an important role in putting the country's agriculture on an up-to-date footing, in introducing progressive methods of production and labor organization, in supplying agriculture with pedigree cattle and seed and in training specialists. During socialist reconstruction and later, the state farms transferred some 2,000 specialists to the producer cooperatives. In 1963 they supplied 22 per cent of the farm produce purchased by the state, including 23 per cent of the food grain, 28 per cent of the pork and beef and 27 per cent of the milk supplies. They delivered 230 kilograms of meat per hectare, as against an average of 216 kilograms for the country as a whole.

Although the state farms are better provided with specialists, farm buildings, artificial fertilizers and chemicals than the producer cooperatives, their performance in many respects lags behind their possibilities. Means of production are not everywhere used to the best advantage, in some state farms production and labor discipline is poor. This, and also natural conditions, explain the big differences that still exist between farms.

The state farms have all the conditions necessary for setting the example in increasing labor productivity, popularizing new methods of production and perfecting large-scale socialist agriculture.

Further progress largely depends on the consolidation of the producer cooperatives. Although relatively new, their achievements

to date are proof of the advantages of co-operation. In 1963 they accounted for 58 per cent of the total farm output purchased by the state. This was primarily the result of the higher productivity of labor achieved on the cooperative farms by creating in a relatively short space of time the conditions necessary for large-scale farming: mechanization increased, supplies of artificial fertilizers and chemicals improved, and the irrigated area was extended. A large part of the planting of vineyards and orchards, as well as of the land reclamation work is done by the producer cooperatives. Practically all of them have their own cattle farms. Their production facilities are expanding from year to year, their collectively-owned property increasing from 25,000 million forints in 1961 to more than 37,000 million in 1963.

In the two years since the reorganization the real income of the peasants has risen by 10 per cent.

With the help of the whole of society the newly-formed cooperatives have overcome the initial difficulties and have achieved results that were beyond the reach of small peasant farming. Many of the producer cooperatives can compare with the best state farms.

At the same time, however, the differences between cooperatives are still very big. Some cooperatives have been set back by unfavorable natural conditions, others lag behind the foremost because of poor management and slack discipline.

For all cooperatives to make headway it is necessary, besides improving organization of labor and discipline, constantly to increase both collective property and collective production. In this way the peasant cooperators will fulfil their obligations to the country and they will be better off themselves. Hence, the political and economic measures of the Party and state bodies are aimed first and foremost at developing collective farming, at deepening its socialist character.

The lagging cooperatives are given every assistance. In those cases where the cooperatives have to contend with unfavorable conditions such as less fertile soils, they are helped by the state to plant orchards and vineyards and to engage in reclamation. Such farms get priority in the matter of skilled personnel and allocations, and are advised what kind of crops to cultivate. They are also helped by the state farms and more advanced producer cooperatives who send their specialists, and share their experience.

A big role in organizing socialist farming and mechanization has been played by the

state *machine and tractor stations*. These are now being turned into repair depots to service the tractors of the cooperatives, which account for two-thirds of the country's total tractor fleet. The policy of gradually enlarging the cooperative tractor fleet while simultaneously increasing the number of machines in the machine and tractor stations proved to be the right policy in our conditions. The development of mechanization in these two directions was necessary in order to take care of the requirements of those cooperatives which were unable to acquire all the machines they needed. Furthermore, gradual mechanization enabled the cooperatives to acquire the necessary technical know-how.

Since it is in the interests of both the national economy and the farms to have both the land and machines concentrated in the same hands, we will continue to reorganize the machine and tractor stations into service stations and to transfer their machines to the producer cooperatives. Twenty-nine machine and tractor stations have been reorganized to date.

The stations will continue to operate the heavy-duty tractors and most of the grain-harvesting combines; they will also do much of the work of the less developed cooperatives. Their main job, however, will be to attend to repairs, to train machine operators and generally to help the cooperatives in the sphere of mechanization.

IV

The planned guidance of agriculture is effected largely through prices, credits, investments, contracts and state subsidies—and also through persuasion. This method has fully justified itself. The state farms are guided by definite plans, and for the cooperatives there are planned stimuli. Simultaneously with the drawing up of state plans, the cooperatives work out their own tentative plans which take into account the possibilities of the respective cooperatives. These tentative plans, as a rule, fit in with the needs of the national economy. The agricultural departments of the local authorities distribute the means at their disposal in such a way as to give the cooperatives an incentive to meet the requirements of the national economy. With the participation of the cooperative management, the local authorities fix the targets for the cooperatives in accordance with the targets for the district as regards production, purchases, investments and credits.

The purchasing bodies conclude contracts

with the cooperatives on the basis of plans approved by the agricultural departments of the district councils. Our purchasing system is based on such contracts, which play an important role in coordinating the interests of the national economy and the respective farms and in the planned guidance of production. The share of produce purchased through contracts in 1963 was 63 per cent of the total. With regard to some important products long-term contracts have been introduced; this allows for a more reliable accumulation of centralized reserves, a steady market for the farms and their specialization.

In addition to the *paramount* task of developing the *collective farms* a number of measures have been taken in recent years to ensure more effective cultivation of the *peasant plots*. Despite this, however, the number of cows and pigs raised on the latter has decreased; what is more, this decrease has not been compensated for by the increase in the number of cattle in the producer cooperatives and state farms. The main reason, apart from the shortage of fodder, is that not everywhere was farming on personal plots encouraged while simultaneously developing the collective farms. Although it is agreed, by and large, that personal plots must be given every chance, very little is being done in this direction. This does not benefit the national economy for its means that the possibilities are not fully tapped.

The livestock of the collective farms is being increased to the utmost, but the allocations for this purpose will yield the maximum results only if all the possibilities are used for increasing the personally-owned livestock.

It will take some time before socialist farming will be able to meet all the country's requirements in livestock and its products. Hence the importance of the personally-owned plots, which, together with allotments farmed by non-agricultural establishments, accounted for 20 per cent of the total food purchases last year. The interests of the country and of every peasant cooperator demand that, parallel with the intensive development of the collective farms, we help the personal plot in conformity with the cooperative rules.

Wider use of *material incentives* has greatly contributed to strengthening the producer cooperatives. Besides incentives affecting the cooperatives as a whole, an important role is also played by methods of payment for labor and distribution of incomes providing a stimulus to the individual members. In most cases the cooperatives are correctly

guided by the principle: the bigger the peasant's contribution to the collective, the bigger his income. But there are still a number of shortcomings. In some places the income paid is not in proportion to the labor expended; in others the importance of the material incentive is underestimated.

We think all cooperatives should have a system of payment and income distribution that would supplement the remuneration based on the work-day unit. We are seeing to it that the methods of payment and the organization of work conform to the available man-power, level of development and technical equipment in every cooperative, thus precluding unhealthy disproportions in the wages paid in the different branches and providing incentives to increase joint production, to use modern methods and enlist the members of families into collective labor. Incentives thus combine the individual interests with the common interests of the cooperative and the country, and they release initiative. Material incentives are a cardinal principle of our policy both for today and for the entire period of full-scale building of socialism.

Incentives, powerful though they are, are not enough to achieve the desired results; they cannot take the place of political conviction and enlightenment, that is, of work to develop the peasants' socialist consciousness, to foster the socialist attitude to labor. They can help to increase production only when combined with the moral incentive.

The key to the further development of the cooperatives are competent *managements* whose chairmen, specialists and machine operators enjoy the confidence of the members, work to multiply the cooperative wealth and increase the incomes of the members, make no allowances for shirkers and judge of people by their labor for the common good. Most managements are competent and enjoy the confidence of the members. This is because the managers are elected by the members, because the farms are run on a *democratic* basis. We take into account that the cooperative managers are, as a rule, new to the job, and therefore have to be given every assistance.

We are guided by the principle that the cooperative can be properly run only if the management and the members work in harmony. The management must serve the collective and not the collective the management. Considerable attention is therefore being paid to cooperative democracy. This does not mean of course that the management has no right to call to order those who shirk

their duties. On the contrary, the management is supported by the rest of the members in such instances. Without this support it is impossible to strengthen the cooperatives and increase production. The really strong and efficient cooperatives are those where democracy is observed, where there is mutual confidence and where members and management share the responsibility.

V

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture paved the way for the appearance of a class of producer-cooperators, a development which has fundamentally changed life in the countryside, altering the peasant's outlook and his conditions of life and work. A cultural revolution is underway. The peasants eagerly send their children to school, and they themselves are studying and acquiring the knowledge needed for large-scale farming. The peasant sees that his personal well-being is closely linked with the cooperatives, and feels he acted correctly when he turned to collective farming and reposed his confidence in the policy of the Party. The contradictions associated with the former property and social status of the peasantry which divided the village are being replaced by the feeling of mutual responsibility, confidence and respect. People who in the days of individual farming were on opposite sides of the fence are now helping each other.

We are working to inculcate a socialist outlook among the cooperative members, to accelerate the process of uniting all the peasantry into one. It should be borne in mind that the cooperatives have been joined by all sections of the rural population—by the former poor and middle peasants, the ex-kulak, the village craftsman, teacher, etc. Hence differences in outlook, in standard of living and in attitude are still felt. These can best be overcome by consolidating the cooperatives and making them more prosperous, and by combating the incorrect and backward views which hamper unity, by combating the Right and Left deviations still to be met with. The Party, the government and society as a whole will continue to promote the socialist development of our peasantry, for the creation of a united cooperative peasant class is one of the cardinal conditions for the further strengthening of the socialist system.

It rests with the *Party committees and rural Party organizations* to see to it that our agrarian policy is correctly implemented.

The tasks of the Party organizations in the

countryside have increased, but so have their forces. It is gratifying to note that thousands of the new peasant cooperators have joined the Party. However, Party work in the rural localities must be improved and the branches in the producer cooperatives must be strengthened. Considerable attention is therefore being paid to the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members in the villages and to reinforcing the Party with the best people in agriculture.

The victory of the producer cooperative movement shows that in its agrarian policy

our Party has been guided by Marxist-Leninist theory. Notwithstanding the temporary difficulties associated with the socialist reorganization of agriculture, it can be said that our policy is the correct policy, that it has justified itself.

The development of agriculture benefits not only the peasantry but the entire community. One and all should therefore make every effort to help agriculture carry out its task to raise living standards and enhance the political and economic might of our socialist country.

The Revolutionary Movement in Nigeria

Tunji Otegbeye

ON October 1, 1960 Nigeria was proclaimed an independent state. With political independence there began a new stage in the Nigerian revolution—that of the struggle for economic independence, for complete liberation from imperialist and feudal oppression. A feature of this stage is the intense struggle waged by the various classes and political groups around socio-political issues, and specifically on the question of Nigeria's further development as an independent state.

Before examining the alignment of class forces and the tasks of the revolutionary liberation movement, let us, if only briefly, review the socio-economic and political conditions in which the popular movement developed in the period of British rule and in the early years of independence.

The Colonial Period

Britain established its rule in Nigeria at the end of the last century when Africa was being carved up between the leading European imperialist powers. The people of Nigeria, led by their Chiefs and Elders, had to give ground but not without a bitter fight. Only in a few places did the British gain military victories and even then these were partial victories. It was not until the end of the first decade of the present century that

British colonial rule was finally firmly established in Nigeria, taking root when the system of indirect administration was introduced.

The policy of indirect administration was aimed at preserving the feudal and semi-feudal systems established prior to the arrival of the colonialists, at preserving the privileges of the feudal rulers and tribal chiefs. At the same time this policy restricted the rights of the working people, especially the peasantry. The courts, police and prisons of the local administration, local laws and customs all protected the interests of the feudal nobility.

The system of indirect administration made it easier for foreign, and primarily British, monopoly capital to exploit the manpower and natural resources of Nigeria. The British had their own "Royal" Army, police and law courts, and packed such institutions as the Executive Council and the Legislative Council with Nigerians specially chosen for their pro-British and anti-patriotic leanings.

The Nigerian was made to recognize the superiority of the white man over the black, to accept the Western way of life, to despise his own culture, accept everything British as being the best, to adopt habits and customs alien to him because it suited the British. Nigerian Civil Servants were not allowed,

for instance, to appear in offices in national costume, and those who wanted to be promoted had to wear a bowler and tie. Until the late forties Nigerians were not allowed to enter the Cathedral of Christ in Lagos unless they were in European dress. The native culture of the people, their means of entertainment, were gradually replaced by West European and, later, American forms of entertainment.

At the beginning of the 20th century the British provided professional and technical training for some Nigerians from ruling feudal families. In this way they created a compradore group who in their way of life and way of thinking were more British than the British themselves, and who in the main opposed the struggle for independence, advocated collaboration with the colonialists, maintaining that the African would never be able to rule his own country.

However, as the Nigerians awakened to national consciousness, despite the colonialists, men, parties and groups made their appearance who took a patriotic stand, moved by the desire to liberate the country from colonial dependence. These include the National Democratic Party of Herbert Macaulay, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the Action Group, the trade unions and the Nigerian Youth Congress. The national-liberation movement was headed by bourgeois-democratic parties and groups.

United by the desire to win political independence, the progressive forces waged a stubborn and bitter struggle to achieve this aim. Nigeria's history of the last few decades is rich in mass actions against the colonial regime. Suffice to remember the action of the Aba women in 1929, which was supported by the entire people; the railwaymen's strike in 1942; the strike of King's College students, which led to the formation in 1944 of a united front in the shape of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons; the 1945 general strike of Civil Servants and employees of private enterprises, the first in the history of Nigeria, called in answer to the refusal of the British authorities to improve their conditions; the mass protest movement against the Richards Constitution in 1945-48 and for genuine self-government; the strike struggle of the Burutu port workers in June 1947 against the inhuman exploitation by the United Africa Company; the miners' strike in Enugu in November 1949, and the protest movement that swept Eastern Nigeria in connection with the shooting down of unarmed miners, etc.

The steadily mounting anti-imperialist lib-

eration struggle of the masses — workers, peasants and the national bourgeoisie — ultimately led to the achievement of political independence in October 1960.

The conquest of political independence did not, however, spell the end of imperialist domination in our country. Today the imperialists are striving to enter into new forms of collaboration with the reactionary sections of society and to continue their exploitation of our country.

After October 1, 1960

Foreign, chiefly British, firms and companies continue to hold the commanding positions in the basic branches of the economy—in agriculture, mining, manufacturing industry, banking, finance and foreign trade. These firms own most of the extensive palm and rubber plantations in the country. United Africa Company, John Holt, Arab Transport, Taylor Woodrow and other foreign firms own the largest enterprises in road transport and the building industry and dominate retail trade.

During the first three years of independence (1960-63) the foreign banks opened 40 new branches in Nigeria, whereas the local banks—only five. The investments of the larger foreign monopolies alone were £4.5 million in 1951, £12 million in 1955 and £25 million in 1962. Economic and cultural penetration by neo-colonialism has intensified. Whereas before, in the period of colonial rule, we had to deal primarily with British capital investments, now American, French, West German and Japanese monopoly capital is making itself felt.

Whereas before we had to contend with the conservative missionaries of both the Christian and Muslim religion, now we have to contend also with the machinations of the well-trained espionage personnel of the Peace Corps, the U.S. Army Information Service, the Central Intelligence Agency, Moral Rearmament and other organizations which are clearing the way for the penetration of neo-colonialism in our country. The U.S. imperialists are particularly active in Nigeria. Never before have so many Americans visited the country as in the last two years. Thanks to the activity of the Peace Corps there are more American teachers in our secondary schools than the total number of other foreign teachers taken together.

The gap between the riches of the privileged minority and the poverty of the mass of the working people is widening. The position of the poor classes and the other sections

of the population—workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals, small traders and businessmen — is going from bad to worse. The minimum monthly wage of a worker in Lagos, for example, is £7.12s, and in the rural areas, only £4. Even a government commission has admitted that the minimum wage in Lagos should be at least £16.16s. People are finding it increasingly difficult to support a family, for rents and prices are rising more rapidly than wages. Thus, the rent for one room in the town is £4, i.e., more than half the worker's wages.

In connection with the population growth, the usurpation of communal and family land by the feudal lords, landlords and capitalists the class of poor farmers who have to work for others is growing larger. Unemployment is increasing. In December 1962 alone more than 40,000 school graduates swelled the ranks of the unemployed. In contrast to the toilers who are sinking deeper into poverty, the growing group of big businessmen and landlords are amassing fortunes by fraud, theft, extortion, land usurpation, bribery, profiteering, political machinations and other criminal methods. The feudal lords, particularly in the North, continue to enjoy great powers. They can at will increase taxes, distribute or confiscate landed property, and sign agreements on trade and industrial projects.

The impoverishment of the working people even after independence, on the one hand, and the enrichment of the Nigerian capitalists, feudal lords and high officials connected with foreign capital, on the other, is one of the main causes of the intensification of the class struggle in the country.

The growth of the class struggle is manifested in the upsurge of the strike movement in the towns in 1962-63, in the mass actions of the wage and salaried workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals in defense of their economic and political rights. Thus, in February 1963, 16,000 dockers struck work for more than two weeks demanding a wage increase and effective measures by the government to end unemployment. In June of the same year the railwaymen went on strike, demanding an increase in overtime pay. In July the miners of Enutu began a struggle for their economic and political rights.

The biggest social conflict since the achievement of independence, the general strike of 800,000 wage and salaried workers last June, was the most successful in the history of Nigeria. The strikers demanded a wage increase and better conditions. There were clashes with the police in Lagos and

in other towns; the police tried to break up the strikers' demonstration with tear-gas, batons and bullets. The strike lasted 13 days and ended with the Government agreeing to the terms of the Joint Action Committee. The terms also provided that no strikers would be victimized, that dismissals would be stopped and that the strikers would be paid their wages for the duration of the strike.

This mass action, sparked off by the working class, laid bare the class contradictions in the country. It was not just a matter of winning a wage increase. The strike was an expression of the growing dissatisfaction of the working people with the policy of the Government which is concerned mainly with the interests of the foreign monopolies and privileged exploiting classes and sections.

Thus, the struggle of the working people of Nigeria for wage increases and the satisfaction of their vital economic demands is part and parcel of the political issues facing Nigeria today, and particularly of the question of Nigeria's development.

A big event in the history of the revolutionary movement of Nigeria was the establishment of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party, a new political force established to unite and head all the patriotic, progressive elements of the country in their fight for economic and social liberation and to take the country along the anti-capitalist path of development.

Party of the Working People

The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party was formed after three years of independence had revealed a marked divergence between the interests of the working people and the interests of the feudal lords, tribal chiefs, capitalists and other elements collaborating with imperialism. Our experience showed that the freedom won was only partial, that it was only the small group of wealthy exploiters who profited by it. It was clear that the fight for complete freedom for the people had to be waged by the people themselves under the leadership of their own Party. The existing parties had taken the path of nationalism. It was necessary to establish a Socialist Party, a party that would fight not for the feudal lords and capitalists associated with imperialism, but for our people. The manifesto of the Party states: "The 'The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party is the party of the toilers of Nigeria, guided by the ideas of scientific socialism, a party whose aim is the realization of a Socialist

Nigeria through a national-democratic revolution. This party has become necessary because of developments in Nigeria. It comes in answer to the call of the people."

Our Party relies on the people. It is the fundamental principle of our Party that it is built by the people and is out to serve the people. Any word, any action that runs counter to the interests of the workers and peasants would be a violation of this basic principle of our party. The Party rules ensure that workers, farmers and all persons devoted to the cause of the working people play the leading role. Guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party pledges to head the struggle of its people against the forces of neo-colonialism and feudalism. Our aim is to build a new Nigeria with a new economy, a new policy and a new culture.

For a New, Democratic Nigeria

In this new Nigeria state power will be effected in the form of the dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes. To achieve this unity of action of the revolutionary forces, the working class and its main ally the peasantry must rally all the patriotic elements from among the national bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

What is the attitude of the political parties, groups and trends to the Nigerian revolution? It is opposed by the Northern People's Congress which represents the feudal aristocracy of the North; it is opposed by the New Nigerian National Democratic Party, the Midwest Democratic Front, the Southern People's Congress, the Nigeria Delta Congress—all consisting mainly of reactionaries and corrupt politicians who are opposed to change of any kind.

On the other hand the revolution is actively supported by the working class and the peasantry, headed by its vanguard—the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party, the Action Group which has rid itself of many (but by no means all) of its feudal and compradore elements and which is now led by the national bourgeoisie and progressive intellectuals, the Northern Elements Progressive Union and the United Middle Belt Congress, representing the peasantry and small traders and constituting the anti-feudal front—the Northern Progressive Front—and also the Dynamic Party representing mainly petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

As regards the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) it is in a peculiar position. This party, at present under the control

of the compradore businessmen and the national bourgeoisie, also has among its members representatives of the working class, peasantry, intellectuals as well as men of the national bourgeoisie. The NCNC therefore is not directly against the revolution; but its attitude is one of "wait and see." The correct attitude to this party is to advance a program that will win the support of the progressives in its ranks and, should the reactionary leadership venture to resist, expose its bankruptcy to the revolutionary rank and file. The National Council will have no choice but to get rid of its compradore elements and join the revolutionary forces in the task of national construction.

The possibilities therefore exist for uniting in a national-democratic front all the patriotic forces fighting for genuine independence and democracy. All who are opposed to neo-colonialism and feudalism pursue a single aim—to see a fully independent and progressive national democratic state. This implies that the economic, military and other pillars of neo-colonialism must be smashed, an end put to the domination of the compradore elements and feudalism.

For a Wider Democracy

If this is to be achieved the first thing is to unite the progressive forces to defeat the attempts of imperialism, feudalism, the compradore bourgeoisie and their political agents and henchmen to impose an arbitrary dictatorship on the country.

Nigeria's progressive forces are fighting:

—against the attempts of the Right-wing of the autocracy and reactionaries to undermine the democratic aspects of the Constitution;

—to revise the Constitution in order to restore and extend democratic freedoms (restoration of the Judicial Service Commission; abolition of the Houses of Chiefs and their replacement by elected senates; extension of the franchise to women throughout the Federation; the creation of new states to give self-determination to national minorities, etc.);

—against the attempts to prohibit the activity of political parties or groups;

—for the abolition of feudalism (particularly against the appropriation of communal land by feudal chiefs, for the abolition of forced labor in the countryside);

—in support of the poorer classes in their struggle for economic and democratic rights;

—for an economic and social policy that will strengthen democracy and national inde-

pendence (for instance, by industrializing Nigeria, establishing cooperatives among farmers and small businessmen, encouraging trade unionism, revising the old colonial wage structure, democratizing the machinery of state, introducing free primary education, expanding educational facilities, abolishing all discrimination based on tribe, religion or color).

This does not mean, however, that in the rapidly changing scene in Nigeria a high wall separates the struggle for a national democratic republic from the subsequent struggle to build socialism. The working people must realize their responsibility and adapt their methods of struggle to the changing situation, correctly re-assess the alignment of class forces and advance to victory as quickly as possible. "Experience has shown," the Manifesto of the Nigerian Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria states, "that the struggle for total independence and socialism may take any form ranging from parliamentary to armed struggle. Everything depends on the experience of the people and the way in which the ruling classes choose to conduct their own side of the struggle. And in the African context the ruling classes include the class of absentee monopoly capitalists in Europe and America whose businesses and money dominate our economy. . . . Experience has shown that no power pitched against the people can defeat the people."

New Economy and Culture

The new economy will develop in the direction of restricting private capital and landownership. The banks, railways, air lines, ports, power corporations belonging to big local or foreign capital, will be operated by

the state. In the new, democratic republic the state-owned enterprises will be part of the socialist sector which will be the leading force in the independent national economy. But small private property will not be confiscated, its development will not be artificially hampered, for Nigeria's economy is still backward. In the new republic the land will be distributed according to the principle "land to the tiller." At the present stage it is not necessary to establish socialist agriculture, although the growth of cooperatives should be encouraged.

The new culture will reflect the new policy and the new economy. In its content this will be a national, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal culture.

* * *

To summarize. The main features of the revolutionary-liberation struggle in Nigeria are:

1. That the political independence won by Nigerians is largely nominal. Neo-colonialism and its support, feudalism, still hold sway in the country.
2. The establishment after the achievement of political independence of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party based on scientific socialism and guided by Marxism-Leninism.
3. The need for an alliance of all revolutionary classes and patriotic forces to oppose neo-colonialism and feudalism and establish the new, democratic republic.
4. That the struggle for the new, democratic republic is a necessary stage in the Nigerian national revolution and must be seen as a step towards building a socialist republic in Nigeria.
5. The Nigerian revolution is part of the African revolution which is also part of the world revolutionary process.

World Opinion Condemns the American Aggressors

J. Tonner

World opinion has been alerted to the latest acts of imperialist aggression in different parts of the world. Thus, at the beginning of August warships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and sank two torpedo boats. American planes violated the air space of the Democratic Republic, bombing its coastal installations and villages. A few days before a series of four low-level bombing attacks were carried out on border posts and villages along the coast.

These U.S. acts of aggression in the Gulf of Tonkin, thousands of miles away from American shores, are the latest attempt to revert to predatory methods in relations between states. In their haste the aggressors did not even think it necessary to warn their allies of the military provocation that could have sparked a new world conflagration.

Tension has been a feature of the situation in Southeast Asia for months now. Flagrant provocations in this area could lead to a widespread military conflict. It is therefore only logical to expect that the utmost caution should be exercised, that the standards of international law be observed. The wild men in the United States do not seem to think so. On more than one occasion they have spurred on Washington to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. It is being said in the United States that the Republican and Democratic parties are using the expansion of the war in Vietnam as a trump card in the election campaign. That this dangerous playing with fire may end in a thermonuclear holocaust is evidently given scant thought.

It is characteristic that some of the United States' NATO partners are following the example of their leader. Thus, aggressive circles in Turkey, too, decided to resort to the "gunboat policy" in their relations with Cyprus. As a result many villages were razed by bombing and naval actions in August. Hundreds of people were killed. All this was done in effect with the tacit agreement of U.S. aggressive circles.

The wild men in the USA are now inciting the Latin American states to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba, as is evident from the recent Ninth Consultative Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States. In other words, U.S. aggressive circles are trying to make export of counter-revolution a regular feature of international relations. This sort of thing is fraught with grave danger.

World opinion has condemned the U.S. aggressive actions and warns the aggressors that their provocations will have disastrous consequences. It will not be easy for them to escape responsibility for their actions. Their criminal plans will be exposed by peace-loving people the world over who are watching their maneuvers to exploit the difficulties that have arisen in the relations between the socialist countries, in the international communist movement as a result of the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders. In these conditions it is particularly necessary to unite all the anti-imperialist forces, to intensify the struggle against the intrigues of the imperialists and to preserve and strengthen peace. This is the international duty of all communists, of the working people of all countries.

In Memoriam: Palmiro Togliatti

THE BANNERS of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties are at half mast in tribute to the memory of Palmiro Togliatti. The death of this outstanding Communist leader and revolutionary who had fought all his life for socialism, democracy and peace is a heavy loss to the Italian Communist Party, the people of Italy and the world Communist movement.

