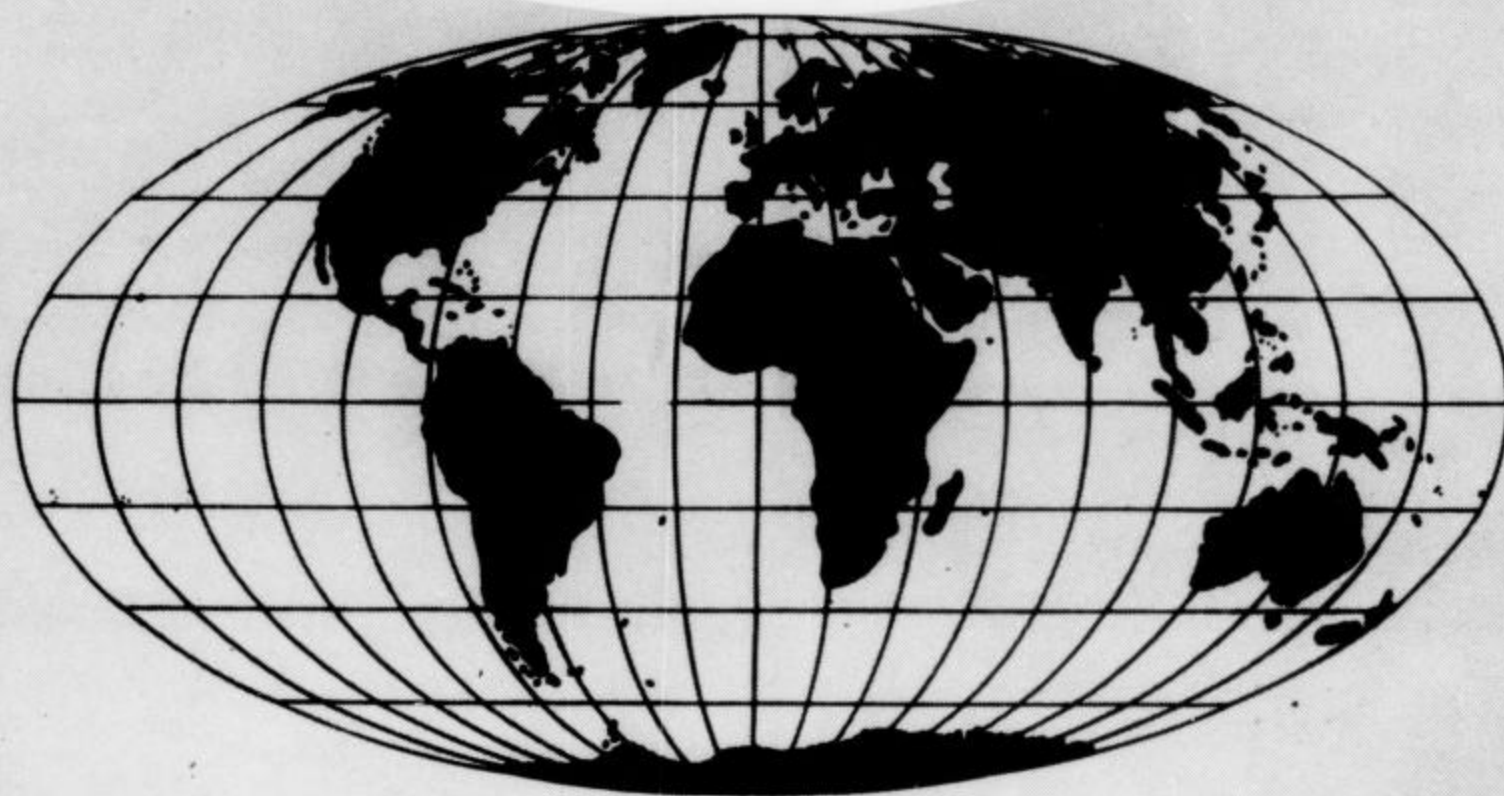


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

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Britain . . . the General Election and After

—J. Gollan

Socialism and Democracy

—V. Slavik

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

*Statement of the 1960 Meeting of
Representatives of the Communist and
Workers' Parties.*

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

JANUARY, 1965

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WMR

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Britain . . . the general election and after

JOHN GOLLAN

THE GENERAL ELECTION of October 1964 ended 13 years of Tory government and secured the return by a narrow majority, of Britain's fifth Labor Government. Party representation in the House of Commons is now: Labor 317; Tory 304; Liberal 9. This gives Labor an overall majority of only 4, or 5 if the Speaker (a Tory) is not counted. The total votes for these parties, with the percentage of the total vote, were:

	Votes	Per cent
LABOR	12,205,576	44.1
TORY	12,002,407	43.4
LIBERAL	3,093,316	11.2

The Communist Party's 36 candidates received a total of 46,532 votes.

Compared with the 1959 General Election, Labor's vote fell by 11,000; the Tory vote fell by 1¾ million; but the Liberal vote rose by 1,443,000.

At our last Communist Party Congress (1963) the question was discussed as to whether the Liberal revival was a temporary phenomenon. I warned then that the failure of the Labor Party to present a real alternative policy to that of the Tories would result in support for the Liberals as an alternative to the heavily discredited Tories. This has happened. Liberal policy is capitalist policy—the cold war, wage freeze, class cooperation and opposition to public ownership. But it attacks both the Tories and Labor, and former Tory supporters are attracted by its demagogic propaganda. In the final stages of the election, *The Times* advised its readers to vote

Liberal, while *The Economist* recommended voting Labor.

All this created a measure of confusion in the electorate, which was determined on a change from the Tories. The result was the smaller total poll compared with 1959, the large vote for the Liberals, no increase in the Labor vote and Labor's extremely narrow majority.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT

In forming his government, Harold Wilson has brought together several different trends in the Labor Party, but the key posts are in the hands of the Right-wing: Foreign Secretary (Gordon Walker); Minister for Economic Affairs (George Brown); Chancellor of the Exchequer (James Callaghan); Defense (Denis Healey); Labor (Ray Gunter); Home Office (Sir Frank Soskice). On the other hand, the Minister of Technology is Frank Cousins who was an opponent of the wage freeze when he was General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and whose outlook on foreign affairs was progressive; there are also other Ministers who have been associated with the Left.

But the key posts are in the hands of the Right, any big changes in policy will require considerable struggle.

There are many Left-wingers among the Members of Parliament elected for the first time—but the position of the Left has been weakened by the reluctance of leading Lefts to fight within the Labor Party for a radical change of policy before the election.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

At its first Executive Committee meeting after the General Election, our Party adopted its general political standpoint in relation to the Labor Government.

We stated that the big thing for every Labor supporter, every Communist, every progressive, is to work in such a way that the Tories are not allowed to stage a come-back, so that the next General Election, whenever it comes, results in a still greater anti-Tory defeat.

The Communist Party, we declared, wants the Labor Government to survive and to win victories of the people against the monopolists and the landlords. It will support any progressive measures or steps taken by the government; any criticism by us will aim to strengthen the government and increase its support among the people.

Our test will be what is good for the working class and the mass of the people, and what is bad for the Tories and the millionaires.

Everything depends on policy and struggle. The government will gain the support of the mass of the people to the extent it fights the monopolists and advances radical policies. Furthermore the Party will do all in its power to advance Left unity in the labor movement.

This is not, of course, a situation which can be handled by formulas alone. The key is our reaction to each situation; to advance our practical and radical policies and develop a mass movement around them.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Within weeks the Labor government were in the throes of an acute financial crisis resulting from the alarming deficit in Britain's balance of payments likely to reach £800 millions in 1964.

This acute balance of payments deficit is the result of the deep-rooted crisis in British imperialism which has plagued every successive British government since 1945.

Traditionally, British imperialism had a big imports surplus in its balance of payments, paid for by its so-called invisible exports (income from City investments abroad, insurance and shipping earnings, etc.). Since 1945, British monopoly capitalism has tried simultaneously to pursue several mutually contradictory ends. Its key strategy has been to maintain the City as an international finance capital center and sterling as an international currency, to maintain the export of capital (now running at £400 millions a year), to prac-

tise neo-colonialism and maintain its colonial wars and NATO obligations. At the same time it has sought to be a nuclear power, develop British industry, encourage American investment, and has been faced with the growing popular pressure to expand the social services.

The result has been acute economic strain, virtual stagnation in production, a huge military bill of £2,200 millions a year, military expenditure abroad of £350 millions a year, and lagging social services.

All this exploded in the crisis of confidence and a run on the £ sterling.

During the election the Communist Party continually warned the country about this impending crisis and the radical measures needed to solve it, particularly the slashing of military expenditure abroad, the limiting of capital exports and far-reaching action against the monopolies.

Even the big business journals were warning of the seriousness of the position.

The *Financial Times* during the election wrote:

"If there had been no Government expenditure abroad, in fact, we should have been in comfortable surplus on current account and would be virtually in balance overall. Government current expenditure, in particular — chiefly military expenditure and economic and other kinds of foreign grant—rose by two-thirds, or £150 million a year, between 1959 and 1963 and has risen another 16 per cent in the first half of 1964. It is time perhaps that we, like the U.S., learned to cut our coat according to our cloth."

In an editorial on November 18, 1964, *The Times* said:

"A growing part of Government spending is overseas . . . The encroachment of this spending on the payments balance over the past ten years has been persistent and dangerous. In 1952 Government spending abroad totalled £74 millions net; this year it is running at close on £500 millions."

(Economic aid to underdeveloped countries accounts for part of the increase, and this is likely to rise further.)

"That, however, makes it more than ever necessary to review overseas military spending. This alone is now costing £350 millions a year . . ."

And in connection with the export of capital, *The Financial Times* on November 13, 1964, wrote that capital exports will have accounted for nearly half this year's £800 million deficit on the balance of payments, and that control of capital movements will have to be considered. "Any move here would be regarded most seriously by the government, since restraint on capital would cause further

political offence. Controls are therefore likely only as a last resort."

It is difficult to imagine that the government did not know the full seriousness of the position. On the other hand, the Labor leaders had fought the election with the promise of a program of social reforms.

The government's program was announced in the "Queen's Speech" on November 3. It promised the nationalization of Steel, a Crown Lands Commission (to bring down the price of land), the Rent Act was to be repealed, prescription charges to be removed, and a number of other measures.

The first emergency budget increased pensions and social benefits. But the new benefits will not operate till March 1965. The national insurance stamp paid by the worker, is to go up 2s. a week, petrol tax and income tax were increased. As part of the pressure to get the working class and the trade unions to accept an "incomes policy" (that is, wage restraint) the Chancellor announced a new Corporation Tax and a new Capital Gains Tax would be considered next April.

But at the same time we had the general assurance to the big monopolies that Labor will work in partnership with them: Callaghan's reassurance to the City; Jay's (the Trade Minister) statement that they have no bias against private business, that profits earned are the sign of a healthy economy; and Brown's statement that "We want private enterprise to flourish."

The first steps taken by the government to handle the balance of payments deficit were small, traditional, and in the event, ineffective.

It borrowed large sums from foreign banks and from the International Monetary Fund, on conditions which have not been revealed, but which will undoubtedly tie Britain more closely to United States policy. As one of the MPs pressing for the higher old age pension now, observed: "It is improper for the government to prove its financial respectability to the international bankers and the IMF by denying the means of livelihood to the old age pensioners." But it is certain that economy on the social services will not be the only condition of the loans; and in any case they will have to be repaid.

Apart from borrowing abroad to meet the urgent needs of the balance of payments, the government has imposed a 15 per cent additional duty on imports of manufacturers, in the hope of checking these imports and reducing the gap between imports and exports. This measure has caused great opposition abroad, especially from the members of the European Free Trade Association; if the additional duty

continues it will probably meet with reprisals against imports from Britain.

A small subsidy on British exports is also being given by the government, but it is too small to make much difference and in any case it will be many months before it can have any effect.

Despite all this, the international pressure on the £ increased, and on November 23, the government decided to raise the Bank Rate (which affects interest on all internal loans) from five, to the crisis rate of seven per cent, in the hope of pulling back to London foreign money which was being withdrawn. The effect of this was partial and temporary, and pressure on the £ continued.

Finally, the Bank of England appealed to the Americans and others, and overnight the emergency loan of three thousand million dollars was made available by the central banks of eleven countries to prop up the £.

It might be asked why international finance capital was willing to come to the rescue of the Labor Government in its first weeks. The reason is because the collapse of the £ could have started a disastrous chain reaction in the entire Western capitalist financial system. As *The Times* commented editorially, (November 27, 1964):

"The reaction of the official monetary world has been instant. (To the crisis in the £—J.G.) The degree of interdependence in monetary affairs was recognized at once, for the pound could easily drag down the monetary system with it."

Alistair Cooke, the famous American correspondent of the *Guardian* wrote (November 27, 1964) from New York in his article *How the Pound was saved*:

"It was thoroughly understood here that this system (of Western financial cooperation in times of crisis—J.G.), the mainspring of the larger system created at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944, was uniquely imperilled. If it failed to save the pound from devaluation, the highest officials here believe that world trade might have suffered a trauma as bad as anything since 1931."

Two things will be abundantly clear, however. The international loans have solved nothing fundamentally, the basic problems of the crisis remain. Secondly, the international financial institutions and particularly the United States have established a financial stranglehold on Britain which they will use to influence and restrict British policy.

Recognizing this, the Political Committee of the Communist Party has issued an urgent public call to the working class and Labor movement with a real alternative plan to save Britain.

Big business at home and abroad, it said, is pressing the Labor Government to abandon the program on which it was elected. The people must enter the struggle to defend their living standards, to compel the government not only to carry out its program, but to take all measures necessary for the genuine defense of Britain.

Pointing out the real reasons for the crisis, the call shows that the Tories have sought to take advantage of this crisis, for which their government bears the main responsibility, to attack the social service measures of the Labor Government, and have brought pressure to slow down the payment of pensions increases.

Now that the crisis has exploded, powerful forces within their ranks have striven to make matters worse. These include not only foreign speculators, but great British capitalist firms. All sections of the Labor movement, the Party declared, must warn these groups that monopolist and financial pressure to undermine the government will not be tolerated. Instead of resisting this pressure, however, the government has tended to surrender to it on pensions. The import surcharge, the seven per cent bank rate and the other measures will force prices up. Now there is the promise that the new Corporation Tax and Capital Gains Tax will not cut into profits. In return for the huge international loan the government has received, it will be subjected to drastic interference with its policy.

It will be totally unable to save Britain and solve the crisis in the interests of the people unless it breaks sharply with past Tory policies and fights against international financial pressure.

A new policy to save Britain is needed now, and the Party made this appeal:

"From every factory, trade union branch, political organization, the cry must go out for the Labor movement to fight back.

- The Government should declare its formal decision to go ahead with its program at full speed.

- It must make clear that it will not tolerate building societies, hire purchase groups, or any other bodies increasing their interest rates to the general public.

- It must make clear its intention to engage in drastic cuts in military expenditure, especially military expenditure abroad without delay. Cut out the Polaris submarines. No MLF.

- It should tell the great monopolies and near-monopolies in industry and in retail trade that it will not allow them to push up prices, using the crisis as an excuse.

- It should strengthen foreign exchange

controls, limit the export of capital and thus make speculation against the pound much more difficult.

- It must drive for the modernization of British industry and trade on the basis of increasing state control and extending nationalization, and in the first instance, the nationalization of steel.

- The "brush fire" wars in the Arabian Peninsula and against Malaysia should be abandoned. They are a running sore, discrediting Britain and undermining the economy.

- The so-called "incomes policy" which can only help big business against the people and which meets strong opposition among the workers, should be dropped."

Our case is that the movement can only be united on the basis of a policy which confronts and defeats the monopolist pressure and aims to free Britain from the international financial straight-jacket, which constricts political and economic policy.

"We are sure," the Party concluded, "that the great majority of the British people, disgusted with the intrigues and treacheries of recent days, will on this basis, rally to support the government if it stands firm for a policy to secure the complete economic and political independence of Britain, essential to social advance and the peace of the world."

THE KEY STRUGGLE: LABOR'S "INCOMES POLICY"

A key question in this connection is the developing struggle around the so-called "incomes policy." In its policy statements and its electoral program, the Labor Party placed its hopes of financial stability and of being able to finance its social proposals on a quick and steady expansion of industrial production and of exports, on the basis of planning the economy and modernizing British industry.

It was with this object that it proclaimed a "partnership" with the big monopolies in making British industry more efficient, developing automation and other technological advances. This "partnership" involved in the first place some form of wage restraint which would help the monopolies accumulate more profits for investment in modernization.

Therefore "wage restraint," and "incomes policy" or "the planned growth of incomes" has been an integral part of Labor's policy, and the Labor Government is striving to get the agreement of the trade unions to some form of wage restraint. Since the reply of the trade unions has been that any restraint must apply to all forms of income, to profits as well as wages and salaries, the employers, too, have been brought into the discussions, al-

though no one has discovered any means of restricting profits if wages are held down, since wages restraint automatically increases profits.

The Right-wing trade union leaders support the proposals for restraining wages, but are compelled by their members to demand guarantees that profits, dividends and prices will also be restrained. Some formula is therefore to be found which, although effective in regard to wages and salaries, will pretend also to limit profits.

But even if a formal agreement on these lines is reached between the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the employers' organizations and the government, it is certain that the trade union members, and in turn their trade unions, will not abandon the struggle for higher wages.

The Communist Party is completely opposed to any form of wage restraint in an economy dominated by the monopolies; we consider that it would conflict with the interests of the workers, of the economy, and of the country as a whole.

We are all for the modernization of British industry, but not as a means of increased monopoly exploitation and redundancy. We want it to benefit the people and bring a shorter working week.

We consider that profits should be dealt with by an increased profits tax, an effective tax on capital gains, and a one per cent tax on wealth.

As against Labor's concept of "partnership" with the monopolies, we warn the Labor movement that the development of modernization and automation under the monopolies will create acute social problems, and we urge immediate measures against the monopolies to restrict their expansion and to keep down prices.

The struggle for higher wages, as the immediate fight against the monopolies, is important for the development of the movement for a fundamental change in Labor's policy.

THE SOCIAL MEASURES

Labor's electoral program included a number of proposals for the improvement of the social services, which have been widely demanded by the people.

As we have already noted, Labor has promised to repeal the Tory Government's Rent Act, which abolished rent control for large numbers of dwellings and gave landlords the right to evict tenants. The Labor Government is bringing in legislation to stop these evictions, and also to restore control of rent.

The Labor Government has also promised

to end some of the Health Service charges, and to make a number of important improvements in the field of education.

These and other proposals for the improvement of the social services are welcomed by all progressives and fully supported by the Communist Party. But the real question is in what form they will be put into effect.

Labor counted on the gradual fulfillment of its electoral pledges in relation to the social services as and when the projected four per cent annual rise in production provided the necessary funds. But during 1964, production has been stagnant and in view of the balance of payments problem and the measures taken in the attempt to solve it, as well as monopoly control over industry, the four per cent annual rise in production seems unlikely to be realized, and Labor's social program will in all probability be cut back or postponed, unless there is a radical change in other aspects of Labor's policy. But it is the social program that has won most of the support for Labor.

In addition it is clear that there will be the greatest pressure from the international bankers, the Tories and the British monopolies to hold up the implementation of the more important social promises.

An illustration of this was the welcome struggle of the progressive Labor MPs to get the payment of the increased pensions now instead of waiting for March 1965. They held a meeting which pressed for an early date for the increase, rejecting the administrative difficulties that were advanced to justify the delay. Eventually, the government decided not to make the date earlier, and at a second meeting with the MPs gave the reason that it would involve heavy expenditure which would affect adversely the international position of the £.

Some of the MPs decided to present a petition to the Prime Minister further pressing the need for early payment of the increased pensions. The whole incident shows the feeling, especially among the new Labor MPs, against government excuses to delay the carrying out of its electoral promises for the social services, and linking the delay with wider questions.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE

The Queen's Speech, outlining the Labor Government's intentions, stressed its support of the basic concept of the Atlantic Alliance, and promised that Britain would continue to play its full part in NATO "and in other organizations for collective defense." Previously, Harold Wilson has repeatedly expressed his opposition to the multilateral force pro-

posal through which West Germany would get its hands on nuclear weapons; but the Queen's Speech promised "constructive proposals for renewing the interdependence of the Atlantic Alliance in relation to nuclear weapons." This foreshadowed abandonment of the objection to West German participation in principle, and acceptance of the United States plan for the MLF, but in a wider form.

The review of defense expenditure was promised, to ensure that Britain's armed forces "are able to discharge their many tasks overseas with the greatest effectiveness and economy." This covers Labor's defense policy of integrating Britain's "nuclear deterrent" in an Atlantic force and using the saving to finance an expansion of the armed forces for colonial wars, especially in the Middle East and Malaysia, with their British monopoly interests in oil, rubber and tin. The Labor Government's attitude to the national liberation struggle has already been shown in their allowing the use of Ascension Island for the United States-Belgian attack on the Stanleyville government in the Congo (where also there are big British monopoly interests).

It is too early as yet to say whether some of Harold Wilson's earlier statements on foreign policy—such as on *de facto* recognition of the German Democratic Republic, disengagement in Europe and nuclear free zones—still hold good: the main progressive step so far taken has been the prohibition of the export of arms to South Africa, although this has been weakened by the decision to fulfil existing orders for aircraft.

But the general line of support for NATO and the American alliance, together with Britain's financial dependence on the USA, and the defense of Britain's imperialist interests, make pressure from the mass movement the key question if real progress is to be made in foreign affairs.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

As already stated, the Communist Party wants the Labor Government to succeed and to make sure of a resounding defeat for the Tories at the next General Election. But we are convinced—and what has happened in the few weeks since Harold Wilson formed his government has strengthened our conviction—that without radical changes in both foreign and home policy, the government will

be unable to carry out its program of expanding industrial production and exports and making an all-round advance in the social services. This can only lead to a growing feeling of frustration among its supporters and the weakening of the goodwill that was undoubtedly widespread when the government took over from the Tories.

It is therefore of the greatest importance to develop the mass movement of struggle for the interests of the people against the monopolies and against wrong policies and the pressure of the monopolies and the international bankers. It is only the counter-pressure of the working class and progressives that can ensure policy changes in the interests of the people and of the government itself.

The Communist Party sets itself the task of helping to develop this mass movement of struggle on the key issues as they arise, as for example against the wage freeze in any form and for higher wages and salaries already demanded by many sections of working people.

In the development of the movement, it is essential to explain the reasons for our policy and work with the Lefts in the Labor Party and trade unions, many of whom are already sharing our views on the Labor Government and its future.

We have to make it clear that we are not trying to press on the mass movement and on the government our full socialist program, but the radical program which is urgently required to ensure the stability of the Labor Government and the defeat of Tory and reactionary attempts, national and international, to overthrow it.

The Communist Party is well aware of the difficulties with which the Labor Government is faced. Some of these have been due to the legacy of the Tory Government, but underlying these is the general crisis of British imperialism. It is for this reason that policies based on British imperialism cannot bring any solution to the difficulties facing the government and the people of Britain.

In the present situation, the role of the Communist Party is of key importance. The defeat of the Tories and return of the Labor Government was the result of popular dissatisfaction, going far beyond working class ranks. The Communist Party will increase its struggle for the real alternative policy which can mobilize the people to carry their victory forward and ensure that their hopes will be fulfilled.

Some urgent problems of the international Communist movement

FRANCOIS BILLOUX

AN EXAMINATION OF THE urgent problems confronting the international Communist movement makes it abundantly clear that the need for cohesion, for unity of will and action among the Communists of all countries, is now greater than ever. For the Communist movement will be able to cope with its tasks only if it is guided by a common strategy enabling each Party to pursue, in conformity with the concrete conditions in which it functions, a genuinely national policy which simultaneously would be a contribution to the world movement as a whole.

We believe that discussion of these problems by all the Communist and Workers' parties, besides helping each of the parties carry out its national and international tasks, would be useful to the movement as a whole and hence in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism.

Our time, the main content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, is the time of socialist and national-liberation revolutions. The socialist world system has become the decisive factor in the evolution of human society. The blows delivered at imperialism by the October Revolution of 1917 and later by the rise of the socialist world system gave a powerful impetus to the rapid development and success of the national-liberation movement and accelerated the growth of the working-class

and democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

The character of the epoch is, then, determined by the leading role played by the working class, in particular the working class of the socialist countries, even if this role is not directly visible in one or another event taking place in the world.

Whether one recognizes it or not, the fact is that the October Revolution in Russia radically changed the course of world development. Marking the onset of the general crisis of capitalism, it had far-reaching repercussions in the world working-class movement and evoked immense enthusiasm; it demonstrated the need to take a road different from that of the Second International, and to a great extent it helped to break through the barriers impeding the national-liberation movement.

With the birth of the first socialist state a new contradiction emerged—the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. With the rise of the socialist world system this contradiction acquired decisive importance. This, far from tending to erase the other contradictions, imparted a new acuteness to them—to the contradiction between the working class and all other victims of capitalism, on the one hand, and the capitalist system, on the other; the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, and the contradictions between the capitalist

countries themselves, whose development, confined to steadily shrinking spatial bounds, continues to be uneven.

The idea that the working class by emancipating itself emancipates also all other classes and social strata from every form of exploitation at home and facilitates the liberation of all other oppressed peoples has been cogently confirmed by the developments of the past 47 years. All the liberation movements in our time bear testimony to this.

The Communists take this into account in their activities. The leading role which the working class is destined to play and which it is already playing in the evolution of society places a great responsibility on the international Communist movement, the enlightened and organized vanguard of the working class.

All the more is this so since social evolution is not a matter of advancing unerringly in a straight line to the ultimate goal. Such a schematic view of progress stemming from subjectivism can only lead to bitter disappointment. The universal nature of the liberation movement of the working class and oppressed peoples implies an unprecedented diversity and complexity of aspects. The important thing is, then, that each particular movement should be aided and supported by the movement as a whole, and vice versa.

The contradictions and difficulties of imperialism, now at a new phase of its general crisis, may impel it to desperate acts of aggression unless all the forces of peace, and especially the socialist countries, cement their unity in order to curb it and compel it to accept peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

In our time the principle of proletarian internationalism is acquiring a new and deeper meaning. Today it implies the solidarity of all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. Hence the Leninist slogan: "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!"

Thus the role and tasks of the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries in the overall progress of humanity are steadily growing together with the successes in the struggle against capitalism. Clearly, then, the unity of all the forces of the emancipation movement, and in particular of all the vanguard detachments of the world working class, is imperative for the solution of the problems facing humanity as a whole—the problem of peace, the problems confronting each national contingent of the working-class movement, the problems of national independence, democracy and social progress.

The assessment made and the line charted in the Moscow documents of 1957 and 1960

have been confirmed by the events of recent years. This assessment and line are basically valid to this day. For the same reason the decisions of the Twentieth, Twenty-First and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU, which rest on the same foundation as the documents of the international Communist and Workers' movement, have not lost their universal validity.

In particular the tendency of the forces of socialism to prevail over the forces of imperialism on the world arena, and of the forces of peace to outweigh the forces of war, has been incontrovertibly corroborated.

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party declared in October 1963:

"The three great solidary currents of the international revolutionary process—the community of socialist states, the national-liberation movement, and the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries—are forcing imperialism to retreat again and again."

Needless to say, as we have pointed out above, this does not imply that development proceeds in a straight line without snags. And while the "snags" should not be ignored or underestimated, the important thing is the overall tendency—the retreat of imperialism again and again.

Any underestimation of the obstacles encountered in one or another area by the three main currents of the revolutionary movement, any failure to take the proper action to deal with the obstacles can only make them more difficult to overcome for the sector in question as well as for the entire movement.

Conversely, overestimation of the difficulties may disorientate people as regards the concrete actions needed to overcome them, and tendencies may arise in some particular sector to induce the movement as a whole to follow suit instead of adhering to its general line.

Proletarian internationalism presupposes the effective solidarity of all in the common interest, but it also makes it incumbent on each contingent to strive to hold its own sector of the front under all circumstances, favorable and unfavorable, without seeking to induce other contingents, and still less the movement as a whole, to follow its own pattern, for in the long run this would only harm the movement as a whole as well as the sector in question.

The achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries exert a decisive influence on world development. The greater these achievements, the more people in the capitalist and newly-free countries

come to realize that socialism alone offers the solution to the great problems facing society in general and each nation in particular.

It is this that Comrade Waldeck Rochet, speaking at a meeting of our Central Committee on November 6, had in mind when he said:

"Owing to the prominent place occupied by the Soviet Union in the world political arena, the decisions taken independently by the CPSU are of the utmost importance also for the Communists and the peoples of the whole world."

The Central Committee resolution on the report submitted by Comrade Georges Marchais on behalf of a French Party delegation which went to Moscow for talks with the Central Committee of the CPSU likewise states:

"In the course of the exchange of views and information between the two parties the representatives of the French Communist Party pointed out that it was natural for the Communists and the people of France to evince interest in the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

It goes without saying that the work done by the CPSU in carrying out the decisions of the Twentieth, Twenty-First and Twenty-Second congresses concerning the building of the material and technological base of communism and the promotion of democracy in the Communist Party and the Soviet state, and also its concern for observance of the Leninist principles of Party life, in particular as regards collective leadership, are bound to be helpful to the entire Communist movement and, in a broader sense, to the democratic and peace-loving forces of the world.

The achievements of the national-liberation movement, adding steadily to its prestige, are another important contribution to the common anti-imperialist struggle.

The consolidation of the new countries and the full flowering of their national independence largely depend on their economic development. Hence it is natural that the socialist countries should attach importance to this aspect of their progress.

It is sometimes debated whether there is such a thing as "disinterested aid." The truth is that all aid is prompted by self-interest. The crux of the matter, however, is what kind of "self-interest" is in question.

It is in the nature of capitalism that whatever aid it renders is primarily designed to promote its own narrow interests. When it has to relinquish the old colonialist methods, which it never does except under compulsion, it seeks to achieve its ends by other means

which have come to be described by the generic term neo-colonialism. Imperialism does not always find it easy to carry out its policy, and the present balance of forces can compel it to grant, if not fair, then at least less unfair, terms to the new countries.

The relations of the socialist world with these countries are of an entirely different order. Although difficulties may be encountered here and there, mostly because of lack of experience, the main thing is that the aid rendered by the socialist countries is in the interests of both giver and recipient, which cannot be measured only in terms of the volume of goods exchanged. Unlike the imperialist countries, the socialist states are objectively interested in promoting the economy of the new countries, for the more rapidly the latter develop and the fuller their national independence, the greater the weight of the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces generally.

On the other hand, the new countries, as can be seen from the example of Algeria, which has chosen the socialist road, are contributing new experience, which, although stemming from their specific conditions, should be studied and utilized—not formally copied—by other countries fighting for national liberation as well as by our entire movement. In this way the national-liberation movement, as one of the currents of the world revolutionary process, helps to enrich Marxism-Leninism, for which scientific assimilation of new, constantly emerging experience is an intrinsic necessity.

The same can be said also of the struggle of the working class and all other progressive forces in the capitalist countries, which is unquestionably on the upgrade. For instance, the strike movement has spread to most of the six Common Market countries and to Spain. Definite achievements have been registered in building working-class unity and in welding the democratic and anti-monopoly forces.

In France, although we have not yet solved all our difficulties, much headway has been made since 1958 when the Communist Party was to all intents and purposes the only party opposed to one-man rule. From the standpoint of France we can say that if the assessments of the 1957 and 1960 meetings were correct at that time—and we hold that they were—they are all the more valid today when the situation has taken a favorable turn in the sense that there is mounting popular opposition to the regime representing the growing power of the monopolies. In Spain no small achievements have been registered in the struggle against the Franco regime,

and in a number of other countries recent elections have produced unquestionably positive results: the dictatorship was abolished in Greece, and the Communist vote rose in Luxembourg, Belgium, Sweden, Finland and Italy. In view of the situation in Britain and Federal Germany, the British Labor victory and the successes of the German Social Democratic Party should also be regarded in a positive light. The same can be said of the defeat of Goldwater in the USA, in which the anti-segregation movement sweeping that country played its part.

The 81-Party meeting of 1960 pointed out that while "the problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time," the possibility now exists of averting war, and that there is no more urgent task than the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. This indeed is one of the main points at issue which the comrades in the leadership of the Communist Party of China who in effect assail the Communist and Workers' parties for remaining true not only in words but in deeds to the assessment which the Chinese comrades themselves endorsed in 1960.

The forces of democracy and peace everywhere have made further headway in the struggle against war preparations and imperialist intrigues. This is evident in both the signing of the Moscow partial test-ban treaty and the peaceful settlement of the Caribbean crisis.

Needless to say, the nature of imperialism has not changed. The day-to-day realities of our time will not allow us to entertain any such absurd notion. And just because we cannot count on the good will of the imperialists it is imperative to intensify the struggle for peace.

In recent years new forces have come out for disarmament, against the arms drive and for the settlement of international issues by negotiation. In this connection mention should be made of the last congress of the Socialist International, where many prominent Socialists spoke up for disarmament. The Encyclical of Pope John XXIII also testified to the possibilities existing for the Christian masses to join the struggle for peace.

The striving for peace was manifest also in such major international events as the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, the World Congress of Women, and the World Youth Forum.

Although the danger of war has not disappeared inasmuch as war remains a corollary of imperialism, the difficulties confronting imperialism are steadily growing due to the deepening of its general crisis. This is

evident, for instance, in connection with the provocations in Southeast Asia in general and South Vietnam in particular. In South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists find the ground burning under their feet, and their desperate efforts to retain a foothold are only undermining their already negligible influence in their country, earning them the loathing of all the peoples of Southeast Asia and causing anxiety even among some of the imperialist partners of the USA.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are steadily growing. This can be seen also from the behavior of de Gaulle, although in the given instance the effect should not be confused with the cause.

Speaking about the position of de Gaulle in Southeast Asia at a meeting of our Central Committee in March 1964, Maurice Thorez said:

"It should be noted that although we resolutely oppose one-man rule, we do not take a stand *a priori* against one or another measure the regime may undertake prompted by transient considerations or the growth of imperialist contradictions within and outside the country."

De Gaulle, as the spokesman of the big French monopolies, unquestionably is out to serve their interests. This explains the present state of French-Federal German relations. The French government counted on having the decisive say in the Paris-Bonn axis, but its hopes were disappointed. Instead, the West German revenge-seekers have used the axis to appropriate the lion's share of the Common Market, to revive German militarism and to reach out for nuclear weapons, as they are doing now in connection with the NATO multilateral nuclear force scheme.

Although we take a positive view of those moves on the part of de Gaulle which tend to promote peace (and hence accord with the French national interest), we are not giving up the fight against one-man rule. The foreign policy of the regime (not to speak of the pernicious consequences of its home policy) continues to be pivoted mainly on possession of nuclear weapons. In other words, the Gaullist regime is committed to nuclear armament. Moreover, despite a certain deterioration in relations with the West German imperialists, the military agreement between France and Federal Germany remains in force.

In NATO and in the Common Market, too, things are not going smoothly. Even those to whom the Common Market once seemed to be an idyllic and irreversible process are now being forced to change their mind. The Common Market is more and more revealing

itself in its true colors as an attempt by the capitalists to reach agreement among themselves, but, as ever, at someone else's expense—at the expense of the working class of their own countries or the peoples of weaker countries. And this is fraught with the danger that the very conflicts which some people thought were a matter of the past might break out again and perhaps in an even more acute form.

Although the Communist Party of a country involved in the Common Market such as ours must take its existence into account in order to combat its consequences, it would be a mistake to hinge Party policy on the assumption that the Common Market represents an irreversible process. The same applies to the entire Little Europe set-up.

This was pointed out by the Sixteenth Congress of our Party, at which Maurice Thorez said that the roots of opportunism can be traced to "underestimation of the forces of the working class and the people and overestimation of the forces of the enemy, a tendency to yield to enemy pressure and enter into political deals."

It is all the more imperative to bear this in mind in view of the possibility, under certain conditions, of a peaceful transition to socialism. The likelihood of this is in direct proportion to the strength of the revolutionary movement on the national and international planes.

On the national plane one of the prerequisites is durable unity between the social sections concerned and, consequently, with the parties which consider themselves working-class parties and with all other true representatives of the popular forces. In France this means primarily unity between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party (SFIO). Contrary to what some people may think, agreement between the two is of the utmost importance, and we therefore have always, even at the most difficult moments, done our best to ensure joint action between the Communists and Socialists.

Since 1960 significant changes have taken place in all sectors of the revolutionary movement. As a rule these changes have advanced the movement and worked against the imperialists, even though the progress has not always been smooth and even. Any struggle, and all the more so joint struggle, is bound to be attended by weaknesses, but this does not detract from the overall tendency.

The changes since 1960 stem from earlier developments in the movement as a whole and in each of its sectors, and should be thoroughly examined in order to ensure the

consistent implementation of decisions based upon the principles elaborated in 1960. Only by proceeding from such an analysis is it possible to strengthen the unity of aim and action among all contingents of the Communist and working-class movement.

To avoid the danger of seeing only some of the aspects of our common problems it is essential to examine and assess all our experience in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

This does not mean that bilateral or regional meetings between parties are pointless. Such meetings should be held whenever necessary, provided, however, that they do not undertake to discuss everything in general and nothing in particular. They can serve as an avenue for exchange of opinion with a view to common, agreed actions.

In recent years our Party has sponsored or participated in numerous meetings of this kind. One of them, in the spring of 1964, was with the Vietnamese Working People's Party. This meeting was useful for both parties and accorded with their joint and separate responsibilities in Southeast Asia. Recently our representatives had fruitful talks with the Algerian National Liberation Front in the interests of both Algeria and France. The Communist parties of the six Common Market countries could also meet again to discuss concrete issues.

But while it is useful for parties experiencing difficulties of the same kind or confronted with similar problems to get together or to take up particular economic, political or ideological tasks, meetings held on a regional basis are not in a position to make complete and hence correct analyses or conclusively determine the general line of action. Conferences of this kind should always have a definite limited purpose with a view to concrete action so as to avoid breaking up the general movement into "parochial" sectors to the detriment of the sector in question and the movement as a whole.

Therefore, while stressing that "for patriotic reasons which cannot be divorced from proletarian internationalism, the French Communists will steadfastly work for the unity of the world Communist movement as the guarantee of the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world," the Seventeenth Congress of our Party declared for the "convocation in the near future of a conference of all the Communist and Workers' parties."

The view voiced by the Political Bureau in its report to the meeting of the Central Committee in October 1964 was fully endorsed:

"Although the need for a conference has become more urgent in view of the position taken by the leaders of the Chinese Party and of their disruptive activities, it is obviously indispensable, especially in view of the fact that four years have passed since the previous meeting."

As regards the present difficulties in our movement, we do not believe that they in any way cast a reflection on it. In reality they represent growing pains stemming from the successes registered since the Second World War. For the movement has attracted also representatives of the non-proletarian sections who tend to be influenced by ideologies alien to the politically conscious vanguard of the working class. Only mastery of scientific socialism will make it possible completely to assimilate the new influx and to make full use of the wealth of new experience and new possibilities.

Proceeding from this the Central Committee pointed out in its resolution of October 10, 1964: "Primarily due to the rapid progress of the international revolutionary movement and the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, new problems have arisen, such as the sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions; building unity between the Communists and the Socialists and rallying the anti-monopoly forces; problems relating to the transition to socialism in the developed capitalist countries, the relationship between democracy and socialism, and plurality of parties; problems pertaining to the development of the newly-free countries; extirpation of the survivals of colonialism, etc."

An international meeting would make it possible thoroughly to examine the situation as a whole as well as its separate aspects, and effectively to combat the two dangers constantly threatening the Communist movement: sectarianism and dogmatism, now the main danger, and opportunism, which is continuously making itself felt.

The object of the meeting should not be the expulsion or "excommunication" from the international Communist movement of any of its sections. On the contrary, it should help to cement the union of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces against imperialism, and this presupposes joint as-

essment of the situation, taking into account all the changes since 1960 while reaffirming the basic principles which were jointly laid down at that time.

As we see it, the meeting should not aim at establishing a centralized international organization, or an organization consisting of a number of branches or sections uniting the parties along territorial lines, according to continents or social systems.

Our Party firmly adheres to the principle set forth in the 1960 Statement that in our movement there can be neither "dominant" nor "subordinate" parties. On the basis of our own experience we hold that the independence of the parties is a source of strength and a stimulus to initiative benefiting the entire movement.

The various contingents of the world Communist movement can develop most effectively and make their weightiest contribution to the common cause only if they take into account the specific economic, political, ideological and cultural features of their respective peoples and nations.

At the same time the resolution of our Central Committee stresses: "Only by drawing on the collective experience of the international Communist movement, by observing the principles of our teaching and adhering to its analytic method, can the correct general line be worked out as regards the fundamental issues common to the entire movement and affecting the whole of mankind."

In our opinion, the basic task of the coming meeting should be to examine in this spirit the changes that have taken place since 1960 in the socialist camp, in each of the countries belonging to this camp and in their relations with one another, as well as in the Asian, African and Latin American countries and in the capitalist world in general and the principal imperialist countries in particular.

Such a joint examination of the situation and the lessons of the past would make it possible to chart a common line which would help to cement the solidarity of the world Communist movement and all of its sections in their efforts to ensure the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

The nature of neo-colonialism

FUAD NASSAR

ALTHOUGH THE OLD COLONIAL system and neo-colonialism are identical in nature and there is no dividing line between them, they nevertheless are two different things each with its specific aims and distinctive features stemming from the international situation and the changes that have taken place in the economic and political structure of imperialism. In the period preceding the First World War, the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state, the nature and aims of the old colonial system were mainly determined by two factors: first, the strength of world imperialism, the undivided domination of capitalism as a world system exerting the decisive influence on economic as well as international relations, and, second, the ruthless struggle between imperialist powers and monopoly associations for the conquest of new territories, the repartitioning of colonies and their exploitation as sources of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods.