Togliatti's contribution to the cause of peace was truly great. He was one of the first to realize the danger of the nuclear catastrophe that threatened and still threatens mankind. He was the initiator of a dialogue between all representative popular forces, irrespective of their ideological and political views or religious beliefs, and he fervently championed the policy of peaceful co-existence which he enriched with his own ideas.

He was one of those who grasped the historic significance of the October Revolution, and in 1921, together with Gramsci, he founded the Italian Communist Party of which he became General Secretary in 1926; he clearly perceived the significance of the new balance of forces brought about by the rise and development of the socialist world and drew the correct political conclusions.

As leader of the Italian Communist Party and secretary of the Communist International, Togliatti was among those who by virtue of their Marxist-Leninist powers of analysis, their thinking and their political activity were able to elaborate a program of anti-fascist unity and subsequently to rally all the anti-fascist forces, to enhance their militancy and ensure the cooperation of the peoples who destroyed fascism. Togliatti, the initiator and leader of the Resistance in Italy, headed the struggle against fascist oppression and the Nazi occupation.

A tireless fighter for the national unity and independence of Italy, he was the initiator of the first national coalition government formed



in 1944 in which all the anti-fascist parties were represented.

Guided by the teachings and counsel of Gramsci, by the Marxist-Leninist method of analyzing and assessing new developments, Palmiro Togliatti charted for the contemporary situation and class struggle of the Italian people new conditions and forms of the democratic way to socialism in Italy. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by Togliatti, the people of Italy were able by their struggle and their sacrifices to foil the repeated attempts of the reactionaries to block that way: the attempt on Togli-

atti's life in 1948, the electoral-law swindle of 1954 and the reactionary plot of 1960 to install an authoritarian-type regime.

Closely associated with the life of the people, with the nation, Togliatti was simultaneously a consistent internationalist, guided by his awareness of the problems of the world, by his feeling of active international solidarity, a solidarity manifested during the war in defense of Republican Spain, in his courageous struggle for unity of the international working-class movement and in his staunch friendship with the first socialist country in the world—the Soviet Union.

Working people all over the world mourn the death of Togliatti. All social sections in Italy—workers and peasants, men of science, culture and art—are sending their condolences to the Italian Communist Party which Togliatti worked to build up as a powerful mass party, a party of the working class and of all Italians fighting for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Italian Communist Party will continue, as the leadership has stated, to follow the course mapped out by Palmiro Togliatti.

At this moment of sorrow our Journal shares the grief of the Italian Communist Party and the working people of Italy and expresses its fraternal solidarity with them.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Brazilian Communists Call for Defeat of the Putschists

FOLLOWING a secret meeting of its Central Committee, the Brazilian Communist Party has published a statement over the signature of its General Secretary, Luis Carlos Prestes.

Entitled "The Defeat of the Putschists Will Open the Way for the Brazilian Revolution," the statement points out that the military coup of April 1, in gross violation of the Constitution, established the dictatorship of the reactionaries acting as agents of imperialism and the latifundists.

Supported by the reactionary majority in the National Congress, the putschist generals ousted the president and set up a tyrannical regime of terror. While paying lip-service to "democratic revolution," they trampled on the Constitution and promulgated decrees of a fascist order. Scores of members of parliament were deprived of their seats and parliament was turned into an obedient tool of the putschists. The removal from office and imprisonment of the governors of Pernambuco, Sergipe and other states as well as members of Congress, prefects and municipal councillors throughout the country was a criminal violation of the people's will.

The coup, the statement points out, was directed against the genuine patriots—workers, peasants, students and servicemen—whose organizations have been either banned or placed under putschist control. Neither have the progressive church circles escaped the repressions. Hundreds of popular leaders have been deprived of political rights, the inviolability of people's homes has become a fiction, and thousands of adherents of the most diverse political trends have been arrested. As in the darkest days of fascism, books are being confiscated and destroyed. The reign of terror is the worst Brazil has ever experienced.

The statement points out that the strings of the coup can be traced to the North American imperialists. All the reactionary forces from the Right-wing extremists to the conservative center joined forces to carry it through with the object of paralyzing through violent minority action the struggle of the

popular masses and thereby preventing the realization of reforms impinging on the domination of the latifundists and the privileges of powerful economic groupings. The purpose of the coup was to annul the national gains of the people, to steer the country away from independent foreign-policy positions and to make it an obedient tool of the U.S. State Department. This creates a serious threat to Brazil's sovereignty and the interests of its people.

The nationalist and popular forces suffered a grave setback, the statement goes on. But the victory of imperialism and the reactionaries is built on sand and their rule cannot last for long. The dictatorship is unable to paralyze the democratic movement. The damage it is causing to the interests of the nation as a whole cannot but evoke strong and determined resistance. The coup, though carried out under the threadbare banner of anti-communism, affects all patriots and democrats irrespective of their political and ideological views. Hence the dictatorship is opposed by broad sections of the people.

The Central Committee points out that the coup did not remove the sharp contradictions rending the country. If anything, it has aggravated them. Moreover, the forces that carried out the coup do not represent a solid bloc. Their unity is undermined by a clash of interests.

It is the duty of all Brazilians, the statement stresses, staunchly to uphold democratic freedoms. The Central Committee urges all patriots and democrats to unite in defense of free speech, freedom of assembly and of the press, the trade unions of industrial and agricultural workers, students' associations and other popular organizations, to protest against the banning of such organizations and demand an end to interference in their activities.

The statement also calls on the masses to demand free elections and the immediate release of political prisoners, to organize a broad solidarity movement in support of the victims of persecution and their families, to intensify

the struggle for immediate demands, in defense of national sovereignty, for the basic reforms essential to ensure the country's progress, for an independent foreign policy and normal relations with Cuba and all other socialist countries.

The issue is one of uniting all patriots and democrats, all political trends that reject the dictatorship, into a powerful mass movement capable of defeating the putschists and establishing a nationalist and democratic government representing the forces fighting for freedom, independence and progress.

"This is not the first time that a reactionary group in the service of North American imperialism has tried to establish its rule by force," the statement says. "Similar attempts were made in 1945, 1954 and 1961, but they all failed. However great the number of victims today, and however ruthless the reactionaries, the people of Brazil will overthrow the putschist camarilla and march forward along the road of revolution. . . .

"A tremendous responsibility devolves on the Communists. At this grave moment in the

life of the country the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is called upon to play a bigger role than ever. It is the duty of every Communist to stand at his post together with the masses in factory and field, school and barracks, in the residential neighborhoods and streets. Let us organize the people for struggle against the dictatorship, using all means to this end—from simple protest to mass meetings, demonstrations and mass self-defense. Let us be in the forefront of the working people in strike actions, in the forefront of the peasants in the struggle against latifundism, in the forefront of the struggle of the entire people of Brazil in defense of democracy."

In conclusion the Central Committee states:

"Defeat of the putschists will open the way to the victory of the Brazilian revolution, to the final liberation of our country from the domination of imperialism, latifundism and reaction. Unity, organization and mass struggle—this is what is needed to put an end to the reactionary dictatorship!"

Pedro MOTTA LIMA

Argentine Communists on the Danger of a Reactionary Coup

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina met in plenary session in June to examine the changes in the political situation caused by the preparations for another reactionary coup d'état, the deepening economic crisis and its impact on the conditions of the working class and the broad masses in general. The meeting reviewed the struggles waged by the workers, peasants, women and the youth, examined the basic political alignments, and discussed the work done by the Communists as well as the Party's tasks.

"It is now obvious," the statement adopted by the meeting declares, "that the U.S. government, after organizing the military-fascist coup in Brazil, is out to engineer a similar take-over in our country; it wants to install a reactionary government which would obediently support its machinations in Latin America, especially the criminal plans it is hatching against heroic Cuba and the democratic movements in neighboring countries, above all in Chile in the event that the Popular Action Front in that country wins the Sep-

tember elections which, judging by all signs, may be anticipated."

Examining the objectives of the coup now being plotted, the statement declares: "It is clear, especially after the lessons of Brazil, that a reactionary coup would only spell greater hardships for the working class and the nation, unloose ruthless repressions and intensify the process of neo-colonization."

The statement exposes the spokesmen of the U.S. monopolies, the landed oligarchy and the big capitalist middlemen who are pressuring the government, which is far from having established full democracy, not to yield even to the most urgent demands of the working class and other sections of the population and to take further repressive action against the people. It is these anti-national forces that are preparing a coup. Their object is to hold the threat of violent overthrow over the government and actually to oust it if it does not fall in line.

In the light of these developments, the statement goes on, all Argentine democrats and patriots are coming to see that the main

enemies of the working class and the entire people are the latifundists and the imperialists, in particular U.S. imperialism. Hence the disastrous succession of coups and counter-coups can be ended only by concentrating the fire of working-class and popular action against these elements.

The statement examines in detail the deepening economic and social crisis gripping the country as a result of the contradictions between the interests of the working class and all other working people, on the one hand, and the interests of the landed oligarchy, the big capitalist middlemen and the foreign monopolies, on the other. To solve these contradictions it is imperative to carry out the far-reaching structural and infrastructural changes outlined in the program of the Communist Party, which is a program of democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution with the perspective of transition to socialism.

These changes are basically the following: establishment of broad democracy; a consistent agrarian reform; nationalization of the commanding heights in the economy and finance; expansion of trade with all countries, in particular with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; an independent foreign policy aimed at strengthening world peace; pursuance of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between states and recognition of the peoples' right to self-determination; solidarity with all peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence, and in particular with the people of Cuba.

Examining the political situation, the statement points out that with the formation of the Illia government an opening has appeared which can be utilized for exerting mass pressure to extend democracy. It is this opening that the reactionaries scheme to close by means of a coup.

The Illia government has carried out a number of important measures of a progressive nature. It annulled the leases held by foreign oil companies and began to transfer to state enterprises the land holdings which these leases handed over to the imperialists; took administrative steps to safeguard the national power industry; promulgated a law designed to control the cost of living and curb profiteering; introduced a progressive wage scale ensuring a minimum living standard, and restored some democratic freedoms. On the other hand, however, the government has not pursued this line consistently. It fears the masses and is reluctant to purge the administrative and military machinery of state of reactionary and putschist elements, or to take strong action against the monopolies, landlords, big

profiteers and stock-market speculators.

The program of action adopted by the General Confederation of Labor sets forth demands advanced by all the democratic and progressive forces. Consequently, this program, despite the fact that the methods of leadership employed by some of the leaders of the Confederation run counter to it, is fully supported by the Communist Party and all active trade unionists devoted to the interests of the working class and the people generally, and in particular by those participating in the Trade Union Unity and Coordination Movement.

The statement outlines a minimum program of urgent measures aimed at mitigating the crisis gripping the country, and calls for united action to carry it out and prevent a reactionary take-over.

"One thing is clear: either the working-class, democratic, popular and national forces take united action to bar the way to putschism and to find a democratic and progressive way out of the present situation, or the reactionary forces may be able to impose on the nation (though only for a limited time) a terroristic dictatorship of the Brazilian type," the statement says. "A national democratic, anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist front is an urgent necessity."

The statement goes on to expose the anti-Communist fabrications used to obstruct the establishment of such a front and reminds the leaders of the General Confederation of Labor of their responsibility in the present situation. It lays the emphasis on the independent role which the working class is destined to play as the vanguard of the mass movement as a whole. The leaders of the Confederation should accept the constructive proposals of the Trade Union Unity and Coordination Movement and guard the unity of their organization as the apple of their eye. The militancy and political consciousness displayed by the working masses in their recent actions indicate that this trade union center, given a united leadership dedicated to the interests of the working class, can, by mustering the forces of all popular parties and organizations in support of its program, go over to more advanced forms of struggle, force the reactionaries to retreat, win broader democracy, and forge ahead to new economic, political and social victories for the working class and the people generally.

The statement points to the important role which the Peronists can and should play inasmuch as their movement includes broad sections of the working class and the people generally. At the same time it stresses that contrary to their claims the Peronists do not

constitute the absolute majority in the bloc of the working-class, democratic and progressive forces. Hence they should give up their tactics of excluding other working-class and popular forces from the struggle to solve national issues.

The statement refutes the assertion that Peron's return would solve all problems and reaffirms the Party's resolve to play its part in the joint struggle for the full restoration of democratic freedoms, in particular, for the annulment of all proscriptive measures taken against the Communist and Peronist parties. "It is on this and no other grounds that the question of Peron's return and the restoration of his rights can be raised," it states. "Our Party, however, wishes to stress once again that the main thing is the struggle for a people's democratic government based on a broad democratic front free of all discrimination."

In the course of building a national demo-

cratic front it is essential steadily to strengthen and develop "unitarian action committees at the enterprises, in the villages, in residential neighborhoods, in the schools and universities, etc., with a view to upholding the most diverse demands advanced by the workers, peasants and other sections of the people." All democratic forces should reach agreement without delay on a minimum program so as to be able to give a rebuff to the reactionaries should they attempt to seize power. United action would not only stay the criminal hand of the reactionaries but would also lay the groundwork for the formation of a genuinely national and popular government based on a broad democratic coalition.

"The principal guarantee of this is the transformation of the Communist Party into a mass party," the statement says. "To join its ranks is to meet an urgent requirement of our time."

Alberto FERRARI

Opinion Forum

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has 1,240 newspapers and journals with a total annual circulation of 1,473,143,000 copies. They are published in the Czech, Slovak and other languages by political parties, mass organizations and government bodies.

The press is an important connecting link between the Communist Party and the people, a forum for discussing the various development plans elaborated by the Party which helps to enlist the public at large in solving the problems of the day.

Here is one of many examples. In 1961 the Ostrava coal mines, the biggest in the country, began to lag behind. *Nova Svoboda*, a daily with a wide circulation in the region, organized a public check-up of the state of affairs at the mines. It kept its leaders posted on developments in such vital areas as technological progress at the mines, efficiency in production, industrial hygiene and safety measures, the public services, etc.; sent reporters to the Dubnice engineering works to find out how it was fulfilling orders for the Ostrava mines; polled its readers on the question: "What would you do if you were a pit manager?" There was a lively response from miners and workers of different enterprises. In the space of three months the paper carried 65 articles on the subject written by or in

collaboration with some 250 mine or factory workers, technicians and correspondents. The results of the survey were discussed by the ministries concerned.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was preceded by a discussion in the press of questions pertaining to the further development of socialist society and Party work. It was the biggest discussion of its kind. *Rudo Pravo*, central organ of the Communist Party, devoted nine pages to the draft of the new Party Rules, most of the contributors on this subject being local and district Party activists; and a total of 40 pages was devoted to readers' views on the perspectives of socialist development. Besides economic problems, which took precedence in this discussion, questions relating to science, technology and culture were dealt with. Suggestions were sent in by both Party members and non-Party people. Many of the contributions criticized shortcomings in economic management and certain trends in culture and art.

Indicative of the close ties of the press with its readers is its growing mailbag. *Rude Pravo* received more than 31,000 letters from readers in 1962, ten per cent more than in 1961. In 1963 the figure was 35,000. *Prace*, the trade union daily, received nearly 29,000 let-

ters in 1962 and nearly 30,000 in 1963; *Zemedelske noviny*, the farmers' paper, over 12,000 letters in 1962 and more than 13,000 in 1963. Some 2,000 readers drop in at the *Prace* offices in the course of the year to discuss things.

Rude Pravo plays a big role in promoting discussion and polemics as the principal method of finding the right solutions to problems. For more than a year now it has regularly carried twice weekly a special page entitled: "Readers' Letters — Suggestions, Observations, Critical Remarks—Polemics." The role of public control in society, the educational mission of art and literature, and ways to improve economic management have been widely discussed on its pages. Much attention is now being paid to the question of the youth, the tapping of latent reserves in agriculture, combating bureaucracy in economic management and in government offices. The contributors are workers, members of agricultural cooperatives, industrial executives, engineers, technicians, research workers of the Academy of Sciences and institutes, writers, and functionaries of Party, trade union and mass organizations. Only a short while ago *Rude Pravo* experienced a dearth of contributions on economic subjects, but as a result of the discussion it now has a steady flow of articles subjecting topical problems to theoretical examination and offering practical solutions for them.

Many newspapers now print readers' letters as a regular feature. On the initiative of its readers *Prace* introduced a column of answers to questions concerning current developments at home and abroad. The questions are of the most diverse kinds, for example: "I have been elected a member of the public service committee. What would you advise we do further to improve factory canteens?"; "Can graduates of nine-year schools without specialized training find work in agriculture or in the timber industry?" "The government has been calling for building workers. What are the main construction jobs one could go to, and what special benefits are offered building workers?" The questions are answered by non-staff experts. *Zemedelski noviny*, which also prints letters from readers, draws on its mailbag for material for articles and features.

The direct participation of the reading public has helped to widen the range of subjects dealt with in the press.

The example of the Communist press has been followed by other National Front publications. For example, *Lidova demokracie*, a daily published by the People's Party, devotes a page every Wednesday to interviews with

prominent scientists and other specialists. The readers' comments often suggest subjects for further interviews.

The army paper *Obrana Lidu* conducts a great deal of work among its readers and carries a special readers' column. Young men called up for service do not always find readjustment to the new environment easy, old friendships and attachments tend to wear thin, and a feeling of loneliness begins to weigh heavy at times. The facts collected by the paper showed that very often this was largely because the personal interests of the young men were not sufficiently taken into consideration, and there was little contact between them and the civilian youth. This prompted the paper to start the letter column, which immediately evoked a wide response. In a short space of time the paper received some 10,000 letters from men and officers and more than 3,000 letters from young women. The letters, and also the poems and stories sent in by the men, demonstrate their wide range of interests and show that many of them are extremely talented.

All letters are given thoughtful consideration, especially those containing critical remarks. Formerly newspapers at times lost prestige because they did not follow up critical letters and publish answers to them. This does not mean, of course, that the editors did not look into the questions raised. The trouble was that the people who were criticized often did not want to cooperate. Of great help to the press in this respect was the Central Committee decision of December 1936 on ideological work.

This decision censured disregard of justified criticism in the press. At the same time the Central Committee demanded that the press carefully look into the facts before publishing critical materials and thoroughly prepare the discussions it sponsors so as to help solve current tasks.

Rude Pravo has introduced two special sections: "Waiting for the Answer" and "In Reply to Criticism." The first brings the pressure of public opinion to bear on executives who are in no hurry to rectify shortcomings or to reply to the criticism levelled against them. The second reports on the measures taken in response to critical remarks. This form of public control has made criticism more effective and heightened the prestige of the press.

Another link between the press and the public is the participation of non-staff contributors, worker correspondents and readers in the various undertakings sponsored by newspapers and journals

In 1961 *Rude Pravo* printed the first report

of a team which investigated the state of affairs at a big housing development under construction in Prague. The team consisted of three members of the housing cooperative concerned, three representatives of the factory supplying the structural sections, three representatives of the building organization and two journalists from *Rude Pravo*. The *Rude Pravo* example was followed by many other newspapers.

The advantage of such teams is that this form of cooperation allows for a more thoroughgoing investigation of the facts and for arriving at a common viewpoint which is usually more correct than the opinion of one person. The participation in these teams of Party and trade union activists makes it possible to get a better insight into the political and educational work at the enterprises and institutions, and better to establish who is responsible for the fulfilment of the tasks facing them.

With a view to receiving timely information

about the progress of work on important industrial construction sites *Rude Pravo* has enlisted special non-staff correspondents from among the workers at these sites.

The local and factory newspapers whose total circulation exceeds two million copies are an important part of the Czechoslovak press. The local press relies first and foremost on its worker correspondents, for whom special seminars have been organized where they are taught the fundamentals of journalism and Marxist-Leninist theory. From 30 to 50 correspondents attend these seminars.

In this way future professional journalists from the working class are being trained for the press, the radio and television.

The active participation of readers alongside professional journalists in the work of the press helps to enrich the content of our newspapers and journals and to maintain and extend their close ties with the public at large. This is one of the aspects of socialist democracy.

Vaclav GRESIK

The Art of Illegal Propaganda

"The illegal Party press is the heart of the popular struggle. And without the heart the body cannot live."

JOSE MOREIRA, a functionary of the Portuguese Communist Party, a glazier by trade—who was in charge of distribution of the Party press and who was shot by the police for refusing to answer their questions.

THE SALAZAR dictatorship is doing its utmost to raise an insuperable barrier between the Portuguese Communist Party, the vanguard of the working-class movement, and the working masses, to stifle the growing political awareness of the people and the struggle for the interests of the working people and the entire nation, and to destroy, both physically and morally, the leadership of the Portuguese working-class movement.

To counteract these moves and to stimulate the development of the anti-fascist popular movement and the underground organization of the working people, the Portuguese Communist Party, working in conditions of the strictest secrecy, utilizes every legal and semi-legal opportunity to carry on the struggle, to strengthen working-class unity and the united action of all anti-fascist forces.

The policy of mass actions pursued by the Communist Party is manifested in major and minor actions of workers, youth, servicemen,

intellectuals and women in support of their demands; demonstrations for peace, bread and freedom; work among members of fascist trade unions with a view to drawing them into the economic and also the political struggle of the workers; actions by professionals for their demands; various campaigns, including campaigns for the establishment of unitarian or independent organizations, in connection with the Salazar "elections"; efforts to promote broad democratic movements; establishment of representative legal youth associations among the students—a unique experiment in a country with a fascist government; active participation by Communists in cultural and sport societies; popular solidarity actions; making use of every opening for democratic expression of opinion in the heavily censored legal press; militant anti-fascist writing and other forms of creative expression.

The growth of mass action is directly con-

nected with the successful organization of the illegal work of the Communist Party and its press.

For example, the Party's leading organ *Avante!* which has been appearing for 33 years, has more than doubled its circulation in the past two years, and the bulletin *O Militante*, intended for Party activists, and other publications appear regularly (see *WMR* No. 10, 1963, p. 60).

"The regular publication of the Party press through the years in conditions of fascist repressions is one of the most important achievements of the PCP," stated a Central Committee resolution on the press adopted in October 1960. "It cements the Party's ties with the working class and the laboring masses generally, and strengthens its organization and fighting capacity. The regular appearance of the Party central organ and its bulletin, the publications put out by a number of regional organizations of the Party, not to speak of other working-class publications, the numerous manifestos, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., put out over the years in clandestine conditions represent a major victory for the Party."

The success of the Communist press under the conditions of the Salazar dictatorship is largely due to the ingenuity and resourcefulness with which the difficulties involved in organizing an illegal press—finding the technical facilities, printing and circulation—were overcome. These were problems on whose solution the very existence of an underground press hinged.

The Portuguese Communists use the simplest of printing equipment. This has obvious advantages, for the additional labor involved is largely compensated for by the relative quietness of the printing process and the ease and rapidity with which the equipment can be dismantled and removed in case of emergency, a fact which makes for greater safety.

The paper used is of excellent quality, very fine, lightweight and of strong texture, which makes it possible to print on both sides of the sheet and reduce the weight of the printed publication. For example, 12 issues (annual file) of *Avante!*, consisting of approximately 250 typewritten pages, weighs only 60 grams. The Portuguese edition of Lenin's "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder weighs only 22 grams, and the Communist Manifesto, less than 12 grams, i.e., one-eighth the usual weight.

In a country seething with police agents and fascist thugs the reduced weight and size of printed matter considerably facilitates its distribution and thus heightens the efficacy of the Party's work.

Although the demand for Party literature is growing all the time and we have the technical

facilities to increase the circulation of the illegal press or reduce the interval between issues of newspapers, the Central Committee has repeatedly warned that a too rapid growth of our press is liable to jeopardize the results achieved and to threaten the security of the entire Party, making it an additional burden for the Communists in their organizational work.

It was for this reason that in 1960 the Central Committee was opposed to making *Avante!* a weekly although this was technically possible and many Communists were highly in favor of it. In opposing this move, the Party took into account the experience of 1937-38, the period of the Spanish civil war, when the publication of *Avante!* weekly and other over-zealous propaganda efforts undertaken by the Party enabled the Salazar police to deal some serious blows to the Party organizations.

A Party functioning in illegal conditions must know when to advance and when to retreat in the sphere of the press as well. The caution exercised in this respect at the present time and in particular in the matter of the rational limitation of circulation, is the best way not only to safeguard what has already been accomplished but also to ensure further progress.

Moreover, it should be remembered that in the past two years the more important organs of the Party, like the *Avante!* and *O Militante*, keeping pace with and contributing to the growth of the Party, have considerably increased their circulation.

The printing and distribution of the underground press as well as measures to ensure its safety involve substantial expenditure. But the illegal press is the Party's best "visiting card." It helps the voice of the Party to penetrate deep into the midst of the working class, to reach the working masses and all democratically-minded people. It is also one of the most important sources of funds for the Party.

In order to help cover the cost of the Party press and to make it an effective instrument for strengthening its organization, the Party's policy is to promote the circulation of the leading national and regional publications through direct sale to the readers and to organize groups of sympathizers. The donations made by these groups are reported regularly in *Avante!* and the regional papers, the groups being referred to by code names. This has proved a stimulus to circulation and an effective means of checking up on the financial assistance received by the Party. On the other hand, publication of reports on donations attracts the attention of the readers and makes them more active, besides serving as an indication of the popularity of the Party and the

activity of its friends. At the present time from 20 to 60 per cent of the cost of putting out the various Party publications is covered by donations from the sympathizers' groups and the proceeds from the sale of Party literature.

In September 1962 the Party launched a campaign to collect one million escudos. With the help of the Party press and radio, a much larger sum was collected in less than a year, with donations received from nearly 50,000 people.

The Communist Party has a special organization which handles the circulation of the Party press. Experience has shown that in Portuguese conditions this offers the best protection against police raids both for the distributors and for the Party as a whole. At the same time it enables the bulk of the Party functionaries to concentrate their attention on other work.

Part of the printings of Party publications is given to members and friends of the Party to be passed to all sympathizers, most of whom, especially at the larger enterprises, are united in readers' circles. The Party constantly strives to increase the number of copies passed from hand to hand with the active assistance of the readers themselves.

Handbills and leaflets intended for indirect circulation (posting on wall and hoardings, etc.) are another form of the press.

Agitation and propaganda teams consisting of Communists and sympathizers are set up in the villages, big enterprises, farms, educational institutions, etc. These teams work quite independently of the circulation apparatus and take no part in any other Party work. They are given political guidance and supervised by the Party committee of the district. The teams employ both direct and indirect methods of distributing the Party press and function at their place of work or study.

Indirect propaganda also requires thorough preparation. In order to outwit the police, the members of the teams must be thoroughly familiar with the local conditions, they must have an exact plan of action and combine flexibility with courage and discipline. In the big cities each team is assigned a definite time and area of action. In small towns it is left to each team to choose the most auspicious time for action, which in many cases coincides with the change of police on the beat. Indirect circulation of printed matter is carried out mainly in the early hours of morning after the street-cleaners are through on routes leading to factories or farm fields.