The fact that then too there were semi-independent and politically completely independent countries was due not to the weakness of imperialism or the disintegration of its colonial system but rather to its strength and the rivalry between imperialist powers. "Finance capital," Lenin wrote, "is such a great, it may be said, such a decisive force in all economic and in all international relations that it is capable of subjecting and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence. . . ."

This thesis is applicable also to U.S. policy towards Latin America and to the policy pursued by the imperialists generally vis-à-vis

all the colonial and semi-colonial countries between the two world wars, a policy bearing a strong resemblance to present-day neo-colonialism. The strength of U.S. imperialism and its ruthless struggle against other imperialist powers, especially Britain, were then decisive in shaping U.S. colonialist policy in Latin America.

But this does not mean that all was quiet either in the frontline positions held by imperialism or in its hinterland, that nothing disturbed the imperialist powers except their own rivalries. At that time, too, the international working class and its parties fought against the domination of finance capital and its policy of annexation and aggression. The colonial peoples offered stubborn resistance to imperialist expansionism. The economic, political, class and national contradictions of world imperialism were aggravated to the extreme.

The October Revolution in Russia made a breach in the world capitalist system. The first stage of the general crisis of capitalism set in. And this also marked the onset of the crisis and disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism.

In the inter-war years when the world's first socialist state gained strength and its influence steadily grew, the working class and national-liberation movements forged ahead, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial front took shape and was consolidated on an international scale; the general crisis of capitalism deepened; imperialism and its colonial system grew relatively weaker and the contradictions between the imperialist powers

took sharper forms; embryonic forms of neo-colonialism began to emerge. The traditional colonial military campaigns and violent suppression of the oppressed peoples began to be combined with a certain expansion of the social basis of colonial rule by providing inducements to the upper strata of the local bourgeoisie to collaborate with the colonial authorities, by "granting" a formal political independence in some countries in Asia and Africa.

As a result of the victory of democracy over fascism in the Second World War and the breaking away from the capitalist world system of a number of countries in Europe and Asia, imperialism was further weakened, while socialism gained in strength and grew into a world system exerting an increasingly decisive influence on social development. The crisis of the colonial system led to the disintegration of the latter. The result was a powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement, which developed into a great revolutionary front undermining world imperialism.

In these circumstances neo-colonialism became the dominant trend in the colonial policy of the imperialist powers, and especially of the USA and West Germany. But its genesis is no longer associated with the strength of imperialism or the contradictions between imperialist powers and blocs; above all it is an outgrowth of our time, the main content of which is the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.

Neo-colonialist policy reflects the weakness of imperialism, the inability to order its relations with the former colonies and dependencies by naked force alone as before; it is the result of changes in the socio-economic structure of imperialism itself, its metamorphosis into state-monopoly capitalism which combines the forces of the monopolies and the state in a single mechanism designed to enrich the monopolies, suppress the working-class and national-liberation movements, save the capitalist system and help unleash aggressive wars. Without state-monopoly capitalism the imperialist powers could hardly implement, either singly or collectively (as, for instance, through agencies such as the European Common Market), neo-colonialist policies.

The aims of neo-colonialism, while primarily economic, extend to all other spheres, the political, military and ideological included. The imperialists are seeking by means of neo-colonialist policies to influence the development of the newly-free countries, to prevent them from consolidating their political independence and winning complete economic

independence, to keep them at all costs within the orbit of the capitalist world economy and away from the socialist road.

Never before has capitalism had to search so desperately for ways and means of saving itself. Hitherto it was mainly concerned with garnering fabulous profits by every means at its disposal; it never had to fear for its existence as such. The aims of state-monopoly capitalism and its product, neo-colonialism, are no longer limited only to plunder. Today it is also a matter of saving the crumbling capitalist world system from total destruction, of rallying all the forces of reaction against socialism, national liberation, democracy and social progress.

Whereas formerly the imperialists only impeded economic progress in the colonies and dependencies, today the situation is somewhat different. They now are prepared to compromise in this respect. There are cases when they are compelled to stimulate economic progress, on a capitalist basis of course. India is a case in point. And in the future the tendency on the part of the imperialist states to impel the newly-free countries onto the capitalist road is likely to become more pronounced. This is being done with a view to preventing the new countries of Asia and Africa from breaking away from the existing system of non-equivalent exchange and capitalist division of labor. In order to win wider support in these countries the imperialists are prepared to enter into alliances with the national bourgeoisie, or with some of its sections and even to accept them as "partners." Nor are they averse to alliances with the Right-wing Socialists and other groups bent on preventing the new states from taking the non-capitalist way leading to socialism. In Iraq, for example, the U.S. and British imperialists gave direct support to the reactionary leaders of the petty-bourgeois "socialist" Baath party in February 1963, in the hope that the Baathists would help them retain their monopoly of Iraqi oil, suppress the democratic movement and hold up social progress.

II.

Colonial conquest and colonial rule (in the form of direct colonial administration, protectorates, trusteeship, mandates, etc.) actually signified the expansion by finance capital of its machinery of exploitation, plunder, and class and national oppression. Being itself parasitic and reactionary, it sought, and still seeks, agreement and alliance with the backward, reactionary classes and sections of society in the countries under its domination.

As a rule these classes and social strata are the feudal rulers, tribal chiefs, and the big and reactionary bourgeoisie.

Formerly finance capital subjected the colonies to capitalist exploitation without destroying the old, pre-capitalist production relations. By and large this constituted the basis for the colonial superstructure, i.e., the dictatorship of finance capital allied with the local reactionaries. The disintegration of the colonial system, however, meant the collapse of the various forms of direct colonial administration designed to subjugate the peoples and to perpetuate their exploitation and the plunder of their natural resources by the big capitalists and the monopolies.

But, as Engels said, "force is only the means . . . the aim is economic advantage." The breakdown of the old superstructure has not always presupposed the simultaneous disintegration of the basis of colonial rule and rupture of the economic and financial relations harnessing the newly-independent countries to the chariot of finance capital. These relations and bonds remain for a period of greater or lesser duration. Hence the importance of what kind of new superstructure is built, for it can either accelerate or retard the abolition of the old basis and the severance of the economic and financial ties with finance capital. The trend will depend on the forces and classes predominating in the new super-structure, on the extent to which the anti-colonialist and anti-feudal classes and sections are represented in it, and also on the support the superstructure enjoys among the people. A national-democratic state representing the people and supported by them can remove the barriers which formerly separated the mass of the workers, peasants, patriotic intellectuals and all other progressive forces from the state apparatus and institutions, and unite them for struggle to safeguard political independence and to win complete economic, financial, political and military freedom from imperialism. Needless to say, everything depends on the development of the liberation movement itself, on the breadth and depth of the social revolution.

But irrespective of this, the disintegration of the colonial system and the winning of political independence acquire particular importance in the present world situation as effective revolutionary factors favoring the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms. The breakdown of the superstructure of the colonial system inevitably strips its basis and the diverse political and military ties and shackling commitments associated with it of their former defenses and

exposes them to the onslaught of the democratic national-liberation movement. The winning of political independence does not diminish the contradictions between the oppressed peoples and imperialism. In many cases we have seen the breakdown of the colonial superstructure accompanied by the appearance of serious fissures in the basis of the old regime and even its complete destruction. The ousting of the reactionary classes and sections allied with colonialism wholly or partly from the political scene opens up big opportunities for developing new productive forces and enlisting in political life the social strata and classes which formerly were shackled. After the disintegration of the colonial system and the winning of political independence, life poses new and urgent tasks before the national-democratic liberation movement. The national revolution does not stop with the winning of political independence, it reaches a higher stage—that of doing away with feudalism, implementing a radical agrarian reform, building the national economy and, in particular, promoting a national industry. It tackles the problems of abolishing backwardness, ignorance, poverty, disease and unemployment and of raising the standard of living. Unless these tasks are solved, political independence remains a pure formality, and the newly-independent countries may find themselves exposed to fresh dangers. Besides the danger that the old colonial chains will not be broken and that finance capital will succeed in maintaining a forced division of labor, there is the danger of economic, political and military penetration by other imperialist powers since the abolition of colonial rule is bound to loosen the grip of the former metropolis and its monopolies. The USA, West Germany and Japan are particularly anxious to seize the opportunities thus opened for infiltration under the cover of loans and financial and technical "aid."

The disintegration of the colonial system does not eliminate the cutthroat rivalry between the imperialist powers for spheres of influence. On the contrary, events show that this rivalry is growing sharper, albeit in new forms. The imperialist powers, compelled to relinquish direct colonial rule, are seeking to preserve and, wherever possible, to strengthen their foothold in the former colonies by utilizing the old political, economic, financial, military and cultural ties (for instance, relationships formed within the British Commonwealth and the French Community, closed currency zones, preferential systems, military alliances and bases, monopoly of arms deliveries), as well as by means of financial and

technical "aid," by placing their men in governmental posts, and through "educational" and missionary institutions. Some powers, especially the USA and West Germany, seek to infiltrate the newly-independent countries in order either to supplant the former colonial powers or to share the spoils with them. By no means the least of the levers used to this end is their economic, technological and military superiority.

The most widespread instrument of neo-colonialism today is "aid" extended by the imperialist powers or international finance organizations under their control to the developing countries. For instance, U.S. military aid to African countries in the 1962 fiscal year amounted to \$119,002,000. Federal Germany, which has taken second place after the U.S. for export of capital, is carrying out a sweeping program of expansion by means of economic and financial "aid." From the beginning of 1956 to October 1963 its technical "aid" alone amounted to nearly DM 900 million.

Imperialist, and especially U.S. and Federal German, penetration into Asia and Africa in the guise of "aid" is not only a matter of export of capital but one of the principal ways of preserving the indirect control of the imperialist monopolies over the economy of the newly-free countries, of keeping them within the system of colonialism, exerting political and military pressure, and supporting puppet regimes such as those in South Vietnam, South Korea and the Congo. Western "aid" is dictated by considerations of military and political strategy (hence, for instance, the preference given to Turkey, Iran and Pakistan in Asia, and to Nigeria, the Congo, Morocco and some other countries in Africa), and is designed to place the internal affairs of the recipient under the control of the creditor country (witness the Alliance for Progress). The USA and other imperialist powers arrogate to themselves the right to decide who is worthy of "aid" and who is not. Moreover, the Western "aid" is not only insufficient to ensure industrialization of the new countries, it actually hampers it, since, as a rule, the object is to retard the growth of industry in the state sector. It is often earmarked mainly for military purposes (as in South Korea, South Vietnam, Turkey, Jordan, Libya, the Congo, Central African Republic, etc.).

A new feature is what can be described as "collective colonialism," the main instruments of which are the NATO, SEATO and CENTO military blocs and, in the politico-economic sphere, the Common Market and the associa-

tion with it of 18 African countries. One of the main purposes of these organization, as of the "aid" in general, is to enable the imperialist monopolies to retain indirect control over the economic resources of the liberated countries.

The policy of neo-colonialism by no means rules out the utilization, besides the new methods of colonial exploitation ("aid," "collective colonialism," artificially formed structures of the type of Malaysia or the South Arabian Federation), of undisguised armed intervention in the internal affairs of the young national states. Examples of this are the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and, together with Belgium, in the Congo, the U.S. occupation of South Korea and Taiwan, the French paratroop landing in Gabon, etc.

III.

Neo-colonialist policies aimed at keeping the Asian and African countries in economic subjugation to finance capital and strengthening capitalism in these countries do not attenuate but, on the contrary, aggravate the deep-seated and irreconcilable contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed peoples. These contradictions which feed the flames of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian and African peoples are objectively deepened by the continued economic exploitation by finance capital and the imperialist monopolies of the material resources of these countries, their continued economic backwardness and the appalling conditions of the working people. The fact is that the Asian and African countries affected most by neo-colonialist policies are unable to advance their economy from a state of decline. Turkey, for example, received in 1949-61 U.S. "aid" totalling nearly \$4,000 million. How has this affected Turkey's industrial development? Before U.S. aid, industry accounted for 10.5 per cent of Turkey's national income and after twelve years of aid, for 10.9 per cent. Turkey remains an agrarian country and its economy is in dire straits.

In recent years the economic situation has considerably deteriorated in a number of African countries experiencing the constant squeeze of the imperialist monopolies. The trade index for these countries as a whole declined by 18 per cent between 1953 and 1961, including a 6 per cent drop since 1958. The trend was the same in the countries associated with the EEC. The speaker of the National Assembly of the Central African Republic said on March 13, 1963: "In ten years the volume of local agricultural output

declined by one per cent, while imports increased by 200-300 per cent."

Indicative too is the testimony of Hallstein, President of the EEC Commission. "All the financial aid given by the free countries to the developing countries," he said, "has proved insufficient to compensate for the losses suffered by these countries owing to the decline in raw material prices on the world market."

Because of economic difficulties engendered largely by neo-colonialism, the developing countries as a whole lose annually some \$70,000-100,000 million in unrealized potential output, the equivalent of 60-80 per cent of their national income. The gulf between the "third world" and the economically developed countries, far from diminishing, is steadily deepening. These circumstances make it imperative for the peoples of the Asian and African countries to search for new ways of rapidly overcoming the consequences of colonialism and combating neo-colonialism in all its forms—military, economic and ideological. Needless to say, this complex problem will be solved by each country in accordance with its specific conditions, taking into account the scope of the national-liberation movement, the political awareness of the people, the balance of class forces and the role played by the revolutionary vanguard, the nature of the governmental power, the attitude of the democratic forces, and the policy of the imperialist powers. But however varied the situations and hence the ways of combating neo-colonialism, the main trend, asserting itself more and more in the Asian and African countries, is the trend towards liberation from the political and economic oppression of colonialism and neo-colonialism, intensified struggle to break away from a semi-dependent status and to win complete political and economic independence. This trend is manifested in different ways in different countries. In the Congo, for example, it has taken the form of a popular armed struggle to recover the political independence trampled underfoot by the joint military intervention of the Western powers headed by the USA. A similar situation prevails in South Vietnam, where the people are waging an armed fight against U.S. intervention. In the Sudan, Morocco and some other countries neo-colonialism is being combated mainly by carrying forward the national-democratic revolution, i.e., by abolishing feudal relationships and unemployment, putting an end to the influence of the imperialist monopolies and the local big bourgeoisie on the economy, and extending democracy in public life.

The trend in many of the new Asian and African states towards a greater measure of economic independence and freedom from the shackles of imperialism and neo-colonialism is manifest against the background of a bitter political and class struggle around the fundamental problem confronting these countries: the choice of the road of socio-economic development. While some countries—Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Morocco, etc.—are greatly influenced by neo-colonialist policies and have taken the capitalist way, in a number of others conditions are taking shape which facilitate their transition to the non-capitalist way leading to socialism. Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Mali, Ghana and Burma have already taken the non-capitalist way. Their leaders have done much to put an end to the political and economic domination of the imperialists. They have proclaimed a socialist orientation and are carrying out programs aimed at eradicating the consequences of colonialism and neo-colonialism, ousting the capitalists from the economy and forging ahead towards socialist changes. In Algeria, for instance, important socio-economic reforms have been carried out, such as placing the former large-scale properties of the French colonists under the collective self-management of the working people, a radical agrarian reform, setting up a state-cooperative sector in the economy, and extensive promotion of democracy in public life.

Radical socio-economic and political changes have been effected also in the UAR, Mali, Ghana and Burma. Other Afro-Asian countries too are moving towards the non-capitalist road. The experience of Algeria, UAR, Mali, Ghana and Burma indicates that in the present epoch—the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale and of the growing superiority of the forces of world socialism over capitalism—the non-capitalist way may become an effective form of struggle against imperialist and neo-colonialist influence, for complete political and economic freedom and for the reconstruction of society along socialist lines.

Algeria, UAR, Mali, Ghana and Burma offer an example of the accumulation of internal resources and forces for struggle against neo-colonialism and for economic independence and social progress. The most important factor counteracting neo-colonialist influence in these countries is the establishment and consolidation of the state sector, which already plays the decisive role in their national economy.

In countries like Algeria, Mali and Burma, where national capitalism did not have time

to strike deep root, the state sector is increasingly acquiring transitional features which though not yet socialist nevertheless are no longer capitalist. It is an instrument for reinforcing national independence and creating the groundwork for democratic gains and social progress.

The state sector can be used in the interests of economic and social emancipation, as the base for transition to the non-capitalist road, also in those Afro-Asian countries where capitalist relationships have already crystallized and developed to a greater or lesser extent, provided the governments pursue a policy of gradually curbing or nationalizing the big and middle-bracket national capital, of restricting the private sector or replacing it with the state and cooperative sector. The UAR and some other countries are a case in point. The socio-economic changes effected in recent years in the UAR have enlarged the state sector, according to official data, to take in more than 80 per cent of all economic activity in that country. In the 1962-63 fiscal year this sector accounted for 96 per cent of the total investment in industry and 68 per cent of the gross industrial output. Thanks to this, the UAR has made headway in overcoming its age-old backwardness, putting an end to the colonial structure of its economy, and achieving economic independence. In the course of the socio-economic changes in the UAR and in some other Afro-Asian countries, even if these changes have not transcended the bounds of general national and democratic tasks and are not yet of a socialist nature, the material and technological conditions are being gradually created for transition to the road leading to socialism.

If on the internal plane the prospect of the transition of the Afro-Asian countries to the non-capitalist road as the most effective way of combating economic backwardness and neo-colonialism is a matter of all-round utilization of the national resources, on the external plane it is associated with the growing influence exerted on the national-liberation movement by the socialist world system, by the experience of the socialist countries and the powerful moral, political, economic and military support rendered by them to the new countries of Asia and Africa. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have not only right on their side, but also might—the might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of the international working class, and of the worldwide liberation movement as such. These powerful international forces make up a united front capable of defeating

the imperialists, of repulsing their threats and aggression and compelling them to reckon with its will. The defeat of the triple aggression against Egypt in 1956 and the prevention of U.S. aggression against Cuba were striking expressions of the spirit of the times, of the deterrent effect of the forces headed by the Soviet Union. Besides this power of deterrence, there is also the growing economic, scientific and technological potential of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The advance of the socialist countries and their economic and technological achievements offer the most convincing example to the newly independent countries. The imperialist powers have lost their former monopoly as suppliers of means of production to the non-socialist international market. Nor are they any longer the sole source of loans, credits and technological experience. The peoples of the newly independent countries can now count on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for loans and credits without strings, for truly disinterested and fraternal aid in building factories, irrigation and power installations, and in prospecting for and tapping mineral wealth.

Unlike the aid given by the imperialist powers, the aid rendered by the socialist countries is directed at promoting projects which best advance the national economy. It facilitates industrialization and the advance of agriculture and the economy as a whole. The socialist countries associated with the Council for Mutual Economic Aid extend economic and technical assistance in building more than 1,100 industrial enterprises and installations and other projects in 40 countries. More than 50 per cent of the funds involved is used for the construction of heavy-industry enterprises.

The aid given by the socialist countries to the newly free states of Asia and Africa is also of social significance. In a number of cases it has compelled the imperialist powers to extend aid to Asian and African countries without shackling conditions, and it is making it more difficult for the imperialists to use economic aid and capital investment as a neo-colonialist instrument for suppressing the national-liberation movement.

Wide opportunities for successful struggle against neo-colonialism and for economic and social progress in the politically independent countries of Asia and Africa are opened by the growing Afro-Asian solidarity and the pursuance of a progressive foreign policy based on resolute struggle against colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, on defense of peace, peaceful coexistence, non-

involvement in military blocs and alliances and refusal to allow imperialist military bases on the territories of independent states. This policy found reflection, in particular, at the Cairo conference of the heads of non-aligned states held in October 1964.

The popular struggle in the countries of Asia and Africa against imperialism and neo-

colonialism, for complete political and economic freedom, calls for tireless effort to unite all the patriotic forces in a single national front, and, on the international plane, for unity and alliance of the national-liberation movement with the socialist countries and the working-class movement of the developed capitalist countries.

Socialism and democracy

VACLAV SLAVIK

SOCIALISM IS A MATTER OF creative initiative by the people. This is a basic Leninist concept expressing the quintessence of the struggle waged by the working class to prepare the revolution and to win political power. All the more important is it, therefore, to bear this in mind when it comes to building socialism and communism, for it underscores the collective, democratic effort this implies.

The relationship between socialism and democracy is not a new problem for Marxist theory and practice. Genuine democracy, which can be achieved only under socialism, is the aim of the working class and its vanguard. But they never closed their eyes to the conditions and the forms of oppression in which the struggle for the social revolution is waged. They have always held that broader democratic freedom to wage the class struggle makes it easier for the proletariat to achieve its aims. Generally speaking, it can be said that the development of the productive forces and the growth of the consciousness, organization and militancy of the working class and the people generally have laid their imprint also on bourgeois democracy. Still, the bounds of this democracy remain narrow, being restricted by the capitalist production relations, private ownership of the basic means of production, and the political and economic

domination of an exploiting minority of the exploited majority.

But even this truncated democracy is threatened by reactionary trends ranging all the way to fascism. Prompted by the experience of the revolutionary movement and the interests of the people generally, the Marxists combat these reactionary trends and uphold democracy as a hard-won gain facilitating the struggle of the working class. This approach sets the Marxist-Leninists apart from those Lefts who hold that the revolutionary movement has had no influence on bourgeois democracy and is not interested in its preservation.

From the very outset the revolutionary working-class movement has combated the Right-wing opportunist illusion of "pure" democracy, which, as Marx pointed out, was invoked to save the bourgeois and even feudal economy at times of stress. The revolutionary working-class movement combats these illusions now too, when classes, it is claimed, have "disappeared" from contemporary capitalist society which, we are told, has evolved into an "affluent" society providing "equal opportunity" for all. Far from signifying any growth of democratic sentiment among the ruling bourgeoisie, theories of this kind distort the processes taking place in the struc-

ture of capitalist society. In fact, they stem from the fear with which capitalism regards socialism.

For Marxist-Leninists the concepts "democracy," "freedom," "equality" and "fraternity" are not idle words. They have stripped these concepts of their age-old mystique and have imparted to them a concrete class content. "Democracy and freedom for whom?" the Marxist-Leninists ask. "Fraternity of the peoples to what end?" And they answer: "Democracy for the majority, for all; freedom for man; fraternity for the sake of freedom and equality for the people."

The concrete approach of the Marxists to this fundamental question is correlative with the perspective of freedom for all the exploited and oppressed. And this imparts to the socialist revolution its humanist content; it is this that determines its mission. The socialist revolution and the building of socialism are intrinsically a democratic process. Experience shows that the time-lapse between the democratic and the socialist stages of the revolutions is diminishing, that democratic changes are now often closely interwoven with socialist changes, partly because the aims and slogans of previous bourgeois-democratic revolutions were not fully realized. The main result of the socialist revolution is the transfer of state power to the overwhelming majority of the population headed by the proletariat, the creation of a social system superior in every respect to capitalism.

The criteria of socialist democracy and its content are clear enough. First is the extent to which the workers and the people generally take part in the affairs of state, the role they play in solving the vital issues confronting society and the influence they exert on government policy. Other criteria are the proclamation of the political and the social rights of all citizens and the guarantee of these rights.

Clearly, then, socialist democracy is a much higher type of democracy.

After winning power the working class, which under capitalism had nothing to lose but its chains, is compelled to defend itself against the efforts of the bourgeoisie to deprive the workers of their gains; it has to repulse the onslaught of the old world of exploitation, for the capitalists do not voluntarily surrender and lay down arms even after they have been defeated. They attack the working class from all sides, both from without and from within. Witness the numerous counter-revolutions which the victorious proletariat has had to combat.

The danger presented to the revolutionary gains by the forces of the old society may be increased to some extent by conservatism in

the ranks of the revolutionary forces themselves. Consequently the socialist revolution, while resolutely defending its gains and its democracy, must be consistent and demanding of itself. And the guarantee of this is the maintenance of an indissoluble bond between the revolutionary movement and creative Marxism-Leninism.

Marxist theory and practice, as we understand them, do not counterpose politics to economics or vice-versa, but underscore and examine the dialectical interconnection between the two. This deepens our perception of the reality, helps to overcome unsound phenomena, to find effective ways and means of democratic guidance in all spheres of life. This guidance presupposes ascertaining the basic interests of society through scientific analysis which, in turn, requires the interaction of all of its links. The supreme criterion is the well-being of man.

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Socialism has radically changed the world social scene. This fact, the significance of which is accentuated by the dynamism of socialism, is proof that the new social system is the fruit of popular initiative and creative thinking. Without this initiative and creative thought it could not forge ahead successfully.

Socialism, as embodied in the community of socialist states, is a bastion for the proletariat, for its allies in the capitalist countries and for the sweeping anti-imperialist national-liberation movement. Socialist democracy in action exerts a powerful magnetic force on the working class and broad sections of the working people generally in the capitalist countries as well as on the peoples and in particular the progressive forces in the countries swept by the national-liberation struggle. Hence the past development and perspectives of socialist democracy are of prime importance in our time.

The experience of the Soviet Union in building socialist democracy from the time of the October Revolution to our day when the Soviet people are engaged in the full-scale construction of communism as well as the progress made in this sphere in the other socialist countries, highlight the basic principles and standards involved, such as democratic centralism, which makes it possible to combine individual initiative with organization, the team-work principle, socialist legality, etc.

Socialist democracy rests on a solid foundation and has proved its vitality and superiority over bourgeois democracy. It has given the working people broad social rights and freedoms, made women the equals of men, en-

abled the working people increasingly to play their part in solving the economic and political problems of building the new society, made culture and education accessible to all, ensured the overcoming of class and national antagonisms. The development of socialist democracy in the USSR and other countries has clearly demonstrated the organic unity of socialism and democracy, the objective necessity of democracy in socialist society.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that socialist democracy fully asserts itself the moment the working class takes over the reins of government. Inasmuch as it emerges from the ruins of the capitalist system with its legacy of countless antagonisms, its genesis and growth is an exceedingly complex process. Clearly, the first steps towards the realm of freedom encounter the innumerable evils engendered by capitalist society.

It should be borne in mind that the new world was not born in the politically and otherwise more developed countries. Hence socialist democracy emerged and developed against a background of contradictions stemming from the difficulties of growth. Inevitably, limitations were imposed on it by the internal counter-revolution and the invasion of the young Soviet State by imperialist armies. But even in those early and difficult days the indisputable advantages of socialist democracy made themselves felt in the truly revolutionary initiative and self-sacrifice displayed by the people, who repulsed the military intervention and safeguarded the cradle of socialism.

Apologists of capitalism claim that these historically conditioned limitations of democracy and the personality cult which crystallized subsequently are permanent attributes of the socialist way of life. These allegations however, are fully disproved by the growth of democracy in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by the progress made by these countries in vital areas of human endeavor.

However complex the growth of socialism and socialist democracy, with their successes and setbacks, one thing is clear: the influence of socialism and socialist democracy on the thinking and actions of people throughout the world is steadily increasing. The concepts "socialism" and "peace" have come to be regarded as indivisible by big sections of the population in the capitalist countries. And the steady progress of the socialist countries and the deepening of socialist democracy are bound to convince not only the politically conscious progressive forces in the capitalist countries but also the millions still remote from communism that socialism and demo-

cracy are as indivisible an entity as socialism and peace.

By their example the socialist countries have brought home to the working people of the world that the basic problems affecting all nations can be solved only by abolishing capitalism and colonialism, by establishing and building socialism and, later, communism. These are the problems of the polarization of wealth and poverty, of rational utilization and increase of material wealth, of genuine freedom for the peoples, of the relationship between society and its members, of peace and war.

Socialism has entered the world arena with the aim of ensuring, through the abolition of exploitation of man by man, satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of all people which capitalism cannot do. This is one of the most urgent needs, considering the state of the world today. The population of vast areas still live in semi-starvation. And in the developed capitalist countries, relatively high though their standard of living may be, the intensity of labor and the physical drain on man have been carried to the extreme.

The bourgeoisie is still in a position to point to the higher level of development of the productive forces in the leading capitalist countries and to a certain lag in agriculture and to other shortcomings in the socialist countries. But it will not be able to do so for long. Things are already changing in favor of socialism in many areas of technology and science. The triumph of the new social system over the old in the decisive sphere of human activity—material production—is approaching. For the socialist countries take a realistic view of their problems. Soberly and self-critically assessing the realities of the day, they are working hard to overcome their lag in every sphere, to build an economy more efficient and productive than the capitalist economy in every respect. The opportunities and the conditions needed for this are to hand.

And just because it is in the sphere of material life that the main confrontation between socialism and capitalism takes place, it is largely in the sphere of economic competition that the future of the world will be decided. The socialist mode of production opens in effect unlimited opportunities for progress in science and technology, for the growth of the productive forces, thus making it possible fully and rationally to meet the basic material requirements of the world's rapidly growing population which some scientists estimate will more than double in the next few decades. The higher social system this mode of production represents will be

able not only to prevent reproduction of poverty but also to abolish it for all time.

The significance of the economic competition between socialism and capitalism is obvious. It will ensure the nations the best social, political and cultural conditions of life. And the deeper and more comprehensive socialist democracy, the greater the revolutionary impact of socialism.

The personality cult, let it be said, seriously retarded the realization of all the advantages of socialism and the development of socialist democracy. But the bourgeois predictions that the denunciation of the cult by the Communists themselves would result in socialism losing ground have not materialized. Denunciation of the cult has greatly strengthened socialism, has added to its impact on world development.

There have been moments in the history of the world revolutionary working-class movement when it has succumbed to one or another measure of self-deception. In our opinion, the personality cult was one such instance; it credited to one man the solution of fundamental social problems which in reality only the Communist Party, the working class and the people generally could solve. This led to violation of the socialist principles of leadership, restriction of inner-party and state democracy, to voluntarism and subjectivism which curtailed freedom of scientific thought and retarded the advance of culture.

Clearly, the work done by the Communist parties to overcome the consequences of the cult shows better than anything else where the roots of this aberration should be sought.

The 81-Party Statement of 1960 says: "The Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as a law of their activity strictly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism, and to cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye. They strictly adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organizational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the Party. They work indefatigably to strengthen the bonds of these bodies with the Party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, and do not countenance the cult of the individual, which shackles creative thought and the initiative of Communists. They vigorously promote the activity of Communists, and encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks."

Although the cult did grave damage to socialism and, in effect, retarded its economic and social development, it did not—indeed

could not—alter the essence of socialism. The groundwork underlying socialist democracy with all its attributes was preserved.

It is of utmost importance in examining the basic problems of socialist democracy to probe down to the roots of the cult. But it is every bit as important to draw the proper conclusions from its denunciation, to return wholly and completely to the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism, to take positive steps ensuring the all-round development of democracy. This is essential from the standpoint not only of the present but also of the future, so that socialism might fully assert and consolidate its superiority over capitalism.

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Socialism is a social system more advanced and hence more complex than capitalism. But the complexity notwithstanding, the Communist parties with their scientific approach and guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism are in a position to find the correct solutions to problems without allowing them to develop into conflicts, to ascertain the requirements of socialist society and to work to meet these requirements in the interests of all. A fundamental requirement is the steady extension of socialist democracy. No objective law of social development asserts itself automatically; it operates only through human agency. This applies to socialist democracy too. It develops on an objective material basis; progress in the economy and in other areas of social life is its groundwork. Democracy does not exist outside the context of the overall development. At the same time, socialist democracy is not merely a passive reflection of processes in the economic basis, it exerts an objective influence on the general evolution of society. The extent of this influence largely depends on how the principles of socialist democracy have been enunciated and the attention devoted to improving its mechanism.

Today it is a matter of *developing the old and creating new positive traditions of socialist democracy*, of removing every impediment to it, of improving its operation on the basis of the experience accumulated by the peoples in building the new society. The trend is patent: from the lower forms of socialist democracy to the higher forms, from representative democracy to combining representative democracy with more and more direct participation of the millions, i.e., to public self-rule in the broad sense of the word.

The imperative need to promote socialist democracy is associated with a number of important theoretical and practical problems. In particular, there is the fundamental problem

of transition from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the state of the entire people, brought to the fore by profound analysis and generalization of the processes involved in the development of socialist society.

Although the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries and the international Communist movement have done much to overcome the consequences of the personality cult, it is essential to return again and again to this extremely important question, especially since the dogmatists and sectarians are not only working hard to justify the Stalin cult with all its consequences but also to build up a new cult. This is evident from public declarations minimizing Stalin's mistakes with the obvious purpose of condoning his repressions against revolutionary cadres and the people generally, and from the onslaught against the common line of the international Communist movement.

In combating the aberration designated as the personality cult it should be borne in mind that the point is not only the deification of Stalin, the excessive praise of his qualities and merits. The crux of the matter is the methods and forms of work which were evolved under the influence of the cult (and used not only in the Soviet Union but to one or another extent also in other socialist countries), and which set back the entire international Communist movement. The Communist and Workers' parties combated the cult and welcomed the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which denounced it and its methods as utterly alien to Marxism-Leninism.

In our opinion what Lenin said about the work of the leading functionaries and bodies of the socialist state, the structure of these bodies, their composition, etc., contains much that is timely today. It is important again and again to examine these ideas and to draw on them in order further to promote socialist democracy.

Combating the cult and its consequences in no way implies minimizing the role of the leading bodies of the socialist state. Lenin pointed out that the working masses would succeed in building socialism only if they made their institutions operate with the precision of modern industry. Discussion and debate, he said, should not be allowed to interfere with strict fulfilment of directions given by those entrusted with leading posts, and a dividing line should be drawn between the work that must be done among the masses to prepare them to carry out a given measure and to exercise control over its im-

plementation, on the one hand, and the implementation as such, on the other. Coming out against the slightest chaos and disorder, duplication of authority and irresponsibility, Lenin said: "The masses must have the right to elect leaders responsible to them. The masses must have the right to replace them, to be informed on and to check up on even the smallest steps they take. The masses must have the right to advance any worker without exception from their midst to an executive post. But this in no way signifies leaving the process of collective labor without definite leadership. . . ."

The personality cult unquestionably had an adverse effect on the performance by the Communist Party of its role as educator and organizer of the masses as well as in the sphere of theory, leaving an aftermath which it is imperative to overcome. For the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is one of the basic principles of the socialist state and the guarantee of the development of socialist democracy. (As we see it, this principle in no way conflicts with the idea voiced of late concerning the possibility of building socialism under a multi-party system.)

The leading role belongs to the Marxist-Leninist party because it alone is able profoundly to examine the objective processes and to influence them, to perceive the laws governing economic and social life and to work out the most effective policy in conformity with these laws. Political leadership by the Party implies elaboration of scientifically substantiated policies with the broad participation of the working masses, correct choice of cadres, their education, and strict control over the fulfilment of decisions.

These qualities are not acquired by any Communist Party overnight, once and for all; they must be constantly cultivated. This indeed is the purport of the day-to-day labors of the Communist and Workers' parties to ensure the ideological and organizational unity of their ranks, of which free exchange of opinions and consistent observance of the principle of democratic centralism are indispensable prerequisites.

The Party can fulfil its role as leader provided it does not lose touch with the masses and gives expression to their fundamental interests. From this it follows that the Party's leadership in society in no way contradicts the precept that socialism is the cause of the entire working class and the people generally, a matter of the activity and initiative of the millions.

One of the lessons of the cult is that it is of exceptional importance for the Party to

be in constant touch with the reality, and this is inconceivable without close contact with the masses. No political party, let alone an individual, is infallible. Lenin considered the Party's attitude to its mistakes the prime measure of its maturity. Mistakes may be made not only in the process of carrying out decisions but also in adopting them. Hence there is nothing more harmful than "indoctrinating" the Party and the masses in the spirit of the infallibility of Party and economic leaders at all levels. This can only sow passivity in the Party and among the people generally and in the long run hamper verification of the fulfilment of even correct decisions.

The Communist parties, conscious of the grandeur of the objectives towards which the working people are striving under their leadership, are doing their utmost to combat negative tendencies of this kind and to improve their work in every way.

Hence their insistence on a self-critical approach on the part of the sponsors of decisions which prove to be unrealistic. It is equally imperative for every Party Committee and every functionary not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them. But one can hardly expect that veneration of leaders as infallible (and hence entitled to ignore public opinion) can be made to disappear without trace merely by adopting the resolution condemning the personality cult.

Clearly, Party Committees at all levels must see to it that all members carry out their duties, must create conditions fully guaranteeing the rights of members. Building socialism and communism derives added momentum from a climate in which each Communist feels that he bears his full share of the responsibility for the situation in the Party and the country as a whole, a climate in which he can freely voice his views and which makes for comradely criticism and self-criticism and strict observance of the Leninist standards. At the same time it is essential to imbue the people with the Marxist-Leninist outlook, the profoundly creative and revolutionary spirit of which does not tolerate complacency or fossilized, conservative thinking.

Steadfast observance of the principle of democratic centralism, intra-party democracy, collective leadership and the participation of each member in shaping Party policy are undoubtedly the decisive subjective factors making for a democratic atmosphere. And the example of the Party cannot but rally the people generally to take a creative part in promoting the economy and culture of their country.

Clearly it is a basic right of the citizen to express his views on the fundamental problems confronting his country. This presupposes a public informed on all the principal domestic and international issues, and rules out all "backroom" policy making. Of enormous importance in this respect is systematic political work by the Communists among the people with a view to elucidating all the issues.

In recent times broad discussions of basic problems of Party policy and topical issues of general interest have been conducted both in the Party and among the public. This is an exceptionally important development, for such exchanges of views help to verify the soundness of Party policy, serve as a mass vehicle of political education and rally the working people to fulfil the tasks. Experience has shown that this is a correct method which should be further developed. The important thing is, of course, to give careful consideration to all critical remarks and suggestions and to take prompt action on all the useful ideas. It might also be useful to hold referendums on some important political problems in the life of the socialist countries.

At present attention in the socialist countries is focussed mainly on the basic questions of economic progress and scientific planning. The decisions of a number of fraternal parties and articles in the press show that measures are being discussed to ensure the correct utilization of the laws of socialist economy and of the achievements of modern science. The need for such measures is dictated not only by the level of development of the productive forces in one or another country but also by the need to overcome once and for all subjectivism and voluntarism in such matters as planning, value as an economic lever, incentives, etc. A scientific economic policy must be guided by the principle that what is good for society as a whole should be good for each enterprise and each member of society.

The new measures outlined in the economic sphere should not only bring the working people into more direct participation in managing the socialist economy, they should help define more precisely the jurisdiction of the central and local economic bodies in conformity with democratic centralism.

The improved systems of economic management being introduced in the socialist countries will bring new elements into the work of the Party and the state and economic bodies, and also into the life of the public organizations, in particular the trade unions.

As we see it, an economic system which makes it its aim to satisfy more fully the material needs of society and which takes into account the objective economic laws is the most effective means of expanding and deepening democracy in all aspects of social life. Take, for instance, the frequent criticism of the trade unions whose activities often fall short of the mark because they are ignored by state and economic bodies and also because they are beginning to pattern themselves after these bodies. And this in spite of the fact that social development generally offers the trade unions every opportunity to improve their work and to fulfil their specific function in society. Experience and the criticism emanating from the workers show that the unions in many respects do not measure up to the requirements of the day. The substance of the criticism is in line with what Lenin had in mind when he wrote that after the winning of power by the working class the trade unions "have lost the basis of the class economic struggle, but have not by far lost, and, unfortunately, cannot lose for many years to come, the basis of the non-class 'economic struggle', meaning by that the struggle against bureaucratic distortions in the Soviet apparatus, safeguarding the material and spiritual interests of the masses of the toilers by the ways and means that this apparatus cannot employ, etc."

The rich experience of socialist and communist construction with its new feature of expanding democracy, and the urgent problems awaiting solution highlight the question of the structure of the political and economic bodies of the socialist state and their relative independence in their respective spheres of activity. In our opinion this question calls for a really thorough examination. In the early days of Soviet power Lenin time and again came out against confusing the functions of its various bodies, against their overlapping. Each of these bodies, he stressed, should carry on its particular activities within the overall framework of socialist laws. There is every reason to believe that as the building of socialism and communism proceeds and the problems and tasks involved become more complex, these questions will grow even more acute than in Lenin's time.

These are questions of defining the respective spheres of Party and governmental activity and their interconnection, defining the respective spheres of activity of state and economic bodies, the role and jurisdiction of the central and local governmental bodies, industrial enterprises, collective farms and agricultural cooperatives; questions relating

to the responsibility of the various bodies to society, observance of law, effective control over the fulfilment of decisions with a view to ruling out any kind of demagoguery, and other issues awaiting solutions.

In this connection it will be useful to bear in mind the pernicious practices of the personality cult, when the security organs, for example, were given absolute powers. Only in such a climate could the law be ignored and flouted.

Nor does this apply exclusively to the past. Even today we read in the press in the socialist countries about instances of certain bodies encroaching on the sphere of competence of others, of by-passing public organizations and ignoring justified public criticism. Such things lead to mistakes, injure the interests of the state and stifle workers' initiative. All phases of the political and economic set-up must be permeated with the spirit of socialist democracy. This applies to the structure of leading bodies, the laws and decisions by which they are guided, and the way they are formed and the official positions distributed.

Generally speaking it can be said that a political mechanism has been created which, guided by socialist principles, is capable of ascertaining the interests of society and upholding those interests. The important thing is that the Communist and Workers' parties and the working people of the socialist countries are working hard to improve this system.

In this respect the elections to the various bodies of the socialist state play a special role. Experience shows that practical considerations loom bigger at the polls since under normal conditions loyalty to the regime can be taken for granted inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of the population fully supports socialism. Hence it is exceedingly important that the nomination of candidates and their activities once elected should not be divorced from the experience and the activities of the masses to whom they are accountable. There still are, however, many instances of justified criticism of irresponsibility on the part of elected representatives, of their inadequate contact with the people and lack of confidence in the electors. It is imperative for the elected bodies in every factory, in every district and region, and in the country as a whole to put an end to these shortcomings.

The best way to promote socialist democracy is to secure active participation by the people in administering the affairs of state, managing the economy and directing public life. For all this is the people's vital concern.

The right to have a say in state and public affairs is not a right handed down from above to the working class and the people; they won this right when they took the reins of power in their own hands under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The machinery of socialist democracy no matter how well conceived and improved does not operate automatically. Socialist democracy is a matter of activity by the people from whom nothing is concealed but who are fully informed and hence in a position consciously to tackle the problems facing their society.

Socialist democracy not only gives the citizen broad rights, it also reposes in him great responsibility. It presupposes a strong sense of proletarian internationalism and genuine patriotism, respect for other peoples and for man, dedication to scientific progress. To imbue the working people with this mode of thinking is one of the main ideological tasks of the Communist and Workers' parties, which seek to educate their members and the people generally in the spirit of internationalism, responsibility to one's own country and to the entire revolutionary movement, and which are working to promote freedom of scientific discussion, utilization of scientific achievements and the flowering of culture.

The further development of socialist democracy poses with increasing urgency the question of all-round application of the abilities of the individual in the interests of society. The cult exalted one man and suppressed the personality of all others as mere cogs in the system. Socialism not only advances society as a whole, it creates the conditions for the full and harmonious development of the individual. The collective spirit engendered by socialism is not the collectivism of an amorphous mass; it derives from the consciousness, knowledge and ability of the individual members of the collective. Collectivism as a principle of socialist democracy implies the equality of all.

Practice has shown that socialism is more than an ideal, it is a tangible vital process. Suffice it to mention the talent it has brought to the fore in the most diverse spheres of endeavor, the scale on which it is promoting education, and the limitless opportunities it has provided for initiative in all areas of public life and for all sections of the population. Nothing of the kind can be visualized in a society based on exploitation.

But even this proof of the potential of socialism as regards the development of man's abilities does not mean that the relations between the individual and the community do not present serious problems. We fre-

quently encounter not only violations of socialist social relations but also violations of basic human rights. This is evident from critical comment in the press of the socialist countries. There have been cases when one or another administrative body strikes a "patrician" pose, when executive authority and even its technical apparatus place themselves above the people who entrusted them with a definite range of functions, when some abstract "omnipotence" enroaches on the rights of such collective bodies as general factory meetings, or on the rights of the citizen as set forth in the Constitution and other laws. Especially harmful is an officious approach to young people. A bureaucratic attitude towards society is almost invariably associated with disdain for man, his rights and freedoms.

The development of socialist democracy is of fundamental importance in shaping and consolidating the moral and political unity of society. Socialist democracy in action directly influences the degree of unity in socialist society. When new tasks are discussed in the conditions of socialism, it is not a matter of a clash of antagonistic views, but a matter of democratic procedure; it is the wishes and views of the majority that are decisive in adopting and carrying out new measures aimed at advancing socialism and communism. In other words, socialist democracy is the guarantee that the new elements brought to the fore by the Party and deriving from the experience of the masses find their practical realization. This is the guarantee of progress in a society being built in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

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We have sought by drawing on recent experience to treat of some of the problems posed by socialist practice. Consistent eradication of all the consequences of the personality cult, the mechanism of socialist democracy and the fuller development of its functions, the matter of guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of communities and the individual members of these communities are all problems of fundamental importance.

In our time socialist democracy, forging ahead towards an ever higher degree of maturity, is proving its superiority over bourgeois democracy. It is not only an achievement won by the working people of the socialist countries, it is a gain, a source of strength, for the revolutionary movement throughout the world. All the more important, then, is it resolutely to defend socialist democracy against all the machinations of forces hostile to the people, to give free rein to its continued development.

The Cuban revolution and the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American peoples

A. FERRARI, J. M. FORTUNY, P. MOTTA LIMA, L. FERRETO

AS THE PEOPLES OF THE world celebrate the 6th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution, it is clear that U.S. imperialism can no longer hold the Latin American countries in subjugation. The significance of this can hardly be overestimated if we bear in mind the importance of Latin America for U.S. imperialism.

U.S. expansion has been a threat to Latin America since the very first days of its independence. Simon Bolivar, the great emancipator, foresaw that the United States seemed to be destined by history to become the main source of misfortunes of every kind "for the countries of our Indo-Spanish America."

Dollar penetration became particularly pronounced towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present century, that is, at the time when world capitalism entered the imperialist phase of its development. At the same time the Latin American peoples began to wage a liberation struggle which in some countries assumed dimensions that made a powerful imprint on history. But U.S. imperialism succeeded by fire and sword in consolidating its domination in our continent.

During the Second World War and the early postwar years when the economic pulse was strong most Latin American countries made considerable headway in industrialization. And a national bourgeoisie and working class developed correspondingly.

The Latin American national bourgeoisie, although always prone to vacillation and inclined to compromise, found itself objectively at odds with U.S. imperialism. On the other hand, the working class and the people generally, whose sympathies had been with democracy against German fascist imperialism and in particular with the Soviet Union, which bore the brunt of the war and played the main role in ensuring victory, had hoped that the defeat of fascism would result in the building of a new world without national oppression and social exploitation. Soon, however, the policy of expansion, plunder and aggression pursued by the imperialist powers, and above all by the USA, cruelly disappointed these hopes.

This led to a new upsurge of the national-liberation struggle the social basis of which expanded to take in larger numbers of intellectuals, students, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The militancy of the working class and the peasants grew considerably.

At the same time the contest between the various national forces for leadership of the anti-imperialist movement became keener in all the countries. In many cases (for instance in Argentina, Brazil and Chile) the anti-imperialist struggle suffered defeat because the leadership was taken over by the bourgeoisie which at the decisive moment either faltered or simply surrendered.

In the late forties U.S. imperialism worked out the so-called "Truman doctrine" for Latin America and embarked on a new offensive to crush the revolutionary movement on the continent. In the overall context of this general imperialist offensive South America witnessed the treachery of Gonzalez Videla in Chile, the crushing of the popular uprising in Bogota, wave after wave of repressions in Brazil, the installing of the reactionary Figueres government in Costa Rica, and of the dictatorial regimes of Jimenez in Venezuela, Batista in Cuba, Pinilla in Colombia, Odria in Peru and, lastly, the overthrow of the revolutionary government of Arbenz in Guatemala.

But these were fleeting successes. Imperialism was unable to realize its plans in full. The late fifties saw a new upswing in the democratic movement: a popular uprising in 1958 overthrew the Jimenez dictatorship, the Odria and Pinilla dictatorships likewise fell, the "liberation" dictatorship in Argentina was forced to retreat and announce a general election, in Chile the people regained democratic rights, and so on. The more this movement grew the clearer it became that the contradictions between our peoples and the North American imperialists were irreconcilable.

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Ever since the end of the Second World War, and especially since the Cuban revolution, Washington has been searching for new forms of economic penetration into the Latin American countries, new ways of preserving its political control that would disguise its predatory aspirations and neutralize or win over some bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles. One of the principal methods is that of the "mixed" enterprise with the "participation" of North American capital, granting of credits for road building with the use of U.S. machinery and, sometimes, U.S. personnel; building automobile assembly plants using parts received from the United States, obtaining contracts (in place of the former concessions) for prospecting, extracting and refining oil and other minerals. Those diverse forms of penetration are now camouflaged as "development" projects sponsored by the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, etc., and are based on the assumption that the Latin American countries cannot develop their own economy without the aid of U.S. monopoly capital.

The modern spokesmen of U.S. imperialism

try hard to get people to believe that imperialism is no longer the old imperialism, that it is now prompted by purely altruistic motives. There is, they say, a "reactionary" imperialism (the European brand) and "progressive" (read: U.S.) imperialism, which is capable of radically changing the economic structure of Latin America and achieving progress and prosperity for its peoples without major social upheavals.

It should be noted, however, that not a single dollar under the Alliance for Progress or any other Washington program was earmarked for promoting heavy industry.

The facts lay bare the demagoguery of the U.S. monopolists and their lackeys.

North American capital accounts for 75 per cent of all foreign investments in Latin America. Total U.S. direct investment amounted to \$8,657 million in 1963. Through these investments the USA controls 25 per cent of the industrial enterprises producing 50 per cent of the total exports of the Latin American countries. North American monopoly capitalists own land not only in the Central American countries and in the Caribbean, but also in the other countries of the continent, in the Argentine, for example. Nearly 50 per cent of Latin American foreign trade is with the United States.

Between 1945 and 1961 profits from U.S. capital investments in Latin America amounted to \$40,000 million. Nearly 80 per cent of the profits from direct investment were exported to the USA. Non-equivalent exchange and other forms of plunder add considerably to the total profit. Even in the years of the greatest inflow of U.S. capital, the annual profits of the U.S. monopolies exceeded actual investments roughly threefold (and in 1963 more than 12-fold).

Profits on investments, interest and the price spread have netted the imperialist powers in the past ten years an average of more than \$2,400 million annually (the equivalent of nearly five per cent of the national income of the countries on the continent).

Contrary to the assertions of the imperialist spokesmen, intensified U.S. penetration into the Latin American countries spells increased exploitation and more poverty for their peoples.

The average annual income per capita in the Latin American countries amounts to \$120. The cost of living is rising steadily. In Colombia, for example, it rose by 52.4 per cent in 1963 and in the first half of 1964; in Peru, by 45 per cent between 1958 and 1963 and is rising at a rate of 0.9 per cent monthly; in the Argentine, between Oc-

tober 1963 and October 1964 it rose 21.4 per cent; in Brazil, the increase from June 1963 to June 1964 was more than 100 per cent. Much the same holds true for other countries on the continent.

North American capital controls 74 per cent of the oil extraction in Venezuela. The wage of the Venezuelan oil worker, who rates among the most highly paid in the country, is one-fifth that of his U.S. counterpart. In Bolivia, U.S. capital controls the tin output, the principal oil wells and the entire railway network. And the plight of the Bolivian workers is common knowledge. In Guatemala, as in the other Central American countries, United Fruit owns hundreds of thousands of acres, controls the railways, ports, shipping and the entire banana crop. At the same time it would be hard to imagine worse living conditions than those of the workers in Guatemala where the cost of living is much higher than in the United States while per capita income is 17 times as low.

A feature of the Latin American countries is stagnation in industry, agriculture and trade, as is evident, for example, from the following figures for two of the more "developed" countries of the continent; annual production growth in Mexico, the highest in continental Latin America, barely keeps pace with the population increase, and in the Argentine the volume of production in 1963 declined by five per cent, compared with a population growth of 6.6 per cent.

The result is chronic unemployment, which, in Mexico for instance, is beginning to assume mass proportions; in the Argentine the number of unemployed for the past several years has comprised eight per cent of the labor force. We say nothing of countries like Guatemala where out of a total labor force of 1,400,000, there are 100,000 fully unemployed and 500,000 partially unemployed.

The U.S. imperialist drive in Latin America was accompanied by installing reactionary dictatorships, corrupt and anti-patriotic regimes.

Today this anti-democratic policy has taken the form of the Mann Doctrine, a program of frank and cynical support of coups and reactionary dictatorships.

There is a simple explanation for this policy. Following the victory of the Cuban revolution and the upsurge of the national-liberation movements in the other Latin American countries, U.S. capital investments there substantially declined; the annual inflow of capital dropped from approximately \$300 million prior to 1959 to \$64 million in 1963.

It has been said that there is "nothing

more timid and cowardly than capital." American investors, accordingly, began to demand "guarantees" against expropriation, strikes and similar "dangers." This explains the military coups in nearly half of the Latin American countries, the crushing of liberties and intensified repressions against the working people.

Closely tied up with this is the policy of the U.S. rulers to militarize Latin America, to turn it into its main reserve of strategic materials, a base in the event of a third world war. Continental defense is under exclusive U.S. control. The land, naval and air forces of the Latin American states are equipped and trained by the Pentagon and in effect carry out its orders transmitted through the Inter-American Defense Council. It is obligatory to purchase U.S. helicopters (they are used for reprisals against peasants, as in Colombia), napalm bombs, special devices for breaking into trade union premises and factories occupied by the workers, and special assault cars to disperse demonstrations. In Argentina, Brazil and other countries work is under way to build rocket-launching pads and airstrips capable of receiving U.S. aircraft. The peoples of Venezuela and Colombia, Ecuador and Brazil, Guatemala and Paraguay, Honduras and the Dominican Republic are reaping the bitter harvest of militarization. What this policy of turning Latin America into a U.S. rocket base implies for the continent in the event of a world war is not difficult to imagine.

What has U.S. domination meant in terms of educational progress? Here are some figures: in Haiti—89.5 per cent of the population is illiterate, in Guatemala—82 per cent, in Bolivia—67.9 per cent; in Honduras—64.8 per cent.

The imperialists would like to destroy the national features of Latin American culture; all that is genuinely democratic and progressive in the culture of our peoples is now threatened. Particularly pernicious is the effect of the imperialist penetration into our universities and colleges. The number of students and teachers from the Latin American countries receiving their education in the United States where they are initiated into the "American way of life" is growing year by year. The United States Information Agency and the United States Information Service directly or indirectly control the big newspapers, the radio, television, and publishing houses in all Latin American countries.

Latin America, then, can expect nothing good from imperialism in general and North

American imperialism in particular. The tragic history of countries which 150 years ago became independent but are still in the thrall of foreign capital, economically underdeveloped and socially backward, is a lesson to the young Afro-Asian countries which are today at the crossroads, looking for their way of development.

CUBA USHERS IN A NEW STAGE

The supreme achievement to date in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American peoples is the Cuban revolution, which initiated a series of defeats for U.S. imperialism on our continent. The Cuban revolution also had another epoch-making aspect: it initiated the building of socialism in the Americas.

Cuba is not only the first free country in the Americas, it is the first socialist country on our continent. Following the October Revolution in Russia and the Chinese revolution, Cuba carried the revolution to the New World, thus acquiring truly world-historic significance. Although governed by the general laws characteristic of revolutions in economically underdeveloped and dependent countries as defined by Marxism-Leninism, the Cuban revolution differed from the previous socialist revolutions, which in one way or another were associated with world wars, in the sense that worldwide conflicts were not its birth pangs. The Cuban revolution is further confirmation of the conclusion drawn by the Moscow Meeting of 1960 that the basic feature of our time is that "the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society."

It is not our purpose in this article to make a detailed examination of the features and historical conditions of the Cuban revolution. We shall confine ourselves merely to its anti-imperialist aspect.

From the moment it was liberated from Spanish rule Cuba became the object of intervention and exploitation by U.S. imperialism. The Platt amendment, which was repealed only after the 1933 revolution, "legalized" U.S. intervention. In 1906 and 1917 the USA occupied the island. U.S. warships blockaded the island during the revolt against the Machado dictatorship. To this day the USA has its naval base in Guantanamo on Cuban territory. From the repeal of the Platt amendment to the victory of the revolution in January 1959, the USA constantly interfered in Cuban affairs through the U.S. Embassy or in other, less "diplomatic" ways.

Until the end of the forties the USA had

more direct investments in Cuba than anywhere else in Latin America. On the eve of the revolution these investments amounted to nearly \$1,000 million, i.e., 12 per cent of the U.S. total investments in Latin America. In this respect Cuba was second only to Venezuela. U.S. monopolies controlled 90 per cent of the power production in the country, the entire telephone system and 90 per cent of the nickel, cobalt and iron-ore output, not to mention other minerals. U.S. capitalists owned 36 of the biggest sugar refineries accounting for 40 per cent of the sugar output, and nearly two million hectares of the best land, or one-quarter of the total crop area.

Seventy-five per cent of the import and export trade was with the USA. Cuba always had an unfavorable balance of trade with the United States.

The annual three-million-ton sugar quota which the USA fixed for Cuba was both an outlet and the Achilles' heel for the country's sugar industry. The quota prevented her from raising other crops, from developing an independent economy and building her own industry.

For all practical purposes Cuba was a U.S. colony, and Havana, the capital, as well as other areas were turned into appendages of the Florida resorts, a playground for U.S. capitalists, a den of prostitution and gangsterism. U.S. imperialism saddled the Cuban people with the sanguinary and corrupt Batista regime which cost Cuba the lives of 20,000 of her patriots.

Probably no one described the situation better than the late President Kennedy when he said he did not think any country in the world under colonial rule was in such economic straits or suffered so much from poverty and exploitation as Cuba during the Batista regime owing to U.S. policy. He believed, he said, that without realizing it the USA designed, constructed and built all the parts of the mechanism of the Castro movement.

It was inevitable that the steady implementation of the more essential and more urgent measures should cut the Gordian knot of dependence on the United States. The agrarian reform which solved the problem of unemployment in agriculture and put an end to the hungry "dead season" could not but impinge on the latifundia of the U.S. companies. The reduced charges for power, vital for raising the standard of living of the people, could not but strike at the tentacles of the "electrical octopus" fastened on Cuba. Expropriation of the oil and the sugar refineries became necessary in order to save the economy and the revolution itself when

the monopolies and the U.S. administration sought to paralyze the country's economy. Nationalization of all imperialist enterprises and companies was the response to the economic blockade, to the intimidation and aggression to which the U.S. government resorted; it was designed to ensure the development of the revolution along the socialist road.

The U.S. aggression failed to strangle the revolution, because Cuba received aid from the socialist camp, in the first place from the Soviet Union which provided it with oil and a steady market for its sugar. This facilitated raising the standard of living; unemployment was abolished, a start was made in tackling the housing problem and illiteracy was wiped out in a brief space of time.

By putting an end to the U.S. plunder and oppression, the revolution won the sympathy and awakened the enthusiasm of the Latin American peoples still suffering from the yoke of the same monopolies and forces that only recently lorded it over Cuba. The Cuban revolution found a powerful echo in Latin America, and its influence is bound to make itself felt in the future development of the continent.

Cuba showed its Latin American brothers the untenability of the theory of "geographic fatalism," it demonstrated that in our time U.S. imperialist domination can be abolished in any country where the conditions have matured for this. Cuba is the evidence before the tribunal of history that, given unity and resolve, the solidarity of other peoples, and the aid of the socialist camp, and primarily of the Soviet Union, the revolution can triumph over all the machinations, maneuvers and aggressive actions of imperialism.

As Fidel Castro put it, "the Cuban revolution was possible only because the Russian revolution of 1917 happened before it. Without the existence of the Soviet Union the socialist revolution in Cuba could not have taken place."

Cuba has demonstrated to the world that an anti-imperialist revolution which acts unhesitatingly and is resolved not to barter away its gains can develop, sooner or later and in one or another way into a socialist revolution, and that this indeed is the main trend of our time, thanks to the growing influence exerted by socialism.

The Cuban revolution, by confirming the conclusions of the Marxist-Leninist parties concerning the future of Latin America, has made clearer the perspectives for many of the revolutionary and democratic forces which, though they have not yet defined their pro-

grams, nevertheless carry considerable weight on our continent. And these perspectives will become more and more tangible as Cuba forges ahead deepening socialist democracy, raising the well-being of the people and building her economy and culture.

The Cuban revolution has had a powerful impact also on U.S. policy and on the positions of the ruling oligarchy in Latin America. Unwilling to accept their defeat, the U.S. imperialists have essayed again and again to reverse the course of history and to export counter-revolution to Cuba; for this purpose they use their Latin American puppets who are eager to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for their masters even at the risk of getting their fingers burnt.

The U.S. imperialists have managed to get nearly all of these governments to break diplomatic relations with Cuba. A praiseworthy exception is Mexico, whose government steadfastly upholds the principles of non-interference and the right of the peoples to self-determination. In its attempts to isolate and blockade Cuba, the USA is using the Organization of American States, which not only unlawfully expelled Cuba from membership but resorted to sanctions and threats against its revolutionary government in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter.

The working class and the people generally in the Latin American countries, on the contrary, take a keen interest in the fate of Cuba. They give their support only to those parties and political forces which uphold the self-determination of Cuba. Even the new reformist organizations and trends are careful to avoid opposing the Cuban revolution.

These new maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists are therefore doomed to failure. The U.S. imperialists, the military camarillas which have seized power in spite of the "democratic" postulates of the Alliance for Progress, and the reforms to which some governments are resorting to save themselves are powerless to insulate the masses against the influence of revolutionary Cuba.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE GAINS MOMENTUM

To counteract this influence U.S. imperialism, aided by the governments obedient to its will, has intensified its efforts to crush the liberation struggle of the Latin American peoples. With its connivance, military dictatorships are installed and repressive laws enacted banning strikes and action by the workers in defense of their economic rights and liberties; the best sons of the Latin

American people are hounded, assaulted and thrown into prison; hundreds of Communists and revolutionary democrats, students, peasants and workers, men and women, have been shot or tortured to death by the reactionaries. Fascist and semi-military organizations are being set up to organize murders, subversion and putsches; the armed forces of all the countries on the continent are being united by the Pentagon into a single machine for the suppression of the working people. Guided by the concept of the "internal front" and the "counter-revolutionary war," they are waging an open struggle against their own people and using the governments for their own ends. Under the direct supervision of the U.S. military, these forces are used not for purposes of national defense but for fratricidal war against the working people of their own countries.

This creates new difficulties, more suffering and hardship for the peoples. But there is no force today that can hold back popular advance. Cuba is the symbol of liberation, an inspiring example of what can be accomplished by the people given the will to fight and the unity needed for victory. From their own painful experience the peoples have learned that, as Lenin once said about imperialism in general, U.S. monopoly interference is "reaction all along the line." And it is this all-encompassing character of imperialist domination, which penetrates into every pore of life of the Latin American peoples, that determines the fact that practically any action for progressive aims comes up against this domination, developing, in effect, into an anti-imperialist struggle.

The *working class* is the leading force in this struggle. In all countries of the continent strikes are almost a daily occurrence. The number of strikers increased from 2.6 million in 1949-51 (annual average) to 5.8 million in 1952-54, 9.1 million in 1955-57, 11.8 million in 1958, 20 million in 1959, more than 20 million in 1960, and 21 million in 1961. Naturally, the aims of the strikers are higher wages, better working conditions and other economic demands. But simultaneously the workers advanced such demands as new jobs, industrial development, nationalization of imperialist-owned enterprises, agrarian reform, democratic rights, release of political prisoners, and so on.

In Brazil, for example, three general strikes of a political nature took place after the fall of the Quadros government. Another example was the occupation of enterprises and other militant actions by the Argentine workers last year under the "plan of action" adopted by the

General Confederation of Labor. As a result, along with winning a number of economic demands, the workers succeeded in achieving the repeal of decrees prohibiting the activity of the Communist and Peronist parties.

The *peasants* seize the land of the big ranchers, resist (at times with arms) evictions and fight against the purchase of their produce by monopolies mainly owned by imperialist capital. In the countries of Central America the peasants and agricultural workers are fighting directly against the U.S. monopolies which own million of acres of the best land there. In these actions a worker-peasant alliance is being forged.

The actions of the *intellectuals and students* in defense of the national culture fuse with the actions in defense of democratic rights, economic independence and political sovereignty.

The actions of the *townspeople* against the high cost of living are also directed against the big monopolies, which are responsible for the soaring prices.

The *small bourgeoisie* and even some sections of the *national bourgeoisie* are likewise opposed to the domination of the U.S. monopolies. They support the demands advanced by the workers, peasants and intellectuals for nationalization of foreign companies, agrarian reform, democratic rights and national sovereignty. These actions are often joined in by democratic members of the armed forces and the clergy.

Millions of Latin Americans are working for peace and peaceful coexistence. They stand for complete and general disarmament. This mass pressure frustrated the attempts of the USA to get Latin American troops involved in the war against the Korean people (the Colombian government alone ventured to send a "token" contingent to Korea). In 1963 this mass pressure forced all the Latin American governments to sign the Moscow partial test-ban treaty (the Goulart government in Brazil was the first to do so).

A reflection of the powerful mass movement against nuclear weapons is the stand taken by a number of governments—in the first place that of Mexico—in support of the proposal for making Latin America a nuclear-free zone.

These anti-imperialist actions naturally assume different forms depending on the specific problems confronting each country. The people of Panama, defying North American bayonets, are demanding sovereignty for the entire territory of their country, including the Canal Zone. Mexico, which steadfastly upholds the principle of non-interference as a basis for safeguarding her sovereignty, is pro-

testing against the salination of the lands in Mexicali caused by operations of U.S. employers, against the U.S. policy of cutting prices and quotas and raising tariffs on Latin American raw materials. Part of the general picture of the anti-imperialist struggle on the continent is the armed struggle of the revolutionary forces in Venezuela and Guatemala and the valiant resistance of the Colombian guerilla-peasants of Marquetalia to the violence of the government which obediently follows in the wake of the U.S. policy.

The mainstream of the anti-imperialist movement includes the above-mentioned militant actions of the Argentine working class as well as the mass struggle of the workers in Uruguay for their immediate economic demands and in support of the Cuban revolution. An important role in the struggle was played by the national and democratic movement in Brazil which demanded restrictions on foreign capital, expropriation of the public services belonging to the U.S. capitalists, the establishment of trade relations with the socialist countries and other far-reaching reforms urgently called for by the socio-economic structure of the country. It will be recalled that this struggle frightened the U.S. rulers who organized a plot to overthrow the Goulart government. The ranks of the fighters against imperialism include the democratic and progressive forces of Chile who were on the threshold of coming to power (their call to nationalize the U.S.-owned copper mines brought them a million votes in the presidential election). Also among them are the revolutionary miners of Bolivia who contributed so much to the overthrow of the Paz Estensoro regime and who are now fighting to direct the country along democratic and progressive lines; the democrats of Costa Rica who are combating the threat of a reactionary coup; the peoples of Ecuador, Honduras, the Dominican Republic and Salvador who never cease their resistance to the policy of subservience to the United States pursued by the "gorilla" putschists opposed not only to everything beneficial for the people but even to those reforms which are envisaged by the Alliance for Progress; and, lastly, the people of Haiti who are waging a struggle against the dictator Duvalier, the people of Paraguay who are rising against the Stroessner dictatorship, and the people of Nicaragua who have entered the lists against the Rene Schick puppet regime.

But there are also slogans and forms of the anti-imperialist struggle which are common to the entire continent. These are primarily the struggle in defense of Cuba and the demonstrations of solidarity with the Cuban revolution initiated by the Marxist-Leninist

parties and other revolutionary and democratic forces. At certain crisis periods this movement acquired the nature of a revolutionary explosion which shook the entire continent. Workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and the revolutionary small bourgeoisie organized mass actions against the imperialists and their henchmen under the slogans "Hands Off Cuba!" "The Cuban Revolution Is Our Revolution!" "Cuba—Si, Yankees—No!"

The workers' demonstrations in Argentina, the proletarian rallies in Uruguay, the general strikes in Chile, the demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro, Lima, La Paz, Bogota, Quito, Guayaquil, Panama City, San Jose, San Salvador, Tegucigalpa and in other Latin American capitals. The militant actions against the reactionaries in the streets of Caracas and Guatemala at the crucial moments of the U.S. offensive against Cuba shook to the foundations those governments loyal to Washington. The student demonstrations, the actions and petitions of prominent personalities and intellectuals of the continent in support of Cuba have always expressed a protest against the policy of the United States.

The big demonstrations and solidarity actions organized at the time of the conferences in San Jose (Costa Rica) and in Punta del Este, as well as during the dramatic days of the mercenaries' invasion at Playa Giron and the Caribbean crisis have given the imperialists food for thought. Popular pressure for long prevented the rupture of diplomatic relations with Cuba by the Latin American governments. And only by means of intimidation and by bringing pressure to bear on the vacillating governments, by overthrowing the government in Brazil, exerting pressure in the OAS on Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia, were the U.S. imperialists able ultimately to achieve their aim.

The scale, the vigor and the multiplicity of forms of the anti-imperialist struggle create favorable conditions for unity of action of the various social and political forces both on the national and continental scale. In this way the people and the more far-sighted leaders are becoming conscious of the need to consolidate and coordinate the actions of all the anti-imperialist forces, which is essential if the national-liberation movement is to accomplish its vital tasks.

The Communist and Workers' parties, which have to work in the most diverse and often in very difficult conditions, are in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle, making an effective contribution to the attainment of unity.

Thanks to the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, to the example set by revolutionary Cuba, the people have much greater access to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Each day sees hundreds and thousands of new fighters joining the ranks of the revolutionaries. This

advance is best of all expressed in the steady growth of the influence and numerical strength of the Communist and Workers' parties with which the millions of Latin Americans oppressed by U.S. imperialism are associating their hopes for liberation, sovereignty and progress.

Craven concession to U.S. ultras

Department of Justice Prepares New Legal Frame-up of Communist Party

U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY APPEALS TO THE MASSES TO DEFEND DEMOCRACY

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT of Justice has ordered a second trial of the Party under the McCarran Act. The motion was granted by Chief Judge Mathew F. McGuire of the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., who set the trial date for March 15.

The indictment of the Communist Party for failure to register under the Internal Security Act was issued three years ago. The verdict of the first trial in which the Communist Party was found guilty and fined \$120,000 was voided by the U.S. Court of Appeals on December 17, 1963. But its ruling left a loophole open: it gave the government an opportunity to request a new trial at which it could attempt to prove

that there is some person willing to register the organization.

The Supreme Court on June 8, 1964, denied a Government petition for a review of the decision.

Today the reaction is mounting a fresh attack. Although the ultra-rights were defeated in the recent elections, they still retain strong positions in various government bodies and are pressuring the new government to continue the offensive against democratic rights and liberties despite its election pledges.

In connection with the order issued by the Department of Justice, the Communist Party of the United States has issued the following statement:

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

The desperate and malicious act by the Justice Department in putting the Communist Party on trial for a second time under the vicious McCarran Act is a cowardly surrender to the slanders and threats of J. Edgar Hoover and the ultra-Right.

This is an act of Goldwaterism in defiance of the election mandate. This is a betrayal of election promises for a "Great Society" based on democratic freedoms. This is an act of contempt for the growing numbers of leading American citizens who have demanded an end

to McCarthyite prosecutions under this unconstitutional law.

This act only adds to "the ugly American" image in today's world which creates fear among all people. This act of political persecution of Communists comes in the same days when brutal murderers of civil rights workers in Mississippi go scot free, when a deadly bazooka rocket is fired against the United Nations, when brinkmanship and threats of nuclear war are made in South Vietnam and in the Congo, and when J. Edgar Hoover heaps

racist and deliberate lies against Negro leaders, the Supreme Court, public officials, the youth in our universities, and against Communists.

Such events make an ominous package and must serve to rally the American people to reject every part of it.

This is the time to end Goldwaterism, to scrap the McCarran Act and to restore Constitutional freedoms.

We are confident that the mass of American people will demand an end to McCarran Act prosecutions—in all cases—and that includes the 44 membership cases, the Gus Hall case, the right-to-a-job case, the so-called "front" and "infiltrated" cases, and the Communist Party cases—and all other cases of political persecution. There must be an end to the terror and political discrimination, arrests and murder of the civil rights fighters in the South and an end to racist discrimination every-

where. There must be an end to political repression on the campus.

The Communist Party case indictment is three years old and the Supreme Court decision reversing the earlier district court conviction was made eight months ago. The Department of Justice has been sitting on this case—and now goes down to the bottom of the McCarthyite barrel to start this vindictive act of political harassment.

This is a deliberate attempt to reverse the election mandate. The promise was to expose and uproot the anti-democratic ultra-Right political hoodlums. Instead of this promise, the Department of Justice is carrying out the program of these very groups.

These are days for protest—for mass action—for victory. A massive movement can give life to the election mandate and stop this plot against democracy.

The peoples are breaking the fetters of colonial oppression

THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS STRIKING POWERFUL BLOWS AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Public opinion throughout the world has condemned the imperialist intervention in the Congo and U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia; it has voiced its solidarity with all peoples waging a struggle against imperialism.

The socialist countries and the international Communist movement regard it as their duty to give every moral and material support to the peoples who are fighting for freedom from imperialist oppression and colonial rule. The contributions printed below dwell on the fight of Asian, African and Latin American peoples for national liberation, against reaction at home and against imperialism.

THE U.S. AGGRESSOR IS FIGHTING A LOSING BATTLE IN INDO-CHINA

THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' position in South Vietnam is becoming more and more hopeless. The hour of their final defeat is approaching inexorably. Nothing can save the U.S. aggressor any longer—neither the 30,000 U.S. men and officers who are taking part in the dirty war against South Vietnam together with a puppet army 600,000 strong, nor the U.S. Seventh Fleet, which numbers more than 100 warships and 600 airplanes launching piratical attacks from the sea. They can be saved neither by the 300,000 tons of arms, munitions and other war supplies delivered to South Vietnam since 1954, nor by the daily expenditure of \$2,000,000 by the U.S. imperialists on this dirty war. They can benefit neither by repeated reshuffles of their Saigon puppets nor by the napalm bombs and the chemical means of warfare they have been using against the civilian population.

Toward the end of 1964 the U.S. imperialists, having been dealt a series of crushing blows by the liberation army of South Vietnam, had begun to take steps aimed at extending their aggression. The lesson of the dismal failure

of their Gulf of Bac Bo (Tonkin) provocation was completely lost on the U.S. imperialists and they set about making plans for an expanded war of aggression. U.S. military aircraft again bombed the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

U.S. "strategists" entertain the illusion that they will be able, by bombing DRV territory, to break the resistance of the courageous Vietnamese people and scramble out of the bloody swamp in which they are stuck. But such adventurous actions by U.S. imperialism merely increase the resistance of the freedom-loving Vietnamese people. They increase the anger and indignation of the peoples of Southeast Asia, the socialist camp, and all the freedom- and peace-loving forces of the world. The U.S. imperialists' efforts to ease things for themselves by involving member-countries of the aggressive SEATO bloc in the war against the South Vietnamese people and making the United Nations an accomplice in the intervention in Vietnam are likewise bound to fail.

"He who sows the wind shall reap the whirl-

wind," says the proverb. And the whirlwind will sweep the aggressors away! One year after the Geneva agreements were signed (1954), the U.S. imperialists imposed the Ngo Dinh Diem regime on the people of South Vietnam. Then, with the aid of their puppet they launched an extensive campaign of persecution against the South Vietnamese patriots who had participated in the Resistance movement against the French colonialists. This in itself was a glaring violation of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam, which envisage, among other things, safeguarding the security of these patriots.

Even when massive terrorism had taken its initial toll of lives, the Vietnamese people did all in their power to defend themselves by peaceful means: they demanded the implementation of their legitimate rights stipulated by the Geneva agreements. But the course of events reaffirmed that the aggressive nature of imperialism, particularly of U.S. imperialism, that gendarme of the world and chief bulwark of world reaction, is unchanged.

The U.S. imperialists and their South Vietnamese puppets frustrated the general election that was to have been held, by the terms of the Geneva agreements, two years after they were signed, with a view to the peaceful reunification of Vietnam. Furthermore, they stepped up their cruel terror campaign, with the result that thousands of people were killed and hundreds of thousands tortured to death in prisons and concentration camps. But they thought even that barbaric extermination of patriots too mild a measure, for in 1961 President John Kennedy of the USA, whom bourgeois propaganda described as "peace-loving," ordered a direct military intervention in South Vietnam, an intervention which is still on and is being extended today under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson, another "peace-loving" President.

The people of South Vietnam had no alternative but to take up arms in order to repel the U.S. aggressor and its puppets. United in a single front, skilfully combining armed and political struggle, inspired by their firm resolve never to retreat in the face of the enemy, and supported by the people of the whole world, they are winning one victory after another.

During the last three years the liberation army and the patriots of South Vietnam have fought about 64,000 battles, big and small, put over 300,000 enemy soldiers, including 3,000 U.S. servicemen, out of action, destroyed 1,500 military aircraft of different types, thousands of U.S. military trucks and amphibious tanks, and sunk over 600 warships and launches, including an aircraft carrier.

In November 1964 the people's liberation forces displayed their might once again by routing the secret U.S. military airfield at Bien Hoa. They have freed more than three-quarters of an area inhabited by upwards of half the population of South Vietnam, which runs to 14 million.

The time is not far off when the U.S. aggressor and its lackeys will be driven out of the country once and for all. They will be swept away by the winds they themselves have sown. The delegate of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at the International Conference for solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and in defense of peace held in Hanoi in November 1964 had every reason to say: "The law of development of the war in South Vietnam is: the more the people fight, the stronger they grow and the more victories they win; as for the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, the more they fight, the weaker they grow, the more defeats they suffer and the greater their stalemate."

The struggle of the South Vietnamese people also proves once again that U.S. military strength, no matter how formidable it is, is not unlimited and not invincible, but it is the forces of the people which are indeed invincible.

U.S. imperialist aggression in South Vietnam is an integral part of its design to turn Indo-China, and the whole of Southeast Asia, into a neo-colonialist province, a military base from which to attack the socialist countries and to prevent socialist revolution in this area.

It is with this aim in view that the U.S. imperialists, while concentrating on aggression in South Vietnam, are at the same time doing their utmost to heighten tension in this quarter. They are engaged in dangerous subversion and committing acts of aggression in other parts of Indo-China, Laos and Cambodia. They are joining forces with British imperialism in implementing the neo-colonialist "Malaysia" project so as to suppress the liberation movement of the people of North Kalimantan, Malaya and Singapore and to threaten the security of Indonesia. All this found striking expression in the recent joint communique of Lyndon Johnson and Tengku Abdul Rahman in which the U.S. imperialists openly declared their readiness to give military and material aid to "Malaysia." And they actually started to do so.

But the times have changed and the U.S. imperialists no longer can act at will with impunity. They are encountering a resolute rebuff everywhere. The Neo Lao Haksat, which the USA considers the chief obstacle to their foul schemes in Laos, has been neither isolated nor wiped out, all the efforts of the U.S. aggressors notwithstanding. The strength and influence of the Neo Lao Haksat have not been shaken either by the overt and covert political maneuvers or the incessant armed attacks made by the U.S. imperialists and the local reactionaries on the liberated areas of Laos. Neo Lao Haksat has grown in strength politically and militarily; it is dealing smashing blows at the aggressors and their stooges, and is enjoying the growing support of the people in Indo-China and all over the world.

In the Kingdom of Cambodia, too, the U.S.

imperialists are continuously faced with demonstrations and protests against their economic subversion, their conspiracy with the Cambodian renegades and outlaws, against political assassinations and provocations, against the brutal bombing of Cambodian territory — against the threat all this implies to Cambodia's independence. It is not surprising, therefore, that subjected to such piratical acts, even Prince Norodom Sihanouk has called U.S. imperialism and its stooges in South Vietnam Cambodia's No. 1 enemy.

By extending the war in Indo-China, U.S. imperialism is seriously endangering peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world. But it is also increasingly exposing itself as the main enemy of peace and liberation movements in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the whole world. Hence, in order to ensure the victory of liberation movements and the strengthening

of world peace, it is imperative to wage a resolute struggle against imperialism, and primarily against U.S. imperialism.

The heroic struggle waged by the South Vietnamese patriots against U.S. imperialist aggression is a big contribution to peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world. It is also of cardinal importance for frustrating the plans of U.S. imperialism to create in South Vietnam a bridgehead for attacking the socialist countries.

The final defeat of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam is not far off. The courageous struggle and the successes of the Vietnamese people inspire all those who cherish peace, national independence, democracy and socialism to intensify their just struggle for final victory over world imperialism headed by the USA.

SUHARJO

THE CONGO IS IN DANGER

ON NOVEMBER 24 LAST, U.S. aircraft landed 600 Belgian paratroopers in Stanleyville, capital of the Congo's Eastern Province and seat of the Provisional Revolutionary Government formed by the people. The paratroopers took advantage of their surprise attack and their numerical and technical superiority to seize the town and massacre patriots. The alleged purpose of the operation was to "save" the Europeans in Stanleyville from the Africans. There is nothing new about the hypocritical plea of saving the lives of white people. Invaders have always used it to justify colonial plunder and atrocities against the people of the invaded countries.

Indignation caused by the imperialist attack surged high in Africa and elsewhere. In many countries people marched in large numbers to the Belgian, U.S. and British embassies. The governments of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries served warning on the aggressors. The world was outraged by the news of the imperialists' atrocities in the long-suffering Congo. World opinion condemned the massacre organized by the Belgian paratroopers, and other mercenaries who were flown to Stanleyville in U.S. transport planes from the British-controlled Ascension Island, with the blessing of the White House and the approval of the NATO Council.

Popular feeling on the matter was manifested forcefully during puppet Prime Minister Tshombe's recent visits to Paris and Rome. Despite the special measures taken by the French police, Parisians filled the streets, demanding the expulsion of the executioner of the Congolese people.

Big protest demonstrations took place throughout Italy. For three days the working people and students demanded everywhere—

from Rome to Milan and from Reggio Emilia to Palermo—that Tshombe get out of the country. Many demonstrators were arrested and others, including five Communist MPs and one Socialist MP were injured by the police. Stormy scenes were witnessed in the Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies in the course of which government spokesmen were compelled to state that Tshombe had not been invited to Italy, that he was a guest of the Vatican, not of the government. But the explanation did not allay the anger.

* * *

The aggression in the Congo began long before the landing of the paratroops. The U.S., British and Belgian imperialists joined forces to crush the Congolese people's liberation movement.

International solidarity with the Congolese people was not sufficiently powerful. The people of the Congo found themselves virtually alone against the united imperialist front. This would not have happened if the OAU (Organization of African Unity), whose task is to keep a vigilant watch over imperialist intrigue and safeguard the independence of newly-free countries, had taken resolute action, if its unity against imperialism had been closer, and if there had been no reactionary elements operating in the OAU, secretly and sometimes openly. The OAU even includes men like Wachuku, Nigerian Foreign Minister, who described the paratroopers' raid on Stanleyville as a "humane action."

This is the second time since last spring, when French paratroopers in Gabon restored to the throne Leon Mba, the puppet ruler overthrown by the people, that the OAU has in effect done nothing to counter open imperialist aggression against an independent African state.

Obviously the stand taken by the leaders of some African countries detracts to a consider-

able extent from the revolutionary anti-imperialist character of the OAU. The organization's attitude enables the imperialists to resort with impunity to military operations in those African countries where neo-colonialist methods prove inadequate.