The Communists and the masses have devised hundreds of different methods of circulating the Party press and conducting propaganda which, if properly applied, can with

minimum risk overcome the obstacles raised by the Salazar machine of repression. Printed matter is dropped into letter boxes, thrust inside the exhaust pipes of automobiles (when the car starts, the leaflets fly out in all directions), posted on the walls of buildings, tacked to cafe tables, left behind in public conveyances, suspended between church bells so that at the first peal they are scattered about the streets, thrown down from balconies in cinemas, from the roofs of houses, with the help of rocket pistols and toy balloons. Fences, walls, streets, stairways, columns, the hulls of ships, automobiles and railway cars serve as "material" for another propaganda medium—the "writing on the wall." Every day the police are obliged to scrape protest slogans or appeals to the people off walls and fences. But here again popular initiative wins the day. Signs inscribed with a solution of silver nitrate or as simple a mixture as shoe polish and oil are almost impossible to erase.

The press of the Portuguese Communist Party enjoys great prestige. Many workers have learned to read solely in order to be able to read the Party publications. A *Terra*, the newspaper of the peasants in the North, is the youngest member in the family of printed Communist publications. Nearly all copies of the first mimeographed issue of this paper were distributed through the mails. By the time the second issue appeared, however, the demand for the paper was too great to be handled by the post, and the third issue was printed.

The constant hounding of the Communist press by the Salazar regime and the fact that on more than one occasion the authorities have gone so far as to forge issues of the Party's central organ is tacit admission by the powers that be of the popularity of this press.

The growing crisis of the Salazar regime, the mounting anti-fascist popular actions and the successes scored by the Party heighten the significance of the underground Communist press. The huge demonstrations, strikes and other actions of the past two years in which hundreds of thousands of workers and other patriots participated were the fruit of the big propaganda campaigns conducted with the active assistance of the public who circulated leaflets on their own initiative. During the preparations for the celebration of May Day in 1962 and 1963, some 1,000,000 copies of Party appeals and leaflets were circulated in Lisbon alone. In this way the voice of the Party was brought to the working people, who often at the risk of their lives took part in the massive demonstrations for bread, peace and freedom.

The publication and circulation of the Com-

munist press and its protection against the fascist authorities cannot be the work of a few individuals. It can only be the fruit of the efforts of a powerful and organized Party which has deep roots in the working class and the laboring masses.

The publication of an illegal press presupposes the existence of a Party capable of coping from day to day with the host of problems connected with printing and circulation, a Party that has the people to carry out this difficult task. It calls for highly capable Communists, who consciously submit to the strictest discipline, who are always on the alert and never lose their heads in an emergency. It requires men and women brought up in the spirit of boundless devotion to their Party, to the people, the working class, to communism, men and women capable of investing their devotion in self-sacrificing work carried on for long years in complete obscurity, often unknown even to their fellow Party members, work which nevertheless broadens their vision and opens ever new vistas to them.

These are real heroes, men and women who remain loyal to the Communist cause even when they fall into the clutches of the enemy.

The Portuguese Communist Party is the party of Bento Gonclaves, its General Secretary who was murdered in the Tarrafal concentration camp; the party of José Gregorio, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, who printed the first issues of *Avante!* after it was reorganized in 1941 and who died in 1961 after 20 years of uninterrupted work under the most difficult clandestine conditions; it is the Party of José Moreira, a Party worker killed by the PIDE agents who tried in vain to force him to divulge the location of the underground printing plant; the Party of Maria Machado, a Party worker who was arrested four times, the last time after four years of work in the underground press, and who even in the face of death found the strength to say: "Humanity will win in the end. What if I do not live to see its victory?"

The Communist Party of Portugal is a party of staunch and courageous men and women, people who at the risk of arrest and even death are making an invaluable contribution to the victory of the cause for which the Portuguese Communist Party stands.

Joao VELEZ

Ideological Work of Indian Communists

FOR centuries the ideological life of India was dominated by religious teachings, idealistic thinking, castism and communalism, superstition and belief in the supernatural.

During the period of colonial overlordship, the imperialists jealously fostered all these survivals of feudal ideology and made skillful use of them to foment religious and caste strife in order to entrench their positions on the "divide-and-rule" principle. After India won her independence the reactionary bourgeoisie inherited, along with the political power, the practice of taking advantage of the mediaeval antagonisms to delude the people and divert their attention from the class struggle.

The cultural revolution in India is being retarded by the imperialists who are out to implant a reactionary bourgeois ideology. The chief instruments of this policy are the U.S. Information Agency, Moral Rearmament and the Congress of Cultural Freedom.

The Indian Communists, knowing that Marxism-Leninism alone can put an end to the spiritual enslavement of the people and point the true road to freedom and prosperity, are vig-

orously combating the ideology of the ruling classes and working tirelessly to bring the ideas of scientific socialism to the masses. But this is no easy task. Seventy per cent of the population of India are peasants, who are strongly influenced by the reactionary ideology. The Indian working class is numerically weak. True, it has grown latterly, not only in numbers but in other vital respects as well. However, it still carries with it the remnants of feudal ideology. Despite the levelling influence of capitalist production, and particularly of factory and town life, the feudal ideology of caste and communalism is still very strong among the workers.

Under these difficult conditions the Communist Party is working to solve the complex ideological problems by spreading the secular and scientific ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The Party makes wide use of its propaganda machinery, cultural platforms, the Party press and other progressive forums to combat the pernicious influence of feudal and imperialist ideology and to promote the ideology of Marxism-Leninism which accords with revolutionary

struggle of the working class and the masses generally, the ideas of national independence, peace and the brotherhood of peoples.

Experience has shown that the best way of educating the masses in the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and combating the reactionary ideologies is by systematic, thoughtful propaganda and by raising the cultural level of the working people.

Since the majority of the Indian population lives in the countryside and illiteracy is widespread, particularly among the older generation, the Communists in India use oral propaganda mainly.

The principal form of oral propaganda is the public meeting, which is announced with the aid of megaphones, posters or small printed notices. Communist workers also go from house to house to invite the villagers to attend the meeting which is usually held on the village square or market place and is addressed by Communist agitators. The Party has its trained agitators in every district who can discuss important political issues from a local angle. The speaker touches on international developments and national affairs, exposes the anti-popular policies of the government, flays the corrupt gentry in the village and the local bureaucrats, criticizes and evaluates polemically the policy of the political parties, advises the people what to do to improve their lot and to preserve the peace. In short, the agitator takes the place of a newspaper or pamphlet.

During special campaigns, such as elections, meetings are often held every day. Sometimes a combined rally of several villages will be held in the nearest town. Such meetings are usually addressed by prominent Party leaders from the district or state committee. During the campaign for the defense of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, for example, Communist Party agitators addressed thousands of meetings and rallies attended by a total of several million people.

During the big petition campaign from June to September 1963, sponsored by the Communist Party, large public meetings and rallies were held in nearly every Indian village, culminating in a 200,000-strong demonstration in Delhi on September 13. This was the biggest demonstration in the capital since independence.

Public meetings usually end with a program of entertainment, featuring revolutionary songs and a drama or play performed by local talent reflecting the successes of the class struggle or class conflicts arising from the struggle for national regeneration.

The Party regularly publishes pamphlets of an educational nature for Party members and the public generally. Thanks to the more effi-

ent and more centralized work of the Party in the past ten years, the central leadership has put out more than 200 pamphlets on various important national and international questions.

During the general election campaigns in 1957 and 1962, the Communist Party center in New Delhi published over two dozen campaign pamphlets, including *Third Election—Communist Challenge*; *Big Business Under Congress Raj*; *National Income, Its Distribution and Growth*; *Who Pays for Our Plan?*; *Why Women Should Vote Communist*; *The Shame of Free India* (a study of the conditions of the down-trodden untouchables); *The Working Class Under Congress Rule*; *Public Health and Congress Rule*, etc. Written by prominent Communists specializing on the various subjects, these pamphlets were invaluable to Party workers canvassing for our candidates. They exposed the reactionary aspects of government policy and offered democratic solutions and alternatives on all the major issues facing our people.

During the 1962 election campaign, a bulletin entitled *Party Speaker* was published regularly for the use of agitators, containing vital talking points on social and economic conditions.

The Communist Party has many publishing houses in the leading cities of the country. Progressive and well-established institutions like the People's Publishing House (Delhi), the National Book Agency (Calcutta), the Prabhat Book House in Kerala, and the New Century Publishing House (Madras) are independent publishing houses supported by the Party. They put out progressive books, classical works on theory and economics, and distribute books on Marxism-Leninism and on the experience of the international Communist movement published in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Books from the socialist countries are so popular today that many book firms in India receive them direct and sell them in their bookshops.

The Communist press in India, with its network of dailies, weeklies and monthlies in several states and languages, plays an important role in educating the people, in organizing mass struggles and raising the ideological level of Party members.

These dailies and journals perform the important function of answering the lies spread by the bourgeois press about scientific socialism, the Soviet Union and other socialist states and the international Communist movement.

Today the Communist Party of India has several dailies published in six languages, more than a dozen provincial weeklies and several theoretical monthlies. The *New Age Weekly* is the central organ of the Party and is published

in English. The *New Age Monthly* is its theoretico-political journal. There is also an Urdu weekly, *Hayath*, published from the Party center. A number of provinces publish daily papers with a fairly good circulation, in some cases the second largest in their particular language.

Experience has shown that increase in the circulation of the Party press, like Party building, is directly linked with mass action. When the Party ranks are active and the masses are roused to struggle or during election campaigns, the circulation of the papers invariably goes up.

However, it must be admitted that the circulation of Party dailies and weeklies lags considerably behind the mass influence of the Party. The total circulation of the Party press in India today amounts to less than half a million, while 14 million people voted for the Party in the last election. At the present time the printed propaganda of the Communists is unable to compete with bourgeois propaganda with its vast material resources. The bourgeois press, which daily pours a torrent of abuse and slander on communism, still wields considerable influence, especially among the intelligentsia.

The working class, on the other hand, consistently studies the Party press. I once visited a tobacco factory in Kerala State and found the workers in the workshop rolling cigarettes and cigars with their hands while listening to one of their comrades reading aloud from a newspaper. Each day a different worker takes a turn reading while his workmates do his share of the daily output. This is a general practice at such factories; it gives even illiterate workers some political and ideological training. This is only an illustration of the thirst for knowledge and political enlightenment among the workers.

The founding of the Indian People's Theatre and the Progressive Writers' Association in the '40s was the initial fruit of the efforts of the Communist Party to build a united national anti-imperialist front in the realm of culture. These two organizations, uniting several thousand men and women engaged in the creative arts, played a very significant role in India's national-liberation struggle. They were the first to break away from the bourgeois concept of "art for art's sake" and to introduce the concept of "art for the sake of the people," the concept of socialist realism. In the mid-forties the Indian People's Theatre, through its patriotic dramas, ballets and songs, helped to rouse the people to fight imperialism. Many leading cinema artists, composers, playwrights, dancers

and musicians in India today come from the Indian People's Theatre.

Some young dancers and composers who received their training in the Indian People's Theatre have now organized their own professional troupes and are staging performances on progressive themes.

Many of India's leading writers are members of the Progressive Writers' Association. Hundreds of young writers and artists have made a valuable contribution to the struggle of the working class. Since independence, they have created hundreds of progressive novels, plays, dramas, dance and other music depicting the struggle for national regeneration, the class struggle of the working people and the decadence of bourgeois society. Hundreds of "Kala Samitis" (art clubs) have sprung up in the rural areas.

The great Bombay strike in August, the great petition campaign and march in Delhi in September, the mass struggle in defense of the Kerala agrarian reforms in October-December, the food movement and the movement for raising wages and against taxation last year, and the national campaign now being conducted for better living conditions for the workers—all this has attracted millions of people to the platform of the Communist Party. Thousands of young men and women are being drawn into the mass actions organized by the Party.

The intellectual youth concentrate more on theoretical study. In view of this thirst for knowledge, the National Council of the Party, at its October meeting, directed the central leadership to give its attention to the political education of the youth. The Party organizations in the center and the states are now taking measures to organize education camps for the newly-attracted militants. A short course in Marxism-Leninism is being prepared for the politically more mature among them who wish to join the Party.

When the debate in the international Communist movement began, the CPI brought out a series of pamphlets under the general title *On Questions of Ideology in the International Communist Movement* for the purpose of acquainting the Party and the people with the real issues involved in the discussion which had been distorted by the bourgeois press. The CPI made available to the public all the major documents of the Chinese side and the answers to their erroneous position given by the CPSU and outstanding leaders of the international Communist movement.

The pamphlet by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, *Neither Revisionism Nor Dogmatism Is Our Guide*, set

forth the position of the Indian Communists in the ideological debate. Unlike the leaders of the CPC who concealed from the members of their party the reply of the Indian Communists to the criticism levelled against them, the Communist Party of India published simultaneously with its reply the full text of the Chinese article attacking us.

The letter of the Chinese Communist Party dated June 14, 1963, which unilaterally redefined the general line of the international Communist movement, and the Open Letter of the CPSU in reply to it were brought out in separate booklets.

The publication of these booklets has given a clear understanding of our ideological position to the vast majority of Party members. This clarity of the Party on ideological issues was reflected in the October resolution of the National Council of the Party entitled "Defend the General Line of the World Communist Movement Against Dogmatist Onslaught."

The chief danger for the Communist Party of India at the present time is the danger of a split. The disrupters have distorted and vulgarized Marxism. They scorn the Leninist organizational principles, violate the principle of democratic centralism, and do not recognize the need for the minority to submit to the majority, the local organizations to the higher bodies. They have raised a mutiny against the Party and refuse to submit to its discipline. These attempts are all links in a chain of actions carried out on a world scale by the CPC leaders with the aim of disuniting and splitting the Communist parties which refuse to accept their incorrect general line.

In July of this year the splitters held a separate conference in Tenali (Andhra), adopted a separate draft program and resolved to "re-organize" the party. The portrait of Mao Tse-tung was placed demonstratively over the platform. The splitters usurped the great name of the Communist Party of India and intend to convene a rival congress in October, although the National Council of the CPI has already announced that the Seventh Congress of the Party will be held in November.

The Communist Party of India is waging a determined ideological struggle against the attempts of the splitters to distort the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the organizational principles of the proletarian party. The Communists regularly receive information from the Party committees on all debated questions. The central and local Party press gives wide publicity to the discussion. The chief method adopted by the splitters, following in the footsteps of their Chinese leaders, is the method of slander and insinuation. The Communist Party

of India exposes their lies, drawing on historical facts, on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and on the documents of the fraternal parties.

The National Council recently published a draft program of the Communist Party of India, an important document elucidating in detail the perspective of the Indian revolution. This draft is now being discussed throughout the country and will be submitted for adoption to the forthcoming Congress of the Party.

Another important document in the ideological struggle is the resolution of the National Council on the ideological problems of the international Communist movement. Like the new program, it too can serve as a basis for the unity of our Party. The speech of Comrade Dange, the CPI Chairman, at the April meeting of the National Council which destroyed the entire tissue of lies woven by the splitters shed a clear light on certain aspects of the history of our Party. The report of the Control Commission which investigated the activity of some of the main splitters, is another document of value to the Party in its ideological struggle.

The report of Comrade Suslov, the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and many other documents of the international Communist movement, have been published in several Indian languages and discussed in all Party organizations and in the Party educational network.

New Age, as the central organ of the Party, is the chief propagandist in the sphere of ideology. Articles by Party leaders, commentaries, news items and interviews published in the Party press are devoted to the two leading topics—the ideological struggle and the mass struggle.

In the ideological struggle against the splitters we use material put out by other Communist parties. A number of articles and interviews by leaders of the fraternal parties have been published in the central and local Party press.

Never before in its history has the Communist Party of India worked so intensively and fruitfully in the ideological sphere. This has already helped to bring back into our ranks many comrades who had been misled by the splitters, and is helping to cleanse the Party and consolidate its unity.

Overcoming many difficulties and obstacles, the ideas of scientific socialism are steadily gaining ground in India. Today even the enemies of socialism are forced to speak of socialism. At its congress in Bhubaneswar, the ruling National Congress passed a resolution on democracy and socialism. No Marxist-Leninist can dismiss this merely as "bourgeois demagoguery" and ignore the left-wing forces inside the Congress Party who compelled the leadership to

debate this question. Of course the debates in the ruling party on the definition of democracy and socialism were not based on a scientific conception of socialism which presupposes class struggle to end the exploitation of man by man and turning the state power over to the workers and peasants. Nevertheless this is additional evidence of the tremendous attractive force of the ideas of socialism in India. As the

leadership of the CPI has pointed out, it shows what vast opportunities there are for the Communist Party to draw more and more sections of the population into the fight for democracy and socialism, the only correct definitions of which are provided by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

K. Bhagath RAO

Exchange of Views

Problems of the National-Liberation Movement of the Arab Peoples

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND "ARAB SOCIALISM" CONCEPTS

MUCH attention was paid to examining the important socio-economic changes effected in a number of Arab countries and the various concepts of "Arab Socialism".

A paper prepared by the Lebanese comrades and read by *Sawaja Sawaja* pointed out that in order to understand the real meaning of the so-called "Arab socialism" it is essential to bear two things in mind: the historical setting in which the various "Arab socialism" concepts have emerged and the stage of political, economic and social development in the Arab countries.

The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism ushered in by the Socialist Revolution in Russia. The socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor of human progress.

The momentous achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist states in promoting the economy, science and technology and in raising the living standard and the cultural level of the working people have caused a veritable revolution in people's thinking throughout the world. The very word "socialism" has become highly popular in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Most Arab countries have achieved political independence, but they remain backward in the economic and social respects. At the present stage of the national-liberation revolution they

are confronted with the task of strengthening their political independence and winning economic independence, in other words, the task of completing the national-democratic revolution. The Arab peoples, like other peoples of Asia and Africa who for long years were under colonial rule, have come to understand through their own experience the nature of the capitalist system and its predatory laws of exploitation and oppression. The broad masses associate backwardness, poverty and oppression with capitalism. At the same time they identify complete national and social liberation with socialism. In the situation now prevailing in Arab countries only the reactionaries advocate the capitalist way of development. Many of the leaders of the newly-liberated countries have declared for a society of the socialist type.

The paper pointed to the big part played by the Communists and many other Marxist-minded Arabs in disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism among the workers and other sections of the people and also in exposing bourgeois propaganda, which misrepresents these ideas. Acquainting the public with the achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries in the building of socialism, they show why it is imperative to strengthen the alliance between the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples and the socialist world system, which is giving every support to the Arabs in their struggle against colonial-

ism and their efforts to build a new independent life along progressive lines.

To begin with, the paper went on, let us examine how some Egyptian leaders visualize socialism in theory and in practice. When they say that Egypt has taken the socialist way, they base themselves mainly on the following premises.

First, they qualify as socialist the laws promulgated in July 1961 concerning the distribution of profits between shareholders and workers; participation of manual and clerical workers in the boards of companies; adjustments in the progressive income tax; nationalization of 149 companies, including all the banks and insurance companies; state participation in 91 companies; limitation of the property of 159 companies, etc. In August 1963 another 278 companies were nationalized.

As a result of these laws and ordinances all the banks, insurance companies and big industrial firms became public property, the state thereby establishing its control over the whole of heavy industry, important branches of light industry and foreign and domestic wholesale trade.

A social insurance system was established, free education introduced, rents reduced, a 7-hour working day instituted, the minimum wage increased, etc.

Second, steps were taken in the countryside under the agrarian reform law to limit the maximum landholding first to 200 feddans and in 1961 to 100 feddans (1 feddan equals 0.42 hectares). Moreover, the government confiscated the landholdings of foreign companies and expanded the irrigated area, which made it possible to sell two to five feddan lots to 266,000 families totalling about one million persons. This was a blow at feudal land tenure although large-scale land ownership was not abolished, since in addition to the 100-feddan basic holding 50 feddans were allowed for each member of the family.

The cooperatives, which all peasants receiving land under the agrarian reform are obliged to join, are also regarded as a manifestation of socialism in the Egyptian countryside. These cooperatives are consumer and marketing associations and are headed by government-appointed officials. The purpose of these cooperatives is to preserve and consolidate private property in accordance with the National Action Charter which declares that "the right solutions to the problem of agriculture do not lie in transferring the land to public ownership but they necessitate the existence of individual ownership of land, and the expansion of the ownership by providing the right to own it to the largest number of wage-earners." This, the

paper pointed out, creates favorable conditions for the growth of big peasant farms.

Third, the National Action Charter represents an effort to substantiate historically, philosophically and theoretically the socio-economic measures effected in Egypt. In March 1964 elections were held to the National Assembly and a draft constitution published which declares that Egypt is a "democratic socialist" state in which the means of production are the property of the people. It notes that there are three forms of property in the means of production: state, cooperative and private.

This, then, is the official assessment given by the Egyptian leaders of the changes effected in the UAR which they call socialist.

Ideologically Egyptian "Arab socialism" is a conglomeration of scientific and utopian socialism, petty-bourgeois ideas, narrow nationalism, religious prejudices and subjective idealism. It does not aim at abolishing the exploitation of man by man which is the object of socialist revolution. It does not clearly and definitely recognize class struggle to be an objective law of development of a society divided into exploiters and the exploited. The Charter stresses, for example, that the "inevitable and natural class struggles cannot be ignored or denied, their resolution must be arrived at peacefully and within the framework of national unity and by means of dissolving class distinctions." The crux of the matter, however, is not in the recognition or non-recognition of a law objectively operating in class society, nor is it a matter of choice between peaceful and non-peaceful solution of the class struggle since this does not depend on the wishes of individuals or groups of people. This viewpoint contradicts the admission contained in the Charter that "the bitterness and sanguinary nature of class strife, as well as the grave dangers likely to ensue, are in fact the creation of the force of the reaction which does not wish to give up its monopolies or its privileged position from which it continues to exploit the people."

The measures effected in the UAR, and especially the expansion and strengthening of the state sector, are progressive insofar as they wrested important positions from the imperialist monopolies, put an end to their control over the country's economy and made it possible to channel vast financial and material means to promote the national economy. Nationalization and other measures together with the agrarian reform objectively made substantial inroads into the private sector, dealing a blow at the sanctity of private property, whatever the Egyptian leaders might say about its inviolability.

At the same time, the negative aspects of these changes should be borne in mind. The agrarian reform was not far-reaching enough. Big landed property still exists. Agriculture remains based on private property. As for the consumer and marketing cooperatives, their existence, as the journal *Rose el Youssef* recently pointed out, has not prevented some wealthy peasants from expanding their holdings many times over at the expense of ruined smallholders and from growing rich by exploiting the latter.

Egypt's future development must take one of two ways. The first possibility is that the country will not go beyond its present achievements, that it will preserve the private sector in agriculture and afford private initiative broad opportunities in industry and trade, which would enable imperialist capital to penetrate into the country and strengthen its hold over the economy, that it will deny the people genuine democratic freedoms, giving them instead only a few formal rights (such as the right to elect a National Assembly).

This path would not lead the country beyond the framework of state capitalism, and would make it difficult for it to take the socialist path. Egypt's achievements would be seriously threatened by the imperialist-supported reactionaries.

The other alternative is the expansion and strengthening of the state sector, reliance on the working class and its true spokesmen who are guided by scientific socialism, on the millions of poor peasants, granting to the working people genuine democratic freedoms enabling them to take an active part in the political and economic life of the country, and expanding economic, cultural and scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Starting from the changes already effected, changes which have created a real basis for non-capitalist development, this path would preclude the growth of capitalism and prevent it from regaining its economic and political power; it would create a firm basis for going over to the socialist road not only in industry but also in agriculture.

It should always be borne in mind that the changes in Egypt have been directly influenced by the socialist world system. The measures to promote the national economy indeed could not have been carried out with such ease had the socialist world system not existed.

The Marxist-Leninists know that there is only one kind of scientific socialism and that the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are governed by objective laws. The concrete manifestations of these laws depend on the objective conditions, the national and his-

torical features of each country. But this does not mean that we can speak of any specific "Arab," "Egyptian" or "Algerian" socialism. Nevertheless the fact that some Arab statesmen speak about "Arab socialism" has also a positive significance, for this has helped to familiarize the masses with the word "socialism."

Profound socio-economic changes have been carried out in Algeria. Already the initial studies made by the National-Liberation Front (FLN) of the broad popular movement against colonialism and for independence, of the aims of this movement which changed in the course of the struggle and also the experience of the revolutionary movement in other countries prompted the Front to adopt a historical decision which declared: "After completing the struggle for independence—and to all intents and purposes it has already been completed—we shall go over to a people's democratic revolution," the content of which will be "conscious reconstruction of the country on the basis of socialist principles and government by the people."

Defining the people's democratic content of the revolution and the socialist foundations of the changes in Algeria, the Tripoli program highlighted the following points:

1. The feudal economic and social institutions must be destroyed and new relationships created guaranteeing the emancipation of the people and ensuring them every opportunity to exercise their rights.

2. For Algeria's progress towards satisfaction of the needs of all members of the community to be rapid and harmonious, it must proceed in the direction of socialism.

3. Democracy should not be only a theoretical talking point but should permeate all state institutions and all areas of social life. A modern state based on democracy and combating colonialism and feudalism can be built only if the people take an active part in governing the country.

4. No one social class, however enlightened, can carry out the tasks of the democratic revolution. Only all sections of society taken together can fulfil these tasks.

5. The national alliance does not hinge on the bourgeoisie. It is the embodiment of the unity of the people in the people's democratic revolution. The national bourgeoisie must subordinate its interests to the revolutionary struggle.

It should be noted that the authors of the Tripoli program underscored the need for the working people to participate together with the state economic planning and management. The program points out that the working people's participation makes it possible to exercise control over the plan and its realiza-

tion and ensure its maximum conformity to the existing possibilities.

Later the ideas and principles of the Tripoli program went into the Constitution of independent Algeria which was adopted by the National Constituent Assembly in September 1963 and endorsed by nationwide plebiscite.

There is full agreement that the central factor in the far-reaching changes taking place in Algeria today is the broad mass movement initiated by the workers and peasants in the summer of 1962 to take over the management of the industrial enterprises and farm land abandoned by the European colonists. Known as the movement for self-management, it was recognized by law.

In the course of this movement, an agrarian reform was carried out within two months of the declaration of independence. The abandoned holdings were taken over by the landless peasants. In this connection it should be borne in mind that formerly one million Algerians had no land at all while the colonists owned 2,700,000 hectares. A decree issued in October 1962 authorized the Algerian government to confiscate 1,200,000 hectares of land and to distribute it among the peasants, who at once began to organize cooperatives. They did not wish to parcel out the land for they realized that this would have hampered the modernization of agriculture, doomed thousands of rural people to hunger, and have deprived the country of the means essential for rapid, all-round development.

The socio-economic changes in Algeria are more far-reaching and progressive in character than those in Egypt. The reason for this lies in the objective conditions in Algeria. The war for independence which lasted for more than seven years united all the patriotic forces of the nation, steeled them in the fire of battle, heightened their militancy and strengthened their resolve to carry out economic and social changes. All this helped to ensure the victory of the national-democratic revolution aimed at reconstructing society along new lines.