This is clearly shown by the course of events in the Congo. After granting independence to the Congo, the imperialists succeeded in putting down the revolutionary forces for a while and imposing the pro-Western Adoula government. At first the neo-colonialists felt confident, all the more so since they had done everything under the U.N. flag. The U.N. troops sent to the Congo to maintain order degenerated into a police force serving the imperialists and became an obstacle to genuine independence.

However, the people were mustering their forces for action. Early last year insurgents led by Pierre Mulele and Gaston Soumialot and backed by the population brought a sizable part of Congolese territory under their control. Then, when the insurrection spread to Katanga, thereby imperilling the profits of the copper-mining companies, the imperialists sounded the alarm.

A series of conferences took place in London, Brussels and Washington to formulate a common policy. The Congo, it was decided, needed a "strong-arm" man. As a result, Adoula was superseded in Leopoldville by Tshombe, the man directly responsible for the murder of Lumumba. The whole of free Africa hates this murderer and traitor, but imperialist pressure turned out to be stronger than the Africans' anger and protests from a number of African leaders—Tshombe became head of the Congolese government.

On instructions from his imperialist masters, Tshombe hastened to take drastic measures against the patriots. He summoned several thousand Katanga ex-gendarmes who had fled to Angola following the reunification of the Congo and were standing by for the signal from their chief. But their strength proved insufficient and the insurgents kept advancing. Tshombe had to plead with his masters for help.

Threatened with the loss of their positions, the imperialists resorted to war against the people. Mercenaries willing to kill anybody for money swarmed to the Congo from Belgium, France, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The United States sent military aircraft piloted by Cuban counter-revolutionaries, and supplied every possible weapon from Tommy guns to tanks.

With the mercenaries and U.S. aircraft joining in the war, there began an international imperialist attack on the Congo. So far its peak has been the Belgian paratroopers' "rescue mission."

How much longer are the imperialists going to sow death and destruction in independent African countries with impunity? How could the OAU allow the use of foreign mercenaries in the Congo? Why is it that the whole of free

Africa did not counter the invaders? Can Africa's conscience allow another "Operation Libreville," Gabon, or "Operation Stanleyville"?

These are questions being asked by progressive African and world opinion today.

The peoples of Africa insist on their governments taking action to solve the Congo problem and seeing to it that imperialist aggression against Africa is discontinued. Under pressure of their people, even those African leaders who make no secret of their links with the imperialists were forced to support the action against Tshombe.

The work of the OAU special committee for the Congo was frustrated by the refusal of Tshombe and the U.S. government to cooperate. The OAU has condemned imperialist interference in Congolese affairs and put forward a plan for free elections under OAU supervision to form a people's majority government.

Delegates from independent African countries addressing the U.N. General Assembly denounced the policy of the imperialist powers on the Congo. A memorandum submitted to the Security Council by fifteen African countries supported by Cambodia, Afghanistan and Yugoslavia, described the imperialist invasion as direct interference in African affairs, a challenge to the OAU, a gross violation of the U.N. Charter, and a threat to peace and security in Africa.

However, there is a need for something more than protests and meetings. Thousands of people are being killed in the Congo. This is how the correspondent of the Milan newspaper *Il Giorno*, described a mercenary operation: "The invaders push on, searching houses and scanning roads, shooting at every moving target. Death continues its race. Pillage is universal. Paratroops and mercenary officers call it 'mopping up' . . . Stanleyville . . . is a battlefield strewn with unburied corpses."

The United States, Belgium, the Republic of South Africa and Tshombe have formed a united front to stamp out the liberation movement in the Congo. The leadership of the Congolese revolutionary movement has called on all Africans to combat this unholy alliance. The governments of Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, Ghana and other African countries have signified their readiness to adopt active measures against the aggressors. The colonialists' collective action must be countered by the concerted effort of all forces standing for freedom and national independence.

Congo patriots are fighting on in face of the overwhelming military superiority of the enemy. They have the sympathy of the whole of Africa, of the forces of peace and freedom throughout the world. But they are short of arms and medical supplies. They need both moral and material support, primarily from independent African countries.

The Congo problem bears on something more than the fate of a people ten million strong. It is the touchstone of African unity. Whether

Africa will be free and whether Africans will be masters in their own house or will continue under imperialist tyranny, will depend on the solution of this problem.

Unless the imperialists' hand is stayed, the Congo tragedy may be re-enacted in any other independent African country. It may become

an all-African tragedy. African patriots are determined to defend the Congo at all costs. In this they will be fully and vigorously supported by the socialist countries and the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world.

Etienne NDOH

SOLIDARITY OF AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARIES

Statement by the Revolutionary Committee, League of the Peoples of Cameroon, Concerning the Imperialist Attack on the Congo

WITH UNPRECEDENTED insolence, cynicism and cruelty, the U.S. and Belgian imperialists reoccupied the Congo on November 23.

In Stanleyville and other towns in the Eastern Province, Belgian paratroopers and white mercenaries are sowing death. They are perpetrating a methodical, savage and merciless genocide. Women are raped, their bodies mutilated. Men are shot, or crushed under tanks or thrown into the Congo River. Children too are bayoneted, shot and crushed to death. As they see it, the black people in the area have no right to live and must be destroyed to preserve the neo-colonial regime and dollar civilization, promote racialism and bolster the imperialist monopolies' inhuman rule.

Over five thousand Africans have been destroyed in this cruel fashion. Such is the preliminary balance sheet of the U.S.-Belgian intervention in the Congo. The total is much greater, for it includes the victims of bombings.

Surely the massacre of five thousand Africans on the pretext of freeing one U.S. spy sentenced to death is reminiscent of the stratagem to which the French colonialists resorted in 1830 to justify their armed invasion and occupation of Algeria.

The Stanleyville massacre, like the murder of Lumumba, is rooted in one and the same source—the tempting glitter of diamonds, gold, uranium, copper and other minerals. U.S., Belgian, British and West German monopolies tremble at the thought that the Congo may become truly free and united.

The tragedy of Stanleyville and of the Congo has shocked people everywhere. Many people have condemned the act of aggression and the atrocities committed by the mercenaries.

It is painful to note, however, that at a time when thousands of Congolese are being slaughtered by the Belgian and U.S. invaders Africa, above all official Africa, does not speak up. The Organization of African Unity is silent, whereas its duty is to stand up for the violated sovereignty of the Congolese people and render them material, political and diplomatic and moral support.

The Revolutionary Committee of the League of the Peoples of Cameroon (LPC) pointed out long ago that in the struggle against neo-colonialism the oft-repeated principle of non-interference is used by the reactionaries and by imperialist propaganda to undermine the solidarity and unity of the revolutionary African forces, on the one hand, and to cover up the neo-colonialists' intervention, on the other. This is what is taking place at present.

The indecision of the OAU and official Africa causes rejoicing among the aggressors, as is evident from a statement by Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak who said he had not received a single protest from the African embassies accredited to Brussels.

The LPC Revolutionary Committee exposes and emphatically condemns the U.S.-Belgian attack on the Congo and considers that it is primarily the U.S. imperialists who are responsible for the Congolese tragedy.

The LPC Revolutionary Committee expresses the Cameroon people's solidarity with the fraternal people of the Congo all the more because the traitor Tshombé can rely at any moment on support from his Cameroon counterpart, the traitor Ahidjo.

Wishing to avenge the Stanleyville martyrs, and all the victims of imperialist vandalism and piracy, the LPC Revolutionary Committee urges the OAU to condemn the imperialist aggression and to do all in its power to help the revolutionary government in the Congo, which should represent the interests of the Congo (Leopoldville) in the OAU. The Committee earnestly calls on all the revolutionary forces of the continent to join in a *united front* against the combined forces of reaction. Only such a front can meet the needs of the African revolution. The actions of countries must be supported by the organized strength of the people if they are to bear fruit. U.S. imperialism, wounded by the world revolution, is becoming particularly aggressive. It threatens the independence of all the newly-free countries of our African continent.

THE DAYS OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM ARE NUMBERED

Interviews with Leaders of the National-Liberation Movement

ANGOLA PATRIOTS NEED UNITY

NOW THAT THE disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism is plain for all to see, the attention of progressives everywhere is turned to those areas of Africa still under Portuguese rule.

The upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the "overseas provinces" of Portugal began in the late forties. The strikes of the Lourenco-Marques dockers, of the sugar plantation workers on the Cape Verde islands; the strikes of railway construction workers in Tete, of bakers in Luanda, of the crews of fishing vessels in Guinea; the uprisings on the island of Saint Thomas and in the Angola border area—all are landmarks in the development of this movement.

In 1961 the people of Angola and of what is known as Portuguese Guinea rose in revolt against the colonialists. The Salazar regime retaliated with napalm bombs and wholesale terror. Salazar's war against Africans is financed by his Western allies and the big international monopolies. His punitive forces are armed by the United States, Britain, France and West Germany. Without the financial, military and political support of the Western powers Salazar could not have persisted in shedding the blood of the Angolan and Guinean peoples.

Fighting against tremendous odds, the people of the Portuguese colonies are battling for national liberation with unabated force. Big gains have been won in Portuguese Guinea where the patriots control 35-40 per cent of the territory. The people of Mozambique, too, are moving into action for freedom.

However, Africans and their friends all over the world are greatly perturbed by the decline in the armed and political struggle in Angola. The lack of unity among the patriotic forces is a serious obstacle to national emancipation.

Political parties first appeared in Angola in the nineteen fifties. The biggest of these are the Union of the Peoples and the People's Liberation Movement. The former, founded in 1954 in the northern part of the country, expressed the interests mainly of the numerous Bakongo tribe. Today the party enjoys some influence also in other parts of the country. It is predominantly a peasant party without a clearcut socio-political platform. Its leaders, and primarily Holden Roberto, are known to be pro-western "moderate" nationalists. Holden Roberto maintains contact with Washington, despite the U.S. military and financial aid to Salazar.

The People's Liberation Movement came into being in December 1956 with the merging of several patriotic organizations. It has been from the outset an all-Angola party with a clearly defined democratic program, uniting the urban

proletarian masses, farm laborers and peasants under the leadership of the revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia.

The leadership of the Movement has always worked to unite all the patriotic forces on the basis of the demands for national emancipation, positive neutrality and social progress. The need for unity became particularly urgent when the two parties summoned the people to armed struggle in 1961. The Union leaders, however, have persistently resisted unity. As a result of the sectarian policy pursued by Roberto, two rival guerrilla movements exist today, a fact which of course plays into the hands of the colonialists.

This state of affairs, a boon to the imperialists and a misfortune for the Angolan people, is distressing to all who want to see an end to colonialism.

Dr. Agostinho Neto, Chairman of the People's Liberation Movement and a well-known poet, recently visited our journal. Dr. Neto's name is familiar to all who have followed the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies against colonialism. While studying in Portugal Dr. Neto was arrested on more than one occasion for his "subversive activities." On his return to Angola in 1959 he became a popular leader of the people. In June 1960 the Portuguese secret police arrested Neto and several other prominent leaders. This action sparked off protest demonstrations which were fired on by the police. Dr. Neto was sent to a concentration camp on the Cape Verde islands, and later transferred to a Lisbon prison. The fascists had intended to mete out harsh punishment to the Angolan patriot, but the worldwide protests forced them to change their plans. In March 1962 Dr. Neto was removed from prison and placed under house arrest. Four months later members of the People's Liberation Movement assisted by other Portuguese patriots organized his escape. Since then he has headed his party and is devoting all his energies to the fight for freedom.

Dr. Neto kindly agreed to tell our readers something about the struggle of his people, its successes, its difficulties and its prospects. Below is a summary of his remarks.

* * *

The armed uprising which began on February 4, 1961 in Luanda is an important page in the history of the struggle of our people and its memory is cherished by all Angolans. The unceasing battles with the Portuguese punitive forces show that the fighting spirit of Angola's patriots is strong, and that they are determined to carry on the fight until independence is won.

With the support of the NATO powers, Portugal is continuing the police terror and armed suppression of the popular movement. Napalm bombs are dropped on "suspect" villages and

areas where civilians have taken refuge under guerrilla protection. Fields and forest paths are mined. The prisons are filled with patriots. The freedom fighters sent to the concentration camp on the Cape Verde islands on the charge of "endangering national security" are being subjected to inhuman torture.

South African, Spanish and other mercenaries are helping the authorities to bolster up the colonial regime.

Realizing that they are powerless to break the will of the people by force of arms, the colonialists are resorting to all kinds of maneuvers to divert the wavering elements from the struggle for independence. The announcement of plans to carry out a number of administrative reforms in the neo-colonialist spirit serves this purpose.

But no machinations can undermine or halt our struggle. The people who have been waging the liberation struggle for more than three years have no intention of laying down their arms.

A few unscrupulous leaders, however, have succeeded in bringing part of the national-liberation movement under imperialist influence. This causes division and distracts attention from the urgent tasks of the anti-colonialist struggle.

Imperialist penetration is effected not only through the Salazar government, but also through the Congo (Leopoldville) government which is run by the puppets of the foreign monopolies. It should be borne in mind that for a long time the Congo was the only neighboring country where our freedom fighters could find political asylum. However, all the sympathies of the Congolese leaders and their imperialist patrons were on the side of Roberto, while the true patriots were hounded and in some instances even imprisoned by the Congo authorities. The Congolese security police illegally confiscated a large quantity of arms and ammunition intended for the Angolan guerrillas.

Roberto is doing his utmost to prevent Angolan patriots from uniting to fight the common enemy—Portuguese colonialism. His party is rapidly losing the confidence of the people.

On April 5, 1962, Roberto, bent on taking over the leadership of the entire national-liberation movement, announced the formation of a provisional government in exile and asked all African countries to recognize him as the sole representative of fighting Angola. This was an attempt to subordinate our party to imperialist *diktat*, to neutralize and crush it. In 1963 a number of African states recognized the Roberto "government." A committee of nine set up under the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to help peoples fighting for independence placed all their means at the disposal of Roberto and his "government."

Today this "government" continues to be an instrument for disrupting national unity, misleading the embattled masses and preventing the struggle from spreading. It has no popular

support, it does not represent the patriotic forces of the country and hence is incapable of fulfilling the function of a leading center for the Angolan patriots.

The Angolan Peoples' Union and its "provisional government" are torn by strife, which is additional proof of their instability. Many members of the Union are leaving and joining our movement. During the second conference of heads of the independent African states held in Cairo last July, Jonas Savimbi, one of Roberto's associates, announced his intention of withdrawing from the "provisional government" in which he occupied the post of minister of foreign affairs.

Roberto is rightly considered responsible for dividing the patriotic forces and for the restricted scope of the armed struggle of our people. The fact that he had been joined by Viriato da Cruz, one-time General Secretary of the People's Liberation Movement, and other renegades expelled from the Movement cannot deceive anyone, any more than the ultra-revolutionary phraseology indulged in by da Cruz can hide the Washington orientation of the Union leaders.

Despite the difficulties, and notwithstanding all the machinations of imperialism, our liberation struggle is developing under the leadership of the People's Liberation Movement. The morale of our men is high. Denying the colonialists a moment's respite, they are striking hard at the punitive forces, inflicting heavy losses in men and material.

There is every reason to believe that we shall witness a powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the near future.

Expressing the will of the people, our movement is doing all in its power to achieve unity. The party has proposed calling a congress of all organizations standing for independence. We believe that the congress will take place. The prospect of unity will become clearer as the scope and intensity of the struggle increases. The logic of the struggle demands unity, and in the long run even those presently resisting it will eventually see their error.

The support of progressive people throughout the world and the consolidation of the worldwide anti-colonialist front are vital to the success of our struggle. An important role is played by African unity and, like all Africans, we need that unity. In our opinion it should be directed against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racism, and for economic and social progress on the African continent.

Owing to an incorrect understanding by some people of the situation in our country and the problems of African unity, the Committee of Nine made the mistake of recognizing the Roberto "government" as the sole authorized representative of fighting Angola and accorded it all the assistance rendered within the framework of the Organization of African Unity. It was gratifying to note that the Cairo conference decided to set up a special commission consisting of Ghana, Congo (Brazzaville) and the

United Arab Republic for the purpose of making a more detailed and objective study of the situation in the Angolan national-liberation movement.

In the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists and world imperialism, the unity of all progressives on the continent, can play a very big role.

This applies equally to unity with the progressive forces of the world, for Africa cannot and must not be isolated. Africa is part of the world, Africans are part of the human race. The struggle of the African peoples is an inalienable part of the struggle of all mankind for progress and freedom.

The patriots of Angola are anxious for close cooperation with those progressive organizations in the world which have rendered us substantial aid. The unity of all progressive forces can hasten the complete liberation of the peoples.

MOZAMBIQUE ENTERS THE STRUGGLE

In the second half of September 1964 Frelimo (Liberation Front of Mozambique), the party leading the national-liberation movement, called on the people to rise against the Portuguese colonialists.

In an interview with one of our staff members, *Eduardo Mondlane*, Chairman of Frelimo, and his colleague *Sergio Vieira*, described the situation in Mozambique and the progress of the liberation movement. Below we print a transcript of the interview.

Q. What is the social and economic background to the present stage of the national-liberation movement in Mozambique?

A. Mozambique Africans were officially declared Portuguese citizens in 1961, but their citizenship is purely nominal. They even lack the few rights still left to the people of Portugal. Their plight is aggravated by the forced labor introduced in 1947. People between 18 and 55 are obliged to work six months a year for the colonial administration, which can transfer them to work for private employers for a certain sum of money.

This rule applies to every African who is not permanently employed by the government or by a private employer, who is not in the armed forces, who does not own at least fifty head of cattle, is without land or a definite number of machines and other mechanical devices, and who is not employed by an imperialist monopoly holding a concession.

This forced labor applies to all Africans. In 1954 the number of forced laborers was 1,273,356, out of an able-bodied population of 2,400,000.

Every year over 400,000 Mozambique people are forced to go to mines in South Africa and Rhodesia.

In 1954 there were 4,530 Portuguese "masters," or persons employing forced labor, in Mozambique itself.

European farmers ruthlessly exploit African

labor on their plantations. Laborers are paid 4.5 escudos for a twelve-hour day, or an average of 1,404 escudos a year, whereas workers of European extraction earn 47,723 escudos annually. One has only to know the price of staples to have an idea of the African's purchasing capacity. In Lourenco Marques, sugar costs 4.1 escudos a kilogram, rice 6 escudos, potatoes 3.93, and bread 4.7 escudos.

The Portuguese imperialists, themselves controlled by British, U.S. and Belgian capitalist interests, cannot pursue a dynamic economic policy in their colonies, that is, carry on industrialization, prospect for and exploit mineral riches and make proper use of the resources. They solve the problem by leasing territory to other foreign monopolies.

On this leased territory the African is obliged to grow only the crops for which the company concerned lends him the seed. The company buys up the entire crop and resells it abroad at an infinitely higher price. Cotton, for instance, which earns the African peasant 2.7 escudos per kilo, is sold at 18 escudos in Portugal and at 20 to 25 escudos on the world market.

The big monopolies have an interest in the single-crop system and strictly forbid the raising of food crops in the leased territory. As a result, the African peasant is compelled to buy foods from the company employing him, which has a monopoly on trade in the area.

Thus while there is no forced labor system in the concession areas, 500,000 peasants have no choice but to toil for a pittance on the plantations of imperialist companies. The peasant who cannot pay his debt to the company forfeits his land. This explains why, on a vast area of 128,730 sq. km. leased to the Zambezi Company, 513,870 peasants in 1957 owned less than 400,000 hectares, the remaining being the company's property.

Every year the peasants work less time on their own land or on communal land, gradually becoming wage laborers for the big companies. They are forced to do this not only by direct pressure from the state and the monopolies but by the crushing burden of taxation.

Forced labor hampers the real proletarianization of the Mozambique half-peasant, half-laborer, who changes his occupation every six months. After six months' service in a factory he returns to his village. For the next six months he may go not to a factory, but to a farm owned by a European—as a farm laborer or household servant. What is he, then? A worker, peasant, menial or slave? The latter definition seems the most fitting.

Class consciousness is making the most rapid progress with the assimilados who do not perform forced labor. They include, first of all, dock workers and railwaymen, as well as certain categories of skilled factory workers. Growing class consciousness was in evidence, specifically, during the dock strike in Lourenco Marques in August 1963 and in Nacala in Sep-

tember 1963, during the railwaymen's strike in Beira in 1963, etc.

Q. What political organizations and social forces are involved in the liberation movement?

A. Class composition in Mozambique roughly corresponds to what nowadays is the basic division into oppressed Africans and oppressing Portuguese.

Lack of opportunities for education, and concentration of the basic means of production in industry and agriculture in foreign hands have prevented the formation of a local bourgeoisie.

The assimilados and mestizos cannot be regarded as a bourgeoisie or as a stratum likely to become a bourgeoisie. They do not own means of production nor do they play any appreciable part in managing colonial undertakings. They are exploited like anyone else and the only distinction between them and the rest of the population is in the degree of exploitation. The more the liberation movement grows, the more distrustful the colonial authorities become of those Africans who have at least some education.

The assimilados and mestizos had, and still have, a better opportunity of keeping abreast of events elsewhere in the world, of trends in revolutionary ideology, and of grasping the meaning of colonialist exploitation in terms of theory. Today many of them form the vanguard of the national-liberation movement in Mozambique.

People employed on forced labor suffer most from colonial oppression. Potentially, they are the most revolutionary element. But without leadership they can at best spark off spontaneous or anarchistic action. To impart revolutionary consciousness to the people and to lead them in struggle against imperialism, we need a political party made up of the most dynamic and best trained members of the exploited classes.

In our country, those who are capable of beginning a revolution, leading it and ensuring its victory are grouped in the Frelimo patriotic party. Workers and peasants, primarily those engaged in forced labor, are the mainstay of Frelimo, which includes also revolutionary intellectuals. Frelimo is a broad national front and at the same time a party defending the interests of the exploited classes.

Frelimo was founded in 1962, at the Dar es Salaam conference of the patriotic organizations of Mozambique. Its September 1963 congress adopted the four basic programs which constitute Frelimo's overall program of action.

The first program (organizational), is designed to awaken political awareness and develop an organizational pattern encompassing the population.

The second program specifies the function of Frelimo's department of security and defense. It indicates the main direction for the people's armed resistance to the colonialists.

The third program is implemented by our

foreign-relations department. It can be described as an information program. Its purpose is to expose the lies spread by the colonialists and the imperialist press about the situation in our country. This program makes it possible to enhance the effect of international solidarity with our movement and to express our solidarity with all other anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movements. It has helped us to strengthen our contact with the progressive forces of the world, the fraternal countries and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, with the socialist countries and the progressive, democratic forces in the imperialist camp.

The fourth program is educational. We need it because colonial policy has prevented our country from training skilled personnel of its own. Today we are doing our best, with the help of the National League of Mozambique Students, to make up for this deficiency. A campaign is being launched to teach large sections of the working people to read and write, a Mozambique Institute has been founded to provide young people with a higher education, and talks are under way to obtain scholarships in the socialist countries of Europe and in other countries willing to help us.

Q. Why have you chosen armed struggle as the chief means of attaining liberation?

A. The choice was imposed on us by Portugal and by world imperialism which is backing Portugal. At first Frelimo did all in its power to win freedom by peaceful means, that is, through negotiation and agreement with Portugal. But Portugal invariably rejected the very idea of talks. And so in 1962 Frelimo was compelled at its First Congress to decide on preparations for an armed fight against colonial rule.

In 1963 nine African countries sought, with U.N. mediation, to induce the Portuguese government to start talks. But the effort failed. It was not until the autumn of 1964, that Frelimo called on the people to take up arms against the colonialists.

The important thing is not how the people win their freedom but how they and their leaders prepare for the future independence even before they gain it. Some countries secured independence at the conference table, but their leaders are well aware of their responsibility in choosing the right way of further development. On the other hand, the people may wage an armed struggle under leaders who have no idea at all what the country is to do after victory, and who may expose the country to neo-colonialism when political independence has been won by force of arms.

Q. What is the significance of the support which the Mozambique revolution is receiving from friendly countries and the progressive forces of the world?

A. We attach special importance to links with our African neighbors. As long as Mozambique was surrounded by colonies it was difficult for us to pursue our activity close to the frontiers, where revolutionaries in exile could keep in

touch with their people. Only after Tanganyika gained independence were we able to form Frelimo. Now that many countries bordering Mozambique are independent, we can extend our effort.

The task is to strengthen the united anti-imperialist liberation front of the peoples of East and South Africa. Just as Salazar, Verwoerd and Jan Smith are plotting to crush the revolutionary actions of our peoples by joint effort, the national-liberation forces must seek the greatest possible unity of action.

Developments in Portugal's other African colonies are highly important for our movement. With a view to coordinating the struggle against the colonialists, a Conference of the National Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies in Africa has been set up, with Marcelino Dos Santos, member of the Frelimo leadership, as its secretary. We are in favor of consolidating this organization and making it an agency for the prompt exchange of information on the methods and tactics used by the patriotic forces which are fighting to expel the colonialists from Africa. We will use every opportunity to consult with our brothers from "Portuguese" Guinea and Angola.

We are getting considerable aid from the independent African countries. A fairly large number of people have studied in Algeria, the UAR and Tanganyika. Most African countries are cooperating with the Executive Committee of Frelimo. In many African countries there are bureaus for African affairs which concern themselves with the interaction of all the contingents of the national liberation movement and render assistance, among others, to Frelimo.

Since May 1963, when the African Unity

Organization was founded and the Committee of Nine set up, there has been more system in the independent African countries' aid to freedom fighters. The African national liberation movement would like these organizations to expand and improve their work.

We also have been getting help from friendly countries outside Africa. We owe it to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization that Frelimo was able to attend many international conferences as a full-fledged member, and in this way to meet and compare notes with our brothers from other countries.

Frelimo is also supported by the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, which have neither economic nor any other relations with Portugal and are therefore free to express their solidarity with our struggle in both moral and material terms.

In the case of the non-socialist countries of Western Europe and the Americas, we have had help from progressives—the people of the imperialist powers are a factor in restraining imperialist support for the Portuguese colonialists. This is essential to us.

However, the aid which Portugal still receives from imperialist governments is considerable. Many West European countries trade with Portugal and back it in the diplomatic, economic and military spheres. Recently France undertook to build 120 ships for Portugal. If the French workers refused to fill this contract, they would contribute to the liberation of Mozambique.

Frelimo calls on the progressive revolutionary forces of the world to strengthen the united anti-imperialist front in order to ensure the triumph of freedom, peace and progress.

TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN HAITI

Letter from Port-au-Prince

The past seven years of rule by François Duvalier, the self-proclaimed "president for life," have brought Haiti to the brink of disaster.

Economically, Haiti is one of the least developed, if not most backward, countries in Latin America. Its economy is dominated by foreign capital, mainly U.S. capital which accounts for 70 per cent of the total investments. Industry is practically non-existent; apart from the Haitian American Sugar Company refinery in Port-au-Prince, there are only a few small sugar refineries, a cement works, a pharmaceutical factory, and some textile mills and footwear factories. The chief occupation is agriculture, in which nine-tenths of the population is engaged. Three-quarters of the land belongs to Haitian planters and foreign companies, while 85 per cent of the peasant population have

holdings of less than one hectare.

The small cultivators are being driven off the land and their holdings taken over by the big landowners and wealthier farmers. The number of the agricultural laborers is growing. Coffee growing, the main export branch, is steadily declining owing to the fall in coffee prices on the world market. In the last three years coffee exports have dropped from 40,000 to 20,000 tons. The situation is aggravated by the fall in sugar and sisal prices.

The U.S. stranglehold on Haitian industry and agriculture, and the anti-national policy of the Duvalier dictatorship are preventing normal economic development. How the country is being plundered by the U.S. monopolies can be seen from the fact that the annual profits siphoned out by the Haitian American Sugar Company are the equivalent of the annual bud-

get of our Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

The effect of this on the standard of living is disastrous. Annual per capita income is one of the lowest in Latin America, and only one-thirty-fourth of that in the United States. Chronic unemployment is rife in the towns. Wages of agricultural laborers range from 10 to 20 U.S. cents per day. Unemployment forces many Haitians to go to the neighboring Dominican Republic where they are ruthlessly exploited on the sugar plantations.

Added to the economic hardships of the working people is the savagery of the reactionary regime. Power is being increasingly concentrated in the hands of Duvalier. In 1961 the second chamber of parliament was abolished with a view to increasing presidential control over the legislature. The army has been relegated to the background and replaced by a "public security militia" through which Duvalier rules the country and makes short shrift of his opponents.

Political parties have been banned and there is not even a semblance of democratic freedom. The few legally published newspapers print nothing but dithyrambs to the president. Duvalier is styled the "savior of the nation," "leader of the revolution," "emancipator," etc. Terror and wholesale reprisals are official policy. Hardly a month passes without a "conspiracy" being uncovered as a pretext for throwing scores into prison. Assassination is a favorite method of dealing with those bold enough to voice disagreement with government policy.

Duvalier derives his support mainly from the big landowners, the merchant class associated with foreign capital and the petty-bourgeois sections who fill most of the government posts and share the spoils with the big planters and foreign capitalists.

The government has given the foreign monopolies a free hand to exploit the natural resources. What, then accounts for the present "conflict" between the USA and Duvalier?

In the sphere of home policy and partly on the international plane Duvalier is trying to use the friction with the USA to pose as an opponent of U.S. imperialism. The facts, however, tell a different story. During Duvalier's rule concessions have been granted to many U.S. companies. The Atlantic Refining Company, for example, was given oil exploration and extraction rights. The meat packing and export monopoly was given to another U.S. company. Moreover, Duvalier legalized the expropriation of peasant lands by a U.S. firm in the Northwest areas. These are only a few of the facts that could be cited exposing Duvalier as a champion of U.S. imperialist interests in Haiti. In foreign policy too he takes his cue from the State Department. His government was one of the first in Latin America to sever diplomatic relations with Cuba. At the Punta del Este conference in January 1962 it helped the United States to find a way out of

the deadlock that had developed in the Cuban question by casting the decisive vote against Cuba.

Duvalier's zeal has been well rewarded. In 1957-63 the USA extended aid amounting to \$43,500,000 to bolster up his regime. Nevertheless, Washington is none too pleased with the Haitian dictator, fearing that the people, led by the Left forces, may take the same action against Duvalier as the Cuban people took against Batista. Hence, in view of the growing discontent with the Duvalier government and the loss of popular support, the USA would not object to seeing him replaced by someone who could more effectively uphold its interests, without, however, allowing the masses to have a hand in the changeover. This is what underlies Duvalier's "conflict" with the USA, not his "anti-imperialist" policy.

In view of the situation, the Popular Unity Party sees as its basic task the struggle for liberation from feudalism and imperialism, against the dictatorship. It considers the unity of all the Left forces to be a prime prerequisite.

The Left consists primarily of our Party—the Popular Unity Party and the People's National-Liberation Party. It includes also those forces grouped around the National League of Popular Resistance Committees which, although lacking a clear-cut ideological platform and a definite program, seek to rally all those who are prepared to take part in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

The main thing in uniting the Left is unity between our Party and the People's National-Liberation Party, which stands closer to us than any of the other groupings. The National-Liberation Party is aware that the country is on the brink of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and is beginning to see the need for the working class to play the leading role in this revolution. Its local organizations include many who incline to Marxist views but who have been disorientated for a variety of reasons. In working for unity with the National-Liberation Party, we Communists are displaying patience and tact. Some of its members, especially the youth, are still under the influence of petty-bourgeois theories. Lacking adequate revolutionary experience and political knowledge, these people are highly susceptible to ultra-revolutionary slogans, and are impatient for the revolution to begin at once. However, the members of this party are gradually coming to realize the importance of organizational work to rally the masses in a broad anti-feudal and anti-imperialist front and to build working-class unity.

An indication of the closer links between our Party and the National-Liberation Party is the conclusion of an agreement on united working-class action. The main objective envisaged in this agreement is working-class unity and the establishment of a single trade union center.

The first trade unions in Haiti were founded in 1946, when the country was experiencing an

upsurge of the democratic movement and the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War facilitated the spread of socialist ideas. Our specific conditions, however, presented a number of obstacles to the growth of the trade union movement. For one thing, owing to economic backwardness, the industrial proletariat constituted only a small percentage of the working class. Moreover, the existence of a permanent army of hundreds of thousands of unemployed enabled the employers periodically to lay off large numbers of workers and to hire others, and this fluctuation of labor made it more difficult to organize the workers. Moreover, the trade unions have been hounded from their very inception. Still, the workers already in 1964 won a minimum wage of 70 cents a day, recognition of some trade union rights and some social security legislation.

In order to crush the independent unions, the authorities, in addition to naked repression, formed pro-government trade unions and thus split the workers' ranks and hampered their struggle.

The trade union movement, moreover, suffered from a number of shortcomings. Some union leaders, even progressives, tended to take a paternalist approach, i.e. they concentrated on negotiations with the employers on behalf of the workers and failed to rally the workers themselves to fight for their demands. Other leaders have aligned themselves with the employers and the government and advocate collaboration between labor and capital ostensibly in the national interest.

Until recently Haiti had three trade union centers. One, the National Workers' Union, is sponsored by the government and is, in effect, pursuing a policy serving the interests of the employers. It has never had any real influence among the workers and many of its branches are purely fictitious (they are commonly called "ghost organizations"). Most of its leaders are members of Duvalier's "public security militia" and are in bad repute among the workers. The second center, the Federation of Christian Trade Unions, never really sought to organize the workers but concentrated on settling issues through bargaining with the employers. The third and biggest center — the Haitian Trade Union Federation — with a membership of more than 60,000, has done much to develop the class consciousness of the workers and to unite them. Its newspapers, *Touberge* and *Travailleur* consistently exposed the imperialist policy of plunder and the intrigues of the enemies of the working class. But although the majority of its leaders were undoubtedly sincere and forward-looking men, the Federation made a number of mistakes. Some of its leaders were too accommodating in their dealings with the Duvalier government, often yielding to pressure. It is only fair to say, however, that shortly before it was banned the Federation had begun to rectify these mistakes.

In November 1963 the Federation conducted a big campaign against the expropriation of

the peasant lands in the Northeast and organized a solidarity strike in support of the demands of workers dismissed from a tobacco factory owned by a North American company. On December 17, 1963, the government banned the Federation as a gesture of conciliation to the United States. The Federation of Christian Trade Unions was likewise banned soon afterwards.

At present the only legal organization is the pro-government National Workers' Union. Our Party's task is to revive trade union activity, this time on a clandestine footing. For this purpose an underground trade union front has been set up with the aim of organizing the more class-conscious workers into trade union groups functioning in the enterprises under the Front Committee. The Party believes that it is possible to unite the working class around the trade union front for the right to strike, trade union freedoms, a rise in the minimum wage from 70 cents to \$1 a day, and better social security legislation. In addition to economic demands, it is necessary to advance purely political demands, such as the granting of democratic rights, a government policy of national independence, and the development of a national industry which could help in some measure to solve the unemployment problem. These economic and political demands could serve as a platform of struggle for working-class unity.

While working to unite the working class, the Popular Unity Party at the same time stands for the unity of all democratic and progressive forces based on an anti-dictatorship, anti-imperialist front. In 1963 representatives of the Popular Unity Party, the People's National-Liberation Party and the National League of Popular Resistance Committees signed an agreement establishing the United Democratic Front of National Liberation. "The basic task of the United Democratic Front," its program states, "is to overthrow the present regime by revolutionary means, and to establish a democratic, national and popular regime . . ."

Our Party is fully aware that the signing of the agreement is only a beginning. We realize that it is essential to build strong Front organizations at grass-roots level closely linked with the people. The strength and stability of the Democratic Front will be guaranteed by the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry. In order to concentrate all the democratic and patriotic forces around the Front, it is necessary to draw into it progressive sections of the intelligentsia, the small urban and national bourgeoisie whose interests are jeopardized by the Duvalier dictatorship. But the United Democratic Front must be based on the solid alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

The reactionary policy of the government is evoking more and more dissatisfaction among all sections of the population and this makes it easier to rally the people against the dictatorship. The continued expulsion of the peasants

from the land and the agricultural crisis are bringing the rural population, too, into the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. The economic crisis affects a good part of the small and middle bourgeoisie as well, causing them to oppose the dictatorship. Hence the development of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle aimed at overthrowing the Duvalier dictatorship is the primary objective of the

Popular Unity Party at the present time.

These are some aspects of our Party's struggle for the unity and cohesion of the Haitian people. It goes without saying that the organizational and ideological unity of the Party itself is an indispensable condition for the successful fulfilment of its tasks.

Jean MICHEL

WMR

pages from history

Some lessons of the liberation struggle in Algeria

BASHIR HADJ ALI

ON THE NIGHT OF October 31, 1954 a handful of men ignited the flame of the liberation struggle in our country. Today Algeria is independent. It is setting out on the road to socialism on the solid foundation of the Algiers Charter, respecting the values of the Islamic Arab world which are deeply rooted in our national life. Through the union of all the genuinely socialist forces the vanguard party—the instrument for building socialism — is being forged. The formation of this party, as indeed the socialist revolution itself, will be a long process.

This article has been written at the request of your journal for a brief outline of the history of our armed struggle. However, I would ask that it be regarded as merely an initial step toward the study of this illustrious period.

In describing that period, of which I was a witness from beginning to end, I shall speak of the National Liberation Front (FLN) and of the former political organizations, including the Communist Party. But today no distinction should be made between the members of the vanguard party of the socialist revolution according to their former party affiliations.

This idea is expressed in an article entitled "Algeria on the Road to Socialism" published in the newspaper *Algere Republicain*. "The van-

guard party," it states, "is like a tree whose roots, reaching down among the members of the FLN, the soldiers of the National Liberation Army, the Communists, the trade unionists, the FLN youth organizations and others, are becoming less and less visible.

"Only by uniting on the basis of a single criterion—loyalty to the socialist revolution and active effort in its interests—can the vanguard party achieve success both as regards numbers and quality.

"The life-giving sap that will nourish this tree will be *the concrete day-to-day efforts* of all the members of the party to ensure the success of the measures undertaken by the Ben Bella government along the socialist road."

We shall do everything in our power to realize this objective, holding that *the unity of the socialist forces in the struggle for the Algiers Charter must be achieved at all costs and that the interests of the socialist revolution should be above all else.*

The main reason for the independent existence of the Communist Party during the war was the need to protect the interests of the most destitute sections of the population, and to ensure the advance to socialism after independence had been won. Today the situation is different: the FLN is no longer an amalga-

mation, it is becoming more and more a party of socialist revolution founded on the Algiers Charter. The Communists have joined this party not as tactical maneuver but as a matter of principle. Inside the FLN the Communists will conduct themselves with loyalty and devotion. They do not intend to form factions or trends there. In the joint fight for socialism all prejudices will be cast aside. Thanks to this struggle the time will come when the Algiers Charter will be realized, when old animosities will be forgotten and each man will be judged by the merits of his service to his people and not by his past.

HOW THE ARMED STRUGGLE BEGAN

How did the armed struggle begin? What were the internal and external factors the cumulative effect of which sparked off that struggle.

The first internal factor was the upsurge of the national-liberation movement on the eve of the uprising marked by organizational and political work among the masses, strikes of workers and peasants, actions in solidarity with the people of Vietnam, Tunisia, Morocco, etc., on a scale hitherto unprecedented. An important role in this struggle was played by the Communist Party.

The second internal factor was the aggravation of the contradictions between our people and French imperialism. The Algerian people as a whole realized the futility of "legal" methods and the need to find other means of putting an end to colonial dependence. This led to the appearance of the "maquis," guerrilla detachments consisting of patriots evading the reprisals, and a semi-military secret organization founded on the insistence of the more revolutionary wing of the main nationalist party of that time, the Movement for Triumph of Democratic Freedom. This organization, despite the repressions, still had its center in some parts of the country. Moreover, a considerable quantity of arms and equipment was left behind, mainly in the villages, after the landing of Allied forces in North Africa in November 1942.

The political crisis of the Democratic Freedom movement, which split into two, accelerated the growth of political consciousness among both masses and leaders. The revolutionaries who left that party sought to restore the unity of the party by passing over to a higher form of struggle, namely the armed uprising.

To these objective and subjective internal factors two external factors should be added.

Firstly, the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, which showed the Algerian patriots that French imperialism could be defeated.

Secondly, the rise of the socialist camp which exerted an enormous influence on the masses even in the most remote villages, helping them to realize the need to end the domination of the French imperialists by force of arms.

THE ROLE OF CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRATA

Algeria's population of 10 million is nearly 80 per cent peasant. Expropriation of the best lands by the colonialists had left 600,000 peasants without any land at all, while 450,000 peasants eked out a miserable existence on tiny plots.

On the eve of the armed uprising there were about one million people in the countryside without the means of subsistence, and some 500,000 unemployed in the cities. There were also about 120,000 small shopkeepers and artisans who were hard pressed by French competition. The middle bourgeoisie accounted for about 11,000 families which owned 7,000 small enterprises, none employing more than 15 workers. The European bourgeoisie owned 30,000 enterprises. The big national bourgeoisie was weak and small in number. The working class consisted of approximately 300,000 permanent and seasonal workers, mainly unskilled or low skilled. This working class took shape in the course of struggle against the European rather than the Algerian bourgeoisie. The majority of the workers had one foot in the village. In a country in which class differentiations were not yet clearly defined, the proletariat had not yet become a class "for itself."

Thus, it was not the big bourgeoisie that played the leading role in the revolution but the small and middle bourgeoisie, especially the former. The working class, though active and organized in the trade unions, in the Communist Party and in the Democratic Freedom movement, played an important but not a leading role. However, as the liberation struggle developed, its political role steadily grew.