The Baath party is also for "Arab socialism." For those not conversant with the history of this party it may seem strange that people who proclaim "freedom, socialism and unity" to be their watchword should have established sanguinary fascist rule in Iraq and one of the most sinister regimes in Syria's history.

Who are the Baathists and what is their idea of socialism? The party was founded in the early forties by Michel Aflak and Salah Bitar, spokesmen of a section of the intelligentsia which, beginning with the late thirties, gravitated towards Hitler Germany and advocated the establishment of a fascist regime

with its chauvinistic concepts of race discrimination. Aflak wrote at the time a number of articles the underlying ideas of which could be traced to the racist and chauvinistic views of Nietzsche. For many years the leaders of this party concentrated on what they called "national slogans" which they counterposed to socialist ideas. In other words, the Baathists were least of all concerned with advocating socialism; on the contrary, they declared a ruthless war against it both as a doctrine and as a system.

In time, however, the Baathists realized that this was not getting them any where in Syria since the masses found nothing positive in anti-communism. On the contrary, people could see that it was precisely the Communists who waged the staunchest fight against colonialism, for the evacuation of foreign troops and for national independence. They could see for themselves that although the Soviet Union emerged the victor from the Second World War it did not enter into deals with other powers in order to partition the world as the great powers had done in previous wars, but firmly upheld the peoples' right to freedom and independence.

When millions began to gravitate towards socialist ideas, Aflak, Bitar and others of their kind realized that the new trend could not be opposed by the old methods and old slogans. They too decided to proclaim socialism their slogan—true, in a vague and indefinite way in order to mislead the masses. At this time the Baath merged with the Socialist Party to form the Socialist Party of Arab Regeneration. But a conflict developed inside this party, which proved powerless to achieve ideological unity. Characteristic of this party, as of all petty-bourgeois parties, is vacillation between reaction and progress, between imperialism and the people. Aflak and Bitar, representing the Right wing, sought to prevent cooperation in any shape or form with the Communists and other progressive forces. The main device employed by Aflak, Bitar and their supporters then as now is the counterposing of "Arab socialism" to scientific socialism.

However, the force of attraction exerted by socialist ideas in the Arab world, the increasing isolation of the Baathist rulers from the people and the pressure of the masses on the Baathist rank and file compelled some of the leaders to profess belief in socialist ideas and to claim that the building of socialism is one of their party's aims. Even Bitar and some Iraq Baathists, for example, Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr, have declared that they are not opposed to scientific socialism and that they regard it as one of the fountainheads of socialist thinking.

There is no doubt that in the Baath party and even among its leaders there are people who want far-reaching reforms and advocate taking the socialist road. But most of them are under the influence of nationalist ideology hostile to Marxism-Leninism and interpret the meaning of socialism in their own way. The supporters of Aflak in the Baathist leadership invoke socialist ideas merely to win over the masses and to lull their vigilance. The Baath has virtually ceased to exist as a party and represents a conglomeration of diverse isolated trends. The indications are that the adventurous trend is gaining ground and elements advocating cooperation with the big bourgeoisie, the landlords and foreign monopolies are becoming more influential in the Baathist camp.

"Arab socialism" and the socio-economic changes in a number of Arab countries, especially in Egypt and Algeria, represent a significant development reflecting the fact that the Arab national-liberation movement has acquired a new socio-economic content and that the masses are drawn towards socialist ideas. This is evidence of the profound influence of the socialist world system on the socio-economic processes in these countries. At the same time, however, the inherent contradictions and inconsistencies of "Arab socialism" reflect the duality of the middle strata, which often hold nationalistic petty-bourgeois views. But this does not signify that some advocates of "Arab socialism" do not sincerely want to apply the ideas of scientific socialism to the specific conditions of the Arab countries and to direct these countries along a non-capitalist road.

I should like to add something to the comprehensive contribution made by the Lebanese comrades, said *Abdelsalam Wazani*, and to dwell on two questions: first, the socialist concepts and trends in Morocco and, second, the attitude of the Moroccan Communist Party towards these concepts and trends.

When we speak of "Arab" or "Islamic" socialism we have in mind the socialist views of Arabs and Moslems. Like all Communists, we hold that there is no socialism other than scientific socialism, which possesses a powerful force of attraction and is the lodestar for all the peoples groaning under the yoke of ruthless exploitation, poverty and despair, especially the peoples of the recently liberated countries of Asia and Africa.

The force of attraction exerted by socialism derives from the development of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the achievements of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world which is forging ahead with rapid strides. All this exercises a powerful influence on the masses in our country who

know that the socialist camp is rendering them substantial aid in their struggle for political and economic independence. This explains why the popularity of the ideas of socialism is growing from day to day. These ideas are becoming a material force breaking down the positions of the reactionaries in the newly-free countries and weakening their links with neo-colonialism.

There are three trends in Morocco which call themselves socialist.

The first may be qualified as a feudal trend, a feudal concept of socialism. This trend is represented by the Moroccan rulers. The feudal elements say that the poor must be made rich without making the rich poor. They propagate the fallacious theory that in order to build socialism capitalism must be developed and strengthened. The contradiction does not bother them at all. One spokesman of this trend actually declared that capitalism is essential for the development of socialism. To achieve its aims this trend has produced the Social Democratic Party which consists of adventurers and political mountebanks and relies on neo-colonialism and the support of the imperialists. The "socialist" policy of this party is determined not by Moroccan but primarily by French interests. This was obvious even before the party as such was born, at the time of the referendum on the monarchical constitution drawn up by prominent French lawyers.

The second trend is a bourgeois trend represented mainly by the Istiqlal Party. In its initial period the Istiqlal, which is the party of the national bourgeoisie, propounded "Islamic socialism" based on "Moslem generosity" understood as distribution of the leftovers from the capitalist table among the poor. But when the adherents of this trend were ousted from power and were faced with the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the feudal element whose positions had been strengthened by imperialist support, they began to advocate social equalitarianism. This they hope to achieve through the substitution of Moroccan companies for foreign firms, i.e., the replacement of foreign with local capitalists without any nationalization.

The third trend is a petty-bourgeois current represented by the National Union of Popular Forces. The socialist views of this group have gone through repeated metamorphoses. When its supporters broke away from the Istiqlal in 1959-60 they were still under the influence of a purely religious ideology. Hence their advocacy of "Islamic socialism." Their theories, however, were extremely vague. They spoke about socialism only because socialist ideas had impinged deeply on public opinion. But

when they came into power early in 1960 they did not carry out a single reform. No restrictions were imposed either on big property or the property of the colonists, and no agrarian reform was effected. More, they allowed foreign investors (in particular Italian) to invest in state enterprises. True, they drew up an economic five-year plan which the Communists supported with reservations. They expanded the state sector, which also was a positive step. But they did not carry out nationalization or the agrarian reform, and thus failed to provide the conditions essential for the rapid growth of the state sector with a view to improving the living standard of the masses.

The leaders of the National Union of Popular Forces introduced a wage freeze which seriously affected the workers' living standard, and demanded that the trade unions refrain from strike action, thereby doing the foreign capitalists a good turn at the expense of the working classes. This evoked widespread discontent. In general their home policy was unsound. For instance, they agreed to enter the government together with the feudal element. During the elections to the urban and rural local authorities the feudalist government used them to strike a blow at the Communist Party. The National Union leaders put their signatures to the decree banning the Moroccan Communist Party.

The National Union leaders denied the need to rely on the masses and publicly opposed any alliance between the working class and the peasantry, regarding the working class as the only revolutionary class destined to carry out the revolution without the peasants. This is a patently fallacious view, especially in a country whose economy is based on peasant farming. It is common knowledge that the fellahs account for 70 per cent of our population and that 50 per cent of them have no land of their own.

In 1960 the National Union leaders renounced "Islamic socialism" and began propagating "Arab socialism." They announced that they were aligning themselves with other Arab socialist movements and established contact with the Baath party. But soon they rejected "Arab socialism" as well. Taking into account the events in Iraq and Syria and the abortive attempt at unity between Syria and Egypt, they began in the summer of 1962 to advocate what they called "scientific socialism." But their "scientific socialism" denies the need to rely on the masses and mass struggle. They hold that only a handful of the enlightened are capable of taking over power and building the foundations of socialism. Latterly, however, the National Union leaders have begun to ex-

press doubts as to the correctness of this view and are saying that Ben Barka is wrong, that he is merely a conspirator.

What is the attitude of the Communist Party towards these three "socialist" trends?

As regards the feudal trend, we see nothing positive in it. This is a current that must be consistently exposed. The bourgeois "Islamic socialism" represented by the Istiqlal party is another matter. Needless to say, we do not believe in "Islamic socialism" or "social equalitarianism." But we see in this trend a certain national content which should not be ignored inasmuch as it is directed against imperialism. The replacement of the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie by the national bourgeoisie plays a definite role in the mobilization of the national forces for anti-imperialist struggle.

Therefore, in conducting a polemic with the Istiqlal, we underscore its positive aspects and at the same time resolutely expose its attempts to distort scientific socialism.

As for the National Union of Popular Forces with its "socialist" view, we regard it with circumspection. Its social base consists of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia which carry considerable weight with the masses. We must bear in mind that the National Union stood at the head of the Moroccan Alliance of Labor and, moreover, that it has undergone change. We have not taken an irreconcilable stand towards it; we blame the feudal rulers and not the National Union leaders for the banning of the Communist Party. Since they were unwilling to form ties with us as a party, we established personal contacts with them. These contacts proved valuable indeed and led to the Union reassessing its positions. It began to advocate the need to rely on the masses, the workers and fellahs, and realized that it was essential to carry on work among the latter. Together with it we organized the Union of the Peasant Poor. These joint actions led to the establishment of official contacts between our parties.

We have worked to bring home to the Union that there is only one scientific socialism and that the struggle must be waged relying on the masses, on the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. We succeeded in organizing joint actions against the constitutional referendum, and this helped to strengthen our links with the Union. The achievements scored in this respect are not the result of isolated actions but of collective effort. They were achieved thanks to the Party's work among the masses, above all to the Party press, in particular the newspaper *Al-Moukafih* and the journal *Al-Mabadi*. In 1962 we printed in *Al-Mabadi* an article entitled "The Class

Composition of Moroccan Society" in which we sought to make a scientific analysis of the above-mentioned trends, thoroughly examining the social concepts of the various organizations from Allal El Fassi to the "progressive" socialism of the National Union of Popular Forces. The *Al-Mabadi* played an important role in this period. The above-mentioned article gave rise to a sharp polemic between *Al-Moukafih* and the Istiqlal mouthpiece *Al-Alam*. The masses evinced a keen interest in the polemic. Unfortunately, however, two or three months later the Istiqlal abandoned objective debate and began to attack us. And since they replied to our substantiated arguments with abuse and invective we ended the discussion.

We believe that the Communists should support trends which accept scientific socialism or are coming closer to it. Communists must not fence themselves off from progressive trends. More, under certain conditions they should merge with organizations representing these trends, since this makes it possible to influence and deepen their socialist concepts and helps them to come over to scientific socialism.

Fuad Nassar discussed the spread of socialist ideas in Jordan and the socio-economic changes in Egypt and Algeria. The socialist trend in Jordan, he said, was less prominent and weaker than in Egypt, Algeria or Syria.

As in Morocco, there is a feudal socialist current in Jordan, the "socialism" of King Hussein which its proponents call "socialism of well-being and justice." All this is, of course, demagogic deception. There are also the trend represented by the Baath party, whose views on socialism are identical with those of the Syrian and Iraqi Baathists, and the Nasser trend represented by broad sections of the peasants, intellectuals, workers, etc., influenced by the development in Egypt.

We believe that although Nasser's socialism is not scientific in the strict sense of the word, it nevertheless has a positive content which facilitates transition to scientific socialism. It is close to the latter especially as regards its anti-imperialist aims, the essence of the socio-economic changes effected, the peaceful character of its foreign policy, etc. In other words, the socialism of Nasser and Ben Bella is at one with scientific socialism and the socialist camp on many issues.

It should be borne in mind that the countries liberated from colonialism are not in a static state but are constantly undergoing change. They are now in a transitional period. Latterly there has been a great deal of talk about the possibility of these countries taking

the non-capitalist way, although, frankly speaking, we still are not sufficiently clear as to what this means. We believe that the non-capitalist way involves passing through a number of stages before socialism is reached. In the course of non-capitalist development a great many complex problems rise in the newly-free countries. They include relations with the Western countries, credits from these countries, and the nature of the one-party system. These questions should not be approached from a nihilistic standpoint; they should be studied concretely, in the light of the conditions in each country. In examining the various socialist trends we, as a rule, point out either that they are not scientific socialism or that they run counter to it. This, of course, is true, but it is not enough. We should objectively examine these trends and find concrete ways of cooperating with them with a view to helping those who sincerely strive towards socialism to come over to the positions of scientific socialism through unbiased and friendly discussion.

We believe that the UAR has already made some headway on the non-capitalist road. It is of course hard to say exactly how far it has advanced. Even if the state sector accounts for not 80, 85 or 90 per cent, as is officially claimed, but only 60 per cent of the economy, this is an important achievement. It cannot be denied that not only have the positions of the monopolies been undermined in Egypt but the positions of capitalism as such have been weakened.

Much has been said about agriculture in the UAR. It unquestionably plays a big role in the development of that country. True, large-scale property still exists in UAR agriculture and it is essential to fight for a radical agrarian reform here as in other countries. But the role of the rich peasant should not be overestimated since the cities are the decisive factor in economic development. Moreover, with the completion of the Aswan High Dam the irrigated area in Egypt will be increased by roughly one-third. If this land goes into the state or cooperative sector it will influence the overall development of the UAR.

A few words about Algeria. We still lack sufficient concrete data about its socio-economic development. But we believe that Algeria is on the threshold of big changes. It is no longer enough merely to state that Algeria is forging ahead along the non-capitalist road. It is necessary to make a thorough examination of the change in that country and to ascertain the direction they are taking.

We closely followed the contribution of the

Lebanese comrades, *Aziz al Hajj* said, and agree that Nasser's "Arab socialism" is not scientific, that his ideology is a mixture of scientific, utopian, religious and other ideas. We also agree with the Lebanese comrades as regards the momentous role of the socialist world system and the vast effect its achievements have on the spread of socialist ideas in the Arab world. We share the opinion that the present socio-economic system in the UAR cannot be called socialist and that we must work tirelessly to disseminate the ideas of scientific socialism among the broad masses of working people and the intellectuals in the Arab world. I would like to point out, however, that it is not enough merely to describe a socio-economic system as state capitalism. There are different types of state capitalism. For example, it existed in the USSR in the early years of Soviet power. State capitalism existed in the Chinese People's Republic after the revolution. India and Ghana have state capitalism. And there is state-monopoly capitalism in the imperialist countries. As we know, these types differ from one another as regards their nature. Therefore merely to say that there is state capitalism in the UAR falls short of a precise definition of the substance of the socio-economic relations in that country and the nature of the changes taking place there.

Nasser's socialism, his ideology and practice, should be examined in the process of development. In the ideological respect the UAR leaders have progressed from frank hostility to scientific socialism to borrowing and utilizing some of its ideas, albeit in distorted form. This general evolution of ideology should be taken into account.

Whereas Nasser formerly claimed that capital was free and served the interests of the people, in 1961 he put forward the slogan of abolition of capitalism and declared that private property should not be allowed to exploit people. From the slogan of class rapprochement he is now going over to the slogan of erasing distinctions between classes. These changes are due to the impact of events and the resistance of the Right-wing bourgeois forces, although essentially his views remain reformist.

That the ideology of the Egyptian leaders is no longer what it used to be is a significant development. It evolves in step with the events, under the influence of many complex domestic and foreign factors. Though gradual, this evolution tends leftwards, not to the Right. The practical activities of the Egyptian leaders are gaining momentum and taking more far-reaching and resolute forms. The socio-

economic changes in Egypt are following an ascendant course. It would be a mistake to think that the dominant political and economic forces in the UAR today are the big and middle capitalists, for the measures effected to date have been spearheaded against the bourgeoisie. We hold that the petty bourgeoisie is now the ruling class in Egypt. Until 1960 the Egyptian leaders were allied with big industrial and finance capital. Life, however, compelled them to renounce this alliance and to take resolute measures against capitalism. The economic and social changes in Egypt signify a turn towards non-capitalist development. The weakest link in that country, however, is the lagging of political and ideological superstructure behind the revolutionary nature of the basis, in particular the exclusion of the masses from broad and vigorous participation in the government of the country.

A positive assessment of the steps being taken in the UAR and our constructive attitude towards them while subjecting the negative aspects to friendly criticism should help to heighten the democratic and socialist consciousness of the Egyptian masses and weaken, and perhaps completely dispel, the mistrust and suspicion existing between the Communist movement and Nasserism. Only such a position will help to strengthen our ties with the masses and enable us to play our full role in shaping their future. Consequently, it is our duty not only to criticize, not only to propagate our own program, essential though this is. In our opinion the main efforts should be directed at supporting the positive aspects of the changes and to do our utmost to help deepen and extend them.

A number of urgent problems of the national-liberation movement in the Arab East were discussed by *Khaled Bagdash*. The exchange of views on "Arab socialism," he said, will help us correctly to assess the changes taking place in the Arab countries, and above all to define our position with regard to the socialist trends in these countries and to the attitude of the Chinese leaders on this question. Perhaps the biggest difference of opinion between the Chinese leaders and the international Communist movement is on the questions of the ways of transition to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition period, and assessment of the socialist movements in the various countries, the Arab countries included. We in Syria are keenly aware of this. As is known, the Chinese leaders deny that the socialist movements in our countries are of any significance. During his visit to Algeria Chou En-lai did not say a word about Algeria having taken the non-

capitalist way or that there was any movement in the direction of socialism. All he said was that China could draw on much of the experience and lessons of Algeria. Hence, in discussing these problems we must always keep the attitude of the Chinese leaders in mind.

The national movement in Egypt has a number of positive aspects (it pursues a peaceful foreign policy, is opposed to imperialism, wants friendship with the Soviet Union, etc.). Important measures have also been taken in the sphere of home policy. We support these positive steps. But we must not lose sight of the dynamics of Nasserism. Nasser is striving to limit private property to the utmost, to set up cooperatives on the land which will be irrigated with the completion of the Aswan High Dam, etc.

International and domestic factors are exerting an increasing influence on developments in Egypt. We should always bear in mind the positive aspects of Egyptian socio-economic development but neither should we close our eyes to its negative features. Unless we criticize the dictatorial regime in the UAR and the unwillingness of the Egyptian leaders to rely on the popular masses we shall not be able to help steer events in the right direction. It is our duty to criticize the negative aspects, to draw the attention of the masses to them and to point them out in a friendly constructive way to the supporters and even leaders of these movements; this is the duty of the Communists for no one else can do it. We are doing this in Syria. Our statements and slogans find almost immediate reflection in the Nasser press. Many prominent Baathists from among the educated sections derive much that is useful to them from our publications, and this helps to shape their views. The Moroccan comrades pointed out here that their position had influenced the leaders of the National Union of Popular Forces. Therefore we do not agree with those who would restrict the role of the Communists in Syria merely to drawing attention to the positive aspects of Egyptian policy.

One more remark on this score. Our experience shows that the anti-communism of the Egyptian leaders is due not to the fact that the political line of the Communist Party does not coincide with their line, as some people claim, assuming that it would be enough for the Party to change its policy for the Egyptian leaders to renounce anti-communism. Our positive attitude, the support we are giving to the positive aspects, will undermine anti-communism among the masses. In this respect our policy can lead to the masses themselves

demanding a break with anti-communism.

In the present international conditions which differ radically from those of 1917-20 Egypt is confronted with the question of which way will prevail—the capitalist or the non-capitalist? Theoretically speaking, the possibility of restoration of capitalism is not excluded in Egypt. To close one's eye to this fact would be a mistake. A one-man dictatorship and a bureaucratic state machine will find it hard to prevent such an eventuality.

One thing the Chinese leaders do not understand is that Egypt's future and the character of the changes in the country are connected with the peaceful competition between the two world systems—socialism and capitalism. The weaker the imperialist camp becomes and the more it is rent by contradictions, the less it will be able to extend "aid" to other countries. Its opportunities to exert pressure on the liberated countries will diminish. And, on the contrary, the greater the weight of the socialist world and the more aid it can render, the greater its international prestige and the more powerful its influence on these countries. The Chinese leaders are therefore making a grave error when they deny the role of peaceful competition between the two social systems in determining the future of the newly-liberated countries, when they deny the influence of this factor on the development of the world as a whole and our countries in particular.

It is our task to disseminate the ideas of scientific socialism among the masses. We in Syria consider this to be our main task, and we are already working to carry it out on an increasing scale. It should be noted that neither in the Charter of National Action nor in his recent speeches does Nasser speak any longer about "Arab socialism." This is a new and significant fact. Ben Bella too speaks not of "Arab socialism" but of scientific socialism.

One more remark as regards the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism. The Chinese leaders too are spreading these ideas, or at least so they claim. They quote Lenin and Marx out of context and claim that this is scientific socialism. Because of this we must propagate scientific socialism in a new, creative way. In order not to succumb to sectarianism it is essential to popularize not only theoretical works written in the past but also to propagate new ideas born of the new situation. Otherwise, instead of helping the various socialist movements to take the correct course, we are apt to confuse their adherents and expose many of them to the influence of the Chinese dogmatists.

The important thing is not only to elucidate the ideas of scientific socialism, not only to

cooperate with other socialist currents, not only to take the right attitude towards Nasser and Ben Bella and point to the positive and negative aspects of the different socialist trends, but also to strengthen our positions among the workers, peasants and other sections of the popular masses.

It cannot be said that we have a clear enough idea of all the socialist trends in the Arab countries. These are new movements and they are steadily developing. We therefore must constantly follow their progress in order to be able to pursue a correct policy towards them. We cannot afford to isolate ourselves, to cling to old formulas, for example, in the question of dictatorship of the proletariat. We cannot ignore the role played by the influence of the socialist camp which is attracting broad sections of the people in the Arab countries to socialism. We must strengthen our parties and our positions among the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals. Some people say, and this can be heard in Syria as well, that the Communist parties no longer play the role they used to. This is a shortsighted view, to say the least, and to accept it would be tantamount to denying the need for the continued existence of the Party. This is a shortsighted view because the role of the working class in our countries is bound to grow with the development of the national-liberation movement. The stronger the Communist parties and the more ground the ideas of scientific socialism gain, the more certain our progress into the future.

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A number of other urgent problems confronting the national liberation movement of the Arab people were also discussed. In particular much attention was paid to the Palestine question. Speakers stressed that this question was being used by the imperialists and the Arab reactionaries to divert the Arab peoples from struggle for complete national liberation and social progress.

Israel presents a threat to the independent Arab states. It pursues an aggressive policy towards them and is a source of tension in

this part of the world. Suffice it to mention the three-power aggression against Egypt, the attacks on Jordan when that country had a national government, and the repeated attacks on Syria when it pursued a policy of democratic liberation. Recently Israel declared its intention to divert the waters of the Jordan, which caused the heads of the Arab states to meet in Cairo. The participants in the exchange of views gave a positive assessment of the Cairo conference and supported its decisions.

The history of recent years shows that Israel is pursuing a reactionary, imperialist policy. Its true face as a tool for imperialism and colonialism was revealed by the triple aggression against Egypt. Moreover, Israel plays the part of an intermediary helping U.S. imperialism to penetrate into Africa where it is setting up bases for colonialism in the Congo and other countries.

The Chinese leaders are trying to use the Palestine problem to further their own ends and are impelling some adventurist elements to commit provocative aggressive acts. They pretend to sympathize with the Arabs and at the same time seek to convince them that the Palestine problem can be solved only by means of war, by driving Israel into the sea. Clearly, this is an unprincipled position. In effect it is the position of the Arab bourgeoisie and the Arab nationalists. They suggest no concrete solution that would satisfy either the Arab peoples or the people of Israel, who are faced with the same enemy—the Arab and Israeli reactionaries in the service of imperialism. Any armed conflict in this area can only threaten the gains of the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples, who want the problem settled peacefully in conformity with N. S. Khrushchov's proposal concerning the peaceful settlement of territorial disputes.

The exchange of views among Marxist theoreticians from the Arab countries, the speakers unanimously stressed, will facilitate the creative elucidation of the new complex problems confronting the national-liberation movement at the present stage.

WMR COMMENTARIES

The Goldwater Peril

THE choice of Goldwater by the Republican Party as its candidate for President of the USA has shocked and alarmed the American people and the people of the world. While a Presidential election is obviously the immediate affair of the U.S. voters, it is at the same time a matter of concern to people outside the USA. The policies pursued by the President of the United States deeply affect all people, particularly as it concerns the question of peace and war.

Goldwater's nomination, an expression of the agony of U.S. imperialism in face of the turbulent revolutionary processes of our epoch, is an attempt by the reactionaries to halt the recent positive developments in easing international tensions and the growing acceptance of peaceful coexistence as the best form of international relations between the countries of differing social systems; it is an attempt by the ultras to reverse the course of history. The capture of the Republican Party by the ultra-Right, (not its capture by the "old-time conservatives" as is claimed by some commentators) is a new and dangerous development. The outcome of the Republican Party Convention in terms of both the choice of Goldwater and the nature of the election platform, is a further crystallization of an ultra-reactionary alliance within and without the two traditional capitalist parties.

The process of political realignment has been going on for some time. It was no accident that the ultras captured the Republican Party. The reactionaries had long been pondering the advisability of initiating a third party movement which would bring together all the diehards. It, however, became obvious to the men of the extreme Right that neither the Dixiecrats (Southern wing of the Democratic Party), the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils nor the fascist groups such as the Birchites, the Anti-Communist Crusaders, the storm troop formations headed by former FBI agents and retired Generals and the hundred or more other fascist organizations could separately, or together, hope to attract a mass following. They realized that to achieve their sinister aim it was essential to capture one of the two traditional parties in order to provide a cover of respectability and to disguise their real aims. They therefore abandoned the plan to organize a third

party and concentrated on capturing the Republican Party.

This design dates from 1952. In the summer of 1952 at the Chicago Convention, the Rights, under the leadership of Senator Taft, succeeded in capturing the Republican Party. The East Coast monopoly groups headed by the Rockefellers succeeded in defeating the West and Southwest monopoly groupings and the Convention chose General Eisenhower as the Presidential candidate. The plotters became particularly active, however, after the defeat of Nixon by the late President Kennedy. Kennedy's assassination was part of this conspiracy.

The emerging of the Republican Party as the main base of operations for the ultra-Right is not just a temporary, tactical expediency designed for the Presidential election in November of this year. It should be seen as a turning point in the political life of the USA. Its implications are far-reaching and will persist after the election, no matter what the outcome may be. The aim of the reactionary alliance is to capture State power. The purpose is to wipe out the hard-won economic, social and democratic gains of the American people. Gus Hall, National spokesman for the Communist Party of the USA, summed up the peril facing the American people and issued the following warning: "It is now an irresistible reality! The U.S. is face to face with a most reactionary challenge, a grave confrontation with a force that imperils the very existence of our democratic institutions—with an ugly force that threatens to wipe out all of the gains of our people and to wipe out the world by nuclear devastation."