The peasantry comprised the main army of the revolution. The war in Algeria was a national-liberation war, a war for the land. The bulk of the people, including the women, took part in that war. All classes, all social strata participated to one or another extent, the main burden being borne by the poorest peasantry. The political alliance of all the forces of the nation, with the exception of the feudal lords, was realized within the framework and around the Front of National Liberation, the leading force of the struggle. The alliance of the armed forces was effected through the Army of National Liberation under the leadership of the FLN. Trade union unity was achieved through the General Federation of Workers. The solid support accorded the FLN by the people was manifested time and again, especially in the mass action of August 20, 1955, and in the general strike of July 5, 1956.

FACTORS, FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE

The people waged their armed struggle under the most adverse conditions. Algeria was a colony of settlers. To the 10 million Algerians there were one million Europeans who controlled the administration and the economy and

supported the struggle against the Algerian people.

It should be said that several thousand Europeans—Communists, liberals and progressive Christians—sided with the Algerian people. Mention should be made of the part played by certain Catholic priests in Algeria who gave shelter to a number of political leaders, Communists among them.

There were several factors which operated against the Algerian people at that time. For one thing, the French military bases were located within two hours flight from our shores, and from the moment the French army set up frontier barriers making contact with the outside world extremely difficult, Algeria was placed in the position of an island caught between the Mediterranean and the Sahara. Moreover, inasmuch as the climatic and geographical conditions of Algeria are not unlike those of France, the French expeditionary corps felt more at home here than in Indochina with its tropical climate, rice plantations and impassable jungles and fever.

Another factor unfavorable for Algeria was that part of the French colonial expeditionary army of over 800,000 men was made up of soldiers recently returned from Indochina where they had had experience in combating guerrillas. Moreover, the French army had learned a lesson from the war in Indochina. Beginning with June 1958 it began to use helicopters for communication purposes, and for landing troops, especially in the mountain areas. In August 1958 the French army had 250 helicopters, 800 special and 600 light planes. On the Algerian-Tunisian frontier it built a double electrified defense line and mine fields. It had 30 posts over an area of 320 kilometers, not counting shock troops kept in a constant state of combat readiness against our Liberation Army units stationed on Tunisian territory. The French used napalm to burn the forests that sheltered the guerrillas. The Liberation Army was deprived of the possibility of building a reliable rear base (as had been done in Vietnam) which could serve as headquarters for its central leadership.

These factors prevented the Army of National Liberation from passing over from guerrilla action to a higher form of warfare.

In November 1954 the Army of National Liberation numbered 3,000 men, who operated from the forests and the mountain areas difficult of access and were armed mainly with hunting rifles. But before long the fighting spread to the whole of Algeria including the city of Algiers. By 1958-59 the NLA had 60,000 regular troops and about 70,000 guerrillas, i.e., armed patriots who fought at night and returned to their homes in the morning.

The army consisted of poor peasants, workers and students from petty-bourgeois families. There were also a few professional soldiers who had deserted from the French Army. As the struggle developed, the National Liberation Army took organizational shape. After the

Congress of the FLN in Soummam in 1956, seven military areas were formed. Organizationally the army consisted of platoons and companies of from 80 to 120 men, and in some areas at certain periods, of battalions numbering up to 350 men. It had supply, technical and medical services and gradually armed itself with weapons captured in surprise attacks on enemy arsenals. Moreover the Algerians who came over to the NLA from the colonialist army brought their weapons with them. A certain amount of arms were smuggled across the Tunisian and Moroccan borders until the French frontier barriers closed this source of supply.

It was from this moment in particular that the National Liberation Army was able to appreciate the importance of the aid rendered by the socialist countries, and especially the USSR. Thanks to the cooperation of Egypt, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia arms were delivered to us by sea.

Despite the immense superiority of the colonial army, the struggle spread, with the National Liberation Army growing stronger and stronger. Fighting a just war, in accord with the aspirations of the people, the NLA was fulfilling its historic mission. The army of the French colonialists, on the contrary, was waging an unjust war directed against the people, against the march of history. The NLA was at home on its native soil. It enjoyed the support of the people. The French army, on the other hand, was in a foreign country surrounded by a hostile population. And last but not least, the National Liberation Army enjoyed the support of progressive opinion throughout the world, whereas popular sentiment abroad was against the French army.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

The strategy of the Liberation Army, faced with an enemy numerically ten times superior, was determined by the political objective of the people, namely, national independence. While waging war for national independence the Liberation Army repeatedly declared its readiness to negotiate, through the medium of the FLN, for a cease-fire conditional on the recognition of Algeria's right to independence.

Thus the two concepts so cherished by our people—national independence and peace—were closely intertwined. And indeed it was not the aim of the National Liberation Army to smash the French Expeditionary Corps in an Algerian version of Dien Bien Phu. Its aim was to sap the Expeditionary Corps militarily and politically, to inflict telling blows on the colonial administrative apparatus. Its ceaseless offensive battles were aimed at wearing out the enemy, frustrating the efforts of the colonial administration, at discrediting the war of the colonialists in the eyes of world public opinion, and winning a political victory inside the country.

Hence, if strategically the ratio was one to ten, tactically it was ten to one. With the increase in the number of armed groups, partisan warfare spread throughout the entire territory of Algeria. There was guerrilla fighting in the cities as well, where armed groups attacked the French troops, the French police and administration and the Algerian collaborators.

The guerrillas kept the colonial administration and its agents in that state of constant terror, of which Lenin said: "Social Democracy must recognize this mass terror and incorporate it into its tactics, organizing and controlling it, of course, and subordinating it to the interests and conditions of the working class movement and the revolutionary struggle..." (*Lessons of the Moscow Uprising.*)

But the Army of National Liberation did not confine itself to armed struggle. It issued leaflets, explaining the aims and objectives of the war in order to draw into the armed struggle districts, villages and individuals that had not yet joined it. It set up its own administration. This was not a centralized body functioning on the scale of the entire country; on the contrary, it functioned mainly in the villages—administering justice, helping the families of fighting men and those who had been killed, expediting supplies to the Liberation Army and keeping it informed, helping the peasants with farm work and opening schools.

The Liberation Army also carried on political work among the soldiers of the occupation army: it distributed leaflets, conducted explanatory work with prisoners who were subsequently released from detention. Moreover, it urged Algerians to join the French army in order to induce other Algerians to desert and bring their weapons and equipment with them.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE FRENCH ARMY

The military strategy of the French army was dictated by the political aims of French colonialism. In the course of the war this strategy was changed more than once to meet the new requirements. During the first years of the war the French sought to retain possession of the farms and estates of the colonialists and the mineral wealth, and to preserve their rule. Militarily, their purpose was to destroy the National Liberation Army and the FLN. When this policy failed, the neo-colonialists adopted a different tactic: instead of seeking completely to wipe out the national movement they set out to create a third force inside it with a view to preserving the basic positions of the French monopolies in Algeria.

The uprising of November 1954 took the French army completely by surprise. Since the troops trained in guerrilla warfare were still in Indochina, the NATO divisions which France had been building up for the past ten years were rushed in to handle the "maquis." However, these divisions, though well-equipped

for conventional operations, were ill-adapted for fighting against guerrillas in the local terrain.

After the defeat of these forces and the return of the soldiers from Indochina, the colonialists improved their anti-guerrilla tactics, but without success. They then embarked on a policy of annihilation of the civilian population—which cost Algeria a million killed and two million interned,* not to speak of the many maimed, the widows and orphans. Some 400,000 people were held in political camps, 300,000 Algerians took refuge in Tunisia and Morocco, and 700,000 peasants went into hiding in the towns. This type of warfare caused incalculable human suffering.

Nevertheless the policy of extermination, too, failed. It was an extremely contradictory policy. The colonial army built fortification lines on the western and eastern frontiers in order to isolate Algeria and prevent the Liberation Army from obtaining arms. But to man these lines it was obliged to withdraw large forces from the interior, leaving the Liberation Army free to operate there. Moreover, despite its numerical superiority, the French army was not big enough to fight the entire nation, besides which the fact that it was obliged to recruit soldiers from among the Algerian population—the sections that had been misled—enhanced the possibility of desertion to the side of the revolution under the influence of FLN propaganda.

The policy of wholesale reprisals and extermination earned the enemy the hatred of all our people and strengthened their solidarity. It exposed the hypocrisy and demagoguery of the "fraternization" on which French propaganda harped. The French army could of course have augmented its forces by recruiting soldiers from France proper. But this would have aroused the dissatisfaction of the French youth since it would have lengthened the term of military service. The war was costing France 3,000 million old francs a day. Her economy was two years behind the scheduled rate of growth. In the first few years of the war France spent nearly \$2,000 million on military equipment, American helicopters and other materiel. The discontent of the French working people was aggravated by the fact that their standard of living was declining and their liberties were restricted.

France's internal embarrassment and the weakness of her policy were an encouragement to the Algerian patriots in their liberation struggle. Moreover they were aware that the longer the war dragged out the weaker and more isolated France became on the international plane vis-à-vis her Atlantic pact partners.

THE SUCCESS OF THE FLN AND THE FAILURE OF THE COLONIALISTS

In the course of the armed struggle the

*Peasants driven from their homes and interned in vast camps where they starved to death.

FLN won two important political victories: the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in September 1958 and the recognition in September 1959 of Algeria's right to self-determination.

On the international arena the armed struggle of the Algerian people blasted the myth of "French Algeria" and reinforced Algeria's alliance with the socialist countries. Moreover, thanks to the valiant efforts of the French Communist Party, and other progressive forces, the struggle waged by Algeria evoked a warm response among the working class and all the people of France.

These successes inside and outside the country strengthened the morale of the FLN. The colonialists, on the other hand, suffered major political defeats—the failure of their attempts to create a third force against the FLN, and the failure of their plan to partition Algeria. Beginning with May 1958 contradictions appeared between the ultras who wanted to preserve everything, and the neo-colonialists represented by de Gaulle who sought mainly to preserve the oil wealth and the military bases. These contradictions steadily sharpened, weakening the colonialists and heartening the Algerians.

The war in Algeria accelerated the disintegration of the French colonial empire in Africa. It stigmatized the French colonialists in the eyes of the world inasmuch as it was a challenge to the policy of détente, and represented a dangerous seat of war threatening the peace in North Africa and the Arab world, as was demonstrated by the Suez events.

As the French army's chances of winning the war diminished, France's allies, including the United States, showed a growing reluctance to support her. Moreover, for the United States open and unconditional support of France was fraught with the danger of a break with the Afro-Asian countries. The statement made by John F. Kennedy, then a Senator, in support of Algeria's right to independence was an indication of imminent changes in American policy. Some Americans saw that classical French colonialism in Algeria was on the way out.

SHORTCOMINGS AND MISTAKES OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

No movement involving vast masses of people has ever been entirely free of mistakes. This holds true also for the FLN whose epoch-making contribution will never be forgotten. It must be said however that the mistakes were never serious enough to endanger the successes achieved. Moreover, they were noticed in good time and some were partly rectified in the course of the struggle. These weaknesses and errors were set forth by the Communist Party in two confidential letters to the Provisional Government in November 1958 and in the second half of 1959.* We drew attention to

*These letters were published after independence.

some of these mistakes in the book *Our People Will Win* published in January 1961, and suggested how they could be corrected. What was said in the above-mentioned letters about the sources of these errors and how to correct them was subsequently corroborated by the course of events, and after the war, by the critical analysis made by the FLN of its own activity. Here we shall speak also of the mistakes made by the Communist Party.

On closer examination we find that the mistakes made by the movement were due chiefly to objective circumstances, i.e., to the tremendous difficulties with which the FLN had to contend in the course of the war. But there were subjective reasons as well. For example, the slogan "everything for the war, for the armed struggle," while basically correct, was applied at times too narrowly. It was not sufficiently understood for a long time that subordinating everything to the armed struggle by no means implied allowing political work to suffer. On the contrary the armed struggle should be closely linked with political work and subordinated to the political objectives in the interests of the revolution.

Here is one example. Subsequent events showed that the battle of Algiers in 1957 had been conceived incorrectly. In the first place, the central political leadership of the movement had its headquarters in the city. Secondly, the balance of forces did not favor the patriots; about half of the population were Europeans, most of them hostile to the national movement. The city was flooded with French troops. Moreover, Algiers served as a sort of rear supply base for the guerrillas operating in the interior of the country. From here workers and students were recruited to replenish the ranks of the Liberation Army.

The battle for the capital was started as a maneuver to divert part of the French army operating against the Liberation Army in the rural areas, notably in the Ouarsenis area, to the city and thus relieve the pressure on the Liberation Army. The Battle of Algiers lasted for about seven or eight months. The people fought valiantly against the heavily armed colonialist forces. Workers and shopkeepers staged an eight-day strike.

But since the balance of forces in the city favored the colonialists, the patriots were defeated. This cost us the lives of 7,000 young fighting men. Our Algiers organization was smashed and decapitated. The leading bodies of the FLN, left without supplies and cadres, were exposed and neutralized. The political leadership of the FLN was forced to leave the country, a fact which had serious political consequences. The strategic centralization established at the Soummam Congress in 1956 for a time ceased to exist. The FLN and the Liberation Army had no centralized leadership. From this moment on groups of the FLN and the Liberation Army began to operate independently of one another. This led to a sort of division of the country into districts. New

problems arose which were often resolved not on the basis of principle but from the standpoint of the interests of particular clans, groups, districts, etc.

It was this struggle between the clans and groupings which began in 1957 owing to a lack of central leadership and the advent of several political groups that aggravated the situation in Algeria after independence, complicated the development of the class struggle both within and without the FLN. It should be said that subsequent attempts to centralize the leadership of the movement came up against difficulties caused by the presence of the French army and its attempts to split up Algerian territory for strategic purposes. At times it was extremely difficult even for two armed groups to reach agreement on joint action.

The battle of Algiers was a blunder. Needless to say, we did not criticize the operation while it was in progress. There was fighting to be done and it would have been an even bigger blunder to have raised objections once the battle had started.

The root error was the failure to make a realistic assessment of the correlation of forces, the lack of sufficient information regarding the strength of the enemy on the given sector and the general conditions obtaining in the capital, and the failure to see anything but the purely military aspect of the operation at the given moment. Added to this was another failing, namely impatience. It was impatience that gave rise to the slogan "an Algerian Dien Bien Phu" advanced by some leaders, despite the fact that this was impossible under Algerian conditions. For technical, military and geographical reasons and owing to the conditions mentioned above the patriotic forces could not engage the enemy in the classical type of battle. This slogan impelled the Liberation Army to form battalions. Of the two armies, however, the French was the better prepared for the classical type of warfare, with the result that the National Liberation Army suffered more losses in this operation than at any other time during the war. In the end it was forced to split up the battalions into smaller units and switch over to guerrilla tactics, the only correct tactics under the circumstances.

Subjectivism and impatience are typical products of petty-bourgeois thinking. And combined with the underestimation of political work in that period these mistakes might have had fatal consequences had they not been corrected in time.

Underestimation of political education led to a shortage of instructors in the towns, and especially in the guerrilla units, with the result that not enough attention was paid to the non-violent struggle of the masses. We for our part always stressed the need to utilize diverse forms of struggle, to prepare for mass actions for definite economic demands. For example, we worked to establish trade unions,

we supported the struggle of the women for the release of their husbands from prison, of the agricultural workers for higher wages, of the Algerian students against the OAS students. All these actions prepared the masses for bigger battles and objectively supported the armed struggle insofar as they diverted the attention of the imperialist police.

Further, the demand for national independence was not sufficiently linked with social and political demands of each of the social classes that had joined the liberation struggle. Pointing up the connection between independence and its *social* import for each of the classes and strata participating in the war was one of the ways of winning more effective and conscious participation of the masses in the struggle.

On the foreign-policy plane the political factor tended to be underestimated; in the program adopted at the Soummam Congress Spain figured immediately after the Arab countries in the section devoted to foreign relations, for the simple reason that arms were delivered to Algeria through Spain.

In the critical assessment of its wartime activities made subsequently by the FLN, it is noted that the Provisional Government did not develop relations with the socialist countries because its policy was based on illusions with regard to the West. "The policy of threatening the West with an alliance with the socialist countries," says this document, "fostered conciliatory tendencies and served as an alibi vis-à-vis the masses."

At the root of this policy lay reasons of a class nature. The Provisional Government represented that section of the bourgeoisie which was ready to compromise. Already at that time it feared the mass movement and its social content. It was for this reason that in December 1960 the Government banned demonstrations in Algiers and in other cities. We publicly criticized this order and urged that the mass actions should go on, ending in one locality and being resumed in another.

Today it is generally recognized that the mass actions of December 1960 in the big towns marked the turning point in the war of liberation. They helped to develop the social consciousness of the masses and gave powerful support to the armed struggle.

The discrimination in the Liberation Army with regard to the Communists can also be traced to the same class roots. Nevertheless we continued to give resolute support to the Provisional Government and the FLN. To have allowed the movement to be split in the face of the common enemy would have been fatal. The question as to who would reap the benefits of victory—the dispossessed masses or the bourgeoisie—could not be decided while the war was still going on. It was necessary to prepare the masses, to rally and organize them so that this question could be decided in their favor the day after the war ended. And they did decide it in accordance with their interests

as soon as independence was won, when Ben Bella came to power.

SHORTCOMINGS AND ERRORS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The armed struggle took all the national parties by surprise, and the Communist Party, like the others, underestimated the significance of that struggle and its potential at first. But it did not condemn the use of armed force. It correctly appraised the causes of the struggle, and in a form dictated by the restricted freedom of speech came out (before the Party was dissolved) in support of the aspirations of the people.

Here is the text of the statement of the Party published in the newspaper *Liberté* on November 4, 1954:

"Having considered the reports of armed actions in several parts of Algerian territory, specifically in Aurès, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party is of the opinion that these developments are the result of the colonial policy of national oppression, suppression of freedom and exploitation combined with racism, poverty and unemployment the existence of which is today officially recognized.

"In this connection the Political Bureau holds that the chief responsibility for these developments lies with the colonialists who, despite the experience in Vietnam, Morocco and Tunisia, are persisting in their policy of opposition and violence with regard to the lawful aspirations of the Algerian people in order to preserve the privileges of a handful of big landowners, bankers and colonial trusts.

"It notes that reprisals never have and never will solve the political, economic and social problems with which the irresistible upsurge of the national-liberation movement confronts the world today.

"It holds that the best way to avoid bloodshed, to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and peace is to satisfy the demands of the Algerians by finding a democratic solution that would respect the interests of all the inhabitants of Algeria irrespective of race or religion, and which would take the interests of France into account.

"The Political Bureau condemns the violent campaign of panic, race hatred and deception launched by the colonialist press with the object of fomenting strife between Moslems and Europeans who are obliged to live side by side in Algeria, their common homeland.

"It condemns the demands for reprisals made by these newspapers on orders from the big colonialists whose wealth has been created at the price of the poverty of millions of Algerians.

"The Political Bureau urges all Algerians irrespective of origin, and especially European workers, not to allow themselves to be influenced by the mendacious propaganda of the colonialists, to ponder over these events, discard all racist prejudices and take a sober view of the situation. It urges them to remem-

ber that the same kind of propaganda and threats were used at the beginning of the crisis in Tunisia but failed completely and had to be abandoned in favor of a different method of settling the Tunisian problem.

"It draws attention to the discrepancy between the official assurances that peace reigns in Algeria at the present time and the military measures taken by the French administration in Algeria with the consent of the French Government.

"The Political Bureau protests against these terrorist measures which create an atmosphere of general insecurity throughout the country and open the way to reprisals against all patriots, all men and women who hold freedom and democracy dear.

"The Political Bureau calls upon all patriots, all democrats, Moslem and European, to unite and fight for the abolition of the repressive measures taken by the authorities and demand the release of all illegally arrested progressive leaders, democrats and trade unionists, and to lay the foundations for a new policy which would put an end to the method of settling questions by force of arms and would satisfy the just and legitimate aspirations of the Algerian people.

"Political Bureau,
Algerian Communist Party.
"Algiers, November 2, 1964."

This statement shows the tenacity of the illusions with regard to the possibility of the Europeans and Algerians living peacefully side by side and, consequently, our failure to foresee that the armed actions would develop into a liberation war in which nearly all the Europeans would be against us.

Furthermore, although the Communist Party never condemned violence or armed struggle, the warning it issued on January 13, 1955, against certain forms of individual action that might play into the hands of the colonialists was inopportune, since the best way of avoiding such actions would have been to join the armed struggle without hesitation.

Why did the Communist Party at first hesitate and underestimate the prospects of the armed struggle?

This mistake—despite our attempt to correct it as far back as 1946—sprang from a persistent tendency to underestimate the national factor and the peasantry and to overestimate the role of the European workers. The result was that the Party did not give serious and timely attention to the question of armed struggle. In fact it was not until 1953 after the success of the national-liberation struggle in Vietnam, Tunisia, and Morocco, that the Party began to make a theoretical study of this question. There is another reason for the initial underestimation of the armed actions. For a long time the Party had counted too much on the possibility of a proletarian revolution in France, and this led to the belief that victory in Algeria would come through the victory of the proletariat in France.

There is still another more immediate reason for our failure correctly to assess the situation—and this applies incidentally to all other national parties—namely, a superficial approach in appraising the development of a revolutionary situation. The Communist Party believed that, if anything, the launching of the national-liberation war in November 1954 was premature, because the conditions for an armed uprising, as formulated by Lenin, did not yet exist. But we forgot, on the one hand, that the conditions of which Lenin spoke applied to the capitalist countries, and on the other, that military operations and a general uprising are two different things.

Moreover, like any new form of struggle, the armed struggle was a drastic departure from the usual forms of work conducted by the national parties and organizations. Here is what Lenin had to say on this score: "Every military action in any war to a certain extent disorganizes the ranks of the fighters. But this does not mean that we must not fight. It means that we must *learn to fight*." (*Guerrilla Warfare*.)

The errors committed with regard to the armed struggle were corrected in 1955 at a meeting of our Central Committee. By this time many Communists from the towns and rural areas had joined the ranks of the guerrillas on instructions from the Party. The Party made use of the brief period of its legal existence to extend the mass actions of the working people in support of the armed struggle: miners' strikes, actions against the reprisals, and collecting arms and medical supplies. We sought to contact the leaders of the FLN in order to arrange for our comrades to join the ranks of the Liberation Army, but despite our efforts no contact was established until May 1956.

COMMUNIST CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE

In accordance with a decision adopted at the above-mentioned Meeting of the CC of the Party (1955) units of "freedom fighters" were formed for operations in the towns and in rural areas where our influence was greatest.

The task of the Maquis in the valley of the Shelif River was:

- 1) to serve as a connecting link between the Algiers and Oran battle areas through the relatively "quiet" Shelif district;

- 2) to enable comrades who were persecuted by the colonialists and who, owing to lack of contact between the leaders of the FLN and the Liberation Army, had no way of joining the Army to evade the reprisals and carry on the struggle.

The guerrilla units were destined to merge with the Liberation Army and they were not conceived as an autonomous "Communist" army, contrary to allegations in the Western press, including one United Nations document—a slander which we exposed at the time.

We rejected any adventurist and sectarian positions aimed at creating autonomous units independent of the Liberation Army.

The act of merging with the National Liberation Army took place after a week of negotiations in June 1956 between Abane Ramdan and Ben Khedda for the FLN and Hadjeres and myself for the Communist Party.

The following two main points were agreed upon:

1. The armed groups of "freedom fighters" led by the Communists become part of the National Liberation Army and accept control by the FLN.

2. Communist soldiers who already belong to the Liberation Army or who will join its ranks will not maintain organizational or political contact with the Communist Party until the end of the armed struggle, without, however, renouncing their ideals and political convictions.

This unity policy was pursued also in the trade unions. We urged the workers to join the new trade union organization set up under the aegis of the FLN and the Provisional Government. At the same time it was not predetermined by or made conditional upon Communist participation in the government. Despite certain restrictions and some discrimination in the guerrilla units, our support for the FLN both inside the country and beyond its borders remained staunch, honest and sincere. There is no single fact, not a single document that would suggest that during the war of liberation the Communist Party at any time occupied a sectarian position. We always regarded ourselves as an integral part of the FLN.

In the course of the war we carried on political and explanatory work among the masses on a broad scale. *El Hourrya*, our Party paper, was published in Algiers. Despite the difficulties, we put out eight issues of the theoretical and political journal *Algerian Reality and Marxism*. This helped to raise the political and ideological level of the embattled masses.

The Party worked to enlist the support of the masses in the towns for the armed struggle. We redoubled our efforts after the defeat of the patriotic forces in the capital in which thousands of seasoned fighters perished, pointing up the lessons to be learned from this defeat and persuading the patriots to resume their activity. In confidential letters to the Provisional Government we proposed to work jointly to prepare political mass actions in the cities, and especially in Algiers.

The Provisional Government did not reply. Nevertheless we persevered with this work together with FLN activists, and eventually it bore fruit. The December actions of 1960 in most cities and particularly in Algiers (and the present theses of the FLN confirm this) had a decisive influence in ensuring Algeria's victory.

The armed struggle ended in victory because the people were solidly united in and around

the FLN, because they were fighting for a just cause. Moreover, they had the benefit of broad international solidarity since the balance of forces on the world arena was in favor of socialism thanks to the existence of the powerful socialist camp, the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

Our struggle was closely linked with the struggle of the socialist camp, the working-class movement and all peace-loving forces. The atmosphere of peace and peaceful coexistence prevailing in the world was no impediment to the liberation struggle in Algeria; on the contrary, it created favorable conditions for this struggle. In November 1954 the FLN, calling for armed action, stated: "Relaxation of world tension can facilitate the solution of the Algerian problem." Immediately after its formation in September 1958, the Provisional Government expressed itself in favor of a policy of peace, adding that it "would favor any initiative directed toward consolidating world peace, halting the arms race, and banning nuclear tests which France wishes to extend to Algerian territory."

SOME LESSONS

In order to ensure the best climate for the success of an armed struggle, we believe it is necessary:

—to have a single centralized leadership and a certain degree of decentralization during the hostilities;

—to link the armed struggle closely with political mass struggle;

—to support the war by struggle in the towns, but to safeguard the towns used as rear bases for the armed struggle;

—constantly to conduct political work among the masses, in the enemy army, among the people of the country waging an unjust war, and among world opinion;

—to advance consistent and concrete proposals for ending the war on the basis of satisfying the people's national demands, taking into account the specific demands of each section of society and linking them with the principal objective;

—to utilize the contradictions between the enemy and his allies, and to strengthen the alliance of the people with their natural allies outside the country.

These are some of the lessons that can be drawn from the war in Algeria. Naturally, we do not presume to give some sort of recipe, inasmuch as the organization and methods of waging the armed struggle are determined by the concrete conditions, the economic, social and national features of each country. However, these lessons born of the Algerian experience may perhaps be useful in other encounters with imperialism.

Belgian communists meet in congress

THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESS of the Belgian Communist Party held at the end of November discussed the tasks of the Communists in the struggle for the further extension of democracy, for the program of peace and social progress in Belgium.

The report of the Central Committee, made by the Party's Chairman, Ernest Burnelle, pointed out that since the Fourteenth Congress held a year and a half before, the Belgian Communists together with the entire working-class movement had been working hard to carry out the program adopted by that Congress for peace, social progress and democracy with a view to compelling the government to pursue a policy conforming to the aspirations of the people.

Since the Fourteenth Congress the contradictions between the reactionaries at home, who follow in the backwash of NATO policy, and the people who have declared in no indefinite terms for the relaxation of international tension, have been further aggravated. The peace-loving forces in the country are fighting against the occupation by the Bundeswehr of the Belgian military base in Arendonck, against the construction of new bases, against the policy of atomic armaments, for an independent foreign policy of peace, for cutting down on military expenditure.

The Communists condemned the armed intervention of Belgium and the USA in the Congo and the military and political assistance given by the Belgian government to Tshombe.

Stressing that this policy gravely impairs present and future relations between Belgium and the African countries, the Congress welcomed the protests made by the working people against the shameful actions of the Lefevre-Spaak government and expressed confidence that the just cause of the Congolese people will triumph.

In its analysis of the internal situation the Congress pointed out that the relations between the ruling circles and the people were particularly strained in the sphere of the demands of the working people, who have opposed the attempts of the capitalists to make them bear the burden of the growing inflation. The struggle is being fought out in the iron-and-steel plants, in the ports and in the civil service, it was expressed also in the doctors'

strike which was provoked by the reactionaries with a view to undermining the foundation of social insurance — sickness and invalid benefits.

The contradictions are also growing between the people in the Walloon districts and the government, supported by the leaders of the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party, on the issue of introducing the popular referendum principle into the Constitution, a principle endorsed by 650,000 Walloons. The people are becoming increasingly discontented over the government's policy of applying anti-labor and anti-strike laws, steadily boosting arms spending, and raising taxes and prices.

"The communal elections held on October 11," the report pointed out, "were an obvious success for our Party and a serious defeat for the parties of the government coalition. The electorate not only denounced the current policies but also, and above all, the government coalition itself and therefore the practice of class collaboration on which the coalition is based." The communal elections engendered conflict between the Right and Left in the parties of the government majority. Although only a few in number, the combined lists of Communists, Socialists and Christian Democrats testified to the new possibilities of achieving unity of the democratic forces.

Noting the growing striving to uphold democracy in Belgium, the Congress stressed the danger presented by ultra-reactionary trends, notably the so-called Party of Freedom and Progress, the People's Alliance, etc. There is no doubt that the support accorded by part of the electorate to representatives of these parties in the October 1 elections was an expression of their dissatisfaction with and protest against government policy.

"Thus, the October 11 elections revealed the existence of a sharpening political crisis which, although not affecting parliamentary institutions, is a crisis of the traditional methods of rule, a crisis of the parties which are identified with these methods and which seek to perpetuate them."

The changes taking place in the internal life of the country, and which also find expression in the correlation of the political forces, are deepening the political awareness of the working class and all working people. For example,

the illusions about "class collaboration" which were widely current among Belgian workers prior to 1958 are being dispelled. Today the policy of class collaboration has been exposed in the eyes of the workers as ineffective and utopian. The mounting working-class struggle has compelled the Socialist leaders to abandon openly reformist propaganda and the attempts to liquidate the Communist Party. It is now universally recognized that the Communist Party is playing an increasing role in the political arena, whereas reformism is on the decline and has no future in Belgium.

Examining the tasks facing the Party in the 1965 general election, the Congress pointed out that in order to ensure victory it is necessary, proceeding from the sentiment of the people, to step up political work of the Communists aimed, primarily, at achieving unity of action, strengthening the trade unions and other working-class organizations, and upholding the rights of the working people. It is necessary to step up the actions for peace, to extend the peace movement into a really broad movement, to fight against Belgium joining the MLF, against increasing the military budget, against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and for the restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in UNO. It is necessary to take an active part in the ban-the-bomb march of the youth and ensure that May 8 be an international day of resistance to the aggressive schemes in Western Europe.

The Communists should work actively for the satisfaction of the demands of the working people and oppose the so-called "incomes policy" designed to shift the consequences of the economic policy of the monopolies on the working people.

Belgian Communists stand for a federal system as the sole democratic solution of the problem of relationships between the Flemish and Walloon communities. They condemn all reactionary maneuvers as regards federalization and the granting of autonomy to the Walloon district, and insist that the referendum principle be inscribed in the Constitution to ensure a democratic solution of the national problem in the country. "A nation-wide referendum," the Congress pointed out, "is an important democratic demand complementing universal suffrage."

Voicing confidence that the future general election will be another condemnation of the policy of the Lefevre-Spaak government and bring fresh success to the Communists, the Congress stressed that participation in the election campaign will be aimed not only at winning seats but also at creating favorable conditions for achieving working-class unity in Belgium.

"We," said E. Burnelle, "shall come to the general election with the desire to play our role as champions of unity and make a decisive contribution to the advance of the entire working class and all its organizations."

In the Socialist Party, the trade unions and

the Christian Democratic organizations discontent is brewing over the policy of the Right-wing leadership. The search for a new approach is becoming the chief concern everywhere. The activists of the Socialist Party realize that the policy of class collaboration practised by the Right-wing leaders and the witch-hunt encouraged by this policy are doing tremendous harm to their party and the working-class movement. In Christian Democratic circles, too, it is felt that the capitalist-labor coexistence in one party bodes the working people anything but good.

In these circumstances, the Congress emphasized, the Communists should popularize their views and thus help the Left in the Socialist and Christian Social parties to repel the attacks of the Right and accept the ideas of unity and the perspective of forming a government of anti-monopoly alliance.

The Congress noted that the loftier the political substance of the aims set by the working class and the better its awareness of the contradictions, the deeper will be its struggle. Hence the working-class movement has advanced a whole series of democratic demands which testify to its consistent character and maturity. Thus, the demand for structural anti-capitalist reforms is one of the principal demands the realization of which will enable the working class to take over the leading functions in society.

As pointed out in the CC report, "the ever-increasing significance which the aims of the working-class movement assume in the field of democracy, shows that we have entered upon a new stage, the stage of social reconstruction which calls for extending democracy in order to further political activity of the masses . . . By fighting in defense of democracy and to extend it, the working people will be carrying out the basic task and paving the way to the effective solution of all the problems facing the country." The report stressed the need for a deep-going theoretical elaboration, a broad discussion and exchange of views on the subject of democracy.

The Congress called for bolder efforts in recruiting militant workers into the Party, for imparting a mass character to inner-Party work. In the ten years since the Eleventh Congress, the Party's role in the life of the country has grown, the Party has been regenerated and acquired qualitatively new features. "Our Party," said E. Burnelle "is increasingly asserting itself as the party of the future because it has been able to find the way to direct action in the day-to-day struggle for the solution of the problems arising today. We have discarded the naive idea that verbal extremes are the necessary manifestation of revolutionary struggle. Experience has taught us that there is no revolutionary propaganda except that which helps the working people to unite in order to complete their present-day struggles."

The Congress emphatically denounced the

splitting activity of the Grippa group which has tried to disrupt the work of the Party and its election campaign, to sow confusion among the working people, and which is conducting anti-Soviet activity and playing into the hands of the reactionaries.

The Central Committee report pointed to the exacerbation of the class struggle on the international scale, which is expressed in intensified provocations by the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, and in the danger of a new world war. The crisis phenomena constantly bedeviling NATO and the Common Market are a reflection of the reluctance of the people to support cold war policies.

The forces of peace are increasingly rebuffing the intrigues of the imperialists. "The main thing," Burnelle stressed, "is the decisive role played by the socialist camp, the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, the combined actions of which are transforming the world in a revolutionary way. . . . The world balance of forces is continuing to change in a favorable direction. And we in Belgium

should channel our activity into this mainstream."

After discussing problems of the international Communist movement, the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution which said:

"At its meeting on May 9-10, 1964, the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party declared for a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

"The Fifteenth Congress of the BCP approves the stand taken on this issue by the Central Committee and expresses the wish that this conference should be prepared by comparing viewpoints, exchanging experience and opinions, and with the most extensive fraternal discussion."

At a meeting of the newly-elected Central Committee held after the Congress twelve comrades were elected to the Political Bureau, and six to the Central Committee Secretariat. Ernest Burnelle was re-elected Chairman of the Party, Rene Beelen and Frans Van den Branden, Vice-Chairmen, and Jean Blume, Marce Drumaux and Albert de Coninck, Secretaries of the CC.

Italian party strengthens its ranks

AS 1964 DREW TO A CLOSE the Italian Communist Party found itself numerically and organizationally stronger than before. This fact, especially in the light of the political and organizational crisis experienced by the other big Italian parties, is concrete evidence of growing mass support for our policy, of the correctness of the policy on organizational work, elucidated at the Fifth National Conference on organizational questions held on March 12-15, 1964.

By the end of the re-registration and recruiting campaign in 1964, Party membership reached 1,641,214, which was 26,102 more than in 1963 and 10,664 more than in 1962. These figures not only show that the 1963 decline in membership has been made good; they represent a substantial increase as compared with 1962. Membership of the Communist Youth Federation, which reached 173,821 in 1963, also rose, though to a lesser extent.

This overall increase in membership is the Italian people's answer to the attempts of the Christian-Democratic Party to isolate the Communist Party (one of the avowed objectives of the Center-Left Government policy) and frustrate its activity.

The growth of the Party is all the more significant against the background of the deep-going changes in the economic and social structure and in the alignment of political

forces in Italy in the past ten years. These years were a severe test for our Party, requiring not only the ability to size up the situation and elaborate a flexible policy but also to search for new forms of contact with the masses, to heighten the effectiveness of the Party's organizational structure and its specific features as a mass party.

The far-reaching social changes (Italy's transformation from an agrarian-industrial to an industrial-agrarian country, the substantial increase in employment in industry and in the services with a corresponding decline in employment in agriculture, the renewal of the composition of the working class, the great mobility of the population and the consequent changes in the structure of urban centers, the mass migration from Southern Italy and from the villages to the North, and also emigration to West European countries, changes in the way of life, customs, cultural orientation, etc.) have necessitated speedy organizational re-adjustment to the new situation, a corresponding territorial distribution of Party Committees, changes in the forms of their work and of their ties with the masses in order to develop the mass character of the Party.

Under the impact of these new factors Party membership had at one time shown a tendency to diminish; the number of industrial workers in the Party declined although the working

class as a whole had grown numerically. A considerable number of functionaries and activists who were dispersed in the process of resettlement drifted away from Party work. The difficulties encountered in building up active Party organizations at the new places of work and in new residential areas were aggravated by the fact that the mass migration in some localities had dispersed these social forces on which our Party had traditionally relied for support and on which our political influence was founded.

Furthermore in the atmosphere of perpetual tension prevailing in our country, with the masses constantly pressing for action, the ruling classes are striving to restrict the participation of the workers in political life. The aim is to revive an authoritarian type of government, to widen the gap between the organs of power and the citizens, to discredit the democratic institutions and parties, and to bar the masses from active participation in political parties and organizations. As a result of this policy, democracy is being whittled away, a process that has affected many forms of public organization, including the political parties.

In these circumstances our success in reinforcing the Party organizationally, and especially the big influx of new members, is all the more significant. In 1964 our Party enrolled 145,000 new members and 58,320 young people joined the Communist Youth Federation. The vast majority of the new members are workers as well as youth and women who are newcomers to industry. Hence we can speak also of a qualitative improvement in the membership since besides the numerical growth, the composition of the Party is becoming increasingly representative of Italian society.

At the same time it should be borne in mind that each membership card issued stands for a man or woman with definite political aspirations, who has joined our Party because it is fighting for the socialist reconstruction of society, who is aware of the dangers involved in the struggle and the sacrifices he or she may have to make in a country where the ruling classes wield many instruments of pressure from intimidation and corruption down to outright persecution.

It is also noteworthy that the membership growth in 1964 was accompanied by a considerable increase in the contribution each member makes (depending on his means) to financing the activity of the Party. The average contribution (counting only membership dues and subscriptions to the Communist press) per member amounted to 1,903 lire as against 1,653 lire in 1963.

Our Party with its membership of close to two million relies for support not only on the more oppressed sections of society which frequently join our ranks in spontaneous protest against intolerable conditions. Our Party has deep roots also among the more highly skilled and better educated sections of the

working class, among the broad middle sections in town and countryside, specialists and intellectuals, as well as among people prominent in the sphere of culture and the arts, who are not deceived by the superficial modernization of the country and who reject the neo-capitalist myth of the "affluent society" spread by the monopolies and the powerful reformist, Social Democratic and Catholic centers.

These broad sections of the populace join the Communist Party because they are convinced that the idea of democracy and complete emancipation—economic, political, cultural and moral—is the substance of our ideology and of our concept of socialism.

There can hardly be any doubt that the big influx of new members into the Party was due in large measure to the present political situation in the country and to the growing approval of the Communist Party's policy.

Thanks to its ability to build up its strength by ceaseless and multiform activities, to analyze phenomena through discussion of urgent issues, and to display political initiative, our Party has succeeded, despite the changed conditions, in asserting itself as a major and decisive force in Italian life. In the general election held on April 28, 1963 the Communists polled nearly eight million votes, i.e. 25.3 per cent of the total vote, and the Party gained more influence than it ever had before. Subsequent events such as the demonstrations against the policy of the Center-Left government and its attempts to split the working-class and democratic movement, added to the prestige of the Party and helped to unite around our slogans those new forces that had matured in this complex situation to the point of making their revolutionary choice and whom the Communists had helped to overcome their disillusionment in the Center-Left and to take up active struggle again.

These facts explain the growth of our influence. But they do not explain our numerical growth or the reasons why the Party managed to put an end to the trend of past years toward a steady decline in the number of Communists. (Even in the period following our big success in the 1963 general elections we lost some 15,000 members.)

Decisive in this respect was our organizational work, the steps taken to build the Party in conformity with our strategy of democratic advance to socialism. The Fifth National Conference on organizational questions played an important role here. The discussion it evoked, the conclusions it drew and the principles it outlined for the further study of the problems of party-building were most valuable. The rather widespread tendency to take a somewhat disdainful attitude to organizational matters and to separate them from general problems affecting the policy and leadership of the Party was overcome. It was brought home to the membership that definite structural elements and qualities were essential if the Party's overall strategy was to be successful.

The strategic task of advancing to socialism by the democratic road, through the struggle of the working class and the popular masses, presupposes a policy taking account of all the contradictions of Italian society, affecting all the key social and political issues, exerting a progressive influence on the structure of society and its political institutions, ensuring the development of the system of alliances, and leading to the formation of a new popular democratic government bloc. And this demands a mass militant party which would at the same time be a ruling party, the new type of party envisaged by Comrade Togliatti.

The Communist Party must be seen as a force operating wherever the masses are working, living and meeting within the framework of public organizations; it must be capable of organizing mass participation in the political life of the country. It must be able everywhere and at all levels to offer the right solutions for all problems, to answer all demands of the masses corresponding to the task of progressive reconstruction of society and to lead the general struggle for the practical realization of these solutions. The Party must be open to profound democratic activity which would facilitate and ensure the effective participation of each of its members not only in carrying out the political line of the Party but in the collective elaboration of that line and thus draw upon their creative abilities.