It is to the credit of the Communists of the United States that long before the emergence of the Goldwater reactionary alliance they were among the first to warn the Democratic and Left forces not to underestimate the sinister plots of the ultra-Right. They have been urging the public to study the lessons of recent history. The Communists have been explaining to the people that anti-Communists and the "Big Lie" technique are borrowed from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Although anti-communism is directed in the first instance against the Communist Party, because it is the vanguard of the democratic and peace-loving forces, it is directed also against

all democrats and all democratic institutions. The emergence of the Goldwater alliance has proved the Communists correct, and those who accuse them of exaggerating the danger of the ultra-Right and who seek solace in the slogan "It can't happen here," are now beginning to realize that it *could* happen here. As a matter of fact they can now see that the U.S. brand of fascism has made significant headway in America in a bid for State power. The Goldwater forces are fully aware that just as they could not attract mass support through the openly ultra-Right organizations, they cannot hope to gain mass support for open fascism. The very term fascism is abhorrent to the great majority of the American people. Hence, the elaborate and demagogic disguises, and the endeavor to operate through one of the political parties.

The extent of the Goldwater demagoguery can be seen by their attempts to present themselves as old-time conservatives. They wrap themselves in the U.S. flag; they pose as champions of "freedom and liberty," as defenders of free enterprise, and charge the Johnson administration with leading the country to socialism! Their opposition to the Income Tax Law is calculated to exploit the resentment of workers over the deductions from their pay envelopes every week. In reality they are not concerned about the deductions from the workers' pay, but are interested in increasing the net profits of the monopolists. They even claim that the income tax idea was invented by Karl Marx a hundred years ago. They propose to wipe out the social security measures, unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, medical care, grants for education, etc., under the pretext that these measures make every American dependent on the State, robbing him of his independence and self-respect. They pose as champions of state rights and local governments against the "omnipotence" of the Federal State; they appeal to the frustrated youth who come on the labor market unable to find employment; they appeal to middle-class sections which are forced out of business by the big monopolies, and they appeal to sections of the working class, particularly to the lower paid white workers. Many of the impoverished white workers fall for the propaganda that their jobs will be threatened by the Negro people gaining civil rights; they appeal to the unemployed and those who suffer from the consequences of the automation; they appeal to those employed in the production of arms, frightening them by saying that disarmament will mean loss of jobs and a weakening of the national defense of Ameri-

ca against "Communist aggression"; they appeal to white chauvinism, to jingoism and to all that is backward in American life. They seek to exploit the crisis of imperialism; its relative decline in the capitalist world; its failure in various parts of the world; the crisis in the balance of payments and the decline of the once mighty dollar; the dissension and disarray in the Western alliance; the challenge to American imperialism in Latin America represented by the example of revolutionary Cuba, and the growing dissatisfaction among large sections of the people with the dirty war in Vietnam.

They advance simple solutions to the complex problems besetting American imperialism. They pose as the instrument through which to "get tough" with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with their reluctant allies, with the newly emerging countries, with the neutralists, under the cry that "everyone that is not with us is against us." They propose to use the atom bomb to free Cuba from the Cubans. They propose to transfer the control and the use of the atom bomb from the President to the brass hats in the Pentagon.

Goldwater, in voting against the Moscow partial test-ban treaty, boasted that he was taking his cue from the Chiefs of Staff who opposed the treaty. His followers seek to exploit the deep ideological crisis in the United States, the growing lack of faith in the present and future, the aimlessness, lack of perspective, loss of initiative, loss of confidence and inability to compete with the power of the ideas and initiatives of the socialist world system. The Goldwater men play on the feelings of the people, on the growing realization that, while America has created the material basis for the production of abundance, it has failed to solve the social problems. As was the case with Hitler, they seek to exploit for reactionary aims the genuine opposition to the power of the monopolies. It is the combination of these and other factors that provide the Goldwater cabal with a mass base and appeal. The greatest danger facing the democratic forces in the United States would be to underestimate the power of the Goldwater reactionary alliance and its support.

Behind the disguise and the demagoguery, behind the anti-Communist smokescreen, stand powerful anti-democratic and pro-war monopoly forces. There is a deep-going conflict within the monopoly camp in the United States. This conflict finds expression in the struggle between the monopoly sections of the North East, the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons, Duponts, etc., and the West and South

West monopolies, the Texas oil tycoons and the monopolies fattening on the arms drive. This is a conflict between the old and more powerful monopolies and the nouveaux riche.

While there is much that these monopoly groupings have in common, there are at the same time important differences between them. The differences revolve around questions pertaining both to home and foreign policies. The forces opposed to the Goldwater alliance realize that the balance of world forces has shifted in favor of socialism, that there can be no victors and vanquished in an atomic war, that a basis for peaceful coexistence must be found. These forces are also not ready to abandon bourgeois democracy and introduce naked fascism. They fear the consequences of the Goldwater proposal to wipe out the social, economic and political gains. They are more inclined to accede, although grudgingly, in response to the mass struggles and grant certain concessions as a means of retaining their rule. They are aware of the power of attraction of socialism and the influence exerted by the world revolutionary struggle. They still cling to the thought that they will continue to rule in the "old way." In an important sense there is a developing crisis "at the top" to determine the kind of policies to pursue at home and abroad. The dilemma of American imperialism finds its reflection in the crisis of the traditional two-party system.

The Communists and the democratic Left take cognizance of this conflict within the monopoly camp and of its reflection within and without the two-party system. That is why the U.S. Communists differentiated between the ultra-Right and the Kennedy administration and sought to bring pressure to bear on the administration through mass actions as a counterweight to the pressures by the Right. With the capture of the Republican Party by the ultra-Right, the main strategy and tactic is to do everything possible to unite all the democratic forces to defeat Goldwater.

The Communists are directing friendly criticism at certain currents of the democratic Left who are advancing a position which, in effect, says "a plague on both your houses." These forces hold that there is no difference between Goldwater and Johnson, and that what is needed is a new democratic alternative directed against both. This is unrealistic and dangerous. In fact such an attitude would benefit the Goldwater alliance.

Of course a new democratic alternative is desirable, and it will be achieved, but the road to its achievement lies through defeating

the Goldwater peril. There have been moments in American history when the differences between the two capitalist parties were almost non-existent. This is not the situation in 1964. The attitude to foreign policy, civil rights, civil liberties and welfare testifies to the existence of important differences which the democratic Left cannot but take into account. How can the trade unions and the working class be indifferent and adopt a policy of neutrality or of cursing both houses when the Republican candidate proposes to wipe out social gains? How can the Negro people, at present waging a revolutionary struggle for their rights, be indifferent to Goldwater who considers the new Civil Rights Bill as unconstitutional? How can the people actively working for peace be indifferent to the policy of "brinkmanship" and open advocacy of atomic war? The way to a new democratic alternative as well as the way to a socialist USA lies through the defeat of the Goldwater reactionary alliance and not through a policy of facilitating its victory.

The Communists of the USA reject the theory of the "worse the better" as the way leading to the defense of democracy, to defense of social security, to defense of civil rights, and to defense of world peace. They spurn the advice of the dogmatists at home and abroad who declare that the best thing would be for Goldwater to gain power. Their line of argument is that Goldwater as President would so accentuate the national and international tensions, wipe out all the hard-won reforms achieved through struggle, would so aggravate the class struggle that the people would rise up in arms to defeat the enemy. This is the philosophy of the irresponsible, the adventurists, of those who have lost faith in the working class, of those who believe that before things can get better they must become much worse. This philosophy means, in effect, that the working class should assist and facilitate the coming to power of the ultra reactionary monopoly forces. It is part of the same philosophy which maintains that the way to socialism lies through a nuclear war.

The way to the new democratic alternative and to further social advance and peace lies through the step-by-step extension of reforms, to the isolation and defeat of the ultra reactionaries. This course eventually will lead to a socialist America. While the U.S. Communists call upon the people to defeat Goldwater, they do not endorse or place reliance on the Johnson administration. They were critical of the Kennedy administration as they are critical now of the Johnson administra-

tion. They condemn the role of the USA in the dirty war in Vietnam and demand that the U.S. forces get out of Southeast Asia. They condemn the policy of the administration in relation to Cuba. They condemn the neo-colonial policies in Latin America, Africa and Asia. They condemn the policies which bolster the power of the monopolies against the interests of the people. They condemn the lagging of the Johnson administration on civil rights, while Negroes and whites are murdered when protesting against unbearable conditions. They condemn the huge increases in military destructive power. They realize that only militant pressure by the working class, the Negro people, the democratic and peace-loving forces, can force the Johnson administration to withstand the pressures of the Right, can result in advances for democracy and for peace at home and abroad. The Goldwater reactionary alliance has already had a considerable influence on U.S. foreign policy, as can be seen from the recent provocations by the U.S. armed forces against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the increased danger of extending the war in Southeast Asia. These developments are a forewarning of the kind of calamity that would be perpetrated were the Goldwater forces to come to power.

The Goldwater reactionary alliance is only one side of the American political scene. The other side, and by far the more powerful side, are the existing and potential democratic movements, including the deep-going democratic traditions. Outstanding is the revolutionary struggle of the Negro people which is influencing all aspects of American life. There is a growing unity between white and Negro workers. The powerful strike struggle, engendered in most instances by the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution, has been highly successful. Many sections of the working class have won actions against monopoly, demanding that automation should benefit the working class and not the monopolies. The recent Supreme Court decisions on the McCarran Law, reversing the indictment of the Communist Party for refusal to register, and the removal of political restrictions on passports were a victory for democracy. The court ruling on the Landrum-

Griffin Act on the right of Communists to hold office in trade unions, the anti-poverty act, inadequate as it is, the growing trade with the socialist countries and the ratification of the Moscow partial test ban treaty are all significant gains won by the democratic forces.

These and other successes show that the democratic forces are much stronger than the Goldwater reactionary alliance. These forces can defeat the reactionary cabal. Of course victory will not come easily or automatically. The job is to mobilize, organize and rally the democratic movement to defeat and rout the Goldwater forces. No matter what differences may exist in the democratic camp, the demand of the hour is unity to defeat the threat of fascism and war. The job is not only to defeat Goldwater, but to rout him utterly and completely. Assuming that Johnson wins the next election, the margin of votes between them will be of tremendous importance for post-election developments. Should the election result be close, the Johnson administration would be harassed by the pressure from the Right after the election, and the process of re-alignment would be retarded. In the event of Goldwater suffering a crushing defeat then the possibilities of the democratic forces influencing the Johnson administration after the election will be enhanced and the process leading to the democratic alternative greatly facilitated. Defeat for Goldwater would further the process of the crisis of the two-party system and advance independent political action.

No Presidential candidate has faced such unanimous opposition—from the Negro people, from the trade union movement, from the peace forces, from the youth, student and women's movements, from all the healthy democratic forces in America. The democratic forces in the United States enjoy the overwhelming support of the people of the world in their fight to defeat the Goldwater menace. The democratic forces, girding for the battle, are closing their ranks in order to defeat Goldwater in their own interests and in the interests of the people of the world.

J. THOMAS

General Election Prospects in Britain

BRITAIN is in the middle of the biggest election campaign since 1945. The general election is to take place in October, and for the first time since 1951 there is a strong

possibility of a Labor victory.

In the coming election the Labor Party needs to gain an extra 58 seats, on top of those it already has (261), to win a majority.

It needs only a swing of 3.6 per cent of the electorate to give it an actual majority, but a swing of four per cent would give it a good working majority.

Political Background to the 1964 Elections

If the essential background to the 1945 triumph of the Labor Party was the wartime victory over fascism, the essential background to the 1964 elections is the cold war, the overriding danger of nuclear annihilation and the new, more hopeful balance of forces which is emerging on a world scale.

It is no exaggeration to say that the chief peril which threatens Britain is nuclear annihilation. Although there has been a lessening of the tensions, thanks mainly to the efforts of the peace forces in battling for peaceful coexistence, nevertheless U.S. imperialism is still bent on winning world domination. Tied to the American big-business military complex, Britain, as America's junior partner, is seen by the United States as the chief base for its Polaris submarines.

A further danger to the people is the NATO policy of the ruling class. Through the NATO Alliance Britain is tied to West Germany's former Nazi generals. The latter dream of wiping out their defeat in the Second World War by organizing another drive to the East. They are ready to do anything and everything to lay their hands on nuclear weapons in order to fulfil this fanatical obsession for revenge.

Then there is the neo-colonial policy of the British ruling class. Determined, through vast export of capital still to dominate its ex-colonial territories, anxious to protect its oil, rubber, tin and other investments and possessions, the ruling class are sending British troops into action against the national-liberation forces in these territories.

A whole series of by-elections has shown that the political stock of the Tories has slumped greatly in recent years. Thirteen years of Tory policy have brought Britain to economic stagnation. All the signs are that the people want a new government. Indeed, it can be said that a great part of the vote cast for Labor is not so much in support of Labor's program as it is an anti-Tory vote. This certainly was so towards the end of the 1945-51 Labor government and during the period that the late Mr. Gaitskell led the Labor Party. Mr. Gaitskell's policy was so close to Tory policy that the word "Butskellism" was coined in order to describe the Tory policy of Mr. R. A. Butler and the Labor policy of Mr. Gaitskell. It was Gaitskell's "Butskell" policy, his support of nuclear re-

armament, as well as his attitude towards nationalization, which split and rent the Labor Party right up to the time when Mr. Harold Wilson was elected leader following Gaitskell's death.

The rank and file have turned towards Wilson with confidence and hope. Because of Wilson's opposition to Gaitskell's splitting tactics, which built up his reputation of being on the Left, they have rallied behind him and have dropped all criticism of Labor's policy. Even though most of it remains Gaitskell's line. Because of this the Labor Party is today going into the general election more united behind Wilson than they have been since 1945. But is their confidence going to be betrayed? Will a Labor government under Wilson place the interests of the people before the interests of the capitalist class, which the 1945-51 Labor government failed to do? Will it introduce legislation aimed at weakening the domination of monopoly capitalism over the commanding heights of the economy? Will it introduce legislation aimed at bringing about a fundamental change in Britain's social structure? Will Harold Wilson challenge the grip of the Right wing which has dominated the Labor Party for so many years and whose policies were so decisively defeated in the 1951 and 1959 general elections?

If he does, he will be strengthened immeasurably not only by the consequent upsurge of militancy in the working class, but also by attracting the allies of the working class in Britain, the lower middle class, to his side.

"The characteristic of the present position," wrote John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, in a recent article, "is that the movement against the Tory government is on a very wide scale. The economic policy of the monopolies, wage restraint and so on is directed not only against the working class, but affects the professional and middle sections, the small shopkeepers, the farmers and the pensioners. There is a growing concern about mergers and monopoly concentration, and the threat to democratic rights. The imperialist foreign policy has brought into being wide movements going far beyond the working class, such as the CND and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, wide cultural movements, united action on educational advance, etc. Politically this is expressed in the wide swing to Labor, the advance (still modest) of the Communist Party and the Liberal revival."

Wilson's Election Policy

Put briefly the difference between Labor and Tory policy is slight. There are some variations, at least on defense. Harold Wilson is,

for instance, all for a neutral zone in Europe. He endorses the Rapacki plan. He is for de facto recognition of the German Democratic Republic and wants the Oder-Neisse line finalized as Germany's boundaries. He is against the nuclear rearmament of West Germany. But for the rest there is no vital difference between his policy and that of the Tories.

As regards colonial territories and bases the Labor leaders follow closely in the footsteps of the Tory government: "It is time we got tough," pressed Mr. Wilson, referring to the resistance of the Cypriots to the British and Americans. "We should offer to put in the heaviest tanks we have got."

Obviously he wants to preserve Cyprus as a strategic British base. But why should he want to do that? The answer is simple. The Cyprus base protects the Persian oil-fields and other important Middle-East oil interests in which there are heavy British investments. Moreover it is a splendid base for NATO from which to threaten the USSR.

Mr. Wilson was equally belligerent over Aden. Because of the uproar which broke out in Britain when it was learned that the RAF was dropping 1,000-pound bombs on Yemen villages. Mr. Wilson sprang to the defense of the Tory government in its colonial war.

Mr. Wilson sees the future role of the British forces in the Far and Middle East and not only in Europe. He wants to hand Britain's nuclear weapons over to the United States and, with the money saved, he intends to build up and strengthen the British "conventional" forces for their "traditional role" of protecting the overseas investments of British finance capitalists.

Mr. Wilson has plans for spending the money saved on nuclear weapons. After strengthening the conventional forces, he thinks he will have enough left over to improve Britain's housing, health, education, etc.

Thus, despite some differences, the basic foreign and defense programs of both parties are similar. Both stand for the same principles, but their method of approach differs slightly. Britain will remain subservient to the United States, in fact more so under a Labor government than under the Tories.

The Labor program talks of creating a new social order, but how can such an order be built if the giant monopolies remain untouched? Labor must master the monopolies, or, as in 1945, the monopolies will master Labor. In the light of this, what does Mr. Wilson propose?

His general idea is to go into partnership with industry, public and private. A Labor government will create new publicly-owned

industries and these will work side by side, in perfect amity, with private industry. In this way Mr. Wilson hopes to "redynamize" the economy. Indeed the "dynamic" part of private industry will receive very generous help from a Labor government in the shape of investment allowances, subsidies, tax and other such help which will induce the "private sector" to cooperate with the "public sector" and with the Labor government too.

At the 1963 Trade Union Congress a resolution calling for the "nationalization of industries such as steel, aircraft, shipbuilding, electrical engineering and road transport . . ." was passed with enthusiasm. This meant that the next Labor government had been given a mandate by the eight million organized workers in the trade unions to proceed with a full-scale nationalization program in the interests of the working class. To go ahead and put into effect clause 4 of Labor's Constitution. What is Mr. Wilson's reply to this?

He will re-nationalize steel, create a "publicly-owned national water supply," take all urban land into public ownership, and develop an integrated road and rail system. Mr. Wilson has no further plans for nationalization.

But if Britain is to advance, the domination of the great monopolies must be challenged and brought to an end. Unless the commanding heights of the economy are systematically nationalized, how can the consistent economic expansion, planning and direction of industry, the main planks of Labor's economic policy as explained at the 1963 conference and in Labor's program "Signposts for the Sixties," be brought about?

Communist Election Program

The Communist Party says that a Socialist government would take over the big monopoly concerns, the banks, insurance companies, giant building societies, large wholesale and retail firms, and the land of the big landowners.

The workers would no longer make profits for the capitalists. The vast sums which, under capitalism, are taken by industrialists, landlords and bankers, would be available for social use, to bring down prices, raise pensions and benefits, raise wages and equip new factories.

Public ownership would be run completely differently from the way it has been operated by both Labor and Tory Governments. Instead of only a few industries, the commanding heights of industry, finance and the land would be nationalized. The governing boards would be made up of workers and technicians. The workers and their unions would have a deci-

sive say in management. Instead of the present crippling compensation charges there would be for those in need, annuities for husband, wife and school-age children, equal to the average national wage.

With social ownership, real planning for prosperity becomes possible with the nation's wealth used for the people's welfare.

A National Planning Commission will draw ideas and experiences from the factories, pits, farms, offices—everyone in the land will help in discussing a national plan and getting it going.

Using science to the full, the most modern methods of production will be adopted to turn out more and more goods, raise wages and shorten hours.

A genuine Socialist government would have an independent British foreign policy to end the cold war and halt the arms race. It would: renounce the use of nuclear weapons, stop their manufacture and destroy existing stocks; make an immediate cut of 50 per cent in arms spending; use its influence to get serious negotiations for the abolition of all nuclear weapons by all countries; extend the present ban on nuclear tests to include underground tests; bring British troops home from overseas bases; oppose the mixed-manned force; no nuclear weapons for West Germany; withdraw from NATO; support a non-aggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty Powers; support nuclear-free zones in Europe, Africa, the Mediterranean and Latin America.

The Communist Party believes that a Communist and Labor majority in Parliament could legislate the principal measures needed to carry through fundamental social change.

How are the workers to reach the point where such a government could be elected? Through determined struggle on the great issues of the day—for wage increases, against war plans, for better housing and education.

The Communist Party wants a Labor government and will do all that is within its power to help elect one in October. It stands for a Labor government because, although it is fully aware of Right-wing Labor's reformist policy, it believes that the election of a Labor government is the practical next stage of the fight. It is the only immediate alternative to the present Tory government.

A Labor government must promote and operate the new policy Britain requires, says the Communist Party. It is a matter of life and death for Britain and for the Labor movement. The next Labor government must be stopped from repeating the dangerous policies and errors of the 1945-51 Labor government

which led to its defeat. Labor must have a policy completely different from that of the Tories.

The Communist Party says that a Labor and Communist majority should be the aim of the Labor movement in the coming elections. Merely to replace the Tory government by a Labor government under its present leadership and with its present policy is not enough. The Right-wing policy of the present Labor leadership will not solve Britain's crisis, nor will it bring the economic, social and political changes so necessary and which are now possible. Unless such a new policy is adopted by a Labor government, the danger of a further Tory revival, as in 1951, will be created. The struggle to make a future Labor government carry through an alternative policy is the duty of every Communist and rank-and-file Socialist.

It is with these points in mind that the Communist Party is putting forward its forty candidates in the coming election. They will spearhead the anti-Tory campaign. In those constituencies where there is no Communist candidate, the Communists will do all in their power to guarantee the return of the Labor candidates in order to ensure a Labor victory. The Communist campaign will present the real alternative program to the British people.

The election of a group of Communist MPs along with a Labor majority would be the guarantee that a new policy would be fought for in Parliament. It would strengthen the whole Left-wing struggle and ensure that the genuine voice of the working class would be heard in Parliament.

The way forward is to heal the breach in the ranks of the movement, to build the unity of the people. But this also raises the question of future long term aims. To this the 27th Congress of the Communist Party gave a clear answer:

"The Communist Party has always striven and always will strive for unity and agreement with the Labor Party, not only in the day-to-day struggle, but for the achievement of political power and socialism. The obstacle to this unity has always been the Right-wing and its policies. Today it is becoming increasingly clear that the struggle opened up by Scarborough (1961) must be carried forward to the final elimination of Right-wing capitalist influence and leadership in the Labor Party. This could bring about the victory of a united Labor movement in which the Communist Party, as the political class party of the working-class struggle for power and socialism, will fulfil its role in comradeship, partnership and agreement with all the advancing sections

of the organized working class. For our part we look forward to a future when we shall be able to see the fulfilment of a united working-class party based on Marxism."

A group of Communist MPs in Parliament would be a solid core round which the Labor Left could consolidate and fight. Such a group

of Communist MPs would be the first big important step towards building up that broad alliance of the people out of which a People's Government could be formed, a government on whose program the first item would be: to begin to construct a new social order in Britain.

H. FAGAN

Communications and Comment

Dialogue Between Germans

(Letter from the German Democratic Republic)

IN an interview at the end of last year with the West German bourgeois weekly *Stern*, Walter Ulbricht put forward the idea of a broad candid exchange of views between Germans on the issue of resolving the national problem. Ulbricht urged the FRG government to display at least the minimum of good will and thus take the initial step towards overcoming the division of Germany. Appealing for reason, good will and objectivity in the relations between the two German states, Ulbricht said: "*It should be understood by both sides that the unification of the two fundamentally different social systems is out of the question. We should, therefore, begin by endeavoring to secure a let-up in the tension by establishing normal relations and safeguarding peace in Germany through disarmament.*"

Ulbricht's proposal met with a response among the public and was the subject of much comment. A West German newspaperman who visited Berlin recently remarked in a talk with GDR officials: "You in the East have made 150 approaches to West Germany in the past 15 years, yet Germany is still divided. . . . So what's the use of your latest initiative for a dialogue?"

We would reply by saying that the situation in Germany and the rest of the world is not what it was two or three years ago. This latest move of ours is not just one more added to the previous 150. It marks the beginning of a new stage.

"We are clearly approaching the end of the postwar era," so wrote Ulbricht last May. "... We are nearing the turning point." And it is true that the situation which emerged after the Second World War has now in large measure become stabilized. There is a growing public demand for easing the tensions. People

everywhere want peace; they want something done to avert the danger of nuclear war. Witness the Moscow partial test-ban treaty and the other steps taken in the sphere of international relations toward safeguarding world peace.

We Communists are proud that the let-up in the tensions is first and foremost the fruit of the policy outlined by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in the documents of the Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960.

It is precisely in Germany where there now exist two states with differing social systems, it is in Berlin, where socialism and imperialism meet face to face, that the policy of peaceful coexistence has proved to be the only realistic and feasible policy. This policy is a guarantee of peace, it promotes the building of socialism, adds to the power of attraction of socialism, while at the same time giving imperialism less and less room to maneuver.

The idea of a dialogue on relations between the two Germanys, the initiative and the proposals of the GDR aimed at improving their relations could not fail to have a powerful appeal to the German public.

For many years the Adenauer government ignored the proposals made by the GDR. But it was powerless to prevent the public in West Germany from thinking about them. And today among Germans there is a growing demand for a new policy of sanity and good will, for abandoning the cold war and for normalizing relations between the two states.

The bankruptcy of the Adenauer policy and the collapse of the hopes of "swallowing up" the socialist GDR have caused some leading West German newspapers like *Die Welt* to ask in alarm: "Are we not already in ferment?"

Yes, things are beginning to stir in Federal Germany. Despite government subterfuges and police machinations, the GDR initiatives on the question of achieving mutual understanding among Germans are the talking points of the day in the Federal Republic. For the problems posed by the GDR are of vital concern to millions in the two Germanys. That is why the Bonn government finds it difficult to ignore them. Moreover, the GDR proposals are increasing the isolation of the revanchists and militarists in the FRG.

At the end of last year our government suggested an agreement that would enable West Berliners to visit their relatives in the GDR over Christmas and the New Year. Notwithstanding resistance on the part of Bonn, official negotiations took place and the agreement was concluded. Over a million West Berliners visited East Berlin in the course of the holidays.

Then in January Ulbricht advanced two important proposals: a non-aggression pact between the two Germanys (January 3), and a treaty on mutual rejection of nuclear weapons (January 6), an offer which was repeated in Ulbricht's message to Federal Chancellor Erhard in May.

Another GDR proposal on April 25 for an exchange of newspapers likewise touched off a lively debate in West Germany. Characteristically, the Bonn government, which has always boasted of Federal Germany's free press, still denies its citizens the freedom to read the press of socialist Germany.

Concrete proposals emanate not only from the head of the GDR government; they come also from the public organizations. For instance, Warnke, Chairman of the Trade Union Federation of the GDR, addressed to Rosenberg, the leader of the West German Trade Union Federation, a proposal to exchange trade union papers and delegations for the purpose of mutual information. An all-German workers' conference held in Leipzig in spring and attended by 1,000 delegates from Federal Germany discussed the question of mutual understanding between the labor organizations of the two Germanys in the struggle against atomic armament, and declared that the workers "must pave the way to agreement."

Highly successful was an all-German youth rally held in mid-May in Berlin. Discussions between the young men and women from the GDR and FRG centered on proposals for a joint committee of young deputies from both German states, for special youth legislation in the FRG in keeping with the spirit of the times and guaranteeing the rights of the youth, and for ensuring a peaceful future by rejecting the

multi-lateral nuclear force and ending the arms drive.

Proposals to set up joint committees composed of representatives from both German states were discussed also at an all-German women's conference held in June. Among other things it was proposed to set up a committee of women members of parliament of the two states and West Berlin to study the social and political status of women, organize exchanges of views on the subject and make corresponding proposals to the governments of the GDR and FRG and to the West Berlin Senate.

Whereas only two or three years ago dialogues between Germans on ways and means of resolving the national question were the exception, now they are becoming the rule. There is a growing desire among the West German population to see for themselves the first socialist state on German soil. This is a new and rather interesting phenomenon. Last year FRG citizens visited the GDR at the rate of 100,000 a month. Despite the efforts of Bonn propaganda, the truth about the GDR is finding its way to the working people in West Germany.

Men prominent in public life in Federal Germany are advocating a revision of the official policy on the German question. Dr. Achenbach, Free Democrat deputy in the Bundestag, recently spoke in favor of holding talks with the GDR government. Dr. Kohut, another Bundestag deputy, has repeatedly called for a new attitude to the GDR. The Mayor of Hamburg received a delegation of the GDR Youth Union. Marburg University invited a professor from our republic to deliver a talk on political questions. The organ of the West German trade unions carried an article headed "A New Policy Is Needed" which called for normalizing the relations between the two German states.

The reactionaries, desperately resisting the idea of peaceful coexistence, hold revanchist orgies and scream for the annexation of Polish and Czechoslovak lands; they stage political provocations in West Berlin and cling tenaciously to the doctrine of non-recognition of the GDR; they implore their American allies to return to the Dulles policy of cold war, to display, as Erhard put it in New York, "the utmost caution in taking further steps toward relaxing tensions." Obsessed by the idea of revenge they are trying to turn the postwar in Europe into a prewar atmosphere, gambling with the lives of millions, in the first place the lives of the people in the Federal Republic.

We, however, are convinced that the future of Germany belongs to the working people, to all the forward-looking people of the German nation. Of course, much will have to be done before things change in West Germany. And

the dialogue which we have initiated, as well as the success in building socialism in the GDR

will, undoubtedly, hasten the change.

Heinz STADLER

For Progressive Communal Policies

(Letter from Vienna)

THE communes—the lowest links in the system of local government—can make a big contribution to the struggle of the working class. In Austria the communes, which are both territorial units and administrative districts, enjoy economic autonomy, i.e., they can buy, own and manage various kinds of properties within the framework of general and provincial laws; they run industrial enterprises and also—to the extent that financial regulations permit—compile their own budgets and collect taxes.

Vienna, for instance, is simultaneously a commune and a federal land.* The lands enact their own laws, except in the cases when this right is vested solely in the federal legislature. The powers of the local authorities are defined by the federal Constitution. The Mayor of Vienna is simultaneously head of the Land administration, while the commune councillors are members of the Vienna Landtag. The executive body of the Vienna commune—the *Magistrat*—is also the government of the land.

At present the functions of the Vienna Land and commune are carried out by 12 administrative groups, each headed by a councillor who is not merely a civil servant but a political spokesman. These groups are responsible, among other things, for public health and social welfare, education, housing and general building, as well as administration and allocation of housing, water supply, street-cleaning, markets and veterinary service, finance and personnel matters, as well as running the city enterprises such as power stations, gas works and transport facilities.

The council of the Vienna commune (and at the same time its Landtag) is elected every five years. Simultaneously with the city council, the district bodies are also elected. Today out of the 100 councillors (members of the Landtag) 60 are members of the Socialist Party (SPA), 33 belong to the People's Party (APP), four to the so-called "Freedom Party", a neo-Nazi party, while three are Communists. The Mayor, his two deputies and all the present

city councillors belong to the SPA and APP which form a coalition.

Vienna is broken up into 23 municipal districts, each with 30 councillors, although their population and consequently the number of voters differ greatly. Although the city constitution endows the district councils with a relatively wide range of powers, they have little influence on the affairs of the city. The policy of the coalition parties deprives these bodies of all significance, and urban centralism predominates.

In the past 50 years the working class of Vienna has made important advances in the sphere of municipal policy. Above all, we have in mind publicly-run housing commenced in 1923, the school reform inaugurated in 1920, and the reorganization of the public health and welfare systems which are closely associated with the name of Professor Tandler. True, at the time of the first Republic (1919-34) there was no coalition with any bourgeois party in Vienna. The city was run wholly by the Social Democratic Party, which in a way was acting as pathfinder in municipal policy. However, the successes were greatly overestimated by the Social Democratic leaders who boasted of "Red Vienna" and "municipal socialism," thereby fostering illusions among the working class.

To this day the central newspaper of the Socialist Party refers to Vienna as the "citadel of Austrian socialism." Whereas in the immediate postwar years it seemed that the Socialist Party wanted to solve municipal problems in Vienna in a progressive way, in subsequent years the picture changed. Public housing was curtailed more and more, while rents for new flats built by the city council rose perceptibly. During the first Republic, at the time of the economic crisis of 1923-33 roughly 60,000 flats were built by the Council, an average of 6,000 flats a year. Now, at the time of a prolonged economic boom, this is not the case. Whereas in 1957 the Council built 6,079 new flats, in 1963 it built only 3,496. At present the Vienna housing committee has a waiting list of 30,000 families officially recognized as being in need of homes. In the past five years, however, the ap-

*The Republic of Austria consists of nine federal lands (provinces).

plications of over 40,000 families badly in need of floor space were turned down. According to the rules of the committee, they were not entitled to it.

The pages of capitalist newspapers are filled with apartments-to-let ads. Municipal officials estimate that the number of vacant privately-owned flats in Vienna totals 30,000. However, a few years ago the two ruling parties refused to prolong the term of the housing law which empowered the communes to transfer vacant flats to those in need, and thereby opened the doors to profiteering in housing.

Annually some 10,000 flats become vacant owing to the natural decrease of the population in Vienna. Judging by newspaper announcements, landlords demand, besides the rent, a "fee" of 30,000 schillings and more for a flat without conveniences, consisting of one room and a kitchen, in an old house. For the 10,000 flats, which thus become the object of speculation they annually get at least 300 million schillings, in addition to the rent. What is more, these superprofits are not taxed.

For cooperative flats, built partly with public money, people have to pay fees (to cover construction expenses) ranging from 40,000 to 100,000 schillings, as well as a monthly rent of 600 to 800 schillings. Let us say, by way of comparison, that, according to the Vienna Regional Hospital Fund, average monthly earnings amount to 1,976 schillings per worker (2,306 per man and 1,397 per woman) and to 2,578 schillings per office employee (3,110 per male and 2,008 per female), including bonuses and overtime payment.

Capitalism hampers progressive social policy in the communes. Land for the most part is privately owned. Where to build and what the construction costs will be depends on the owner of the land. He fixes the price of the land. And on whether or not he is willing to sell to the commune depends the possibility of building houses and transport facilities. The price of land is artificially run up. Building sites which only a few years ago cost from 60 to 80 schillings per square metre, now cost 10 to 30 times more. Huge profits are pocketed by the landowners and racketeers.

The Right-wing Socialist majority in the Vienna municipality has complained about this situation demanding that the government promulgate a law on land purchase. In itself this is not a bad idea. What is bad, however, is that it does not use the long existing powers to confiscate land.* The SPA, which has a big majority in the council and which can afford

to disregard its capitalist coalition partner, does not even try to make a breach in this direction and achieve real change.

That the SPA does not pursue a class policy in Vienna and that it sides with those who inflate the cost of living, is clearly seen in its financial and tariff policy. Taxes, duties and tariffs, which weigh heavily on the working people, are soaring steadily. Since 1950 transport fares in Vienna have been raised five times. Another increase in electricity, gas and water charges is scheduled for this year. Moreover, rents will be raised all over the country. On the other hand, we see benefits being extended to the privileged sections in housing construction, to owners of hotels who receive credits from the banks and subsidies from the commune, and special benefits to restaurant and cafe owners. If the latter wish to modernize their properties, the commune grants them interest-free credits ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 schillings for a term of up to five years. Moreover, they are expected to return only half of the sum they get. This system will be in effect for another 10 years, so that the sum deducted from the total tax revenue and presented as a gift to the owners of restaurants and cafes will amount to 175 million schillings.

Yet the Right-wing Socialist majority rejected a proposal to grant credits on the same terms to newly married couples, just as it rejected the Communist proposal to tax those landlords who conserve vacant flats in order later to charge exorbitant rent for them.

The key problems in a big city boil down to providing housing, transport facilities, adequate water, electricity and gas supply, modernizing hospitals and schools, and building nurseries and kindergartens.

Besides the urgency of housing, there arise in Vienna at times—both in the summer and winter—catastrophic shortages of water. From time to time the municipality also has to appeal to the population to economize on gas. Electrical appliances produced by private firms and widely advertised (the city authorities, it should be said, facilitate their marketing by granting credits) cannot be used in many parts of the city because of the power shortage. (Yet the boast is made that Vienna is the "best lighted city in Europe"!)

The shortage of hospital beds is both acute and chronic; patients who urgently need hospitalization sometimes have to wait days for a bed to become vacant. To this should be added the shortage of hospital personnel. At present some 800 hospital beds cannot be used because of shortage of staff. Similar shortages are felt in the city transport. This situation is due to the fact that the Socialist majority on the coun-

*This does not imply confiscation without compensation but the compulsory sale of sites to the public sector at a moderate price.

cil does not give priority to things which are most vital for the working people. This poses a question of a class nature: for what purpose should the money obtained mostly in taxes from the working population be spent? Should it be spent on housing, on improving city transport, water supply, on building kindergartens, etc., or should it be used to build mansions for the rich and for bestowing millions in the shape of handouts to the owners of restaurants and cafes? How should the money needed for communal purposes be obtained—at the expense of the working people by increasing tariffs and taxes or at the expense of the super-profits of the landlords, land speculators, banks and capitalist companies?

Today the banks and insurance companies are rolling in wealth. They are rebuilding their old premises in Vienna, converting them into palaces. They have luxury offices for their subsidiaries in all parts of the city, and set up new subsidiaries, spending millions for the purpose.

It is in Vienna with an overwhelmingly working-class population that the best conditions could be created for making breaches in the capitalist system in many spheres, breaches that could lead to real structural changes. This calls for an effective policy by the working class which has every opportunity in Vienna for building an alliance with the small shopkeepers and handicraftsmen, with intellectuals and the middle sections all of whom are waging a stubborn struggle for their existence both internally and externally, particularly against West German capital. In Vienna small handicraftsmen and manufacturers are especially affected in view of the concentration of capital.

A consequence of this concentration is the withering away of the handicraft industry, the decline and bankruptcy of the small enterprises. The number of enterprises employing up to four thousand workers declined from 114,000 to 68,000 between 1930 and 1959. And the trend continues. In 1960 the number of handicraft enterprises decreased by 1,688, in 1961 by 2,054, in 1962 by 1,116, and in 1963 by another 1,936.

Vienna is an important economic center. Its budget (1964) amounts to roughly 11,000 million schillings. Therefore, as a contractor, the municipality exerts considerable influence on economic life, on the situation in handicrafts, industry and trade. Moreover, the municipality has shares in 46 enterprises with a total capital of some 3,500 million schillings. Of these it controls 15 enterprises, and has shares to the tune of 350 million in the other 31. These are enterprises in the building and building-materials industries, electric power supply, finance (savings-banks and insurance companies), che-

mical, metalworking and porcelain industries, cinematography and transport. Hence the Vienna commune has opportunities which place it in a position of influence. These opportunities could be utilized to ensure full employment, improve the economic structure, and enliven economic life both in Vienna and the country as a whole.

Vienna's geographic position also creates problems. It is located neither "in the center of Austria," as is often claimed, nor "in the center" of divided Europe. It is situated on the periphery. Hence Austria's entry into the EEC would hit particularly hard at Vienna. After all, it has its future not as the "terminus" of the capitalist West but as an intermediary between East and West, North and South, as a transit center for trade in all directions as well as for cultural exchange. Boundless opportunities are opened up by the policy of positive neutrality. In this respect Vienna, as the biggest neutral city in Europe, could undertake new tasks and acquire still greater significance.

To prosecute a policy of this kind, the co-operation of all progressives should be ensured, i.e., all public institutions should be put on a broad democratic foundation. But the very electoral system in Vienna is an obstacle to this. Not each vote carries equal weight. The system of election is such that the big parties enjoy especially favorable conditions, while the smaller ones are at a disadvantage. For example, in the last elections to the communal councils (1959) the Socialist Party had to poll 9,308 votes to get one seat, the People's Party—10,060 votes, and the Communists—17,859. Had each vote carried equal weight, the Communist Party would have had five seats, instead of the present three. This injustice, which makes opposition extremely difficult, is due to the fact that Vienna is arbitrarily carved into 23 constituencies, while there are but seven constituencies in the elections to the National Council.

No other city or town of Austria is broken up into constituencies for communal elections. Vienna is the only city with such an undemocratic electoral system. In all other cities the seats are distributed in accordance with the vote polled. However, the SPA leadership spares no effort to preserve this unequal electoral system. Their recent proposals for a parliamentary election reform are aimed at enabling the neo-Nazi "Freedom Party" to get more seats and to bar the Communists from Parliament. Their desire to raise the prestige of the "Freedom Party" is such that the SPA has entrusted it with important posts in the government, the posts of chairman of the finance department and ambassador to the Council of Europe—both at ministerial level—al-

though according to the agreement reached by the ruling coalition these posts should belong to the Socialists.

The Communists, who have been represented in the Vienna Landtag and on the communal council since 1945, have played a big part in rehabilitating the city, and they have a clear-cut and progressive line. The Communist Party advanced proposals for solving the housing and transport problems, proposals that take into account the existing conditions and opportunities. It worked out plans for extending the public health and welfare systems and compiled a detailed document on how to tackle problems caused by automation. It sought to achieve a fundamental change in the conditions of the working people through gradual structural reforms, and to get the Socialist Party to adhere to this line. Its efforts, however, were frustrated by the overriding anti-communism of the Socialist leaders and their unprincipled collaboration with the APP—the party of Big Business, the landlords and the big landowners. In view of the possibility of the present coali-

tion falling apart, the Socialist Party is now considering entering into coalition with the even more reactionary "Freedom Party," which does not conceal its hostility to Austria's neutrality, and which is an agency of West German capital. Its leaders are ex-Nazis and former SS officers.

In pursuing this policy the leaders of the Socialist Party are cashing in on the favorable economic conditions which tend to blur the class contradictions, in order to sow illusions among the working class to the effect that capitalism has already evolved into a "Welfare State." This, naturally, hampers the development of the class struggle. Thus, the Socialist leaders have not only renounced the struggle for socialism, but they even refuse to carry out the reforms demanded by the working people. Today the Communist Party alone points to Austria the road to socialism and is fighting for it together with all who want to see the reconstruction of society along socialist lines.

Theodor MALLER

An Episode in the Battle of Ideas

TWO facts account for the liveliness of the debate evoked by A. I. Solzhenitsyn's book *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* as an episode in the world battle of ideas. First, the offensive mounted by the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party against the world Communist movement (primarily against the CPSU), and their recourse today to "arguments" which yesterday were the monopoly of the anti-communists. Second, Solzhenitsyn's trenchant exposure of some of the more *extreme* manifestations of what has come to be known as the "personality cult."

1. PRACTICAL INTUITION OF THOSE CONCERNED

To grasp the social sense of the polemic let us turn to such an objective criterion as the "practical intuition of the persons concerned,"* of the spokesmen of different trends, parties and classes. As far as the anti-communists and splitters are concerned their practical intuition impelled them to react to Solzhenitsyn's book in exactly the same way as they reacted to the denunciation of the personality cult. Of the crimes exposed in the book some see them as

the *whole* truth about communism, others dismiss them as *falsehood*. Some unscrupulously speculate on this tragedy, while others, equally unscrupulous, would conceal this tragedy and its cause, the personality cult. Some gloat over it, others shy away from it in fear.

The anti-Communist press claims that the novel is an exercise in gloom, that patient resignation is in the nature of the Russian people, and there is nothing Soviet about Ivan Denisovich Shukhov, that the concentration camp is the embodiment of communism.

The anti-Communists see the book as a "triumph of literature over politics." But this is refuted both by the content of the book and by the attitude taken toward it by the Central Committee of the CPSU. N. Khrushchov said that "it is written *truthfully, from Party positions,*" and that "*the Party supports genuinely truthful works of art whatever negative aspects of life they may deal with, if they promote the people's effort in building the new society and help to unite and strengthen the forces of the people.*" Communists in other countries have given a similar appraisal. Sam Russell, for instance, reviewing the book in the *London Daily Worker* said that although the capitalist press hoped to make political capital out of

*V. I. Lenin. *Agrarian Program of Social Democracy.*

its publication, "their hopes may be disappointed. For the publication of this account of just one day in the life of a political prisoner . . . is part of the guarantee to the Soviet people and the world that such violations of socialist law and communist principles will never happen again."

But there are others calling themselves "Communists" who say: "This book was written merely to please those who advocate the abolition of the consequences of the personality cult and vilify the socialist society and the Party leadership." For them it is a "decadent" "counter-revolutionary piece of writing" which "denounces Soviet power as such." Seeing a link between the book and the policy of the CPSU, the line charted by the Twentieth Congress (and on this score they are right), they attack the book, the policy and Khrushchov personally for giving his approval to works which allegedly "spread the poison of bourgeois ideology." Besides *One Day* their "blacklist" includes A. Tvardovsky's poems *Rolling Vistas*, *Vasily Tyorkin in the Next World*, the films *Clear Skies* and *Silence*, etc.*

Those who falsify and abhor the book have weighty "grounds" for doing so, even more "grounds," perhaps, than is suggested by their intuition, which can hardly be said to sharpen their perception or endow them with such qualities as, say, objectivity.

2. THE PERSONALITY CULT IS REACTIONARY

The reactionary essence of the personality cult is the motif of Solzhenitsyn's book. He writes not only about the tragedy of individuals, but—and this is the chief thing—about the forces which make it possible to overcome this tragedy, about the dispelling of illusions fostered by the cult, the resentment of the people, their condemnation of lawlessness and tyranny. And of course it is not projected only into the past. The book exposes "ideals" and methods which are today too being implanted by the champions of the personality cult—the Mao-ists and their supporters.

What the Twentieth Congress Ended and What Its Opponents Defend

The assumption by some that others cannot have opinions of their own, and if these others

**Zer i popullit* June 12-14, 1964. Chonnen Munhak, No. 12, 1963, etc. As is now often the case, the position of the splitters coincides with that of the Trotskyites: "Reading Solzhenitsyn one might think that . . . only those who knew how to bend their backs were able to survive." For the Trotskyites Ivan Denisovich is an "anti-hero," and the book engenders nothing but "bitter pessimism. . . ." (*Partisans* No. 12, 1963, pp. 163, 165).

are ashamed of their opinions, are afraid to express them and seek to suppress them (and hence repose a blind faith in one man)—this is the soil that breeds the cult of the personality. "The slightest departure from the ideas of Mao Tse-tung, i.e., a subjective striving to do something on one's own, can lead to failure" is the dictum today in China. But we now know the ultimate expression of these relations. We find it in the instructions which the chief of the camp guard in Solzhenitsyn's story recited daily like a "morning prayer." "A step to right or left is considered an attempt to escape and the escort has orders to shoot without warning. . . ." These words are truly symbolic.

"Not all can be helmsmen," the Mao-ists tell the Chinese people, "rustless cogs" are also needed. But they conceal what this "philosophy" ultimately leads to: man loses his identity and becomes merely a number. More, he has to conceal even his number, to try "never to be seen by a camp guard on your own, only in a group."

The officially formulated task of art in China today is to glorify Mao and "the privates" of his army "trained in Mao's ideas." In effect, this is designed to *degrade* a great nation and its art. An effort is being made to turn the people into a flock of sheep bleating with joy at the mention of the shepherd. And flocks are counted "by the head." This, then, is the role envisaged for the artist: "There were three artists in the camp. They painted pictures for the authorities free of charge, and in addition took it in turn to appear at the muster to touch up the numbers. Today it was the turn of an old man with a grey beard. When he painted the number on your hat with his brush it was just like a priest anointing your brow." (Pictures for the "authorities" and about the "authorities," and numbers for the people—is this not the ideal of an art "fecundated by the ideas of Chairman Mao"?).

The champions of the personality cult want to see everything regulated, but in practice they merely give free reign to lawlessness. Here is a picture of lawlessness carried to the extreme: "The steppe was barren and windswept, with a dry wind in summer and a freezing one in winter. Nothing could ever grow in that steppe, less than nothing behind four barriers of barbed wire. Bread comes only from the bread-cutter, oats are threshed only in the storehouse. And however much blood and sweat at work, however much you grovel on your belly, you'll force no food out of that earth; you'll get no more than the damned authorities

*All quotations given here are taken from the translation by Ralph Parker (Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1963.)

give you. And you don't even get that—because of the cook and the 'help' and all the other trusties in cushy jobs. They fleece you here, they fleece you in camp, they fleece you even earlier—in the stores. And those who do the fleecing don't swing picks. But you—you swing a pick and take what they give you. And get away from the serving hatch."

He who does not work neither shall he eat. This is the inborn conviction of the working man, and he has a supreme contempt and loathing for the parasites who were nourished by the atmosphere of lawlessness. It is on this conviction of the masses that the Communists base themselves in working to build a society worthy of man.

The personality cult distorts every principle of socialism. Here is another instance of such distortion: before starting to build the "socialist town" of Solzhenitsyn's book "they would first have to dig pits and put up posts and attach barbed wire to them...so they wouldn't run away. Only then would they start building."

Yet among the builders there are many who had worked to build socialism before their captivity and who longed above all to build it *voluntarily*.

Stalin said that people are "the most valuable capital" and cadres the "golden fund of the Party..." But here we have a picture of the prisoners, or *zeks** as they were called, leaving for work, a profoundly symbolic picture, drawn with documentary veracity:

"The *zeks* stood before the gates buttoning themselves up, girding themselves, and from outside the escort shouted: 'Come on. Come on.'

"And from behind the roster-guard urged them on: 'Get along. Get along.'

"The first gate. The border zone. The second gate. And railings along each side near the guardhouse. "'Halt!' shouted a sentry. 'Like a flock of sheep. Form up in fives.'

"It was growing light. The escort's fire was burning itself out behind the guardhouse. They always lit a fire before the prisoners were sent out to work—to keep themselves warm and be able to see more clearly while counting.

"One of the gate guards counted in a loud, brisk voice: 'First. Second. Third. . . .'

"And the prisoners in ranks of five separated from the rest and marched ahead so that they could be watched from front and behind: five heads, five backs, ten legs.

"A second gate guard—a checker—stood at the next rail in silence, simply verifying the count.

"And besides, a lieutenant stood watching.

"That was from the camp side.

"A man is more precious than gold. If there was one head short when they got past the wire you had to replace it with your own.

"Once more the team came together.

"And now it was the turn of the sergeant of the escort to count: 'First. Second. Third. . . .'

"And each rank of five drew away and marched forward separately.

"And on the other side of the wire the deputy head guard verified the count.

"And another lieutenant stood by and watched.

"That was from the side of the escort.

"No one dared make a mistake. If you signed for one head too many you filled the gap with your own."

Not everyone experienced this. Those who did not were fortunate. All the more reason, then, why everyone should know that:

—this is what the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU put an end to.

—this is what its critics are defending.

—these are the kind of exposures these critics fear.

—and this is why they attack with such ferocity this book which strips them of their masks.

The Triumph of Man

Let us underscore once again that Solzhenitsyn's book treats of the personality cult in its *extreme*, its *ultimate* manifestation. The fact that even in the concentration camp (where the bulk of the inmates have committed no crime) the human spirit can prevail over the inhuman conditions of existence is proof that the book cannot be described as "hopeless" or "pessimistic."

Pierre Daix, the French Communist writer, observed in *Lettres Françaises* (February-March 1963): "Solzhenitsyn is not one of those who probe wounds in order to make them bleed. . . . The camp he describes carries the seed of its own destruction from the moment people find the strength in themselves to triumph. . . . *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* is a part of the efforts now being made to purge the revolution of the crimes that have sullied it; more, the book is aimed at restoring to the revolution its true purport. . . ."

Some people are steeled and galvanized to action by the harsh truth; some are dispirited, frightened and cowed by it. Others close their eyes to it or declare it to be lies and slander.

There is not a single note of complaint in the book, nor does it wallow in horrors. "He spoke calmly as if he was telling someone else's story"—these words of Ivan Denisovich might well apply to the whole book.

The book harmoniously combines fiction with

*Russian abbreviation for prisoner.

fact, the symbolic with the concrete. Like his hero, Solzhenitsyn despises the easy job, such as painting mats ("all you had to do was to put the stencil on and paint through the little holes with a brush. . . . There was easy money to be made. . . ."). We have here a vibrant protest against that inflated verbose manner of writing which assumes the proportions of a vice, corrupting alike the writer whose books are turned out like stencilled mats and the reader who buys them. The author of *One Day* seems to listen-in to the simple yet profound and consistent thread of Shukhov's thought as a musician might listen to a folk melody and, softly with a few subtle chords, play the accompaniment, revealing all that the singer sought to express and immeasurably more. He does not preach, he allows the reader to *think for himself*, to share the not unalloyed joy of *co-authorship*. This is the hallmark of true art, which stimulates man's creative faculties instead of leaving him a passive observer.

Solzhenitsyn does not idealize his heroes. Ivan Denisovich is a God-fearing man ("Hear Him thunder and try not to believe in Him"). "The authorities did his thinking for him about everything—it was somehow easier that way." And he agrees: "Better to grovel and submit. If you were stubborn they broke you." This state of mind was not only one of the consequences of the personality cult, but one of its pre-conditions.

Nevertheless Shukhov's outlook cannot be reduced merely to "patient resignation" and "survival." For him it was not only a matter of surviving but of *how* to survive and *for what*. He survives not at the expense of others, but through labor and for the sake of labor.

The zeks go to work "as to a funeral." On the way back it is the same thing—"like a funeral." But for the majority of them even the backbreaking work is a return to life: "For two months the unfinished structure had stood in the snow like a grey skeleton, just as it had been left. And now the 104th had arrived. What was it that kept their spirits up? Empty bellies, fastened tight with belts of rope! A splitting frost! Not a warm corner, not a spark of fire! But the 104th had arrived—and life had come back to the building." Thus Ivan Denisovich thought to himself. The laying of the building blocks is a symbol of the affirmation of man in the most inhuman conditions. In work Shukhov and the team leader were equals, why, he had even talked back at the foreman, he felt himself a man again! The master, not the slave. That is why, when the work was finished "Shukhov—and if the guards had put the dogs on him it would have made no difference—ran to the back and looked

about. Not bad. Then he ran and gave the wall a good lookover, to the left, to the right. His eye was as accurate as a spirit level. Straight and even. His hands were as young as ever. . . ."