The Party should be a widely ramified organization, capable of intervening at all levels in all local and national matters. To this end the present structure, based as before on the factory and territorial organization, the section and provincial federation, has been extended to include new decentralized bodies: regional, city, community and district committees. They perform a coordinating function within broader territorial limits and help to bring political leadership closer to the primary organizations, to make a first-hand study of the situation in the localities, develop effective political initiative in keeping with the diverse structure of national society and set up new centers for the study of local problems which the Party takes into account in elaborating its political line.

We fully realized that the decline in membership could not be regarded as a matter of secondary importance on the grounds that it was always compensated by the increased influence of the Party during elections. After all, the discrepancy between the size of the membership and the number of votes cast for the Party in elections, as well as the changes in the social composition and territorial distribution of Party organizations were danger signals indicating a certain debility of the Party and a growing divergence between its political strategy and the character of the Party itself. Hence the re-registration and recruiting campaign in 1964 was conducted in a new way, with more attention paid to organi-

zational, political and ideological matters and through public discussion among the masses.

As distinct from previous campaigns of this kind which were almost exclusively conducted by the Party departments directly concerned and mainly by bureaucratic methods, in the 1964 campaign the departments concerned with political leadership and propaganda played a bigger role.

The working class and people generally were invited to join in a public discussion (in open debate, at conferences, round table talks, meetings and rallies) of our political activity, the role of our Party, the importance of a mass Communist Party for resolving the major national problems and for the reconstruction of Italian society.

Instead of being merely a routine affair, the re-registration and recruiting campaign was made the chief instrument for strengthening and renewing the Party, for extending the ideological struggle and for actions to win the masses over to the socialist perspective.

Hence the success of the campaign can be attributed directly to the correct organizational policy elaborated by the Fifth National Conference.

Despite this success, however, there were shortcomings and even failures of a local nature. This was due partly to elements of conservatism that still persist and partly to slowness in carrying out the new policy in the sphere of organization, especially as regards decentralization and democracy at lower levels and intensifying the activity and autonomy of the primary organizations. And wherever Party life marks time, where political initiative is not stimulated, the role of the primary organizations is reduced mainly to routine Party work, a state of affairs that is not conducive to attracting new members.

We therefore draw attention to these obstacles and shortcomings and pinpoint the need to overcome them and restore the necessary balance. We regard the progress made to date merely as the beginning of an extensive campaign to replenish and strengthen our ranks.

The impulse to make a serious study of current problems and to further initiative comes from the biggest working class areas, especially the Lombardy, Piedmont and Liguria triangle in the North.

While the data on the social composition of the Party gives no cause for alarm since workers as before comprise 40 per cent of the membership, this percentage nevertheless has a negative aspect considering that the working class in Italy has increased by 50 per cent. In the above-mentioned triangle, where approximately 48 per cent of the working class is concentrated and where the number of workers employed had grown by 700,000, the Communist Party vote has increased by nearly half a million in the past ten years. On the other hand, Party membership in this area has dropped both in absolute and, still more markedly,

in relative terms. And the results of the membership drive for 1964 are far from satisfactory. The problem of winning members from among the newcomers to industry is particularly acute in this area.

It confronts the Party with the need to step up its organizational and political work, to awaken the working class to its role both as regards its immediate problems as well as on national issues, and to show them how closely the two problems are intertwined.

These questions are now in the focus of attention at the big Party conferences at the level of the enterprises, groups of enterprises, industrial sectors and districts, which will serve as the preparatory stage for the Third National Conference of Communist workers. Organizationally, the purpose of these conferences is to establish more Party organizations in the factories and to ensure that the Party is represented in all enterprises employing more than a hundred workers.

The objective of the 1965 recruiting campaign, which began with the re-election of the municipal and provincial councillors throughout the country, will be to win new members from among the working class. The decision to conduct two such important campaigns simultaneously was dictated chiefly by the conviction that our dialogue with the masses,

which is a feature of our participation in the elections, cannot but be closely linked with problems directly concerning the Party proper. We could hardly ask people to endorse our program by voting Communist without at the same time urging constant and active participation in public life and the struggle which our Party is waging for social regeneration.

The contest at the elections, although held in conditions complicated and aggravated by a new anti-Communist and anti-Soviet drive on the part of some political forces who took advantage of recent events in the world Communist movement, ended with victory for us both as regards the growth of Communist influence and the organizational consolidation of the Party. In the course of twenty days before polling day, Party cards for 1965 were issued once again for over 600,000 Communists, more than 10,000 of them working people joining our ranks for the first time. The Party's showing in the elections (the Communists polled 26 per cent of the votes as against 25.3 per cent on April 28, 1963) confirmed that the people have greater faith than ever in our political line and practical activity. These results have brightened the prospects for strengthening and developing our Party as a mass party.

Bruno SCLAVO

Canadian youth and the struggle for peace

THE LATE 1950's AND THE early 1960's were years which marked a significant change in the attitude of the Canadian people in working for world peace. As a result these years saw important changes in the character of the Canadian peace movement.

Hitherto the united will of all the media of communications and of the state apparatus prevailed. Peace had become a "dirty" word, and those who were to take a stand for peace were branded as either Communists or their unwitting dupes. In the atmosphere of the cold war which gripped our continent during the 1950's this was in most cases enough to silence all but the bravest.

This atmosphere served to impose among Canadians apathy and outright hostility towards the struggle for peace. The peace movement of the 1950's was essentially that of the militant Left, and its struggle, while none the less important and impressive, was mainly defensive.

The conditions which underlined the development of the peace movement in Canada during this period, are important in relation to the upsurge of activity which marks the latter 1950's and the 1960's. It is important also in respect to the attitudes of young Canadians, who are playing an important role in the peace movement now, for it is these people whose lives have spanned the cold war and whose consciousness and experience are that of post-war America and their political judgments are based upon that reality.

But the past decade has not only been a decade of intense pressures towards war and all the deep social implications this had in the capitalist countries, it was also a decade in which the decisive change in the balance of forces became manifest. It was a decade of social advance in all sections of the world which found its reflection in Canada. Thus the realization that a war now would mean the ravishing of our land which has never felt

the horror of modern war, as well as carrying the seeds of destruction to all mankind caused sober reappraisal of the situation. This, plus the impact of the unsolvable social, political and economic problems of latter-day capitalism, led to the creation of a new peace movement. New, not only in the sense of the generation of people involved, but also new in terms of the organizations which have arisen and new also in relation to the scope of its activities.

Because this upsurge has taken place on the background of the cold-war and anti-communist and anti-socialist ideology, it has not been reflected mainly in the growth of existing peace organizations, but in the creation of new organizations and committees. These new bodies have been able to attract broader sections of the population as well as some influential figures in public life. They too are affected by the cold-war propaganda and so they reflect a desire to be "non-partisan" and "respectable," to have a distrust of the left.

Another aspect of these organizations is the comparative youth of its activists. This youthfulness extends beyond the specific youth groups such as the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND) and the other student groups which have sprung up, to the general peace organizations. The large-scale participation of young people in the peace movement has done much to raise the elan and vitality of the struggle. Moreover, it is the younger sections of the population, the generation that has grown up during the cold war, who are showing less reluctance than their elders to shake off the shackles of the 1950's. The participation of young people in the peace movement is also reflected in their restless desire to start moving, to get things done. This desire which on the one hand is vital to the movement also leads at times to disillusionment and frustration at the slowness of growth and the passivity of the general public.

This is the case now — after the upsurge in activity during the period leading up to the last Federal election, a slump has set in due in part to the election of the Liberal government and its subsequent agreement to accept nuclear warheads, combined with a sense of lack of urgency because of the improved world climate.

However, the anti-war sentiment of young people continues to grow. An example of this is the successful campaigns to make the cadet training in the high schools purely voluntary. Moreover, there is an active search for new forms and methods of approach, such as public debates and spreading ideas through publications such as "Our Generation Against War," organizing groups to study various aspects of war economy, both economically and socially.

Also important is that the spirit engendered by the peace movement extends to other democratic issues and the social consciousness which develops in peace activities is expressed along the whole range of democratic issues confronting Canadians. Thus the people and the organizations working for peace and disarmament also become the champions of the anti-apartheid movement and the civil liberties struggle.

As far as the Communist youth is concerned, our relationship to the peace movement has always been clear and straightforward: we support without qualification all movements and activities which serve the interests of peace and of our country. But our relations with this movement are conditional not only, or even mainly, on our attitude, but on the attitude to us of the non-communist or non-socialist young people who make up the overwhelming majority.

We face the need to overcome the misconceptions of our movement and the mistrust of our motives which have been implanted in the minds of young Canadians. This can only be done by example and by devotion to the aims of these organizations which many of our members have shown over the past period of time. This involves a struggle not only in these organizations but also among ourselves for a correct and non-sectarian approach. While we have made some mistakes stemming mainly from a failure to grasp fully the significance of these developing movements, the overall effect of our work has been good. Young Communists have been of great service to the peace movement in Canada, and in so doing we have contributed not only to the cause of world peace but have made many friends for our movement.

*Rae MURPHY
National Youth Secretary,
Communist Party of Canada*

Extending work among the masses

THE GREAT ECONOMIC power and near-exclusive control of the means of mass communications enjoyed by the monopolies in

Canada have posed many problems for Communists.

The standard of living of the Canadian people

is quite high. So far this fact has more than compensated for the social insecurity that accompanies life in an advanced capitalist nation.

For some time past membership in the Communist Party has not increased and the circulation of the Party press and literature has remained stationary. The intense pressure of the cold war has forced Communists to take a somewhat defensive position and has contributed to certain sectarian tendencies.

But recent experiences in Canada have shown that a political thaw is developing and that this vast and rich land is not immune to the worldwide revolutionary processes now unfolding.

All through the cold war Communists in Canada have worked to win the allegiance of the working class and other sections to the ideas of peaceful coexistence, economic progress, democracy, independence and socialism. And this work has not been in vain. The political influence of the Communists is growing. This can be demonstrated by describing some of the activities of one of the more active units of the Party, the North Vancouver club.

This particular club is an area club in metropolitan Vancouver. The population of the metropolitan area is close to 800,000. Vancouver is Canada's third largest city, the largest grain-handling port in the world.

Aside from the activity centered on the waterfront the main concentration of the working class is in the woodworking industries. The largest operation in the Vancouver area is a plywood plant currently employing close to 1,000 workers.

Vancouver accurately reflects the raw material nature of the Canadian economy. In the main the city is a distribution center for the natural resources of the province — lumber, minerals, oil, natural gas and fish. North Vancouver is even less a manufacturing center than Vancouver proper, but it does contain a big shipyard and several woodworking plants.

The Communist Party club in the area has thirty-one members whose average age is forty-eight years. Most have been in the Party over twenty years. Two of the members are teachers, there is one economist, ten workers, nine housewives and three unemployed.

Despite the fact that North Vancouver is mainly composed of "middle strata," it was in this area that the highest vote for a Communist was obtained during the federal election in 1963.

The main reason for this was the struggle waged by the club for the policies of the Party and to establish roots in the area. This activity has resulted in the election of a member of the club to the local School Board on four separate occasions. Other members of the club have at one time or other played leading roles in rate-payer organizations, in parent-teacher branches, in trade union life and in municipal election activity.

In the course of the work of these organizations Communists have acted as spokesmen for large sections of the population. These activities have won prestige for the Party and have helped to break down the cold-war anti-Communist prejudices.

During the aforementioned federal election, waged around the struggle to keep nuclear weapons out of the country and against U.S. interference in this regard, the club collectively made a significant contribution. By diverse means, ranging from public banquets in the Community Center to small social gatherings, the club raised over seven hundred dollars and was able to finance the mailing of the Party's position to the 20,000 homes in the area.

Three small motor-car cavalcades were organized which publicized the slogans — No Nuclear Arms For Canada — Stop U.S. Interference — Vote Communist! One of these involved a 40-mile trip to the nearby mining center of Britannia where every home was canvassed with a special election issue of the Party press.

All-candidate meetings were held at which Communist spokesmen addressed audiences of a thousand and upward. Communist ideas made a big impression. Those who came to scoff often found themselves isolated.

This experience was repeated in the provincial election held later in the year, where the Communist spokesmen conducted a vigorous campaign against the United States grab of British Columbia resources, in particular the hydro-electric potential of the Columbia River.

During the critical days of the Cuban crisis the club held an emergency meeting and along with other clubs in the Vancouver area members went out and chalked the slogan NO WAR on sidewalks, streets, board fences, etc. Newspaper columnists commented favorably on this action.

Of course many members of the club and the club as a whole have not yet fully grasped the potentialities for extending our influence. In part, this is due to insufficient internal ideological work, and a certain hesitancy to integrate the socialist solution in the course of everyday struggles. A good example of this concerns the question of a Canadian Merchant Marine. After the last war the entire Canadian merchant fleet was deliberately scrapped for cold-war considerations. Canadian capitalists oriented their policies on war, not on peaceful trade. The decision to scrap the fleet was taken despite the fact that Canadian cargoes account for over five per cent of the world's waterborne trade.

At the present time the shipyard in North Vancouver struggles along on minor repair jobs, while the harbor is jammed with foreign-flag ships.

A demand for a Canadian merchant marine would help to establish in the minds of the people the idea of peaceful trade with the socialist countries. Although members of the club

have helped to prepare a formal brief along these lines and others have led large delegations to the Federal cabinet on the subject, the club itself has not yet succeeded in making this demand the property of the entire community.

In evaluating the work of the club the unanimous conclusion reached was that it is vital

to follow up the good work done and consolidate it. Equipped with the Marxist-Leninist policies worked out at the recent National Convention of the Party, the Communists in Canada are confident that they will make their modest contribution to peace, world progress and socialism.

Bruce YORKE

Appeal of the Paraguayan Communist Party

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the Paraguayan Communist Party recently published a statement calling upon the people to prepare themselves for a general uprising against the Stroessner dictatorship.

Appealing to workers, students and shopkeepers, the statement called on them to hold a general strike under the slogan "unity and action now for raising the martial law, to foil the plans of the North Americans, and to prepare for a general uprising against the dictatorial rule."

Since the August elections, the statement continued, the people of Paraguay have gained fresh experience in the struggle for their rights, for unity of action on the way to the people's democratic revolution which is the only way to save the country. It stressed the need to combine the legal and peaceful struggle of the legal organizations of workers, peasants and students with the armed (guerrilla) struggle of the people.

Only in this way, the appeal emphasizes, can victory be won. The various forms of the struggle must be combined, and the wave of struggle must rise and spread out.

The military dictatorship cannot be ended

without simultaneously fighting for the national liberation of Paraguay. In recent months, the statement continues, Washington has granted the military government of Paraguay some \$40 million to enable it to continue to persecute, torture and kill Paraguayan patriots. Such is the Alliance for Progress which, together with dictator Stroessner, is supported by the collaborationist leaders of the Liberal and Febrerist parties.

These loans, the statement points out, will be pocketed by a handful of multi-millionaires, greedy profiteers and the military brass, while small employers and the bulk of peasants will not qualify for any credits.

The document denounces the so-called agrarian reform as a fraud and adds that while the cost of living is rising and will continue to rise Washington has banned wage increases.

The Paraguayan revolution, the statement goes on, is an historical necessity. It ends with the call: "Forward to the general strike of workers, students and shopkeepers! Down with the conspiracy! Down with the collaborationist leaders advocating appeasement! Long live the glorious freedom fighters! Long live the national-liberation democratic revolution!"

Czechoslovakia: new feature in the work of party organizations

THE TASKS OF THE socialist reconstruction of society make it incumbent on each Communist to be active in implementing the policy of the Party.

An active attitude to life is the hallmark of the revolutionary. But in order to play an active role in everyday life and to influence it in the right way, much more is demanded from

the Communist today than ever before. The tasks, which our people are tackling both in the sphere of production and in promoting the spiritual life of society, are bigger and more complex.

In this era of technological revolution and automation the methods of Party work cannot be the same as those used, say, ten years ago. It is now necessary to have, in addition to revolutionary ardor, concrete knowledge of a particular problem, or branch of production, a sense of the new, the ability creatively to approach the tasks set by the Party. From information to knowledge and to better organization on the job — such is the method used by those Party organizations which have indeed become genuine centers of political work.

In all parts of the country one observes a desire to find those forms of work best suited to the urgent political tasks. How to tap the reserve potential and put it to practical use, how to improve the mass work of the Party organization, secure greater activity by the Communists and enhance the leading role of the Party committees — these are the things presently agitating our members.

The method of concrete assignments, which is widely practised in Party work, harmonizes with the new demands of the day.

It is the accepted practice that in each Party organization most of the members have permanent assignments. They are members of elected Party bodies, organizers, propagandists, active trade unionists and youth activists, as well as members of the local councils and their sub-committees. As a rule, they perform their functions conscientiously and selflessly.

Not infrequently, however, members without permanent assignments tend to be left out of public life. How to bring them into public activity? This is done through the method of concrete tasks, which is particularly widespread in the factory Party organizations. This method does not replace the regular Party assignments but is applied on a par with them. Members who have no permanent assignments (and also those who have them) are instructed by their Party organization to do a particular job within a given time. In industry this usually concerns questions of rational utilization of working time, economizing on materials and electric power, mastering the new techniques and technology, improving skills and political knowledge. The assignments method makes it possible to approach each member in a different way, taking into account his knowledge and his liking for a particular kind of social work, and to find ways of making full use of the abilities and experience of all members. This method makes Party organizational work concrete and purposeful.

Summing up the experience gained so far, we can say that the assignments method is founded on a thorough study of the problems of the given enterprise, department, office or place of residence. Definite assignments are

allocated to members in keeping with their possibilities and capabilities; the assignments are both economic and political and character. The Party committees check on their fulfilment and keep the public informed of the results. So that the method should not lose its significance or become just another fashionable device, a transient thing, the Party committees and bureaus encourage the initiative of the members and give them every help.

During the first half of 1964, at the metal-working plant in Kyjov, 170 Communists received concrete assignments. Thanks to their activity capital repairs of the equipment were completed in good time and the quality of output improved. At the same time progress was made in the political and educational work of the Party organization in the factory. At the Fatra works in Breclav, in the second quarter of 1964, the Communists initiated a movement to produce more of the articles that were in short supply. This was the assignment given to twelve comrades. In the Hodonin district, South Moravian region, 1,600 members have concrete assignments.

Although there are still organizations which, because of their conservatism or undervaluation of concrete work, hesitate to use the assignment method, there is no doubt that this method helps to activate the members and enhances the prestige of the Party organizations. The personal experience acquired by members in fulfilling their assignments, the help and control of the Party organization, create an atmosphere of general concern and comradely attention, and imbue the member with the desire to make his contribution to the common cause. The exchange of views, becoming more lively, helps to deepen inner-Party democracy and makes for closer contact between the organization and its members. Party members give a helping hand in lagging sectors, setting an example for other workers. Party work acquires such features as concreteness, consistency, verification and differentiated approach to individual members. It is these features that now determine the style of Party work.

The need to find the proper forms of economic management impels the members to delve deeper into the processes of production. The method of profound analysis is now used not only in the research institutes but also in Party and social work. Sociology, too, is beginning to play a bigger role in practical work.

In one of the shops of the Gottwald iron and steel plant in Ostrava the Communists decided to probe the reasons for quite a considerable loss of working time. They made a thorough study of the use of working time and established that losses were caused by stoppages due to untimely delivery of parts from the machining departments and by personnel making use of the various services in the plant during working hours. It was calculated that the daily loss of working time added up to hundreds of working days. The facts were

placed before the entire personnel of the plant. This resulted in heightening the sense of responsibility, in practical steps to prevent such waste.

The level of Communist activity also depends on the organizational structure of the Party units. Breaking up a large organization in a factory into several smaller ones in the shops and individual sectors, all under the factory committee, makes the Party work more concrete and heightens the activity of the members. Such organizational changes are justified, of course, only where there is a large membership, which makes guidance a difficult matter.

The Twelfth Congress of our Party adopted a decision on the setting up of permanent consultative sub-committees subordinated to the elected committees at different levels. As a result, economic and ideological permanent sub-committees were formed in the branches and in the district, regional and Central committees. True, even before this decision the district committees had activists — propagandists and lecturers—without whose help they would not be able to guide the ideological work. They did the same with regard to economic problems. However, the formation of the permanent sub-committees at all levels has introduced new features into this endeavor, and made the work of the Party organizations more effective.

What functions do these sub-committees fulfil? For example, the program of the ideological sub-committee of a district Party committee includes the following points: party education, seminars for lecturers and propagandists, exchanging experience of the ideological sub-committees in the enterprises, checking on sales of Party publications, the quality of factory bulletins, problems of extra-mural education, the educational work carried out by the various public organizations, coordinating work in the sphere of culture and education, etc. The sub-committee thus pays attention to the numerous sectors of the ideological front.

Originally, the sub-committees emerged as a form of rallying activists for mainly supervisory functions. They reported the results of their verifications to the corresponding Party committee. But with time the sphere of their activity broadened, increasing importance being attached to their concrete help in the matter of eliminating shortcomings on the spot. Here is one of many examples to illustrate the point. The economic sub-committee of the Northern Czechia regional committee undertook to verify the quality of output in the tube-rolling mill in Chomutov. Its members (among them experienced managers and activists) visited the factory to see how things stood there. They visited the various departments, talked with the workers and acquainted themselves with the particular sectors. As a result of this on-the-spot study, the sub-committee, jointly with the management, made suggestions for improving quality and organization of labor.

In addition to control and assistance directly on the spot, the sub-committees of the primary Party organizations have other important functions. In the large enterprises they carry out sociological research to collect the data needed for a sound economic policy. For instance, the sub-committee of a Party branch in the Vihorlat Works in Snina (Slovakia), basing themselves on an analysis of the data on the socialist emulation, on the progress made in fulfilling the plan, on the technological equipment of the plant, worked out exact criteria for an objective assessment of the performance of the various departments.

Direct aid on the spot is becoming the principal method not only of the sub-committees but also of the elected Party committees. Thanks to the wide application of this method big changes are taking place in the guidance given by the Party committees and in their methods of work.

The right of the Party organizations to verify economic activity in industry enables them to gain profound knowledge of the process of production, and to disclose in good time shortcomings in the work of particular departments and sectors. This right by no means signifies mistrust of the work of executives. The need to improve economic management concerns not only top executives but the working people as a whole. Hence it is only natural that they are interested in the work of their enterprise and make their suggestions; they not only evince a growing interest in socially necessary work but also display a sense of responsibility to society and to the Party for the smooth functioning of the enterprise as a whole.

Wide application of the knowledge and practical experience of the people on the job is helpful to the country's economic development. This also helps to get away from the old forms of management concerned chiefly with quantity production to methods based on the desire steadily to raise the technological level of production and quality of output.

In this way, not only is the sense of responsibility enhanced, a deeper knowledge is obtained of the problems pertaining to the various branches of the economy, factories, cooperatives and individual sectors.

In the enterprises responsible for capital construction what are known as days of Party control are held — a method of checking up on the relations between the plant placing the order and the factory supplying the needed materials. The Party organizations of the two sides send their representatives to the construction sites for an on-the-spot check-up and to discuss measures for improving the work of economic bodies.

Today the problems of further developing the economy and moulding the Marxist-Leninist world outlook acquire a greater prominence in the life of the country. This has necessitated changing the content and methods of our propaganda. Wider and deeper know-

ledge is needed in order to improve management, meet more fully the growing needs of the public, and balance requirements and possibilities. Propaganda work, becoming ever more varied, should not only proceed from past experiences but also give a correct answer to problems of the country's development both currently and in the future. Hence close attention is paid, in the system of political education, to political economy, concrete economics and philosophy.

The new conditions have also brought about changes in the organization of Party education. Instead of enrolling all members in classes, there is a growing tendency, especially as regards Party and economic activists, towards independent study.

The need to respond to the demands of the times necessitates analysis, selection and generalization of all the facts. Therefore in political education, too, more attention is paid to current tasks and to the perspective of building a developed socialist society.

Thorough knowledge of life is a condition for concrete and effective political work. In this respect one is aided not only by the experience and lessons drawn from the mistakes caused by subjectivism but also by a gradual penetration into the essence of political leadership. All-round professional knowledge helps to establish correct relationships with the working people and cements the contact between the Party and the people.

Miroslav LAB

Newspaper of the Sudan communists

BEGINNING WITH ISSUE No. 393 the newspaper *El Maidan*, organ of the Sudanese Communist Party, has appeared legally — a development made possible by the revolution of last October which abolished the reactionary military dictatorship. The revolution was carried through under the leadership of the United National Front in which a prominent role was played by the associations of workers' and peasants' trade unions acting in common with patriotic intellectuals and students. A decisive part in preparing the revolutionary situation and in rallying the national democratic forces was played by the Communist Party.

Progressives in the Arab countries, in Africa and the world over warmly welcomed the resumed legal publication of the paper. The role played by *El Maidan* in struggle against neo-colonialism, in defense of the democratic demands of the people and for the social progress of the country is well known. It champions the unity of all national forces in the North and South and the solution of the many problems facing the country.

El Maidan, whose voice the reactionaries failed to silence, carried on the fight, helped the people, made a deep-going analysis of the problems of the country and pointed the way to solving them. It touched on issues that are vital to the present-day Sudan, highlighting

land reform, the problems of placing the state bodies on a sound footing, extending and consolidating the public sector, transforming it into a genuinely democratic instrument paving the way to non-capitalist development, as well as many other issues.

The paper gives much space to the daily activity of the Communists. A recent feature was an interview with Comrade Abdel Khalek Mahjoub, General Secretary of the Party.

Referring to the recent events in the Sudan Comrade Mahjoub gave the following assessment of them: the revolution is a national democratic revolution as is evident from the forces that took part in it, from its tasks and from its aims. Its purpose is to extend democratic rights to all the people, to carry out social changes that will bar the way to capitalism which became discredited during the years of the dictatorship, and to clear the way to socialist development. Agrarian reform is an urgent need, and the state sector must play the leading role in the economy.

We wish the paper every success in the cause of progress and peace, in helping to carry out the tasks facing the people of the Sudan who have launched a resolute struggle for genuine national independence and social progress.

A. YOUSSEUFI

Unity of the working class and democratic movement

THE UNITY OF THE working class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries was the subject of a Round Table discussion held in Prague last year under the auspices of our journal. Among those present were A. Ferrari (Argentina), P. Motta Lima (Brazil), J. Terfve (Belgium), W. Kashtan (Canada), D. Konstantinou (Cyprus), K. Oesterling (Denmark), I. Lehtinen and A. Heikkila (Finland), I. Ledwohn (Federal Germany), M. Rosette and P. Hentges (France), A. Avanesyan (Iran), N. Kaloudis (Greece), D. Henin (Israel), L. Gruppi (Italy), A. Pettersen (Norway), S. Alvarez (Spain), G. Oehman (Sweden), A. Ambartsu-mov (USSR), and A. Sobolev (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*).

The discussion covered a wide range of questions including the new conditions in which the struggle for working-class unity is being waged; the Left forces and the platform of unity; the Communists and the Social Democrats; the Communists and the Catholic movement; the development of unity in the trade union movement and others.

"There is hardly any need to stress here the importance of the questions we are about to discuss," said P. Hentges, (France) in his opening remarks. "The basic points of the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties on the character of our epoch underscore the possibilities: the possibility of averting world war, and the possibility of achieving socialism, given certain conditions, by peaceful means. This is the new situation, a situation which imposes on us Communists new obligations as regards unity with the Socialists and a generally broader alliance of all democratic forces."

The past thirty years, he went on, have seen radical changes in the approach to the problem of unity. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern posed before the international proletariat the urgent task of uniting all the working people against fascism and the danger of war. At that time we were working for united working-class action and a people's front policy in a Europe two-thirds fascist. Fascism was on the march, getting ready for war. All the state-

ments issued by our parties at the time emphasized the defensive character of the battles ahead.

If we examine the subjective factors, it is clear today that in the conditions obtaining at that time, they contained many negative aspects. The Socialist leaders, fearing the revolutionary influence of the USSR, tried to frighten the masses with the specter of proletarian revolution, civil war and hunger. They opposed unity with the Communists who, they alleged, were enemies of freedom, who used methods that degraded human dignity. True, the mistakes and crimes committed during the period of the Stalin cult, the mass repressions which affected so many innocent people, obscured the development of democracy in the USSR. On the other hand, the mistakes made by the Communists in applying the policy of "class against class" also left their mark. True, we stopped calling Herman Mueller a social-fascist. But at the very moment when Maurice Thorez resolutely declared: "We will never leave to fascism the banner of the Great Revolution or the Marseillaise of the soldiers of the Convention," the Communists came out during the popular front demonstration of July 14, 1934 with the slogan: "Soviets everywhere!" Such manifestations of sectarianism were typical of that period and of the difficulties of achieving unity.

The defeat of fascism in the Second World War created an entirely new situation. The role played by the USSR in the anti-Hitler coalition, and the role of the Communists in the anti-fascist Resistance won tremendous influence for the Communists. In France, Italy, Belgium and some other countries Communists held ministerial posts; they worked together with Socialists, took the initiative in effecting economic and social reforms and played a particularly big role in rehabilitating their countries. But the American monopoly of the atomic bomb, the gendarme role of the United States, and, last but not least, the "Marshall Plan," all impelled the Right-wing Socialist leaders towards a break with the Communists.

Today we are living in different times. Before

beginning the discussion which should help us to determine to what extent the objective and subjective conditions have changed, we should, I believe, ask the following question: do we not want to go much farther along the road to unity than we did in 1934 or 1945? This question, as a matter of fact, involves many others. Firstly, can we envisage not only reaching agreement on a joint program, but also achieving the organic unity which Guy Mollet had in mind when he said: "We Socialists should reaffirm that unity must one day be restored"? The second and even more important question might be formulated thus: will

the unity of action, which is bound to be achieved, continue with the development, peaceful or non-peaceful, of the revolution, and also later when the final victory of the working people is assured?

No matter how our views might differ on this score, they are based on the common conviction that the Communists regard united action by the working class not as a passing phase, but as a long-term policy essential not only today, in the struggle for democracy and peace, but even more so tomorrow when the building of socialism will be on the order of the day.

1. NEW ADVANCES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

The question that is being discussed, said W. Kashtan (Canada), in reality concerns the ways and means of the transition to socialism in the advanced capitalist countries. This is of great significance for us, because the problem of this transition in the developed capitalist countries will be somewhat different than in other parts of the world.

The desire for unity is not enough. There must be the objective and subjective conditions for this. And these conditions are ripening today in a situation somewhat different than that which existed before the Second World War. There are a number of processes taking place in the capitalist world, and particularly in North America—in the United States and in Canada—that, it seems to us, will stimulate the drive for unity of the working-class movement.

The scientific and technical revolution now underway in all the capitalist countries (in some more quickly, in others less), is having its impact on the working class and its future. Automation under capitalist conditions poses the perspective for the working class of the elimination of a whole section of society from productive work. These processes, which sharpen all the contradictions of capitalism, highlight the necessity for a change in the social system and impel the labor movement to re-examine its program. What program does it need?

One of the fundamental questions, and at the same time perhaps one of the most simple questions which will tend to take on a revolutionary character, will be the demand of the working class for the right to work, the right to a guaranteed annual income, the right to decide on production processes in industry and to advance demands going beyond the conditions of work in industry. In short, the scientific and technical revolution is placing before the working class the need for far-reaching democratic reforms and basic social changes which in turn create the objective conditions for the cooperation and unity of all workers,

for the cooperation and unity of Communists, Socialists and Catholic workers.

Another point that should be examined is in what way has the change in the composition of the working class affected the prospects of its unity. Does it advance this process or does it raise obstacles to unity? This is a two-sided process. On the one hand, there has been a growth of the working-class and, as Lenin pointed out, the strength of the working class lies in its numbers. On the other hand, the changes in the composition of the working class tending to diminish the number of manual workers and augment the number of non-manual workers (who do not as yet have the class outlook of the working class) also tend to act as a brake on the unity movement, at least in Canada. The experience in Western Europe may be different. But the point is one of vital importance for the working class, for its unity, for strengthening it as the vital force in organizing those large sections of the working people still unorganized.

In France, stressed M. Rosette, irrespective of the modifications that have taken place in capitalism and no matter how complex the social structure and the class relationships, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class remains the main class contradiction. The working class has grown in numbers. Being a class which does not own the means of production, and which is subjected to growing concentration of the productive forces, the working class is the inspirer and leader of all the anti-capitalist forces. At the same time, the growing power of the monopolies from which all the middle strata, both old and new, suffer, creates the objective conditions for the alliance of these sections with the working class against the handful of monopolies.

But is it possible today to build up such an alliance on a common program and to establish genuine democracy in France with socialism as the perspective? We believe that the conditions

for this exist in France and in the rest of the world.

The new world balance of forces in favor of socialism has created the conditions for the transition to socialism. In this situation the working class and its allies can in the course of the struggle against monopoly domination impose fundamental reforms of a democratic nature going beyond the usual demands. With the changed balance of forces, new conditions have appeared which make for greater cohesion among the working people and particularly for rapprochement between Socialists and Communists.

Two new factors—the strength of the forces of peace which can impose peaceful coexistence on the imperialists and the advent of nuclear weapons—make it incumbent on Communists and Socialists, despite their differences, to find some basis for mutual understanding in order to work for peace and disarmament. Here let me say that we welcomed the joint communique issued by the French Socialist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at their Moscow meeting.

The possibility of envisaging together with the Socialist workers the perspective of the peaceful transition to socialism implies not only a temporary alliance with them but co-operation in the building of socialism as well.

The contest between the two world systems and the outcome of that contest, the achievements of the socialist world system, also exert a favorable influence on the working people in the capitalist countries. It is indicative, for example, that on their return from Moscow the Socialist Party delegation noted that the Soviet Union is doing more for the youth than any other country.

Our policy is aimed at making the most of the favorable conditions for achieving unity. Our party and the Socialist Party both belong to the same class — the working class. And inasmuch as all workers have common interests, we are determined, despite our differences and indeed by overcoming these differences, to arrive at unity with the Socialist Party. We want that unity to go farther than in 1934 and 1945. At the same time, we are working to win over the peasants, intellectuals and other middle sections to the side of the working class.

"In working for unity," said S. Alvarez (Spain), "we are searching for ways of promoting the struggle for democracy and socialism. And, naturally, each of us proceeds from the concrete conditions in our respective countries."

Referring to the situation in Spain, Alvarez spoke about the prospects for a democratic revolution, and the connection between the present phase of the struggle, the democratic phase that will follow the fall of the dictatorship, and the socialist perspective.

The advances made by the anti-fascist movement are the basic factor in the complex and contradictory process which we now observe in Spain. A feature of this process is that

although Franco is still in power, Spain has already entered upon the phase of destroying the fascist forms of monopoly domination associated with Franco and with the aftermath of civil war. The working class and the people generally are fighting for far-reaching democratic and revolutionary reforms, for a democratic revolution; the character of the struggle is determined by the objective need for change, for a new socio-economic structure, and by the higher degree of consciousness and organization already achieved by the movement.

True, Alvarez continued, the situation in Spain differs somewhat from that in other capitalist countries in the West. It is obvious that since the fascist government still retains its machine of repression, any independent expression of the people's will cannot but be directed against the existing authority. Every strike, every demonstration or manifestation is charged with the spirit of revolt. In this way the mass actions in Spain differ from those in Western Europe where bourgeois democratic freedoms exist.

J. Terfve (Belgium) recalled that the 1960 Statement described the main content of our epoch as that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. This, he said, should be the point of departure in the present discussion since it applies to all Western countries and is the feature of our epoch.

Of course, the level of development differs in each country, depending on the concrete conditions. The struggle against one-man rule in France, like that against Franco in Spain, has engendered special conditions. But the basic premise — the transition from capitalism to socialism — is the same. Recognition of this thesis means that on the whole capitalism has reached the stage when a change of regime is an essential prerequisite for advance, for social progress. And there is a growing awareness of this.

This consciousness of the moribund nature of capitalism and the need to replace it is evidently the main element of the new situation in the Western countries. Another highly important factor, and one which is of growing importance in convincing the working class in the capitalist countries that working class rule is possible and that society can exist without the capitalists, is the growing might of the socialist system.

However, for the masses in the West this is not yet the decisive factor; this is due to the discrepancy in economic development between the countries of the socialist system and the more developed capitalist countries, and also to some extent to the fact that as yet socialism has not been able to display its advantages in full measure. Then the profound ideological differences in the Communist movement have likewise had a negative effect on working people who have not yet been won over to our ideas.

But can we say, Terfve went on, that the present state of capitalism has awakened the

masses in the Western countries to the need to abolish it? Analyzing the post-war political situation in Belgium, he said that it was becoming clearer to the masses that it was impossible to advance, to resolve the new problems merely by one or another superficial reform, that far-reaching structural changes were essential, primarily restricting the power of the big monopolies, bringing the workers into management and control and extending democracy. This, however, presupposes the broad unity of all the anti-monopoly forces.

In recent years, with the accelerated growth of monopoly, said *K. Oesterling* (Denmark), we observe a growing tendency for the state to intervene directly in the various spheres of economic and public life; this intervention derives from a kind of Social Democratic interpretation of the theory of Keynes and his followers. What processes are at work here? In Denmark, despite the relatively high living standard, there is widespread dissatisfaction among the working people. The new methods of exploitation in our country give rise to new conditions for the production and reproduction of labor power. The workers need more rest, greater security and a better system of education. But the so-called "welfare society" cannot meet these needs. Further, the technological development creates the demand for new goods and services. This demand cannot be fully satisfied with the existing purchasing power of wage earners, even if there has been some increase in real wages for some categories of workers. One fact which, in our view, is highly important is that possession of things which only a few years ago were regarded as "status symbols" is now taken for granted.

Monopoly capitalism can satisfy these new demands only by making substantial concessions, and since it refuses to make these concessions new directions and new fronts of struggle against the monopolies are emerging. Something similar can be observed in the sphere of democracy and freedom. Many, or even perhaps most, Danes are not satisfied with Danish democracy, they consider it too restricted. They are advancing new demands in this respect, especially in the sphere of economic democracy and influence on production, investment and the general trend of development. Also important is the fact that the demand for a broader democracy is in some measure connected with a growing understanding of the impossibility of such demands being satisfied without certain changes in the existing structure. In this sense the situation in our country is not unlike that of which *J. Terfve* spoke.

Thus, a definite change has taken place in the thinking of the people in Denmark (and of other countries with similar conditions). But at the present stage the new consciousness has not yet fully crystallized. It is rather an awareness of the need for immediate results, and also — as a more distant perspective — an awareness of the discrepancy between the new

demands, which are not being fully satisfied, and the actual possibilities of satisfying them with the present development of science and technology. This leads to a sharpening of contradictions within the Social Democratic Party and, at certain moments, to a crisis of its policy.

One other thing, said *Oesterling*, which I think is characteristic for my country is the problem of what I might describe as "militant humanism." The problem of man, his development is being posed much more sharply today than formerly. The reason for this should be sought in the contradiction between the threat of atomic annihilation and creative work, between the technological possibilities and their utilization, in the very conditions of modern man who is at once powerless and yet strong enough to cope creatively with the situation. This problem acquires a political flavor and we observe a gradual mingling of the general democratic movement and the movement of militant humanism, mingling in which the one stimulates the other.

In the worldwide process of transition from capitalism to socialism the working class with its greatest gain, the socialist world system, is becoming more and more the decisive factor of social development, said *I. Ledwohn*, (Federal Germany). To ensure the final collapse of imperialism it is essential that it be defeated in the principal imperialist countries, such as the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Federal Germany and Japan. With the growth of state monopoly capitalism, and the growing concentration of production and capital in the main capitalist countries, the foundation for the transition from capitalism to socialism has been laid, i.e., the stage immediately preceding socialism has been reached.

Our Party's efforts are at present aimed at ensuring peace and democracy in the FRG, above all, peaceful coexistence between the two German states. And the road to this lies through the united action of the working class.

Our Party Congress stressed that working-class unity was the prime prerequisite for the success of the democratic forces, for any serious change in the political conditions in the FRG in favor of peace, democracy and social progress. For our Party this is not a matter of tactics. We proceed from the principle that in the course of joint struggle we shall be able to arrive at unity as regards the socialist objective as well. The advances in the struggle for unity in other West European countries, and particularly in France, are having their influence also on the FRG and making our task easier.

N. Kaloudis (Greece) said that since Greece is not one of the developed capitalist countries, and has neither a Social Democratic party nor a Catholic movement, working class unity does not involve the same difficulties there as in many other western countries. Nevertheless, he added, the present exchange of views and experience is extremely valuable for us too.

In recent times, he went on, Greece has been far more dependent on foreign, especially American, monopoly capital than before the war. This does not mean that British, French and West German monopolists and their governments no longer have any interests in Greece. On the contrary, they have been relatively more active of late in trying to strengthen their positions in the economic and political life of Greece.

As a consequence, industrialization and expansion of the productive forces generally has been one-sided and very slow, while the standard of living remains low. In agriculture there has been an increase in the penetration of monopoly capital which, being closely tied up with the foreign monopolies, robs the peasantry of the lion's share of their produce. The middle sections in the towns are being hard pressed by competition with big capital and by the high taxation.

Objectively two fronts are being created in Greece: the local plutocratic oligarchy and the foreign monopolies with their steadily growing contradictions, on the one hand, and the front of all other social classes and groups interested in ridding the country of foreign dependence, and in its development along peaceful, national-democratic lines. As a result of the overthrow of the reactionary Right-wing government and thanks to the steps taken toward democratization, the possibility of restoring working-class unity, of broadening and developing the patriotic democratic front are becoming more immediate and tangible.

E. Ambartsumov (USSR) dwelt on three aspects of the problem of working-class unity. Firstly, unity in the sense of joint action of the various socio-professional groups of the working class of which W. Kashtan, J. Terfve and others spoke. This is a matter of the changes taking place in the composition of the working class. It is a fact that in all the developed capitalist countries the number of those engaged in mental, or to be more exact, non-manual labor is growing in both absolute and relative terms. In the discussion on the changes in the structure of the working class sponsored by this journal, the general consensus of

opinion was that these groups, which some sociologists have designated as new middle sections, are actually new sections of the working class. But it is not a matter merely of designating one or another section as part of the working class, the important thing is to advance and defend the specific demands in which these sections are interested, in other words, to take account of their specific features.