Men like Shukhov represent at once the strength and the weakness of the people. But the *most important* thing, the decisive and most *encouraging* thing is that "even eight years as a convict hadn't turned him into a jackal—and the longer he spent at the camp the stronger he made himself." This is Shukov thinking, this is how he sees himself.

Of course the Shukhofs are not the whole people, but can they be counterposed to the Soviet people, as the Mao-ists do? Yes, if we forget his humanity, his labor, the complete absence of national intolerance in his makeup, his loathing of parasites, and the fact that he was able to assert himself. Yes, if we overlook the by no means chance bond between Shukhov and ex-captain Buinovsky: the captain stands for what Shukhov values most in people—self-respect, his conscientious attitude to labor; this is the kind of Communist he respects. Yes, if we discount what it was that he fought for in the war, and why after being twice wounded "he volunteered for the front again." Yes, all this can be done. As a matter of fact it *was* done to him: he was sent to the camp as a "non-Soviet element." The victimization of Shukhov and the attempt to deprive him of Soviet citizenship as a literary character are two sides of the same medal. The hatred of the present champions of the personality cult for Shukhov is social in origin. They hate him precisely because he began to pose "dangerous" questions, the sort of "naive" (and annihilating) questions they are *afraid* to hear from their own Shukhofs.

But the Soviet people are represented in the novel not by Shukhov alone. Does not team-leader Tiurin's retort to the building foreman: "Your time for giving terms has passed, you rat" sound like a prophecy?

Or take Senka Klevshin, "who had suffered so much," whose fate might well be the sequel to that of Sokolov in Sholokhov's *The Fate of Man*. Hero of the underground in Buchenwald, arbitrarily thrown into concentration camp in his native land, he has remained a man who "would never leave anyone in a jam."

And what of the anonymous zek who shatters all illusions about the "father of the people": "D'you mean to say you think Old Whiskers will take pity on you? Why, he wouldn't trust his own brother. You haven't a chance, you weed."

That is his assessment of the pleas addressed to him at whose bidding lawlessness reigned.

All the bitter experience of the people seems to be summed up in this casual remark.

Or take the ex-captain Buinovsky. The few words he flings at Lieutenant Volkovoi when the latter is maltreating the prisoners nearly cost him his life: "You are not Soviet people!" he cries. "You are not Communists!" Some time ago we learned that the captain (his real name is B. V. Burkovsky) survived and is now the custodian of the branch of the Central Naval Museum on board the historic cruiser *Aurora*. Here is what he has to say about the book: "They weren't able to crush the human being in us. . . . A most faithful description of our experience. . . . This is a fine, truthful piece of writing." And here is another opinion, also from a Communist, but from another country. Vittorio Strada (Italy) writes about the "tremendous power" with which Solzhenitsyn describes the people's tragedy: "The vanquished emerge the victors. . . . The Stalin cult which weighed down like granite did not crush or destroy the best there was in the masses. . . ." "Solzhenitsyn . . . does not preach eternal virtue, absolute good or abstract righteousness. He knows full well that from the camp chief to the champion of bureaucracy there runs an invisible yet tenacious thread, and that socialism alone is the loser." What induces Shukhov to work with such fervor, Strada asks, and replies: "How else can we define his mentality if not as Socialist, as socialism 'in the heart of man!' . . . This book will not be understood by those who regard it as just another book about concentration camps. . . . Reading Solzhenitsyn I rediscover the truth that the superiority of socialism springs from within socialism itself. Or have I myself become so 'sovietized' that I read Solzhenitsyn as he is read by most Soviet readers? If so, all the better." (Rinascita, July 6, 1963, L'Europa Letteraria No. 26, 1964.)

While it is true that One Day could not have appeared were it not for the Twentieth Congress, after reading it, we see once again how deeply that Congress was rooted in the people: the Party gave expression to what the people had already begun to perceive.

The Revolution Criticizes Itself in Order to Know Itself

The anti-Communists point to the lawlessness exposed by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses as proof of what communism means in practice. We, they argue, have always said that human nature bears the taint of original sin, and no system can erase that sin. The only "normal" society is capitalist society.

The Marxists reply that this is a case of "the dead clutching at the living." The old

world is taking revenge, as it were, on the new world for its inevitable doom. It is not a matter of "original sin," but of the "sins" of prejudices, habits and passions engendered by centuries of antagonistic social relations. These are serious maladies. But while bourgeois ideology and religion consider them to be inborn, incurable and ultimately fatal, Marxism ascertains their social roots and finds the ways to cure them.

How the personality cult came about can be explained (this is a subject for special study), but it cannot be *justified*, that it was *inevitable* cannot be conceded, nor can the complex history of a nation be *reduced* to the cult. The crux of the matter is that the struggle of the Soviet people to build socialism went on *in spite of it*. (We bear this in mind also when speaking of China today). And the Soviet people did build socialism. From what other soil could the line of the Twentieth Congress have sprung? How otherwise could the Communists have *themselves* exposed the personality cult as alien to socialism?

The Maoists invoke history: history, they say, will "write everything off"; this criticism is but a "passing fashion," in time it will be seen that the cult was the necessary price of the victories won by socialism.

Yes, victories there were. Not thanks to the cult, however, but, as we have said, in spite of it. (The Maoist concept is, in substance, identical with the basic argument of all anti-Communist propaganda, namely, that socialism is inconceivable without coercion of the masses.)

Marxist criticism of the personality cult has nothing in common with self-flagellation, with religious penitence which quickly turns from ecstasy to apathy. It is courageous but not hysterical. It proceeds from the positions of scientific communism, it is an affirmation of communism and does not speculate on the difficulties involved in building communism. It engenders a confidence founded on knowledge, not sterile scepticism. In short, it is a manifestation of the *strength* of communism and it multiplies that strength a hundredfold. And the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU are significant not only because they exposed lawlessness but chiefly because they mobilized the forces that were able to put an end to the lawlessness; not only because they *restored* socialist legality, but because they *developed* this legality further and opened *new vistas* to the Soviet people in their struggle for communism.

Marx said that proletarian revolutions constantly criticize themselves in order to know themselves and to discard everything that con-

tradicts their essence. They "... interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts..."* "We know by now," Marx said, "the part played in revolutions by stupidity and how scoundrels can exploit it." Lenin made a special note of this remark and underlined it (see V. I. Lenin, *Outline of the Correspondence of Marx and Engels 1844-1883*).

Marxist criticism is constructive criticism, and hence its aim is to *uproot* the personality cult. The secret of the overt or covert hostility to the line of the Twentieth Congress on the part of the high priests of this cult is that they are incapable of solving the new problems in a new way. They are *impotent*. They only seem to be strong in their "convictions." In reality they are afraid. Their smug self-satisfaction conceals their *weakness*. And hence they threaten and intimidate, declaring that criticism of the cult undermines "fundamental principles" of which they are the last defenders. But what they are defending are the "fundamental principles" of a *regimented* communism, and of *these* principles they are indeed the "last defenders." Their demagoguery is a cover for their striving to usurp power over the Party and the people.

Marxism seeks to ease the birthpangs of the new society. And never has so much been done in this respect as in the past ten years. Yet the Maoist spokesmen of regimented communism persist in arguing that "the worse, the better." They have inherited from the old society a mode of thinking which is essentially a kind of secular, *ersatz* variant of the religious outlook.

3. SECULAR VARIANT OF THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

"A Fascinating Review"

Let us return to *One Day*, specifically to the dialogue which takes place between the "queer fellow in spectacles" and the film director Tsezar while waiting in the queue for parcels:

"Look what I've got! A fresh *Vecherka*. They sent it by airmail."

"Really..."

"There's a most fascinating review of a Zavadsky premiere."

The action in the book takes place in January 1951, and in December 1950 the *Vechnaya Moskva* carried a review of a premiere of A. Surov's play "Dawn Over Moscow." Whether

this is a coincidence or not, we cannot say. But to reread the play and the review along with *One Day* is not without interest today.

In the play toasts are raised "to the man we all love, to the man who brought the future into the present, who restored youth to the aged and gave wisdom to youth..." Gazing at a lighted window in the Kremlin, the characters exclaim in ecstasy: "If the light is on, that must be his window..." We think so because we cannot imagine him asleep... It seems to me that it is he who switches on the dawn over Moscow each morning!"

The reviewer praises "the living truth" of the play, but remarks that "the dawn theme could be more forcefully handled."

We read this today with mixed feelings of amusement and bitterness. We find it hard to believe that this *actually happened*, and this shows how far we have advanced from those days. Yet it not only happened in the past, it is still happening: witness the writings put out in China glorifying the man whose hand switches on the dawn over Peking: "Two red suns—one in the heavens and the second among men," or: "The works of Chairman Mao have been likened to the sun. I would not compare them with the sun, for the sun rises and sets, whereas Chairman Mao's works radiate light ceaselessly."

"Expose Self-Alienation in Its Unholy Image" (Marx)

According to Marx "... religion is the self-consciousness and self-perception of man who either has not yet found himself or has already lost himself... Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world just as it is the soul of a soulless order. Religion is *opium* for the people. Their *true* happiness requires abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people. To discard illusions about one's condition is to discard a condition that is in need of illusions... Religion is merely an illusory sun revolving around man until such time as he begins to revolve around himself..."*

But a mode of thinking based on idol worship and blind faith, on self-alienation, takes on not only "traditional," "purely" religious forms associated in one way or another with the Church, with belief in the Deity, be it Christ, Buddha or Jehovah. There are also secular modifications of such a mode of thinking, ranging from kowtowing to a bureaucrat to worship of the "demoniacal" powers of modern technology. "*The task of history*," Marx

*Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.

*Marx and Engels. *Collected Works*, Russian edition, Vol. I, pp. 414-415.

said, "ever since the *truth of the other world* disappeared is to affirm the *truth of this world*. The immediate *task of philosophy* in the service of history—once the *holy image* of human self-alienation has been exposed—is to expose self-alienation in its *unholy images*. . . . The critique of religion culminates in the doctrine that *man is the supreme being for man*; culminates, consequently, in the categorical imperative *bidding the destruction of all relationships* which make man a humiliated, enslaved, helpless, scorned creature"

Perverted religious thinking in all its forms disappears only as the practical day-to-day relations of men to one another and to nature acquire clearer and more rational forms established and regulated by knowledge.

In the secular variety of religious thinking the object of idolatry changes, but the idolatry remains and is perfected. "Ignorance is a demoniacal force, and we fear that it might still be the cause of many a tragedy," Marx wrote. Ignorance—lack of knowledge and information—is at once a consequence and a condition of the spread of "secular religion."

The idol, like God, is insatiable both as regards adulation and the sacrifices brought to his altar by ignorant worshippers. Religious faith is inimical to knowledge, it would stamp out knowledge. All mass psychoses are based on blind faith.

For the believer the "truth" takes the form of a revelation from on high, as a divine dispensation, or more often as an order to be obeyed without question. The supreme expression of such relations between the "shepherd" and his "flock" is the biblical saying "the blind lead the blind."

We have already seen the commandments that are revered today in China. Not the slightest departure from the ideas of Mao Tse-tung—this is how the people are taught to look up to the new deity. And, on top, Mao Tse-tung compares the Chinese people to "a clean sheet of paper." "At first glance this is bad, but actually it is good. . . . A clean sheet of paper has nothing on it, but one can write on it the newest and most eloquent words, one can draw on it the newest, and prettiest pictures."

"At first glance," this sounds "good," but actually it amounts to duping the people, degrading them, despising them. We all know what sort of "pictures" were painted, say, at the time when the CPC leaders undertook the "big leap," and who paid for the "art."

Marxism as a science is now being supplanted in China by Maoism as a sort of ersatz reli-

gion. The worst enemy of communism could not do it greater harm than those who are turning its ideas into a variety of religious dogma (thereby providing "arguments" for the anti-Communists). What could be more unnatural than a Communist guided by blind faith, an idol-worshipping Marxist?

Ivan Denisovich's Debate with Alyosha, the Baptist

Now let us turn to Shukhov's argument with Alyosha. Before settling down for the night, Ivan Denisovich lets fall the remark:

"... Thank the Lord another day is over."

Hearing this, Alyosha turns to Shukhov:

"There you are, Ivan Denisovich, your soul is begging to pray. Why, then, don't you give it its freedom?"

"Well, Alyosha, it's this way. Prayers are like those appeals of ours. Either they don't get through or they're returned with 'rejected' scrawled across them. . . . I'm not against God, understand that. I readily believe in God. But I don't believe in paradise or in hell. Why d'you take us for fools and stuff us with your paradise and hell stories? That's what I don't like."

Alyosha tried to persuade him to praise God for the wretched lot: this, he says, would be a test of his faith. Shukhov replies: "You see, Alyosha . . . Somehow it works out all right for you. Jesus Christ wanted you to sit in prison and so you are—sitting here for His sake. But for whose sake am I here? Because we weren't ready for war in 'forty-one? For that? But was that *my* fault?!" And when Alyosha pleads with Ivan Denisovich to pray only for his daily bread, quoting the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread," Shukhov with annihilating irony translates these words into the language of harsh reality: "'Our ration, you mean?' asked Shukhov."

Neither Shukhov nor Alyosha gives up his convictions. But the winner in this exchange is Ivan Denisovich, if only because he begins to overcome his own prejudices. God without his dominions is no longer God. Religion still has a strong hold on Shukhov, but it is weakening. And this is the most important condition for ending any cult, heavenly or earthly. The implications of Ivan Denisovich's reasoning go far beyond his attitude to religion. His words are a commentary on his whole life. And the real significance of the argument is perhaps above all expressed in his thoughts about the Baptists: "They shed the hardships of camp life like water off a duck's back."

It is interesting to compare this controversy with the chapter in Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* (Pro and Contra), which describes

*Ibid., pp. 415, 422.

the debate between another Ivan and another Alyosha. It is difficult to say whether the author had this in mind, but the coincidence here (however different the situation) is significant. Ivan Karamazov says to his brother: "It is not God I refuse to accept, understand that, it is the world he has created, it is God's world I do not accept and cannot agree to accept. . . . I have not suffered in order to manure someone's future harmony with myself, my infamies and sufferings. . . . Besides, that harmony is far too highly priced, we cannot afford to pay so much for admission. And therefore I hasten to return my admission ticket. . . . It is not God I refuse to accept, Alyosha, it's only the ticket I wish respectfully to return to him."

As we see, Ivan Denisovich's dialogue with Alyosha (and this is actually the ideological finale of the book) raises a host of "accursed questions," old and new. These questions have remained for the anti-Communist and dogmatic Maoist "critics" of *One Day* a mystery. Their political primitiveness makes them totally impervious to the general social and philosophical content of the book. They can only paddle about on the surface of it, being either oblivious to the depth and timeliness of the questions posed or afraid even to glimpse into the depths.

Lenin: Not a Word on Faith, Not a Word Against One's Conscience . . .

Communists are not like those for whom the concentration camp is "water off a duck's back." They have paid too high a price merely to be content to preserve the convictions with which they embarked on the task of building a new world. This is important, of course, but it is not enough. And if the price has already been paid then we must draw to the full on the lessons of the past.

One of the main results of the condemnation of the personality cult was that there now is a far greater awareness of the responsibility that rests with every person (and especially every Communist, every Marxist) for everything that takes place around him, everything that happens in the world. It is not enough to say: "I took things on faith because I did not know." It is immeasurably more important, though also more difficult, soberly to examine the working of one's own mind in those years so as to ensure that the mechanism that governed one's thinking then should never be triggered into action again. Ridding oneself of the prejudices of the cult means not only knowing the truth about Stalin, but knowing one's self, seeing through one's own illusions.

This is not a matter of introspective probing but of Marxist self-criticism.

In his last articles Lenin said that the destiny of Russia, the fate of the revolution, depended on people "on whom one can rely not to take a single word on faith and not to utter a word against their conscience," people who do not "fear to admit the existence of any difficulty or to carry on the struggle whatever the odds to achieve the considered aims they have set themselves." Lenin's ideas are diametrically opposed to what the cult mentality regards as virtues—blind faith in what one is told, compromising with one's conscience, concealing the difficulties and trembling each time the choice must be made between struggle involving risk and conciliation.

The cult mentality is by its nature anti-humanist. "Genuine love for man is possible," Mao Tse-tung avers, "but only after classes have been abolished everywhere in the world." A dangerous theory, especially in the light of the Chinese leaders' anti-humanist activities. The principles of Communist humanism should be implemented not in the remote future, but today; otherwise they will never be realized. Unless they are observed day in and day out, they can be put off endlessly. The important thing is to cultivate these principles from childhood. If children are inoculated to give them effective protection against disease, how much more important is it to protect people from their earliest years against the psychology which reigned supreme in the "city of identical little men" and which unfortunately exists not only in the fairy tale. The Maoists, however, have gone so far as to qualify the upbringing of children in the spirit of humanism as "corruption" and "poisoning minds with the venom of bourgeois ideology."

The time will come when the world will hear a Chinese Ivan Denisovich say "Do you take us for fools?" when China will have its equivalent of the Twentieth Congress and writers will appear who will rip the mask off the personality cult, when there too people will read today's issues of *Jenminjihpao* with mixed feelings of amusement and bitterness and will find it hard to believe that such things could have happened.

That time will surely come. At the moment a grim struggle is being fought to ensure its coming.

* * *

The Communists regard *One Day* and the fact that it was published as another triumph for the line ushered in by the Twentieth Congress and as a defeat for the opponents of this line. That the anti-Communists and the Maoist defenders of the personality cult seized upon

it for their own purposes, as they seize upon every instance of Communist criticism and self-criticism, could only be expected. But such things are transient and will be forgotten. The positive effect of the book is immeasurably greater; more, it is cumulative. More and more profound appreciations of *One Day* are appearing in different countries bringing its meaning home to the reader. They do not insist that it be praised, but neither do they countenance tirades against it. They do not label those who do not think it a masterpiece as supporters of the cult, conservatives, reactionaries, and so on. But they unequivocally rebuff those who claim it is an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist and anti-Party book. It is in keeping with the logic of life, with the logic of the class struggle that the book should be feared and detested

more and more as time goes on, just as a formidable enemy is feared and hated. Its author can be proud of such hatred. As time goes on, the effectiveness of the book in the struggle against both the anti-Communists and the Maoist supporters of a regimented communist is growing; its far-sightedness becomes apparent, and those who try to speculate on it find themselves more and more the losers. No one can remain indifferent to the book, and that is the main thing. As the Polish writer Bruno Jasenski once wrote: "Do not fear enemies—at worst they can kill you. Do not fear friends—at worst they can betray you. Fear those who are indifferent—they neither kill nor betray, but it is only with their silent consent that murder and betrayal exist on earth."

Y. KARYAKIN

Pages from History

Marx House

(*Letter from London*)

AT 37a Clerkenwell Green, London, is Marx House. The choice fell on this house because of the militant traditions of the area, and the history of the building itself.

One of the first directions in which Marx and Engels sought to widen the political horizon of the British workers organized in the International Working Men's Association was that of the fight for universal suffrage. This was not on abstract grounds. The two great leaders understood that only in this fight could the British trade unions rally behind them in a political struggle, of class against class, the vast mass of the proletariat.

The movement for electoral reform, already begun by trade unionists in association with bourgeois Radicals in the late fifties, took a more decisive turn in 1862-63. On the initiative of leaders of the London Trades Council, a "Manhood (Universal) Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association" was formed. In February 1865 this was merged in the National Reform League, set up on the initiative of the General Council of the International, with the latter supplying the working-class half of the League's Executive Committee—Odger (shoemaker), Howell (mason), Cremer (joiner), Ecarius (tailor), Leno (printer) and Nieass (plasterer). Thereafter numerous letters, articles

and other documents of Marx and Engels, as well as minutes of the General Council, reflect the tremendous spread of the campaign all over Britain, with hundreds of thousands of workers participating—a movement which, as Marx wrote to Kugelmann (October 9, 1866), "has now reached immense and irresistible dimensions." At the same time the documents show an acute conflict developing between those who stood firm on the workers' demand for universal suffrage and those Liberal leaders who veered away from it more and more in favor of the modified property qualification proposed by the Liberal leader Gladstone and finally embodied, with some improvements, in the Reform Bill of 1867 carried through by the Tory Disraeli.

In the course of the campaign there constantly recurs in the documents mention of the old working-class district of Clerkenwell, in central London. This was not accidental. From the early days of manufacture, it had a long tradition of political activity among the poor. It had been the scene of riots in support of the London reformer Wilkes in 1768. In 1780 the plebs here had broken into a famous local jail, the Bridewell, and set free the prisoners. The "English Jacobins"—the democrats Thomas Hardy, Horne Tooke

and John Thelwall — where cheered by the Clerkenwell crowds when they were brought before the Grand Jury (i.e., for preliminary hearing) at the court House on Clerkenwell Green.

Great meetings for parliamentary reform were held there in after years, notably one on the Green in 1826, addressed by the democratic journalist William Cobbett. In 1842 the Green was one of the places where the Government of Sir Robert Peel prohibited demonstrations during the Lancashire strikes. Among Chartists who spoke at huge meetings on the Green in 1848 were Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones, and many Chartists were tried at the court house mentioned earlier. Old Chartists like the silkweaver Thomas Mottershead, the furniture worker Benjamin Lucraft, George Howell and others prominent in the International were familiar figures in Clerkenwell.

True, the Clerkenwell branch of the Reform League was the only one to support its leaders when, in April 1866, they openly sided with Gladstone's proposals for a "reformed" franchise still based on a property qualification. But three months later it was on the initiative of that same branch, voicing the anger of the workers, that a meeting estimated at 20,000 gathered in Trafalgar Square, with Lucraft presiding, to demand universal suffrage once again and the following week (July 2) the Clerkenwell branch took charge of one section of a still bigger meeting in Trafalgar Square, at which the chief speaker was John Osborne, another Clerkenwell man on the General Council. It was after this that Marx wrote to Engels in Manchester (July 7, 1866) that these meetings were "exclusively the work of the International." There is a special reason, however, for quoting another letter from Marx to Engels, dated March 20, 1869: "There is to be a demonstration in the immediate future here in memory of Ernest Jones. The initiative comes from the Clerkenwell branch of the former Reform League. Its leaders Weston, Lucraft, etc., are members of our General Council."

In 1867, in fact, after a nationwide campaign of vast workers' demonstrations organized by the Reform League and comparable only with the Chartist movement at its peak twenty-five years before, Disraeli's Government had pushed through the second Reform Bill. This, too, left over two-thirds of all adult males voteless. The mass of the workers had been cheated, after all their efforts, by the political parties. What rankled particularly was that most of the Liberal trade union leaders of the Reform League had accepted the Bill. As a

consequence, the most militant workers began to leave the League, the Liberals soon began to treat it with contempt, and it expired at the beginning of 1869.

The former Holborn branch almost immediately formed an independent workmen's organization, the "London Patriotic Society," to continue the campaign for universal suffrage. Its meetings were in fact held at a tavern in St. John Street, Clerkenwell (Holborn and Clerkenwell are neighbors), and it soon absorbed many members of the Clerkenwell branch. Among its supporters were John Stuart Mill and other bourgeois supporters of universal suffrage, and its meetings were regularly reported in the *National Reformer*, the organ of the republican and atheist Charles Bradlaugh. But it took a far from "normal" bourgeois line. In 1871 it took part in the enthusiastic demonstrations of support for the Paris Commune, held on Clerkenwell Green under the red flag topped by the cap of liberty, which were addressed by Weston and other republican speakers (*Daily News*, April 10 and 17, 1871).

After the fall of the Commune it joined with other republican organizations in a series of further meetings on the Green to protest against the persecution of Communard refugees (*Daily News*, May 31, June 12 and 19, 1871). It was not by chance that the bourgeois press attacked Clerkenwell in its furious vilification of the Commune "We have no doubt in Clerkenwell our Belleville, as all large cities have," wrote the *Morning Post* on April 17, 1871—echoed by the *Daily Telegraph* the same day, warning the British sympathizers with the Commune against trying "to copy the tactics of Belleville by raising barricades on Clerkenwell Green." A business man's paper, the *City Press*, wrote of the Green on September 2, 1871, as "the headquarters of republicanism, revolution and ultra-nonconformity" (it could not bring itself, evidently, to say "atheism").

At all events, when the society transformed itself in July 1872 into the "London Patriotic Club" and established itself at 37a Clerkenwell Green—to become "independent of coerced tavern-keepers and licensing magistrates" (the words of Mill, in a letter sending the club £20)—it was moving into one of the classic centers of advanced working class activity in London. Most of the Radical ex-members of the General Council of the International joined it. Support also came from Reynolds, editor of the democratic Sunday newspaper bearing his name, the Radical Sir Charles Dilke Moncure D. Conway (biographer

of Thomas Paine) and other bourgeois reformers.

There was of course no socialist movement as yet in Britain, and it was to Radical, i.e., left Liberal, clubs of this kind that politically active workers now looked. The clubs were usually as in this case, under the influence of opportunist and careerist trade union leaders of the type of Mottershead and Odger; but, as often has happened in British working class history, the rank and file were able on many occasions to impose a more fighting policy. This was certainly the case with the London Patriotic Club. For twenty years it radiated advanced democratic ideas.

Thus in April, 1872, it accepted women into membership, in May that year it declared for women's suffrage, and in the autumn it organized a big meeting on the Green in support of the imprisoned Fenians (the first of many in favor of Irish Home Rule). It repeatedly joined in commemorations of the Paris Commune. It declared for nationalization of the land. It organized a meeting to support Bradlaugh when he was denied his seat in Parliament, although constantly re-elected for Northampton. It joined in protests against the Liberal Government's attacks on Egypt in 1882 and on the Sudan in 1885. At late as August 1892, it played a leading part in the successful election of the first Indian ever to enter the House of Commons—Dadabhai Naoroji, who was "Father" of the Indian National Congress and, as Comrade R. P. Dutt has written, was a leader of that national bourgeoisie which "represented at that time the most progressive force in Indian society."

Such activity naturally kept the working class for the time being attached to the Liberal Party. But on the other hand it prepared the way for the Socialist and Labor movement of later years. In a letter to Lavrov (23 January 1882) Marx pointed out particularly "the demonstrative formation in London of Radical clubs, which consist principally of workers, English and Irish, and act against the 'great Liberal Party'." When, on the initiative of H. M. Hyndman, such organizations joined in 1881 to form the Democratic Federation, the London Patriotic Club was among them, and one of its leading members, H. A. Fuller, was elected to the Executive Committee of the Federation in 1883. Although like most Radical clubs the LPC withdrew when the Federation adopted a Socialist program next year, it continued to cooperate in advanced causes with the now Social Democratic Federation.