The second aspect is the new role of the trade unions in developing united working-class actions in the advanced countries. Experience shows that in countries like France, Italy, and Japan the biggest actions of recent times were, as a rule, united action by all unions, by all the main trade union centers. The relations between Communists, Socialists and Social Democrats, however, have not yet developed to this point.

The third aspect of the problem of working class unity is the progress (as yet modest) that has been made with regard to united action in the capitalist countries on an international scale, specifically on the scale of the Common Market. We have had several instances of joint action by the workers employed by those monopolies with enterprises in different countries. So far these have been isolated instances. The international monopoly alliance of the Common Market countries is not as yet offset by an international front of the proletariat of these countries. However events are moving in this direction, albeit slowly. On the one hand this is spurred on by definite objective processes (migration of labor, which makes it possible to establish alliances of workers of different nationalities). On the other hand, it is stimulated by the contacts, exchange of views between trade union centers, and between the Communist parties of the West European countries.

The new conditions of struggle for democracy and socialism which are emerging in the capitalist countries and the significance of these new conditions for the development of unity were mentioned also by I. Lehtinen (Finland), D. Henin (Israel), G. Oehman (Sweden), D. Konstantinou (Cyprus) and A. Pettersen (Norway).

2. THE LEFT AND THE UNITY PLATFORM

Problems connected with the latest changes in political alignments in the capitalist countries, the question of the Left and the elaboration of a platform of working-class and democratic unity were subjected to detailed examination.

What we need, said W. Kashtan, is a precise definition of the concept of "the Left." Without this a fruitful discussion of the problems of working-class and democratic unity will be difficult.

"We believe," M. Rosette said, "that on the political plane the broad alignment which will win genuine democracy in our country is bound to be broader than what is commonly called in France 'the Left'. As we see it, the most important thing is to bring about such an alignment of social forces. Above all it is essential to ensure the unity of the working class, which plays the leading role among all the anti-capitalist forces. On the political plane this implies unity among Communists, Social-

ists and Christian workers all of whom are part of the working class. And the more united and powerful the actions of the working class, the more the ordinarily hesitant and vacillating middle sections will gravitate to the democratic anti-monopoly struggle."

Rosette disagreed with the view that the "unity of the working class is above all a question of the ways and means of carrying out the socialist revolution." The question cannot be posed in this way, he stressed. Needless to say, the unity of the working class is essential if it is to achieve its ultimate aim—socialism. But this unity is essential in the immediate future too in order to counter the capitalist offensive all along the line. In France the coming to power of de Gaulle necessitated united actions to uphold even the most modest demands and to prove to the masses that the one-man regime can be made to retreat.

As the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party pointed out, the situation in France has been marked of late by the growing struggle of the working class and the masses generally, by growing opposition to one-man rule, and progress towards greater unity among Communists, Socialists and republicans generally in upholding the demands of the working people of town and country. The workers' demands in the enterprises and elsewhere are more and more often supported by both the Communist and Socialist parties. The Communists, Socialists and other democrats are jointly organizing the fight to defend and extend the rights of the municipalities against authoritarian concentration of power. The Communists, Socialists and other supporters of peace are fighting together against a de Gaulle "national nuclear-strike force," for general and controlled disarmament. The idea of a platform of mutual understanding, of a common program, is crystallizing in the course of these actions.

In Italy, *L. Gruppi* said, things have taken a course somewhat different from other countries. Whereas in France, for example, the Communists and Socialists are drawing closer, complex though the process is, in Italy this is not the case. Developments in France as well as in Britain and a number of other countries pose the question of the Left in Europe in a new way. It is imperative to build up a Left free of anti-Communist prejudice and able to set in motion the genuinely democratic forces opposed to the power of the monopolies. This would facilitate progress towards working-class unity on the scale of the Common Market and thereby broaden and strengthen the democratic and socialist perspective in Europe. If Italy formerly was a happy exception in the European scene inasmuch as we did have unity between the Socialist and Communist parties, now this unity has been considerably weakened. The Socialist Party has entered a government led by the conservative wing of the Christian Democrats.

What brought this about? This question has

not yet been satisfactorily answered in our Party, *Gruppi* said. The Socialist Party was impelled towards the Right in the difficult period of 1956-57 when we suffered a number of major defeats in the trade unions and the working-class movement encountered serious difficulties on the international plane. But although this was followed by a marked upswing in the working-class movement and a strong gravitation towards unity, the growth of a social-democratic trend in the Socialist Party was not halted, with the result that the party split. A new party emerged—the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity—which carries some weight and has taken the place vacated by the Socialist Party in the sphere of struggle for independent working-class action, for unity of the working class, and for internationalism.

The situation in the Socialist Party is highly complex. More than any other party, it feels the impact of the present difficulties in Italy. On the one hand, it is under pressure from the Socialist workers and the masses generally and, on the other, it had been involved in a government policy aimed at finding a way out of the adverse economic situation through a wage freeze and sharp reduction of credits for small and medium industry. In this situation a certain differentiation has already taken place in the Socialist Party—between Nenni and the Lombardi wing. Lombardi is aware of the dangers with which the complete capitulation of the Socialist Party leadership is fraught, but he fails to see the political alignment needed to change the orientation of the government and to defeat the government bloc, i.e., he is not aware that the crucial thing is to work towards the hegemony of the working class and a democratic, socialist perspective instead of submitting to the hegemony of the Christian Democrats. This, naturally, creates a rather complicated situation in the Confederation of Labor. The Confederation, however, has not abandoned the struggle. It is interesting to note that a number of actions organized by the trade unions were carried out with the support of the Christian Democrat and Socialist trade unions.

In the Catholic world, *Gruppi* went on, we also witness a number of complex developments. The Christian Democrats are seeking to act as an intermediary between capital and the masses. Owing to its mass character, however, the Christian Democrat movement is rent by deep-going contradictions, for, on the one hand, it is linked with the monopolies, and, on the other, it cannot but reckon with the movement of the mass of workers, peasants and small bourgeoisie. Hence the contradictory inner dialectics of the Italian Catholic world and the difficulties encountered by the Catholic Church.

When Fanfani's Center-Left government was first formed the Catholic world associated no few hopes and illusions with it. Today these hopes and illusions have been blasted. The Moro government has shifted still further to

the Right, and the Catholic world is beginning to realize that contact with the Socialists is no solution, that the problem of an effective interlocutor in the dialogue, which in Italy is the Communist movement, is still outstanding. This explains, Gruppi said, why some useful, though still unofficial, contacts have been established between us and the Catholic world.

The Left in Spain, S. Alvarez said, presents a picture different from that in the other Western countries (although in the case of the latter too it is essential to make a closer examination of the concept of the Left and to break away from the rather rigid framework in which it has been regarded until now). In this respect the situation in Spain is highly fluid. The political forms of opposition to the regime are in the process of crystallizing, and at the same time a polarization of the opposition forces is underway. As a result, we see a whole gamut of forces, beginning with the Spanish Alliance, a party of the monopolies of a more or less monarchist tinge, and ending with the Social Christian and Left Christian Democratic parties and the Social Democratic Action. There are also extreme Left groups (for example, the Popular Liberation Front) and some nationalist, autonomist organizations. It may be asked: who besides the Socialist Party and the Communists belong to the Left in this conglomeration? This is a difficult question, since, in effect, there has been a leftward shift in all the opposition forces. In reality there are two parallel oppositions to Franco: the democratic and the conservative. And now we observe a leftward movement also among some of the conservative groups.

This explains why we in Spain are still far from being able to give a precise and final definition of "the Left." I believe, he continued, that the Left consists of all forces advocating progressive reforms. In our country these are the forces which uphold the basic democratic freedoms and eschew anti-communism.

At any rate, Alvarez continued, we can hardly be expected to arrive at general conclusions valid for all countries. At best we can speak of new developments which impel us to modify the old concept of what constitutes the Left. For instance, we used to consider the Spanish Catholic workers' movement as part of the Right-wing. But today in the struggle against the dictatorship and even as regards the perspective this movement is closer to the Left than is the leadership of the Social Democratic movement.

I. Ledwohn quoted the policy statement of the Communist Party of Germany: "In the Social Democratic movement there is a Left trend, some groups of which are functioning inside the Party and others outside it. Their ideological and political views are still highly varied. In addition to Marxists they include sectarian groups, as well as groups influenced by anti-communism. On the whole though the prevailing tendency is towards an independent

working-class policy in the Social Democratic movement."

Most of the forces to the Left of official SDP policy, Ledwohn said, consist of supporters of democratic reforms and are to be found primarily in the trade unions. Among the intellectuals, scientists and art workers too there are numerous Lefts. These people play a big role in shaping public opinion and are searching for alternatives to the policy of the government, mainly as regards democracy and certain foreign policy issues. In view of the present situation in the West German trade union movement, it is particularly important for us Communists to make it plain that we do not regard ourselves as an opposition group in the unions. Our job is to put forward in the trade unions positive proposals with a view to carrying out union decisions together with the Social Democrats, Christian workers and non-party people. Of particular importance for the advance of the working-class movement in Federal Germany is the fact that the bulk of the members and supporters of the Social Democratic Party belong to the trade unions and support their decisions calling for struggle against monopoly capital, militarism and the reactionary policy of the government. The unions' stand on these issues puts the rank-and-file members, officials and leaders of the SDP working for socialism and democracy in a stronger position to press for the adoption of a policy in keeping with the decisions of the Trade Union Federation, the metalworkers' and other unions.

The striving for social progress, democracy and peace, M. Rosette said, is growing among the people of France. The attainment of these goals, however, presupposes the abolition of one-man rule and the establishment of a democracy of a new type. For this it is essential that the masses should be united behind a common program. We believe, he said, that in France this is the most important thing.

The Party attaches prime importance to the elaboration of a common program inasmuch as the present regime cannot be ended without building up a powerful popular movement, especially since parliament, virtually stripped of all power, affords only a feeble reflection of the popular sentiment. Hence the imperative need for unity. Moreover, there are many in France who would like to see the present state of affairs changed but who are reluctant to join the democratic opposition merely because they cannot visualize the kind of government that would replace de Gaulle.

The absence of a common program uniting the democratic parties helps to prolong the Gaullist regime with all its pernicious attributes. To unite the majority of the people of France in one powerful movement it is necessary to offer them a clear-cut perspective agreed upon by the principal democratic parties and organizations.

In 1959 the Communist Party alone had an alternative to offer. Today, although there still

are substantial differences, the programs of various parties, trade unions and other democratic groups contain many similar or identical points according with the aspirations of the millions. The Communists, Socialists and other democrats are coming out together against the one-man rule. They all demand reduction of military spending, rejection of the nuclear-strike force, nationalization of a number of branches of industry and more democratic management, a democratic tax reform, etc. A recent conference of representatives of the democratic parties and organizations worked out a program of action in the sphere of educational policy. They jointly elaborated also a program on the information media and adopted the draft of a democratic statute for the radio and television service. This should stimulate discussion of all other political, economic and social aspects of the common democratic program.

Proceeding from these premises, our Party, Rosette said, has drawn up a program of action in keeping with the striving of our people to change the present state of affairs, a program corresponding to the national interests and capable of serving as the basis for a discussion with the other democratic parties and organizations.

This program, which calls for far-reaching democratic reforms, offers a platform for an alliance between the working class, the working peasants, intellectuals and other urban middle sections. In our opinion the democratic movement of tomorrow should meet two conditions. On the one hand, it should rest on a solid majority based on the unity of all democratic parties and organizations behind a common program. On the other, it should give the millions a direct say in state administration and, while fully recognizing the importance of the elected bodies, accord the working people and their organizations the right to control and direct economic, social and cultural endeavor.

To ensure both stable government and democracy we propose that a constituent assembly be elected on the basis of proportional representation. This assembly would adopt a new, democratic constitution clearly defining the respective functions of the government and of a National Assembly elected by proportional representation. The new constitution should also effectively guarantee the basic rights of man and the citizen.

In our time only a socialist democracy freed from the stranglehold of the capitalist trusts can be genuine democracy. Our program, therefore, calls for radical reforms in the economic, social and cultural spheres: nationalization of all monopolies, a democratic budget and a democratic system of taxation, control by the working people at all levels of economic life. But such reforms are inseparable from a policy of peace and disarmament. And in this area, the speaker said, we propose a number of measures which would help to release France from its commitments under military pacts and enable it to pursue a truly national policy

in the overall context of peaceful coexistence.

Developed in this direction, the fight for broader democracy becomes a component of the fight for socialism. Hence we hold, the speaker went on, that the obviously essential leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle of the people leads to the merging of the stages of democratic reconstruction and socialist reconstruction. In our time the interval between the two stages, measured by the yardstick of history, is reduced to the minimum. Consistently implemented democracy finds consummation in socialism.

French experience has shown, *P. Hentges* said, that it is necessary above all to find the concrete slogans capable of rallying the masses. The Communists should not merely hope for, look forward to, or confine themselves to registering the growth of unity; they must work to ensure its growth. Hence the Party's efforts are aimed at creating the most favorable conditions for closer cooperation between the Communist and Socialist parties, for instance, or between the three trade union organizations, including the Christian trade unions.

Therefore considerations divorced from the living realities of the day and, hence, from the future, should be regarded not merely as so much idle talk but as something harmful and anti-Marxist. Recall how the Socialist and Catholic miners stood side by side with us in the fight against the government's requisition orders. And how, as a result, the miners' strike assumed a national and international political significance and greatly advanced the cause of unity and the French democratic movement as a whole. Had we offered the miners some abstract program geared to a period of high business activity they surely would not have understood us. But the Party supported their struggle for a decent wage and advanced their political thinking by exposing the true face of the Gaullist rule as the rule of the big monopolies.

Today we are speaking about a joint program with the Socialists, *Hentges* continued. Needless to say, this program—the importance of which has been stressed by *M. Rosette*—will be the more effective the more concretely it sets forth economic and political aims on which the Socialists and Communists can agree in the struggle against the Gaullist rule. If we make headway in building this unity it will draw in all the sections of society which want progress, democracy and peace, including the Catholic workers.

Belgium, said *J. Terfve*, is one of the countries of Western Europe where the composition of the Left forces is seen more clearly. The situation in France has been cited here by way of example. The growing struggle against one-man rule is a factor facilitating unity. The same can also be said about the struggle against the Franco dictatorship in Spain.

As far as Belgium is concerned, the actions of the Left do not find expression in a concrete

struggle of a similar nature. In my view, Terfve continued, their development characterizes another aspect of the problem. They arise by virtue of the general need for deep-going structural changes, which gives rise to the most diverse movements.

Let us examine the situation in Social Democracy which, in Belgium, represents a considerable force. Today among the Social Democrats and especially in the trade unions there are strong Left trends which even have their own forms of organization. Thus, in the French-speaking part of the country the big strikes of 1960-61 gave birth to a movement known as the Walloon People's Movement with a membership of 100-120,000. The overwhelming majority of its supporters are those who vote for the Socialist Party. The movement is developing on the basis of the demand for changing the unitarian system in the country into a federal system. Roughly four months ago the movement advanced the idea of a popular referendum in favor of "structural reforms" of an economic, social and political order. The leadership of the Socialist Party officially declared against taking part in the referendum. But it was held, and 650,000 signatures were collected. Both Communists and Socialists take part in the leadership of the movement.

In Belgium, where, as in Italy, the influence of the Catholic Church is so great, Terfve went on, it is impossible to understand the problems of working-class unity unless one takes account of the Christians (700,000 workers belong to the Christian trade unions). In the Catholic party and Christian trade unions there are also trends which give priority to "structural reforms."

As a matter of fact, the content of the unity platform is much wider and more concrete. In particular, this applies to the struggle for peace, a feature of which is the all-in nature of the mass actions. For two years in succession peace demonstrations have been held on May 8. Impressed by the scale of the campaign, a number of organizations, including the Socialist, Christian and even Liberal trade unions as well as the women's movement and various groups from each of the parties, have joined the May 8 movement.

In France, said *M. Rosette*, we do not use the term "structural reforms" but "deep-going democratic reforms," although the difference between the two is not very great. Nevertheless, the Communist Party does not call the reforms it proposes "structural reforms." The reasons for not doing so are the following. Firstly, the ideologists and economists of the big bourgeoisie use identical terms in trying to make the people believe that capitalism can be re-adjusted and that the capitalist production relations can conform to the demand for developing the productive forces. For example, in the guise of "structural reforms" in the countryside the government is trying to accelerate concentration in agriculture and to oust 900,000 small peasant farms. The definition "democratic

reforms" for the steps we propose enables us not only to show that these reforms are diametrically opposed to the steps taken by the government which is in the service of the monopolies, but also to stress that our demands are aimed at weakening monopoly domination in the economic, social and political life of the country. The second reason: the reforms proposed by us are not only economic (nationalization, for example) but also political (adoption of a new, democratic Constitution). The third reason: the term "democratic reforms" indicates that these reforms are not only in the interests of the people but also that their realization presupposes the active participation of the masses in the life of the nation, especially in elected assemblies, in the trade unions and in economic, social and cultural organizations. And lastly, by speaking about democratic reforms our purpose is to show that we do not want to foster illusions among the masses. Democratic reforms are necessary, and they will radically change the existing situation. But, we add, they will not as yet signify socialism. As a result of these reforms the material base of society will further develop and the political consciousness of the masses will deepen. But we tell the people that the genuine reconstruction of society necessitates the transition to socialism, the winning of political power by the working class and its allies and socialization of the means of production.

In Italy, said *L. Gruppi*, this question is posed in a somewhat different way since in our country the Communists were the first to formulate the concept "structural reforms." And today our opponents find themselves in a predicament when they are obliged to use this term. We regard it as a success, seeing that we were the first to introduce it to the masses and to the political life of our country. Of course, we attach our own meaning to this concept. The struggle for structural reforms, i.e., for a reform of the economic basis, should undoubtedly be accompanied by reforms in the state organization. It seems to me, said *Gruppi*, that we are in agreement on the substance of the matter, and that is very important. Above all it is important in connection with the struggle which we should wage in common in the Common Market so as to counterpose a democratic and socialist alternative to monopoly domination.

During the national-liberation war and at the time of rehabilitation our Party was able to turn the masses — who in the days before fascism had been under the influence of reformism — to revolutionary positions and rally them around the Party. Take, for example, the co-operative movement in agricultural areas which used to be headed by the reformists. The same was true of the local councils, where reformists were also in the lead. Today these organizations follow the leadership of the Communist and Socialist parties and represent an important element of the unity of the working-class and democratic movement. During the

national-liberation war and immediately afterwards, it was our Party which gave a positive answer to the questions agitating the working people, and the masses turned away from reformism. Ours was a party which, although not yet in a position to set the aim of socialism, pointed not only to the immediate aims but also to the "intermediate" aims associated with economic, social and political changes. This was the basis on which the policy of working-class unity rested, and it was this which frustrated the reactionary attempts to block the road to democracy.

Hence, Gruppi continued, it seems to me that in the specific conditions of Italy the time has come to give a positive answer to the demand for guarantees of democratic freedoms advanced by the Socialists, Social Democrats and all democratic sections. In a country which has democratic and parliamentary traditions, which has had the experience of fascism and which has appreciated the restoration of democracy, even if bourgeois democracy, the working-class movement will not be able to develop or become a force capable of directing the life of the nation unless it has an answer to all the demands for democracy and democratic freedoms.

Historically speaking, Italy was the first country to have a bourgeois-democratic Constitution as a result of the struggle waged under the leadership of the working class and not the bourgeoisie. It was the working class that was in the van of the struggle in defense of the Constitution and for the implementation of the constitutional principles. It is safe to say that the Italian conditions have confirmed what Engels wrote in his introduction to Marx's "The Class Struggles in France" — that the day comes when the bourgeoisie cries: "*la légalité nous tue*, legality is the death of us". Our Constitution, which so far has not been implemented not only in all but even in the most essential of its principles, has become an important political force. In the minds of the public it is a force which it is very difficult for anyone to oppose. Thanks to this, on the present-day constitutional foundation of the state, the road of democratic development remains open, even if it is yet to be traversed. Hence the bourgeoisie essay to obscure the real content of the Constitution without opposing it directly.

Such being the case, we visualize the following perspective: the present-day struggle for implementation of the Constitution is headed by the working class enjoying the broad support of its allies. The full and effective implementation of the democratic Constitution can be completed only by a bloc of political forces headed by the working class. This means that the struggle for the Constitution should, objectively, develop as a struggle for socialism.

A. Avanesyan agreed that the problem of structural or democratic reforms calls for a serious analysis. At one time the Communists tended to believe that they should have nothing

to do with reforms, that reforms were the concern of the reformists. This approach was undoubtedly wrong. Democratic reforms effected as a result of the mass struggles restrict the power of the monopolies, make it possible to improve the conditions of the workers, facilitate the unity of the working people, and prepare the ground for socialism. But socialism is not merely a sum-total of reforms. Decisive for the triumph of socialism is the winning of power by the working people.

In our Party, said W. Kashtan, we use both terms, that is, the need for deep-going democratic reforms, as well as structural reforms. The Canadian people well understand the term "democratic reforms." It arises out of their own experience and constitutes a means by which to rally people and move them forward. We hold that both terms express basically the same idea and both have essentially the same content, i.e., to undertake measures that would curb and weaken the power of monopoly.

In Canada there is a growing movement for the expansion of democracy and strong opposition to any efforts at restricting it. Around the questions of technological development and automation a growing movement is developing among the workers and other sections of the population focused on the question of democratic public control over automation, i.e., that monopoly should not have the right to put in automated machinery irrespective of its effects upon the jobs and standards of the workers. And there is likewise a growing sentiment in the trade union movement that the workers should have a say in production.

Moreover, this sentiment for democracy finds expression in the growing movement among wide sections of the people for a new Constitution for Canada. The present Constitution, which dates from 1867, largely expressed the dominant position of British imperialism and the English-speaking capitalist class in Canada. Today, as a result of the worldwide movement for national liberation, the advance of socialism and developments in Cuba, there has been a considerable upsurge of sentiment among the French-Canadian people, who constitute a nation, for full equality with English-speaking Canada.

Our Party has advanced — as a slogan and in terms of action — the right of national self-determination for the French-Canadian people, including the right of secession, and suggested that this should be incorporated into a new Constitution, even though, by its nature, it would be a bourgeois-democratic Constitution. But this is the stage of the struggle at this time.

An element in the situation, which is very important, is the fact that the level of the struggle in Canada is not yet of a character in which the working class and the people generally are out to destroy monopoly. The stage of the struggle expresses itself in the idea that what is needed is to curb monopoly. Our Party is concerned at all times in advancing slogans and ideas that correspond to the

stage of the development and the consciousness of the working class and the people generally.

The fight for reforms, stressed *J. Ledwohn*, has always been an important component of the revolutionary class struggle. And it should not be confused with reformism. In the fight for democratic reforms we, together with trade unionists and Social Democrats, aspire towards the democratic regeneration of society. An essential demand in this direction is the right of industrial workers, office employees and their unions to have a say in management at all levels. The demand for nationalization of the big concerns in industry, banking and insurance, advanced at the last Congress of the CPG, essentially coincides with the ideas of the trade unions with regard to converting the key branches of industry into public property.

In this connection Ledwohn touched on the question of the right to have a say in management. What we understand by this, he said, is known in the other West European countries as the problem of democratic control. In recent years growing importance has been attached to this problem in the West German working-class movement. The workers do not want a situation where democracy ends at the factory gates. As we understand it, the right to have a say in management is not a matter of social partnership and it cannot be reduced to fulfilling formal functions on the production or supervisory council. This right presupposes that the working class should exert an influence on the entire economic, social and political life. It presupposes defense of the independent positions of the workers, resistance to monopoly capital, and democratic mass struggle. What is needed is to win the right to have an effective and genuine say in management, which begins with the free activity of the trade unions in the enterprises. It presupposes defense of trade union functionaries, which is essential to ensure freedom of speech in the enterprise and end all the curbs on trade union activity.

The working-class movement in the Federal Republic should insist moreover that the existing state-owned property should be nationalized in the true meaning of the word. After all, the entire state-monopoly property in the FRG has been created by monopoly capitalism in its own interests, and in the state-owned enterprises the workers have neither more rights nor better conditions. Our task is to fight for the extension of the workers' managerial rights in the state-owned enterprises and for truly democratic management. We also want, proceeding from the existing trade union decisions, to wage a struggle for the nationalization of the big armaments factories, chemical monopolies, coal-mining concerns, those branches of the electric-power industry which mainly service the atomic industry, as well as the big banks.

Are these democratic reforms possible on the basis of the present Constitution? We answer this question in the affirmative. We say

that today it is the political reality in the FRG which is in contradiction with the principles of the Constitution.

A prominent role in our struggle for democratic reforms is played by the example of the German Democratic Republic. The public ownership there of the means of production, the social security arising from this, the new system of economic planning and management, the orientation towards technological revolution—this is most important for our struggle in the Federal Republic.

As is the case with other Communist parties, said *N. Kaloudis*, for the Communist Party of Greece, the struggle for working-class unity, for building a broad democratic anti-imperialist front is not a matter of tactics but an essential component of its policy, valid both at the stage of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution and at the stage of socialist changes.

The Program of the Greek Party adopted by its Eighth Congress formulated its attitude to the other social classes, sections and their spokesmen in the following way: 1) the Communist Party wants united action and cooperation with other democratic parties not only for the purpose of completing the democratic regeneration but also, in the future, for the socialist reconstruction of Greece; 2) under a genuinely democratic regime, which will ensure a free confrontation of ideas and make it possible for the various parties to popularize their programs, the people will decide in a democratic way what concrete steps should be taken to complete the democratic regeneration and advance to socialism; 3) nationalization will first affect monopoly enterprises, while the small and middle bourgeoisie will be given assistance in the shape of credits, raw materials and marketing facilities. When it comes to the question of completing the socialization of the means of production, the property of the small and middle bourgeoisie will be purchased by the state which will pay compensation to its former owners, who will then be given jobs in the nationalized enterprises in keeping with their abilities, know-how and attitude to the socialist regime.

With a view to rallying the patriotic democratic forces around the program of national democratic reforms, our Party pays close attention to the correct choice of the ways and means of the struggle and to the need to change them in good time whenever this is required by the situation. Our Party holds that there is a real opportunity to carry through national democratic changes in our country without armed violence, given the steady growth of the mass struggle. It maintains that it is exactly this road which is in the best interest of the working class and all working people. That is why it is doing all in its power to make full use of all the opportunities for peaceful development.

(To be continued)

Terror in Portugal

IN THE LAST TWO decades the Salazar regime has deported thousands of democrats to Timor and Angola, to "Portuguese" Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. Thousands more have been sentenced to long terms in Aljube, the fortresses of Trafaria, Sao Juliao da Barra, Peniche and Sao Joao Batista and in the Azores.

By jailing its political opponents the Salazar government aims at breaking them physically and morally by means of torture and solitary confinement.

Some of the prisoners have long since completed the terms to which they were sentenced.

The Tarrafal concentration camp on Santiago, one of the Cape Verde Islands, is a particularly loathsome embodiment of the regime's crimes. Patriots tortured to death there included Bento Goncalves, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Alferedo Caldeira, member of the Central Committee; Party members Antonio Guerra and Francisco Nascimento Esteves, Mario Castelhana and Arnaldo Simoes Januario, anarchists, and dozens of others.

The campaign waged against these outrages compelled the government to draft a new criminal code providing for the application of *habeas corpus* to "political offenders" while simultaneously instituting even more severe punishment.

A case in point is that of Maria da Piedade Gomes dos Santos, who was arrested together with her husband Joaquim, a leading member of the Communist Party.

Brought to Fort Caxias on the River Tejo, on December 6, 1958, she was tried only two years later. She was sentenced to two years imprisonment plus another three years as a "security measure."

In March 1964, when her sentence was about to expire, the chief of the secret police addressed a letter to Judge Azevedo Soares of the Oporto tribunal which read: "Since this person is, in my view, a danger to the state, I find her conditional release neither justified nor desirable. Continued confinement will benefit not only the criminal herself but above all society, which is in need of protection against elements dangerous to its security. I have, therefore, the honor to suggest to Your Excellency that the security measures which apply to her case under Article 7 of Law No. 40,550 of December 3, 1956, be continued."

The tribunal obediently sentenced Maria da Piedade to another six months.

These "security measures" enable the regime to sentence its victims to terms ranging from six months to three years which, in addition, can be arbitrarily extended. "Security measures" are invoked against those who "set up or join an organization of a Communist nature, or who help such an organization."

The formula enables Salazar to confine his political opponents for life. On the basis of this law and as a result of other arbitrary measures Manuel Rodrigues da Silva and Francisco Miguel, members of the Central Committee of the Party were held for more than twenty years. The same fate awaited Maria da Piedade. The authorities wanted to take revenge upon her for the escape of her husband, who on January 3, 1960 broke out of the Peniche Fortress.

However, the designs of the secret police were thwarted by the resolute action of the public. Early in November 1964 the worldwide protests forced the authorities to open the gates of the Caxias Fortress, Maria da Piedade gained freedom after almost six years in prison.

Manuel Guedes, also a member of the Central Committee of the Party, has been in prison for a total of 18 years, his sentence having been extended several times under the "security measures." Jose Vitoriano, trade-union leader, is serving his 15th year. Adolfo Assis Ramos, docker, has been in prison for ten years, although his original sentence was one of two and a half years.

Among the many victims of the "security measures" are the Communist leaders Joaquim Pires Jorge, Blanqui Teixeira, Dias Lourenco, Octavio Pato, Americo de Sousa, Carlos Costa and Jose Margo. All are threatened with deportation to the Sao Joao Batista Fortress in the Azores.

"Security measures" have been taken against Carlos Aboim Ingles, Afonso Gregorio, Carlos Brito, Jose Carlos, Jorge Araujo, Guilherme de Carvalho, Mario Sena Lopes, Julio Martins, Joaquim Carreira, Orlando Ramos, Augusto Lindolfo, and many others.

There are many women among the Caxias prisoners: Maria Alda Nogueira and Fernanda Tomaz, whose sentences have been extended; Sofia Ferreira, sentenced to five and a half

years; Natalia David, Julieta Gandra and Olivia Sobral, each serving a term of four years; Colelia Fernandes, condemned to five years; Aida Paula, Albertina Diogo and Albina Fernandes Pato, who received two and a half years each, to name but a few.

These patriots are confident that the struggle of their own people and the international solidarity of millions will force open the doors of their prisons.

The secret police are encouraged in their crimes by Salazar who has even instituted a "Captain Catela Prize" for agents who "excel" in the performance of their duties.

The month of October alone witnessed the conviction of dozens of patriots — dockers, factory and office workers, shopkeepers, agri-

cultural laborers and professional people. Among the latter is Dr. Dias Amado, former professor of the Medical Faculty in Lisbon, victimized for his political views and now charged with participation in the Central Patriotic Junta.

The Communists, who are in the vanguard of the struggle, are the main target of the fascist repressions.

Resolute struggle against the terror is the insistent demand of the national democratic movement and of the progressive forces everywhere.

International solidarity is a powerful support for the struggle of the Portuguese democrats.

Antonio BARROS

Government's atrocities in the Niger

TODAY, NEARLY FIVE YEARS after the Niger was proclaimed a republic, the people of this West African country are renewing the fight for their betrayed freedom.

A communique issued by the Sawaba (Freedom) Party announcing resumption of the armed struggle said that when the people are denied any legal opportunity to express their will, when power in the country has been usurped by puppets, "an armed uprising is not only the inalienable right but also the sacred duty of each patriot. . . ."

For better coordination of the struggle the Sawaba Party has called for a Democratic Front "open to all patriots."

The facts cited below show what compelled the people of the Niger and their vanguard party to take to arms in order to establish a truly national and democratic regime in their country.

On May 27, 1964, Diamballa Maiga, Minister of the Interior, and Boubou Hama, chairman of the National Assembly, who were on a tour of the country, stopped at a village near the town of Maradi, in the southern part of the country. While Boubou Hama was addressing the villagers, a group of peasants sought the shade of the nearest tree to protect themselves from the sun. This was regarded as an expression of contempt for the government. The next day 34 of the people who had attended the meeting were arrested and charged with conspiracy. They were taken to Maradi and locked in a small room where they were savagely beaten. Next morning 21 of the 34 prisoners were dead.

On September 3, Koussanga Alzouma, manager of a poultry farm in Maradi, was tortured

to death by the police. Alzouma was one of the few people in the Niger with a college education. He had returned from France and Italy, where he had been studying animal husbandry. Since his murder and the mysterious sudden death of Dr. Nouhou last year, the Niger has only three livestock experts for the whole country.

On October 14 four members of the Sawaba Party, which is banned in the Niger, were done to death. This was a political murder ordered by a secret trial held with the participation of French experts in "psychological" warfare who had fled to the Niger after their defeat in Algeria. After the killing the executioners dragged the mutilated bodies of their victims through the streets.

Brutal reprisals are taken against Sawaba supporters. In March 1957 the Sawaba Party won the election to the territorial assembly of the Niger. Its leader, Djibo Bakary, became chairman of the government council in 1958.

On the eve of the referendum on the de Gaulle Constitution which established the French Community, the Sawaba called on the people to say NO to de Gaulle and urged that the country be granted independence immediately. The French colonialists retaliated with reprisals. The referendum was held in an atmosphere of military terror. Only 37.4 per cent of the electorate went to the polls and only 25 per cent voted for the Community. But the colonialists achieved their ends: they succeeded in postponing political independence, and they forced the resignation of the Bakary government.

The new government, expressing the interests of the foreign monopolies, the feudal lords

and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, launched a large-scale offensive against the progressive forces. In October 1959 the Sawaba Party was outlawed and its leaders were either arrested or forced to emigrate to neighboring countries. Democratic organizations such as the General Confederation of the Working People, the Democratic Youth Union and the Progressive Women's Union were likewise prohibited.

After the proclamation of independence in August 1960, power in the country was usurped by the henchmen of neo-colonialism. Reactionary laws repealed even before independence were re-introduced. Citizens are forbidden to travel in the country without official permission. Members of democratic organizations were removed from governmental and administrative posts.

The steady rise in taxation has ruined the peasants. People are leaving their villages en masse, fleeing from the poverty and terror. Nor is the situation any better in the towns where the cost of living has risen almost three-fold in the past four years.

Imperialist monopolies continue to dominate the country. The Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale, Compagnie du Niger Francais, Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale and others amass fabulous profits, mercilessly exploiting the people whose conditions are worse than in any other country of West Africa.

Notwithstanding the proclamation of political independence, the French continue to determine

both foreign and home policy. Their military bases are being enlarged. French officials are found in all establishments and departments. Every African minister has a French adviser. Colombani, ex-chief of the secret police, is still in charge of the reprisals against the patriots, acting as adviser to the Minister of the Interior.

Corruption and nepotism flourish under the neo-colonialist regime. Utterly incapable people are appointed to top positions in the administration.

Anti-government "conspiracies" are used by the police as a pretext for intensified reprisals against the patriots.

The people of the Niger have never become reconciled to this state of affairs. Under the leadership of the Sawaba Party they have fought for democracy, genuine independence and social progress. Today, faced with lawlessness and systematic extermination of their sons by the neo-colonialists, the people, responding to the call of their party, have taken to arms.

The party, which is stepping up its organizational and educational work among the people, calls on the revolutionary forces of Africa and of the whole world, on all governments and peoples who cherish the ideals of freedom and progress to display solidarity with the people of the Niger and give them fraternal aid in the struggle for genuine independence and well-being for their country.

Mamadou DIENNE

Justice à la Bonn

ONE CANNOT BUT BE shocked by what is taking place nowadays in the court-rooms of West Germany. Not long ago the public learned about the decision of the Dusseldorf court which "re-examined" the "case" of Karl Schabrod, a well-known anti-fascist and former chairman of the parliamentary group of the Communist Party in the Landtag (parliament) of North Rhine-Westphalia, who in 1962 was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The outcome of the "re-examination" was another twenty months imprisonment and loss of voting rights for three years and of the right to engage in journalism and publishing for five years. The charge was false from beginning to end: "conspiracy" and "violation of the ban on the CPG."

Not long before, another court in West Germany sentenced former SS general Wolff, charged with taking part in the slaughter of 300,000 people, to 15 years' imprisonment.

A jail sentence for the killing of 300,000

people! And there is every reason to believe that Wolff will be released prematurely. How war criminals are faring in the "free world" can be seen, for example, from the record of SS general Karl Oberg known as the "butcher of Paris." In 1954 Oberg was sentenced to death. But the sentence was never carried out. In 1963 the French authorities pardoned Oberg. Upon his return to West Germany he was paid 100,000 marks by way of compensation.

Yet the Communist Karl Schabrod, who for his part in the Resistance movement was condemned by the Nazis to life imprisonment, has been returned to jail by the Bonn "democrats."

These facts are profoundly disturbing. Revanchists and militarists occupy ministerial chairs in West Germany, Nazi generals are again in full regalia, while the fighters for peace and progress are in chains.

Some time ago public opinion in Holland and Denmark learned with indignation that General Friedrich Christiansen, wartime com-

mander of the Hitler troops in occupied Holland, the man responsible for the arrest and execution of Dutch patriots, had honors bestowed on him in West Germany; the Burgomeister of Wyk made this war criminal an honorary citizen, named one of the streets after him, and presented him with a memorial plaque.

And this at a time when the ex-prisoner of Buchenwald, Wenzel Poeschel, celebrated his 60th birthday in an Oldenburg jail!

Shocked by these facts, Edgar P. Young, a staunch champion of human rights, declared that he could not understand how, 19 years after the collapse of the Nazi empire, resistance fighters were being persecuted in West Germany.

Prosecutor Erwin Schuele, director of the central organ of the juridical boards of the Lands for the prosecution of Nazi criminals, announced that his office will discontinue its activities next spring in keeping with the government's decision not to extend the statute of limitations on war crimes.

Horst Brasch, deputy chairman of the National Front of Democratic Germany, said in this connection that the decision of the Erhard government to wipe out penalties for the Nazi criminals as of May 9, 1965, in view of the expiry of the statute, is designed to whitewash the fascist killers. Noting that over 12,000 Nazis had been put on trial in the GDR, Brasch said that in West Germany the number tried was only slightly in excess of 5,000, while 20,000 criminals were still at liberty. The Bill prepared in Bonn to stop the prosecution of the Nazi executioners is a gross violation of international law.

To exonerate killers of the Wolff type, attempts are being made in Bonn to justify the system that fathered them. Typical in this respect was the statement made recently in Hanover by a lawyer named Heinecke: "When

Hitler gave orders to annihilate entire national groups . . . he acted in conformity with political considerations."

Hitler the "prophet" is dead. But other "prophets" are alive. One of them, Gerhard Frey, chief editor of the neo-Nazi sheet *Deutsche National und Soldaten Zeitung*, at a rally of neo-fascists in Bonn, said apropos Czechoslovak and Polish territories: ". . . We shall return to these lands one day. And this day will come. We shall get our land back without the consent of the Czechs and the Poles." The new "prophet" went to the length of demanding atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons for West Germany.

Former Nazi judges are now trying men and women opposed to atomic armament of the Bundeswehr, while these Nazi generals are preparing for an atom war.

Over 100,000 cases have been initiated by the Bonn judiciary against peace fighters. Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Germany, referred to this in a letter to Chancellor Erhard on October 4, 1964. These cases, Reimann said, derived from the ban imposed on the CPG, which leads to the suppression of any political opposition. "Proceeding from their concern for the further development of the Federal Republic," he writes, "large numbers of people want an end to the ban on the Communist Party." In his letter, Reimann urged that "...release of the victims of the ban on the CPG and the victims of the political judiciary established in the course of the cold war, an amnesty and an end to all legal proceedings instituted in connection with the ban on the CPG."

Until this is done, the words of Rev. Martin Karwehl will correspond to reality: "We are still living in a police state."

R. FALKE

Communism is the great force of our time

"NO SOCIAL PHENOMENON in the world today has been written about, discussed and debated so much as Communism," writes Friedl Fuernberg, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, in the introduction to his book *Communism in the World Today. What Do the Austrian Communists Want?*"*

The author speaks of communism as a great force in modern society, an important factor in the fight for peace, democracy and progress, and exposes the unscientific essence of anti-communism. He sets out to show "... what communism *really* means and what it is actually *striving* for ..." (p. 3).

In this age of atomic energy and space exploration, science and technology — given the proper social climate — can potentially provide a good life for everyone. "Well-being is now possible for all," writes Fuernberg. "It has to be achieved and secured by law. This can be done only by a fully developed socialism; i.e., communism" (p. 65).

Nailing the lie circulated by their opponents that the Communists want to establish dictatorial rule by violence, Fuernberg declares "... the true aim of the Communists is to put an end to the domination of man by man in any form whatsoever" (p. 7). This naturally implies the revolutionary reconstruction of modern society since "... those who, owing to their present position, enjoy more material advantages (capitalists and big landowners) will not voluntarily relinquish these advantages" (p. 6).

Speaking of the road to socialism in Austria, Fuernberg shows that today with the changed balance of forces in the world socialism can be achieved in Austria without armed violence. Reactionary capitalist circles in Austria, he maintains, no longer possess the armed forces to hurl against the working class and the people when the latter make their decision in favor of socialism (p. 67).

Hence the significance of the battle of ideas.

*Friedl Fuernberg. *Kommunismus in der Welt von Heute. Was wollen die oesterreichischen Kommunisten?* Wien. Stern-Verlag, 1964. 98 pp.

The book emphasizes the importance of winning that battle, of convincing the people of the validity of the Communist objectives.

Fuernberg examines in detail the position of the Austrian Communist Party on key questions of home and foreign policy. He explains that for the Communists nationalization of the big enterprises, commercial firms and banks is a means of rooting out social injustice and exploitation of man by man, of removing the danger of war (p. 28).