In October 1892 the club left the house on Clerkenwell Green. Almost at once (June 1893)

it was succeeded there by the Twentieth Century Press, the printing and publishing company formed at the end of 1891 by members of the SDF. For nearly thirty years thereafter the Press, producing the weekly *Justice* and the monthly *Social Democrat* (and, from 1906 to 1914, the *Socialist Annual*), was the voice of those English Social Democrats who, in spite of the "certain sectarian stamp" which they bore, nevertheless, as Lenin wrote in 1913 in his obituary on Harry Quelch, "for decades carried on systematic propaganda and agitation in the spirit of Marxism." The first English edition of Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* (translated by Quelch), of Plekhanov's *Anarchism and Socialism* (translated by Eleanor Marx) and of Kautsky's *Erfurt Program* (translated by Florence Baldwin), were published here, as well as a flood of pamphlets popularizing Marxism by British Social Democrats—some more successfully, other less so. Harry Quelch, editor both of *Justice* and of the *Social Democrat*, was also manager of the Press. He was an outstanding revolutionary. Engels had already spoken highly of his conduct at the Glasgow Trades Union Congress in September 1892, and one of Engels' last letters, on April 2, 1895, was addressed in cordial terms to Quelch, offering "to discuss with you *privately*, and in a friendly talk, the development and present condition of the movement in England and abroad."

It was only natural, therefore, that when the attentions of the German police made it desirable to stop printing *Iskra* first at Leipzig, then at Munich, and the editorial board decided to transfer it to London, they made the necessary arrangements with Quelch. Issues 22-38 were thus printed at the Twentieth Century Press, on a flat-bed machine, in 1902-03, and Lenin used to come to the Press to correct proofs there in Quelch's little "editorial cabinet." Tom Quelch, Harry's son, who was working there at the time as apprentice compositor, put on record how, when he came to Moscow in 1920 for the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin asked him: "And how are things at Clerkenwell Green?"

In fact, things had changed for the worse there in 1916. At the Easter conference that year of the British Socialist Party—successor of the SDF—the majority had broken with the "old guard" of chauvinists led by Hyndman. In withdrawing from the BSP as a consequence, the minority had taken with them both the Press and *Justice*, of which the legal private owners were a group among the chauvinists. Thus the connection of the Clerkenwell Green building with the spirit of the First

International and of Marxism was temporarily broken. The press left the building only in 1922.

But the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Marx in March 1933 brought back the old ties in a new form. It was the time when the Nazis were publicly committing Marxist literature to the flames in the squares and streets of Germany. A broad delegate conference of Labor Party members, Communists and trade unionists decided that it would be appropriate to reply to the Hitlerite savages by creating a library of the social sciences for the working class. A fund was opened, and Tom Quelch, then research officer at the head office of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, suggested that the house on Clerkenwell Green—standing vacant at the time—would provide the most suitable home for the new institution, historically as well as physically. In this way the Marx Memorial Library came into being; the building is now known as Marx House.

Before the Second World War, the Library's title included the words "Workers' School and Educational Center." Courses were conducted by well-known Marxist lecturers on weekday evenings. The first series, which began on October 30, 1933, comprised political economy, theory of the State, history of the working-class movement, the Russian Revolution, and the class struggle in colonial countries. These subjects were repeated and amplified later, with such additions as the philosophy of Marxism and the history of socialism. Sunday morning or evening lectures dealt with current topics. On these and other subjects printed syllabuses were published. Correspondence courses were held on subjects like political economy, elementary and advanced, or an introduction to Marxism.

Today there is more lending of books to members, development of the research opportunities of the Library, and occasional organization of important exhibitions — e.g., on the Paris Commune, the 40th anniversary of the

October Revolution, the life and work of Robert Owen and Thomas Paine. Nevertheless, every autumn and winter courses of lectures have been arranged—on the political economy of capitalist society and of Socialism, on dialectical materialism and ethics, on the national-liberation movement in Africa and Latin America, on Marxism and the arts, to take but a few examples. From the foundation of the Library, there has been on March 14 an annual short address and laying of flowers at Marx's grave in Highgate Cemetery (the Library is jointly responsible with the Communist Party for the Marx monument), and either on the same date or as near to it as possible a Marx Memorial Lecture. All this work has to be done primarily by voluntary effort.

The essential work and role of the Library is seen as providing opportunity for the study of the social sciences on a broad Marxist basis, open to workers of any trend in the working-class movement who wish to read, do research or get advice. This fraternal, unsectarian approach is most important today, when thirteen years of Conservative rule—coming as they have done after unfulfilled hopes of social transformation which millions pinned in 1945 to the election of the first majority Labor Government—have opened many eyes to the harsh realities of class society in Britain.

For September this year, on the centenary of the foundation of the International Working Men's Association, a suitable exhibition has been organized. We hope to show by it that in its own modest sphere the Marx Memorial Library is helping to promote fulfilment of the immortal principle of the Rules, written by Marx, that "the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves." For we believe it true of Britain, as Engels did after half a century spent in this country, that "once the workers realize what they want, they will have in their hands the State, and the land, and industry, and everything" (letter to Schlueter, January 1, 1895).

Andrew ROTHSTEIN

Against the Persecution of Democrats

FREE THE HEROES OF SOUTH AFRICA

A STORM of protest from all over the world has followed the savage sentences meted out in the so-called Rivonia trial. Eight leaders of the South African national-liberation movement were sentenced to life imprisonment. They are Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, and Dennis Goldberg.

This was one of the most dramatic and important political trials ever held in South Africa. All the accused men were well-known members of the African National Congress (ANC) or its partners in the Congress alliance.

Most of them were arrested on a farm at Rivonia near Johannesburg in July 1963. From then until the trial opened at the end of October they were held in solitary confinement under the infamous "90-day" law which permits any police officer at his discretion to detain any political suspect without trial or charge for repeated periods of 90 days.

The Rivonia trial aroused tremendous interest in South Africa and throughout the world. Yutar, the Prosecutor, charged the accused men, as leaders of the African National Congress, the military organization *Umkonto We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) and the South African Communist Party, of having plotted numerous acts of sabotage as a prelude to guerrilla warfare and the violent overthrow of the government in a war of national liberation. Most of the evidence submitted by the Prosecution was totally unsubstantiated.

The course of the trial was transformed by the case for the defense, ably presented by the courageous defense lawyers, and above all by the statements and evidence of the accused themselves. In the shadow of the gallows all of them spoke with great courage, dignity and passion.

The tone was set by Nelson Mandela, described by the Prosecution as "accused No. 1" and charged with being a revolutionary leader. He admitted that he had helped to establish *Umkonto We Sizwe* and to plan its campaign of sabotage. "I planned it," he said, "as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people." Only when the government had used violence to crush non-violent opposition had

he and his colleagues resorted to violence in reply.

The Prosecution tried, as usual, to label the entire liberation movement as "Communist." Mandela explained that he himself was not a Communist, but he welcomed the participation of the Communist Party in the struggle side by side with the African National Congress. Instancing Algeria and other countries, he said that the Communist Party always played an active role in the battles of colonial countries for their freedom. Many Africans today equated communism with freedom, he said. Others of the accused, such as Mbeki and Kathrada, openly declared their support for the South African Communist Party and defended its policy and program day after day under cross-examination.

All the accused men chose to give evidence, not to deny but to explain and defend their actions. In so doing they turned a pitiless searchlight on the infamous structure of *apartheid* and white minority domination. They told of the poverty of the non-white majority and wretchedness of their conditions, of how they are denied all economic and educational opportunities. They showed how, deprived of franchise and other civil rights, their liberation movement outlawed and savagely suppressed, the people had been left with only one way out: to fight back.

In effect the accused revolutionaries turned the tables on their accusers. It was South African colonialism, its atrocities and crimes, that were in the dock. Prosecutor Yutar became the defender as he tried to justify *apartheid* and the Verwoerd government. At one point during the four days of grueling and hostile cross-examination, Yutar accused Walter Sisulu of "exaggerating" the persecution of non-whites. For once, Sisulu who had remained calm and self-possessed throughout, leaned forward in the box and raised his voice: "My wife and son have been arrested under the 90-day law," he said. "I myself was arrested six times in 1962 by Warrant Officer Dirker of the Special Branch. I wish you were an African," he told Yutar. "Then you would know what persecution is like."

The evidence of the accused men, their passionate statements were published in the newspapers and flashed around the world. Our

people in South Africa and freedom-loving people everywhere were filled with admiration and sympathy for Mandela and his comrades. To everyone except Verwoerd and his clique of oppressors, they are not criminals but heroes, the representatives in South Africa of the conscience and will of humanity which hates apartheid and racial discrimination.

The Rivonia trial opened in an atmosphere of hysteria and terror whipped up to fever point by government propaganda. The gravest fears were expressed that death penalties would be imposed. That they were not was due to the brilliant conduct of the defense and the mass support of the oppressed people in South Africa. It was also due in no small measure to the massive campaign of solidarity by people all over the world in support of Mandela, Sisulu and their colleagues.

Even before the trial opened, the General Assembly of the United Nations resolved by an unprecedented majority of 106 to one (that one, the "representative" of South Africa) that the trial be abandoned, and that all those imprisoned or restricted for opposing *apartheid* should be released.

The World Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners, sponsored by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, has met with a tremendous and steadily-mounting support from almost every corner of the globe. Millions of signatures were collected for a petition to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In Africa, Asia, Australia, America, North and South, and in Europe, East and West, thousands of meetings and demonstrations of leaders and members of trade unions, political parties, religious bodies, organizations of women, youth, peace supporters and others, have showed their support for our freedom leaders and demanded their release.

The vicious sentences imposed on the accused have aroused passionate indignation in all countries of the world. In Britain, fifty Members of Parliament marched to the South African Embassy to hand in their protest. The Labor Party expressed "anger and dismay at the savagery of the sentences," and similar statements were made by the Trades Union Congress and many individual unions, the Communist Party and the Liberal Party. Country-wide marches and demonstrations have taken place.

The ending of the Rivonia trial must signify not the end, but the beginning of an even more universal and formidable phase of this

noble international campaign. In a powerful appeal from the little area in Natal to which he has been confined for yet another five years, Chief Luthuli, Nobel Prize winner and former President of the banned African National Congress, calls on governments and people throughout the world to secure the release of the heroic resistance leaders. "While they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene," he wrote. Luthuli calls upon "South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America" to take action for the introduction of international sanctions "that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of *apartheid*."

The immediate fate of the eight convicted men is also cause for the most serious concern. Seven of them have been sent to the penal colony on Robben Island, near Cape Town. A former leper colony, Robben Island has a ghastly record for treatment of political prisoners. Not only politicals but also hardened criminals are kept there, and these criminals are encouraged by the warders to assault political prisoners.

Mandela, Sisulu and the rest of the eight of Rivonia are a symbol for all the five thousand prisoners languishing in the jails and torture camps of South Africa. Several resistance leaders have been executed or murdered. Over forty, including the famous Port Elizabeth trade union leaders, Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba, have been sentenced to death and are awaiting execution. Hardly a day passes without news of fresh arrests. In the first half of July alone some 40 persons were seized and detained under the 90-day law. Among them are several prominent South African journalists, including the assistant editor of the weekly *Drum* and editor of the *Pretoria News*. Pieter Beyleveld, national chairman of the banned South African Congress of Democrats, is among those arrested.

Verwoerd and his Nazi Minister of "Justice" Balthazar Vorster are turning our country into one vast prison camp.

We South African freedom fighters are profoundly conscious of and grateful for the wonderful solidarity shown to us by the working people, the lovers of freedom in all countries and on all continents. We shall never forget these things. If we appeal to you for yet greater efforts, for more effective measures, it is because we know that our cause, the cause of national liberation and world peace, is the cause of all mankind.

A.L.

REACTION RAMPANT IN GUATEMALA

LAWLESSNESS and brutality continue to be the order of the day in Guatemala under the Azurdia military dictatorship. The entire widely-ramified state machine of repression—the secret police and the army, the legislative organs and military tribunals — have been brought into play by the reaction in an effort to crush the revolutionary struggle of the people and retain the power.

In the absence of constitutional law of any kind, civilians charged with political offences are being tried by military courts and sentenced arbitrarily. The heavy hand of Guatemalan "justice" falls upon anyone who dares to voice democratic opinions, to oppose the anti-democratic, anti-national policy of the government.

A typical example of the violation of the most elementary legal standards is the sentence meted out to the schoolteacher Alicia Samayoa de Valenzuela who was unlawfully arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment on evidence trumped up by the police. Proof of her innocence submitted by the defendant was ignored.

A similar case is that of the students Jorge Ampié Monterroso and his wife Julieta Hernandez both of whom were sentenced to five years' imprisonment. A group of young students convicted by a military court are serving a prison sentence under the law for the protection of "democratic institutions." Rolando Collado, a physician, was arrested on the suspicion that his clinic was being used as a "center of subversion," because it was visited by doctors not employed there.

No one in Guatemala today is safe from arrest. The police can detain anyone the authorities deem undesirable and hold them *incommunicado*. The lawlessness has reached such proportions that even the Guatemalan courts often have to engage in the search for persons kidnapped by the police.

The repressions are particularly savage in the rural localities, where the landowners are breaking all records in this respect. In January, for instance, the homes, property and crops of 75 peasant families were destroyed in the village of San Markos (Izabal department). This was the work of the landowners who consider themselves owners of land the peasants have been tilling for more than 60 years. The landowners often hire army detachments to intimidate the peasants.

The government is using the pretext of combating the guerrilla movement to vent its

fury on the Izabal peasants. In February and March the Guatemalan army, together with paratroop units of the Honduras army and assisted by American military experts, carried out a major anti-guerrilla offensive. The entire area was "combed" and indiscriminately bombed from the air, with the result that 17 peasants were killed, a large number of ranchos were burned to the ground and the crops destroyed on the fields. Rebel forces reported that the army captured and tortured several peasants in order to obtain information about the guerrillas.

The arrests of democrats and patriots continue. Men and women are thrown into jail on the slightest suspicion or on the pretext of "security measures." A case in point is that of the democrat Fantina Rodriguez Padilla who has been in jail for several months now.

Extracting information by torture during interrogation has become a common practice. In May Jose Domingo Segura, a veteran trade unionist, was brutally tortured by the police in an effort to force him to betray his comrades.

The army high command and the reactionary parties supporting it (the Revolutionary Party and the Movement of National Liberation) are doing their utmost to "legalize" the dictatorship. Decree 175 which regulates the formation and activities of political parties was issued for this purpose. Needless to say, this decree, with its general formulation about the banning of groups and parties which subscribe to Communist ideology and defend it directly or indirectly, rules out any activity on the part of democratic parties.

Referring to this decree, the newspaper *Verdad*, organ of the Guatemalan Communists, noted: "The decree not only hinders the legal functioning of all other parties by stipulating a minimum membership of 50,000 (the names and passport particulars of all members must be recorded in documents certified by a notary public), but gives the government the power to forbid their activity at any moment. The reaction has surpassed itself by including the following clause in the law: '*The activity of a political party may be banned at any moment if after registration it shall be established that this activity constitutes a threat to the cause of democracy*'.

"This means that if any party 'threatens' to defeat the 'democratic' dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia and his political cronies at the elections, that party can be banned the day before the elections and its candidates struck off the list."

It was on the basis of this law that the May 24 election to the Constituent Assembly was held. The military, hand in hand with the two minority reactionary parties backing it, had distributed the seats in the assembly in advance. Inasmuch as the other forces were prevented from participating in the elections, the "candidates" were "elected" without much difficulty.

But the population, responding to the appeal of the revolutionary forces to abstain from voting or to drop invalid ballots into the boxes, clearly demonstrated its attitude to the anti-democratic regime imposed by the military. Commenting on the results of these "elections," the *Verdad* observed that "50 per cent of the voters who went to the polls voted against this election farce and against the dictatorship." The newspaper noted that if the votes of all those who had dropped blank or invalid ballots into the boxes, along with all those who had abstained, were to be added up, one would find that at least 70 per cent of the electorate had voted against the regime. This dissatisfaction with the regime runs very deep and affects all sections of the population.

It is quite clear that the repressive measures against democrats and attempts to "legalize" the dictatorship with the aid of "elections" are closely interlinked. But it is equally clear that the struggle of the Guatemalan people will bar the road to reaction. This is evidenced if only by the release from jail of Comrade Carlos Alvarado Jerez against whom the military dictatorship had trumped up a case, but whom they nevertheless failed to convict. Carlos Alvarado Jerez owes his release to the struggle of the Guatemalan democrats and to international solidarity.

Today, when the reaction is intensifying its repressions against the people, the democratic parties of Guatemala are appealing to progressive opinion throughout the world to redouble efforts to secure the release of political prisoners, against the torture and murder of patriots, for democracy and freedom, against imperialist intervention, for the right of the Guatemalan people to elect through legal channels a patriotic government capable of steering the country onto the road of legality, paving the way to social progress and guaranteeing the people's rights.

C. TZUL

POLICE BRUTALITY IN SENEGAL

ON JUNE 2, 1964, the Senegal police arrested three patriots—Babacar Sy, Amath Dansokho and Landing Diadhiou. They have been held in detention since then and are being interrogated by a French police officer notorious as a specialist in the torture and maltreatment of patriots.

The new wave of repressions in Senegal is organized and carried out by secret bodies directly responsible to President Senghor who no longer trusts even his own Ministers. The President has a "black list" of more than seven hundred premises earmarked for police raids which are carried out under the direct supervision of French "technical advisers" attached to the Senegal police force.

Senghor's Constitution guarantees every citizen individual rights and liberties. In practice, however, the most elementary rights and freedoms are rudely trampled by the police regime which has aroused the bitter resentment of the masses.

The wholesale arrests in September-October 1963, the brutal murder of Sorre Diouf and

Omar Mbaye who were tortured to death in prison, the savage reprisals against democrats during the parliamentary and presidential elections last December which took a toll of 200 killed and 500 wounded, have tried the people's patience to breaking point. The entire nation is rising against the police tyranny, against the betrayal of the national interests. The people are demanding an immediate end to the illegal searches, the release of the arrested patriots, Babacar Sy, Amath Dansokho and Landing Diadhiou and all other political prisoners, and permission for Mahjmouth Diop and all political exiles to return to Senegal.

The unity of the patriotic forces fighting against Senghor's policy of subservience to imperialism is being cemented in joint actions. The overthrow of the hated regime of Senghor and the establishment of a state of national democracy which will serve the cause of anti-imperialist African unity, the cause of world peace, is now on the order of the day.

Sheikh A. AMIDOU

Marxist Literature on the First International

(Survey)

OF late a large number of source materials have been published which will be of great help to those studying the history of the International Working Men's Association.

In 1961 the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the CC, CPSU, commenced the publication of a five-volume Russian edition of the Minutes of the General Council of the International. To date three volumes, covering the years 1864-70, have come off the press.¹ The Progress Publishers are putting out the Minutes in the original language.² The Minutes convey a clear picture of the functioning not only of the Council but also of the local sections of the Association in the various countries. The Minutes of a number of congresses of the International have also been printed. The Minutes of the Basle Congress of 1869 and of the London Conference of 1871 have appeared in Russian.³ A two-volume collection of documents of the First International was published in Geneva in 1962, including reports of congresses which at one time or another had appeared in the press as well as the minutes of the 1871 London Conference and a number of documents of the General Council.⁴

The Minutes of the Hague Congress, recorded by F. A. Sorge, a leading member of the International in the United States, were published there in 1958.⁵

Documents of the International Working Men's Association were issued in separate volumes⁶ by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and appeared in a number of journals—*Kommunist*, *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, *Voprosy istorii*, *Novaya is noveyshaya istoriya* (Communist, Problems of History of the CPSU, Problems of History, Modern and Recent History).

Valuable material on the First International can be found in the correspondence between Engels and Paul and Laura Lafargue published in Paris by the "Editions Sociales" Publishing House.⁷

Documents of the International Working Men's Association were printed at different times in the Italian journals *Societa* and *Movimento Operaio*, and in *Annali*, annual publication of the Feltrinelli Institute in Milan, and in the French journals *Mouvement social* and *Actualité de l'histoire*.

The complete bibliography of the original documents of the First International was pub-

lished in 1958-63 by the International Commission for the Study of Social Movements formed by the International Historians' Committee. The first volume contains the bibliography of the International's press organs, the second, the bibliography of the documents of the General Council, the minutes of the congresses and conferences, while a third combines the bibliography of the national and local organizations of the International.⁸

The traditions of Marxist historiography were initiated during the lifetime of Marx and Engels in a number of works of their followers, often written under their guidance and with their immediate participation.

In 1868 a pamphlet entitled "The International Working Men's Association"⁹ written by W. Eichhoff, a German Socialist, member of the Berlin section of the International and a friend of Marx and Engels, was published in Berlin. This work was based on materials and notes supplied by Marx to Eichhoff, and edited by Marx. A "Sketch of the History of the International Working Men's Association" by V. Zasulich, a Russian revolutionary and active member of the Marxist group "Emancipation of Labor," appeared in Geneva in 1889. This book deals specifically with the struggle against Proudhon and his supporters.

The history of the International's sections in the United States is discussed in the book by H. Schlueter,¹⁰ a German Social Democrat who spent the last years of his life in America.

The first attempt at a complete Marxist history of the First International was made by G. Jaeckh, a German Social Democrat. In his book *The International*,¹¹ which appeared in 1904 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its founding, Jaeckh used for the first time the rich collection of documents of the International in the archives of the German Social Democratic Party (Minutes of the General Council, documents of the local sections, etc.). Jaeckh's work, however, has serious drawbacks—underestimation of the struggle waged by Marx and Engels for a proletarian party, failure to understand the social nature of the trends opposed to Marxism in the International, and so on.

Modern Marxist historiography is represented by numerous works of Soviet historians. On the basis of a thorough study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as of the

documents, periodicals and correspondence of the leaders of the International, Soviet historians have written a series of works which organically combine the rich factual material with a scientific exposition of the basic problems of the history of the International.

Study of the history of the International during the first years of Soviet power began with the establishment, on Lenin's initiative, of the Institute of Marx and Engels (now the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the CC., CPSU which has at its disposal the biggest collection of archive and press materials on the history of the international working-class movement.

The Institute put out papers by D. B. Ryzanov,¹² a specialist in this field, a brief essay on the history of the Association and also a five-volume biography of Bakunin by the Soviet historian Y. M. Steklov.¹³ These authors, however, were not yet able to show in full measure the objective reasons for the victory of Marxism in the International. Another shortcoming of these studies was poor exposition of the development of the working-class movement in the various countries.

In the early thirties Soviet journals published studies on the struggle waged by Marx and Engels for the triumph of their ideas over Proudhonism (F. F. Kozlov), Lassalleism (Y. A. Stepanova), Bakuninism (M. S. Zorky), works on the contacts of Marx and the First International with the Paris Commune (S. B. Kan, A. I. Molok, N. Lukin, P. M. Kerzhentsev and others).

During the Stalin personality cult scant attention was paid to problems of the international working-class movement and, particularly, to the history of the First International. As a consequence, the number of publications on these subjects declined drastically. Only in the second half of the fifties was the work in this direction resumed.

Problems of the history of the First International are reflected in a number of fundamental works: B. P. Kozmin's *Russkaya sektsiya Pervogo Internatsionala* (Russian Section of the First International), 1957; I. M. Krivoguz' and E. Stetskevich's *Ocherki istorii I i II Internatsionalov* (Essays on the History of the First and Second Internationals), 1958 (German translation appeared in Berlin in 1960). The activity of the French sections of the International Working Men's Association is dealt with in E. A. Zhelubovskaya's *Krusheniye Vtoroy imperii i vozniknoveniye Tretyei respubliki vo Frantsii* (Collapse of the Second Empire and the Rise of the Third Republic in France), 1956. The role of the General Council and the sections of the International during the Paris

Commune is brought out in a joint two-volume edition *Parizhskaya Kommuna 1871 g.* (The Paris Commune of 1871), 1961. Engels' activity in the General Council is described in Y. A. Stepanova's *Frederick Engels*, 1956.

Several journals and symposiums have discussed particular aspects of the history of the International.¹⁴

The first systematized and all-round research into the history of the International—a two-volume monograph *The First International*¹⁵ prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism—will come off the press for the centenary.

A number of historians in the West, primarily Communists, have written about the history of the First International. In 1955, *History of the Three Internationals* by William Z. Foster, appeared in New York (it was translated into Russian in 1959). This was the first attempt to generalize the history of the international working-class movement from 1848 till 1954.

Marxist historians in the German Democratic Republic have done much to restore the picture of the role played by the International Working Men's Association in Germany. A book by K. H. Leidigkeit describes the pioneering efforts of W. Liebknecht and A. Bebel to form a German working-class party based on the principles of the international.¹⁶ A pamphlet by E. Engelberg is devoted to J. P. Becker,¹⁷ a friend of Marx and Engels, who did much for the German working-class movement. Becker headed the Central Committee of the German sections of the International in Geneva and edited its organ *Vorbote*. Several works, based on a variety of documents, are devoted to the local sections of the Association in Germany.¹⁸ The activity of the German sections is described also in the book by H. Huemmler.¹⁹ The book by F. Schaaf²⁰ sheds light on the agrarian policies of the International.

The centenary will also see the publication in Berlin of a collection of documents on the activity of the First International in Germany²¹ jointly prepared by the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and Berlin. The symposium will include documents of various working-class organizations (educational societies, trade unions, sections of the International, of the Social Democratic Party), as well as the correspondence between functionaries of the German working-class movement and the leaders of the International—Marx, Engels, Becker and others.

The Kossuth Publishers in the Hungarian People's Republic are putting out a collection of essays showing the Association's contacts with the Hungarian working-class movement.

The history of the United States sections of

the First International is highlighted in the study by the progressive American historian S. Bernstein.²² Bernstein's book traces the history of the American labor and socialist movement, features of the struggle waged by American Marxists against doctrinaire-dogmatic views held by some of the members of the International. The author, however, tends to underestimate the impact of the International on the working-class movement of America in the seventies.

Interesting material is contained also in the book by the French Communist historians, J. Dautry and L. Scheler,²³ on the role of the Paris sections of the International both before and during the Paris Commune.

Along with Marxist researches there are also works by representatives of the sectarian trends hostile to Marxism, who suffered defeat in the Working Men's Association and who sought historical justification for their ideological standpoint.²⁴ Despite their subjectivism and tendentiousness, some of these works, written by men who took part in the movement at the time of the International, contain material of value to researchers. For instance, the memoirs of E. Fribourg,²⁵ Proudhon follower, contain valuable information on the history of the Paris section of the International.

Of late, bourgeois and Social Democratic historians, too, have returned to the history of the working-class movement generally and of the First International in particular.²⁶

Marx, Engels and their supporters had to wage a resolute struggle against bourgeois and reformist falsification of the history of the First International right from its very inception. As early as 1878 Marx refuted the distortion of its history by J. Howell, a British liberal trade unionist.

The honor to be the heirs to the great cause initiated by Marx and Engels belongs today to the world Communist movement which safeguards the rich treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist ideas and experience.

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