He shows that small production both in the town and in the countryside can continue to exist to some extent even in the period of the building of socialism and serve in some degree to satisfy the needs of the population. "Handicrafts and trading enterprises play no small role in the Austrian economy; therefore, the state will help them fulfil their functions ..." states the program of the Communist Party (pp. 28-29). A socialist state in Austria would also support the idea (which is already emerging under capitalist conditions as a protection against the big monopolies) of amalgamating the smaller enterprises on a voluntary basis (p. 29).

On the theoretical plane the question of the possibility of small production existing under certain conditions and within definite limits during the period of building socialism is closely linked with the question of the multi-party system. On this score Fuernberg makes some interesting points.

Fuernberg reminds those who point to the Soviet Union to back up their assertion that the Communists seek to abolish all other parties that the one-party system in the Soviet Union was conditioned by the specific situation in Russia at the time. In the period immediately following the October Revolution Lenin and the Communists did not insist on banning other parties which were not reactionary. In point of fact, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries were included in the government. But these parties betrayed the interests of the people, went over to the side of the counter-revolution and fought against the Communists and the Soviet power during the Civil war.

As far as the enemy is concerned, it is quite obvious that he cannot be given a free hand, the author goes on. All parties which fought against the people and the revolution were therefore doomed to disappear. These, then, were the circumstances in which the one-party system came into being in the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party, giving effect to working-class leadership of the nation, cemented the alliance between the workers and the peasants. Later, after socialist production relations had been extended to the whole peasantry, a new class, the collective-farm peasantry, emerged and the remnants of the petty-bourgeois strata disappeared, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was able to record in its Program that it was a party of the whole people.

In other socialist countries of Europe there are, besides the Communist Party, other parties in the government. And this furthers the cause of building socialism. Why? "Because," the author replies, "a radical reconstruction of society such as the transition from capitalism to socialism, which involves a difficult struggle can be accomplished only with the combined efforts of all who stand for socialism" (p. 56). And these parties do stand for socialism.

How will matters stand in this respect in Austria and the majority of the other capitalist countries of Europe? Fuernberg replies: "In the light of past experience and the growing strength of socialism and communism throughout the world it is possible to predict that in these countries, and in Austria too, several parties representing different sections of the working population will participate in building socialism. Thus, the Communists neither demand nor expect their party to be the sole party in power. They want nothing other than the militant unity of all parties fighting against capitalism and for socialism" (pp. 56-57).

The allegation that the Communists want to "abolish" religion is another falsehood spread by enemies of communism. The attitude of the Communists to religion has always been determined by the concrete historical conditions. Religious propaganda directed against socialist ideas is a form of class struggle and is treated accordingly. On the other hand, many believers, actuated by their religious beliefs, are actively fighting against imperialism, and this objectively brings them into the ranks of

those working for peace and progress. The Communists have no intention of "abolishing" religion. "We want equal rights in the state for both believers and non-believers," writes Fuernberg (p. 59). Experience shows that freedom of religion exists in all the socialist countries. The Communists carry on atheist propaganda, but they do not impose their own views on anyone. The Communists, Fuernberg writes, respect the right of each to his religious beliefs. "Of course," he adds, "we expect others to respect our convictions as well and not to wage war against us because of them, just as we do not intend to wage war against them for their beliefs. That is why we stand for the complete separation of the Church from the State." (p. 60).

The unity of the working class is a prime factor in the struggle against big capital. The Austrian Communists want the working class to be well organized politically. They stand for a united working class and a strong Communist Party. For the stronger the Communist Party, the more active the democratic, anti-fascist forces in the Socialist Party and in the People's Party will be. In this connection Fuernberg said: "We have no intention of trying to tell the Socialists what to do. We know that they must draw their own conclusions from their experience just as we Communists have learned by our own mistakes. We have never been unprincipled politicians and never will be, and hence we have no intention of closing our eyes to the serious ideological differences that exist between us and the Socialists. But do we not have far more interests and objectives in common in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress? Is it impossible to imagine that, as a result of joint struggle and precisely in the course of that struggle, the ideological conflicts may also be resolved in conformity with the new conditions of the struggle for socialism? These perspectives may become realistic if anti-communism is overcome in the working-class movement through the realization that anti-communism is a weapon of reaction and sooner or later leads to the disintegration of any working-class party that subscribes to it."

This simply written, informative book makes interesting reading and will undoubtedly play a part in the battle of ideas the importance of which it underscores.

R. SOKOLOV

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Art and our epoch

The artist's place in society and his way of depicting reality are of great importance at the present time, the time of enhanced interdependence of peoples and developed mass media. Writers and artists help to form the spiritual make-up of our contemporaries, strengthen ties among peoples. Their work makes a significant component in the development of world culture.

Our journal has received a number of articles, whose authors share their opinions on the problems of the link between art and society, the role of artists in our day, the tasks and the destinies of art.

In the following supplement you will find articles by A. Sillitoe (Great Britain), P. Karvas (Czechoslovakia) and G. Baklanov (USSR).

SUPPLEMENT TO No. 1, 1965

Through the tunnel

ALAN SILLITOE

I.

WHEN I WAS A CHILD, and a youth, the art form that inspired and impressed me most was the cinema. It had everything: story, pictures, movement, sound, music, and sometimes even color. It was a harmony of technique that held me for hours fixed in the same seat, the dazzling end-wall blocking a tunnel of darkness on whose floor I sat.

I saw cowboy films, jungle adventures, cops-and-robber battles, Mickey Mouse, slapstick comics that made me laugh so much that I felt I had a knife between my ribs—like the poor unfortunate in the following picture, who through some slight difference of opinion with a Wild West bully, ends up biting the dust.

There I was, face to face with art from an early age: Indians, Zulus, bandits, going down before the guns of righteousness in the land where maxims of right and wrong were carved on every mountain flank or cactus tree. Life was simple there, where the gun was law, when I was young and impressionable.

That screen was the dead-end of the road of culture, where one could sit comfortably for a lifetime and show no impatience or dissatisfaction, no desire to break through this chronic roadblock and reach out for some deeper art. One stayed content with surface dazzle repeating the same formulas of action, reaction, coda and climax.

Other people sat around one in this darkened trickhouse, this blocked tunnel of potted art, of canned technical brilliance turned off on a conveyor belt. After leaving school or factory they came to forget what lives they led outside. The weight of the world was lifted from their shoulders—and placed on somebody else's, who did not exist. Because the weight was grim, they came to partake of miracles. Some perhaps saw films based on a war in which they had fought, a war whose songs and actions glowed and pulsated before them, and they could silently join in again, and feel good about such memories. Often though, the more distant the subjects from their own lives, the better they liked it.

I use the image of the cinema, but other forms qualify: novels of adventure, books of false fiction, stories of the Wild West, products written with awful simplicity, with cliché prose and stereotyped, easily recognizable characters taken not from life but from other fictions, situations that have been used a thousand times before. Such works appear to come straight from the heart, but they bear a simplicity which hypnotizes, imprisons and eventually deadens those who allow themselves to be drawn in, or rush to do so because everyday life is a sack of coal on their shoulders. Looking at cinema, TV, a book maybe, they never leave that tunnel except as zombies to do their daily labor.

I am exaggerating. There is another term for it—"escape art"—which is often a form in favor with writers because, being stereotyped, it is easy to produce and reproduce. This form of rigid low grade art is, always, "the art of the Right"—because it is static, either forbidden to move and become interesting, or unable to shift into life because they connived in this with existing social conditions.

This line of writing is often eminently saleable. It is an art which lulls the people and the majority of the people are content to be lulled in this way, which makes the writer richly rewarded by the people.

The true outcome of art is different from this. The flickering screen at the end of the tunnel is, after all, only a shimmering piece of cloth that any pen can rip through. The antidote to artistic stalemate is that writer who conjures up new images, new situations. There are two kinds of writer: he who writes for a public, which means that he can do nothing new, must use the familiar patterns, or the one who writes for himself and, by mixing in the new with the old, serves the people better. To do the latter takes talent, integrity, and some isolation.

A writer is a man who distrusts his imagination. All his writings are attempts to regain the deeper reality of life, to get back into touch with his own inner core and relate it to the

social life around him. It is this effort which separates him from other people who are not writers. It is the results of this effort which make him of value to society, because in trying to do it for himself he is also helping other people to do it.

II.

There is always a battle between writers who stick to familiar patterns and those who create new ones, a contest so bitter that it doesn't need other forces to make the task of the writer harder than it is. The writer of conventional mediocrities sees his livelihood and self-confidence threatened by those whose path-finding art shakes the rules and changes them. Yet this is good for art, not bad for it, and what is good for art is beneficial to the people, and what is good for the people can, by a fluke, turn out to be good for the government also. When the people and the government become one and the same thing, the artistic well-being of one will support the other.

All advanced countries deal with this problem differently. It is sharpened by mass learning and quick travel, in an era of dense populations, rapid development, and ideological brittleness.

World ideological conflict (which will take a long time to disappear) causes the fluctuations of the writer's art to be looked on with suspicion. He who writes an unusual book, uses not quite familiar language, lays out an unconventional theme, is mauled by the critics, misunderstood by the public, shunned by timid or less talented writers. If he is praised by some critics and generally popular with the public, then he is succeeding to some extent in helping to do away with the mimings and noise of low grade art. This is good, and even those who may not like it will eventually benefit from a disorder of age-old values which are no use anymore in a *truly* advancing society.

The advance guard of art is the life spirit of society. An art which is alive and in conflict with the world around gives psychic energy to those who read it, disrupts and deepens the staid mind. A society stands or falls by the art it produces. A society may try to hamper it, chain it, kill it, yet for the dissemination of its image the best propaganda is art, real art which increases the perceptions of its people, makes them fuller and deeper human beings even though it may at the same time disturb them. Sholokhov, Prokofiev, Gorky and Shostakovich have done as much for the Soviet Union as all the socialist achievements so far made—in this respect.

Good and original art being rare, it should be nurtured and helped, not stifled.

In the world today writers are expected more and more to support the societies whose air they breathe and whose bread they eat. This has always been the case, in a milder way, everywhere. No society tolerates those who do not support it. Such writers who do not are rarely popular with the mass of the populace who,

conforming themselves, have always liked their writers and artists to conform.

No society however can be worthy of the name until it is able to tolerate those artists who do not support it. Most writers produce with no inner conflict what a society requires of them. It is a natural function. But some, the advance guard, the originators upon whom the conforming writers are later to feed, should not be called upon to support society in such a way that their art or talent is undermined. Any spiritual sustenance which is to inspire and vivify future art is in their hands. Kill them—by censorship, criticism, official discouragement, lack of publishing facilities—and you destroy the root and flower of your own art. I believe it is possible for the truly great writer to survive all this, but since it is not certain, it is better not to take the risk. A fair balance has to be achieved, in place of domination.

III.

No poet or writer is going to spend time trying to destroy the society he lives in. If it is rotten, his works will reflect it without effort, and it will destroy itself. If it is good, it has no fear of him, and his works may even extol it. A writer does not say: "I am going to write something which is going to shake this society" just as he shouldn't be called upon to declare: "I am going to write a novel showing how good this or that particular system is."

If he is a good writer, he will be saying "yes" to life, even though the "yes" may be hidden in complexities or experimentation, or criticism. That conditional "yes" is more valuable than any coerced propagandistic verbiage. Such a "yes" can be eternal, valid in the next age as well as this, more satisfying and edifying than the shallow man who speaks clichés in a situation presented a thousand times before and which tells us nothing.

In the mass-communications age of today some writers find themselves intellectually committed to the society they live in, but those who cannot make such direct commitment are, by saying "yes" to life in works of good art, just as truly committed. A new writer, with a fresh spirit in his work, is an asset even if he criticizes. He encourages élan and buoyancy, and also helps to dissolve the hard attitudes of mass art. An expanding society needs such writers, no matter how alarming their work may seem.

As a person and a writer I had gone through various stages of artistic appreciation. I was first of all in thrall to the third rate cinema, which presented shallow bourgeois values of imperialism and adventure. My music was popular songs and maybe I would whistle them as I worked in the factory.

A drunken man who sings a song which, being remembered from his youth, seems to him the most sublime creation of art, can burn down a house before he gets to the end of it. The song hasn't deepened his consciousness or intelligence so that he thinks twice and does

not set fire to the house. Rather, such a song blots out his intelligence, so that he doesn't even know he is burning the house. Such plain emotion, whether it sparks off good or evil, has not advanced a man's consciousness one bit. Song, film or story, it is quickly heard, and soon forgotten. It can only confirm patterns already stamped on the mind. It panders to a mass spirit, perpetuates the barracks instinct, solidifies the herd reaction until it reigns great and solid.

I read shallow novels, saw shallow films, heard shallow tunes in my head. Eventually this did not satisfy me. I distrusted them, began to suspect that this was not all, that something deeper was within reach. So I escaped from the ice-age grip of mass-communication products, and began to reach writers (sometimes avant-garde, sometimes social-realist, mostly "classics") that gave more enjoyment and satisfaction. I had not known up to then that there were good artists and bad: the constant flood of the mediocre sapped my powers of discrimination. I had no one to tell me which was good and which was not, but, with accuracy, I was eventually able to decide for myself. When I first read "The Good Soldier Schweik" (never having heard of its fame before) I knew that here was a great book. No one needed to tell me. Neither did anyone need to tell me that Proust was a great writer, or Isaac Babel, or Maxim Gorky.

Having believed that a marching song can be the highest art form, and having later seen that other art forms can supersede it, I feel qualified to write on the subject of mass communications, and the writer's attitude to society. His relationship with it should be a loose one, but unfortunately, in practical terms, in the age of the Cold War, the writer is more and more often expected not only to give his opinion on political or sociological topics, but often expected to incorporate these in his fiction or poetry. Tension can destroy the creative artist. In such a situation it is up to society to protect the artist by placing as few restrictions in his way as possible.

Few writers produce work that is not directly connected to the society they live in. Even fantasy has some symbolic relation to it. It is difficult for me to accept the idea though that fiction or poetry should teach people something, since, before writing it myself, I always expected to learn something from such writing. But I didn't expect to learn it in a very direct way. I expected to have deep feelings put into me, rather than loud and clear ideas.

The more literature is expected to teach people directly, the less it can inspire. Literature is an exploration in depth; it cannot say to a drunken man: "Don't burn down the house." The man has matches and paraffin and can, etc. — even though drunk — quicker than a story can be written or told. To stop him is beyond the role of writing — or art. To get him to put down his firemaking equipment and take up bricks and mortar to build a house instead, is also beyond the role of the writer. But writing can be of such quality that it gives those who read it greater dignity, such respect for themselves that the danger of burning down a house (inebriated or not) does not arise. In this respect, literature can teach, the old as well as the young, the worker as well as the prime minister.

In giving greater dignity to man, it shows the people the way to a better life. In this sense, the words "teach" and "preach" are irrelevant: a writer does far, far more than this, if he is a good one.

With so much mass art, the spirit of the barracks breathes over modern civilization, west, east, or in any direction you like to conjure up out of a compass. We all are graduated, hemmed, floating needles trying to find a set direction, a fixed vector: art can make it more tolerable. Since man has to have a vector in order to survive on this earth, art can keep him on it, in its own way. Good literature from all parts of the world makes for understanding between countries and peoples. This makes war less probable — if the literature, being good, makes for *real* understanding.

Some thoughts on art and its social function

PETER KARVAS

I.

DURING ONE OF OUR MANY discussions on the social function of literature and art the following argument was presented: "We have more bookshops than most countries. We put out good poetry in editions of twenty thousand. Literary and art journals circulate in hundreds of thousands of copies, giving us the world record for per capita circulation. We probably have more theatres than we need. Our debates on art and literature are often joined by the man in the street. One-fifth of our population watches TV. Gutter literature is banned by law. Books and works of art have ceased to be an object of speculation and money-making. In a word, literature, the cinema and the theatre are accessible to all. What problems, then, can we have? There is nothing to prevent literature and art from exerting a beneficent and harmonious influence on society."

Yes, we have achieved a degree of democracy in art "consumption" of which our predecessors, artists or their public, could not even dream. In this respect we have accomplished a great deal (despite difficulties encountered in one or another area, as for instance in the circulation of books, organization of theatrical troupes, the technical aspects of radio and television, etc.). This is evident above all in the abundant cultural values available to the public, in the change in the thinking of the reading public, theatre-goers and music-lovers, in the mass demand for art.

If books, symphonies and sculptures radiated an even, objectively measurable flow of energy capable of ennobling and enriching man, then art and literature could act as a direct material counter-agent to the radiations that injure man. But the influence exerted by art cannot be likened to the action of a medicinal preparation, to the influence exerted by proven pedagogical methods, and certainly not to the effect of commands and orders. Whenever we have drawn such parallels—as we have, unfortunate-

ly, on more than one occasion—we have only succeeded in diminishing the real and far from negligible possibilities art has to influence man, his history, his struggle for happiness.

The socialist revolution opens up unlimited opportunities for art and literature to influence the life of society. It gives the green light to creative art, amplifies its social resonance, its moral diapason and its psychological radius of action. But it is here that the *real* problems of the socialist writer and artist begin—problems that stem not only from our opportunities but also from our responsibility. Personally I think that we have not always made use of these opportunities carefully and wisely enough or approached our responsibilities in a sufficiently principled way.

For when culture has ceased to be the privilege of the few and becomes a democratic right of all, when people begin to regard literature and art not as an incidental ornament of social life but an aide in everyday life, when the essential contradiction between art and the effort to win one's daily bread is being slowly, unevenly but nevertheless steadily abolished, not only the success of art but also the mistakes and misunderstandings accompanying its progress gain in importance and exert a greater influence on society.

For more than 15 years now Czechoslovak literature and art have been developing in socialist conditions. Time and again we have rejoiced at the appearance of outstanding works of art and noted with a deep sense of gratification their "impact" on the public, the effect their artistic merits, definitiveness of outlook and social significance have had on the reader, helping to mould his spiritual world, his thinking, his civic consciousness, his world outlook, his attitude to the revolution. Now we see these same works in an entirely different light. Why, we wonder, did we wax enthusiastic about them? We often discover that the effect of the work in question was limited in time,

that it has somehow lost its significance, that we had arbitrarily endowed it with qualities it did not possess. Other works, on the other hand, have somehow contrived to outlive their more successful "contemporaries," although when they first appeared they were thought to be lacking in such attributes of true social art as, for example, popular appeal, timeliness, the ability to reflect the character of the epoch . . .

This "rebirth" of works written in the early years of our cultural revolution, "the longevity" of plays and music formerly condemned by the critics, in short, all those misunderstandings and distortions which, in the conditions of authoritarian, hierarchical gradation of art values, were caused by short-lived and often contradictory campaigns, impel us to give thought to the following questions:

Were we right in our estimate of the place of art in socialist society, its "potentialities" and its "obligations"? Did we not simplify the question of its social duty, did we not tend to make a fetish of it and to vulgarize it, to go to the other extreme and blind ourselves to the real social problems confronting socialist art? Was our appraisal of literature and the arts always based on the reality and not only on the wish; did we take into account the nature of art itself, the interests of the reader and the audience; did we not frequently substitute facts with illusions and the specific, unique attributes of artistic creation with simplified formulas borrowed from other spheres of human endeavor and social life, for instance, from the sphere of material production? In short, in debating the social impact of art and literature, and hence the social function of the writer, were we always scientific enough and realistic enough, were we sufficiently honest and thoughtful, were we as Marxist and comrades as we might have been?

II.

After the socialist revolution and the advent to power of the new class, when new processes began to assert themselves in our art and letters, when the spirit of democracy began rapidly to pervade art which, turning to contemporary themes, entered the service of the ideas in the name of which the new society was being built, a new mode of thinking was born among writers and artists.

They felt that they, too, were helping to make history. The old contradictions between true art and its social opportunities seemed to have disappeared. Progressive art was no longer automatically an art of protest. The socialist position was, as a rule, not a matter of conforming but of profound conviction. The artist now addressed a definite audience, an audience bigger than he had ever faced before. And this audience looked to art for that which it had so long been denied. A revolutionary consciousness dominated the hearts and minds of both artists and audience. The struggle for a new concept, a new image went on in the minds of all. To stand aloof from this struggle meant

to desert, and to join in was easy enough: one had only to say "yes" with fervor and passion, to address one's contemporaries directly and tell them what they wanted to hear, to voice that which gave meaning to their lives.

This passionate desire to share in building the new life, this intoxication with a new and more profound purpose in art was no doubt worthy of admiration and had good results: it created a literature that sounded a new note, a literature with a new outlook on life written with sincerity and enthusiasm deriving from a new vision of the world. But it was accompanied by the emergence of views on the social role of art and literature which over-simplified the complex process of artistic creation and led to a one-sided, mechanistic interpretation of the historico-social function of art. In the long run these views militated against art itself, against its specific nature, against its playing an active part in the difficult political struggle that still had to be fought.

Because art does not stand above society but is actively involved in its development, because it offers its own solutions, and because it had ceased to be the prerogative of the few and had become the property of the many, it was allotted social functions on a par with industry and other spheres. Looking over issues of journals put out immediately after the events of February 1948 we find writers undertaking commitments very much like the pledges of, say, miners or builders: artists set themselves *short-term* tasks of an essentially production nature, thematically and also in point of time linked with the urgent tasks of socialist construction.

Art came to be regarded as a sphere of effort similar to propaganda, or organizational work, or the mining of ore, or the building of factories. Speaking at a writers' conference, one well-known Slovak author said of his novel—the first major successful epic novel written in the socialist spirit and the realistic manner—that his purpose was to "organize life in our countryside." Many at the time thought this was a precise definition of the new tasks facing literature. Reports on the work of theatres, especially travelling troupes, often made a point of mentioning how many peasants had applied to join the cooperative after seeing a play about cooperative life. The sole criterion of the merits of a piece of music was the extent to which it reinforced the revolutionary spirit of the audience and inspired them for struggle.

The illusion thus struck root that art can intervene in life with the directness and immediacy of technology, mass political work or the movement for innovation in industry. The success of art was measured by its relation to one or another current campaign. I myself was present at a discussion of the premiere of Molière's *L'Ecole des Femmes* given in a town in Slovakia shortly after February 1948, at which the production was linked with getting women to go into industry. One play was rated higher than another because its action took

place in a cooperative of a more advanced type. The criterion of whether a work helped in building socialism or not was not its relationship to socialism but to the current and often transient immediate task. In this way the demarcation line was erased between art and propaganda, between the long-range political tasks of the artist and writer and the day-to-day political tasks of the revolutionary organizer.

Needless to say, the Communist artist is in a sense a propagandist, even a statesman. The sphere of his activity can be likened to a sector of a battlefield, especially at tense moments in the revolutionary struggle. However, total disregard for the nature of creative art and its specific laws gave rise to processes which benefited neither art nor society.

Today we know what this led to—ephemeral, pallid and mediocre writing, schematism and depicting things in rosy hues, all stemming from illusions stronger than the reality, a vulgar interpretation of social duty, from an atmosphere in which the hallmark of a good work of art was not profound veracity but how promptly and unambiguously it told us precisely what we wanted to hear. But an art which allows illusion to eclipse the socio-historical truth, an art in which faithful depiction of reality is not a merit, and in which voluntarist wishful thinking supplants the facts—such an art cannot but lose its audience. While we believed that our art met the requirements of society, the reading public and the theatre and concert audiences, the true consumers of art values, often turned their backs on it.

Only the audience, and above all the new audience, did not share our mistakes and was not drawn into that vicious circle where misjudgement of the social potential of art was conditioned by misinterpretation of its social role; the reader of fiction, the theatre, cinema and concert audiences, and the radio listener often knew life better than before because they had never been involved in such swift social progress. They measured our art by their own knowledge. They often accepted it because it propounded things they had long known. But such art neither stirred nor delighted them. They remained indifferent because simplified understanding of the requirements and orientation on speedy "response" robbed art of that which has always been the source of its appeal to man, its ability to enrich him, to strike a responsive chord in his heart—the magic of the inimitable, a disturbing newness, an ineffable individuality, beauty newly discovered. The "infallible" works which answered all specifications, which in no way departed from standard, which had had the benefit of countless consultations and were in every respect absolutely correct, had only one fault—they were not art.

Vulgarization of the social criteria of creative art was reflected in the creative process itself.

III.

The desire directly and quickly to influence

society through the medium of art, combined with the erroneous conception of the specific ways in which this influence could be exerted, accelerated the vulgarization of aesthetics and the theory of art. Scientific examination of works of art and their social role, their genesis and the nature of their social and psychological impact were supplanted by the postulate, by standardized patterns, universal *a priori* requirements. Some useful qualities were often dogmatically regarded as canons, non-observance of which was condemned and observance of which was hastily and arbitrarily assessed as a sign of artistic progress.

Such complex problems as the accessibility, popularity, timeliness and optimism of a work of art were simplified into laconic postulates which often were completely at odds with the given genre, the individuality of the author, or the context in which the work was conceived and had its being. Most harmful was the vulgarization of the principle of typicality and the erroneous approach to the problem of the positive hero in works of socialist realism.

We naively believed that the positive example in art would find immediate response in real life and, conversely, that a negative example could only have a negative effect. We insisted on the positive social forces triumphing and the negative forces being vanquished in each individual case. The optimism intrinsic in Communism became something in the order of a new "happy ending" in many works. The views and outlook of the author were seen behind the behavior, thoughts and actions of his characters. In the climate of the personality cult the enthusiasm or the sins of his characters were often taken as an indication of the author's attitude to socialism.

Hence the tendency to play safe, the mediocrity and conservatism, the drabness and lack of originality, the caution and the "time-serving" we so often encountered. Literature began to lag behind the growing demands of the reader who continued to live his own life with its joys and sorrows, its conflicts and its hard-won victories. He found neither friends nor inspiration in an art where the future was served up as the present and the present was lost in the *a priori* jungles of dogmatic aesthetics and cultural directives.

The objective consequences of these deplorable blunders on the question of the nature of art and its social role were felt all the more keenly because society had never before taken so great an interest in art, had never provided so lavishly for its material needs, or intervened in art so often through its institutions. While this new social status gave art and the artist invaluable advantages, the disadvantages soon made themselves felt. Official critics appeared whose judgments often had far-reaching consequences not only for the work criticized but also for its author. A system of public awards emerged which enabled some writers to publish their works in large editions. All this had a tangible effect on art, multiplying in geometri-

cal progression both the beneficial and the pernicious tendencies. Public demand ceased to exercise moral pressure and became a material factor. The fact that elements of vulgarization and simplification took part in forming this demand could not but have an adverse effect.

Numerous measures which on the face of it should have enabled art effectively to address society, the public, resulted in the final analysis in art ceasing to address itself to man.

It is obviously impossible within the limits of one article to examine the whole complex process of art development since February 1948. We can only touch upon some of the more extreme manifestations of the changes that took place in that period. There is no doubt that even when the social role of art was incorrectly understood, art nevertheless exercised a most powerful positive influence on people's thinking, on their attitude to the world and to socialism. Even when the prevailing trend was to fit art into the hard and fast patterns of dogmatic aesthetics, works of permanent value appeared. The institutionalization of literary policy and criticism which, to the detriment of society and art, universalized some of the mistakes and dogmas, could not permanently silence the real poets. But the fact remains that the cult engendered a climate in which vulgarized views on the relationship between art and society predominated, in which a dogmatic interpretation of the functions of art led to its tragic impoverishment, making it one-sided and depriving it of much that was precious and indispensable to mankind.

The incorrect evaluation of the true potential and responsibilities of art in society was not only a matter of mechanical assessment of artistic merit which fostered distrust, fear of making a mistake, of having one's work qualified as harmful and "hostile." It was also a matter of a deeply contemptuous attitude to art.

I vividly recall the statement made at the commemoration meeting by a man prominent in public life at that time. "First we politicians," he said, "will build the solid edifice of socialism and you, the artists, will not interfere with us. After we have finished, you will come and do the decorative plaster-work." This approach was neither new nor inexplicable. For one thing, it showed that the inter-action of the material basis and the spiritual superstructure was for many only a vague abstraction. In practice many understood it in a one-sided way, stressing the dependence of superstructural phenomena on the laws governing the basis, and failing to see their dialectical inter-dependence, the possibility of their mutual enrichment—in the given instance, the possibility of art exerting a dialectical reciprocal influence on society. But the statement cited above is an indication of something else besides.

It shows that at that time, when creative art came up against a complex system of recommendations, suggestions and interdicts, when every "superfluous" feature of a work

of art was judged from the standpoint of the undesirable consequences which it might presumably have in society and which were held against the artist as a citizen—at that time doubt was often cast on the inherent powers of art, its ability to influence people, to communicate with them in its own idiom, to enrich his emotional world and hasten the maturing of the socialist man.

This strange underestimation of the role of art, of its creative social message, was combined with a mechanical-bureaucratic overestimation of its powers. Approaching art only from the pedagogical angle, we trembled lest it convey to the audience something at variance with our educational purpose or lest it leave any uncertainty in the mind of the public as to the message we sought to convey. As for artistic merit, this was seen as of secondary importance against the background of the vast economic and political changes taking place in our country. The fact is that we did not believe that art could add to our strength, that it could help in building the new life.

IV.

But all that is in the past. The turning point dates from the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which ushered in a sweeping process of regeneration of social and spiritual life.

The main superstructural changes since this Congress can be traced to the course it steered toward affirmation of historical and social truth.

The relationship between art and society, whence art derives its impulse and subject matter, changed fairly quickly. The tacit compact between author and reader to accept certain assumptions even though they ran counter to the latter's personal experience was gradually broken. Step by step the contradiction between the social and artistic experience of the consumer of art was abolished. The embellishment of reality was seen to be a lie damaging to socialism, to writers and their readers. Schematism stood revealed as objectively reactionary. The vulgarized interpretation of socialist realism gradually disappeared along with the conditions that had engendered it during the personality cult.

In another respect, too, the appraisal of the relationship between art and society changed. One of the first successes in combating dogmatism in art criticism was the disavowal of the primitive views on the social role of art and literature, of the mechanistic approach which ignored the specific nature of creative art. The eager public response to the "new waves" which asserted themselves in all the socialist countries, and especially, in my opinion, in Soviet and Czech prose, can be directly traced to the fact that young authors more rapidly and fully freed themselves from the toils of a hidebound aesthetics. They began to work less and less "to order," and wrote more and more of that which was uppermost in their minds and demanded expression.

Art began to play a bigger part in shaping man's emotional world because writers no longer kept silent about facts which had not been aired for many years even though these facts existed and impinged on people's consciousness. The personality cult and some of its manifestations in the sphere of law and justice, in leadership in general and the attitude toward cadres in particular, provided literature, the theatre and the cinema with highly dramatic and tragic themes replete with ethical conflicts and with a wide public appeal. The fact that these burning problems had been buried in silence for so many years explains the heightened interest they now evoked. Novelists and playwrights wrote of things they could not speak about previously. Truth in art, even the most painful truth, has a powerful appeal because it has a purifying effect. Literature once again revealed the truth about man, once again impelled the reader to embark on a fascinating voyage of discovery. In art too, as in many other fields of endeavor, the Twentieth Congress opened up new vistas. But here too, as in other spheres, the new trends were often accompanied by an impassioned reaction to things as they had been.

The stereotyped literature of the past substituted the wish for the reality and hence was highly uncritical from the social standpoint. It contradicted the experience of the reader and therefore lost his confidence. The reader could not but regard it as false. As a reaction to this cognitive "idealism" there emerged a relentless social criticism in art, the desire to tackle the unresolved conflicts and outstanding problems of our life, the aggressive *exposé*, the stripping off of each and every mask. This accounts for the numerous films painted in sombre colors, of themes connected with condemnation of the personality cult, etc.

Inasmuch as the literature of the preceding period had been dominated by the traditional realistic method, which drew chiefly on the experience of classical realistic writing and critical realism, while the treatment of topical socialist subject matter was weakened by the concept of a "no conflict society," a sharply pronounced formal approach emerged at that time which debilitated art and fettered the individual potential of the artist. Art as a whole presented a pallid, stereotyped visage. The reaction to this was not only formal innovation, but also a toying with new forms; not only experimentation in art, but in some cases also experimentation for its own sake; not only a marked formal differentiation of art but also a certain tendency to divorce art from contemporaneity, from the needs and interests of society. In particular, many of our younger artists, who during the period of the cult had been cut off from the experimentation going on in the world, in protest against the previous evaluation of our own and the world "avant-garde" of the 20's and 30's and the unquestionable mediocrity of many of the works that were paraded as socialist and realist (although

they had little in common with art), came out not only against schematism but also against realism in art and literature in general.

The inordinate preoccupation with form was a reaction to the recent tendency to judge the work of the artist solely by its message, the topicality of its theme and the extent to which it answered the needs of the moment. At that time we levelled all too readily accusations of formalism, and all too often our judgments were based solely on "content." If it was "appropriate," suitable, we forgave its artistic weaknesses and forgot that being weak it had little appeal to the audience, for the most useful and sincere idea can be emasculated and killed by inartistic form. In the various branches of art today we find works in which the connection between the idea and the form is so loose that they can say very little to people, or something to very few.

In the past the correct criteria of popularity, accessibility and democratic spirit in art were vulgarized and eventually reduced to justification of mediocrity, primitiveness, crudity and artistic inadequacy. The extreme reaction to this was a lowering of the communicative value of some works of art, a predilection for the "charm of obscurity," a certain new form of catering to the "elite." The canons built around the concept of the positive hero had become a straitjacket during the period of dogmatism; consequently, the reaction was to suspect every "positive" image of being a stereotype and every positive human feeling an embellishment of the truth.

And so it went on.

However, we are not writing a history of literature or a discourse on the theory of aesthetics. We are merely trying, in terms of sharp contrasts, to ascertain the formula of the mistakes which we made in assessing the social role of art and literature and which, in the long run, could not but be detrimental to both art and life, devitalize art and diminish the function of art.

The Slovak press recently carried an article written by a scholarly author dedicated to art and well versed in it, who voiced doubts as to whether there is any such thing as cognition through art. For our purposes the important thing is not that the author confined himself to an examination of the social impact of music and decorative painting, or that he unwittingly extended his conclusions drawn from a study of these particular art forms also to the epic forms as well as the theatre (not to speak of the cinema). The point is that the reaction to dogmatism in aesthetics in its extreme forms is fraught with a definite risk. Formerly we overestimated the impact of the ideas contained in a work of art and conveyed through the receptive faculties of the spectator. We did not distinguish between the "conceptual" and the artistic perception; we allowed one to be substituted for the other at the price of forfeiting the element of art. As a result many works,

because of the form in which the ideas and the ideology were embodied, were not artistic, but didactic. One of the most important art trends in the capitalist world proceeds from the philosophical principle that truth cannot be cognized; we counterposed to this the principle of truth cognized once and for all. The former did not believe that art could change man and society; we visualized a system of levers capable of directly and mechanically conveying impulses from art to society. All the more complex and intrinsically contradictory, then, is the situation we are faced with now. The extreme symptom of this complexity is doubt as to whether art can help us to know the world around us, whether it plays any role at all in the social process.

Art and literature are a powerful spiritual and social force indispensable in the long and difficult struggle to shape human nature along socialist lines, to build socialist ethics. For art to play its part in the life of society and of each

of its members, for its potentialities to be realized to the full, it must not run counter either to sound social progress or to its own intrinsic nature. Dogmatism in the theory and sociology of art hampered it from influencing life because, apart from everything else, it incorrectly assessed the social potential of art and ascribed to it a role it could not fulfil without losing its specific attributes, namely, truthfulness and the ability to communicate.

The socialist artist whose heart, talent and convictions are wholly dedicated to building the new life, expresses the thoughts that spring from his heart, he says what he wants to say, not what he has heard from others or what he is expected to say. But there is no contradiction, no difference, between what his heart dictates and the interests of the society he serves, for the destiny of the society of which he is an active member is his vital concern, he is keenly sensitive to its problems. And this is the wellspring of his art.

The voice of conscience

GRIGORI BAKLANOV

EVERY TIME MY LITTLE daughter presses the button of the elevator and by that action of her tiny fingers sends it shooting up to the seventh floor I experience mixed feelings. I marvel at the latent strength, the muscular energy stored up in those frail fingers and I find myself wondering about the spiritual world in which she lives, whether it is a richer world than the world of say a hundred or three hundred years ago. The world of the mid-20th century with its fascinating array of buttons and gadgets of all shapes and colors, so easy and pleasing to manipulate. All you have to do is press a button and music begins to play or a cigarette pops into your hand. And in the same easy way the pressing of a button can send the world up in flames. In the last war we saw how the most fateful issues affecting humanity were settled simply by the finger on the trigger. And the ease with which this was done had a strange effect on the raw recruit; it engendered the dangerous illusion that as things were there was nothing else to do but press on the trigger.

Claude Eatherly, the U.S. pilot who flew the

reconnaissance plane that preceded the dropping of the first atom bomb, is haunted to this day by the thought of his action. From a high altitude he looked down on a sleeping city that ceased to exist a few minutes later. Today it is not necessary to overlook the target. Today a city can be obliterated without a visual recollection of it. Today a country can be reduced to ashes by the same gesture with which you switch on the light in your flat. The physical forces are more or less equally matched. The possibilities — infinite. And the man whose conscience will not let him rest is certified as being mentally ill. They can offer no other explanation for his understandable reaction. Why should Eatherly have a sense of guilt when it would be so easy to take the stance of a hero? Why accuse yourself when all you have to say is that you obeyed orders?

Many things have become easier and simpler in our century, the century of breath-taking technological progress. But it has not become easier to remain a human being in the full sense of the word. "For human duties do not end with this struggle, and to be a human

being will continue to call for a heroic heart so long as people are not complete people." Fucik wrote these lines at a time when the vast mass of humanity believed that after the war, when justice had been meted out for all they had suffered, the Golden Age would set in.

It was the custom in ancient times when burying the dead to scatter sand around the grave and to return the next morning to see if the corpse was still in the grave. If footprints were found in the sand the body was exhumed, the hands and feet were tied together and the spine was broken, after which it was re-interred, this time a heavy stone being placed on the grave. Today, nineteen years after the death and burial of fascism, there are "footprints on the sand."

Among the many reasons advanced for the rise of Hitler, one was the consequences of the First World War: inflation, unemployment, insecurity, poverty. It used to be said that the unjust Peace Treaty armed Hitler with slogans that appealed to the German philistine, slogans about annexations, lebensraum, etc. Let us take a different historical situation. The United States has not experienced anything like the inflation of the 1920s, has not lost any territory and has no shortage of living space. It is a rich country with a high standard of living. If we were to judge civilization by the number of automobiles per capita then the United States is assuredly at the peak—there is one car to every three persons, or, to be more precise, one car to every two and seven-tenth persons. It has everything the century has created in the sphere of technology. But it also has its lunatic fringe of fascists.

The blast of the atom bomb that destroyed Hiroshima ushered in the nuclear age and let in the cold and chill wind of fear. What better way of persuading people, of commanding their respect than by instilling fear in their hearts? Respect and admiration for the grandeur and omnipotence of science have spread far and wide. Today it has become all-powerful; it can, if it wishes, bring life to the desert and it can, if it wishes, melt the ice of the Arctic. But it is powerless to melt the human heart once it has turned to stone.

Technology has advanced with seven-league strides in the recent years. What immense power it has concentrated in human hands, a power capable alike of construction and destruction! But has man advanced at the same strides spiritually?

II.

Literature came into existence not because a talented man somewhere long ago began to tell stories to people, or because another talented man of later times, when a written language appeared, began to write books for people to read. Like every other art, literature was born out of man's spiritual needs; it reflected and embellished the world in which he lived and at the same time helped to create this world.

Rasul Gamzatov, the bard of the Avar people,

once said that his people too had their Romeos and Juliets, but the world never heard of them because the Avars never had a Shakespeare. What a really poetic definition of literature!

The truly great writer who does not believe in sitting back and resting content on his laurels does not always find things comfortable, for the function of the writer, like that of literature as a whole, is to be the voice of conscience. And the better the writer, the more articulate is the voice of conscience in his works. And conscience as we know is a disturbing voice, a warning voice. But who wants to be disturbed? There are so many beautiful and tempting things in this world, and it is only natural that we should hanker after them, that we should want to be carefree, untroubled by disturbing thoughts.

Things of themselves do not, of course, make a person better or worse. Possession of a weapon does not necessarily make him a murderer. Before a man becomes a killer, before he shoots children in cold blood, as has happened in our lifetime, and is still happening, there is the preparatory stage of brainwashing, the stage of being starved spiritually. Among the things man was first deprived of were books that awakened the conscience. In order to lull and dull the chimera called conscience, books were burned as a preliminary to burning people in the incinerators.

It may be that writers exaggerate the importance of good books. Things near the eye always seem larger. The tailor, for instance, is likely to give preference to a well-cut pair of trousers. Be that as it may, I do not think that the importance of literature is over-rated. Man's sublime capacity to sacrifice everything for his convictions, to go to the stake, to his martyrdom rather than forswear his convictions, proves this. This capacity has endured throughout the ages, has withstood all ordeals. And in the dark night of fascism that descended over Europe, in the gloom of the death camps and the gas chambers, the faith, the humanism and the love man has always carried in his heart flamed out in all their splendor. However, it is not this grandeur of man that we should marvel at but rather the ease with which he can sometimes be turned into a beast.

The world is coming to after the killings, the gas ovens and the smoking crematoriums. The top criminals have been brought to justice. But what about the others, those who carried out the orders? Strictly speaking, how can a man who went to work every morning, signed some papers and returned to his family at the end of the day, be described as a murderer? He neither shot nor tortured people. As to the paper which sealed the fate of a fellow man, it was signed with the ease in which an order for, say, bricks, is signed. If he hadn't signed it somebody else would, and the end result would have been the same. So why the fuss?

Incinerators are built in much the same way as brick kilns. The engineer is not interested in the uses to which it will be put. His job is to

attend to the technical side. If he doesn't do it, someone else will. And so, having sized up the situation, the engineer goes ahead and even experiences a certain satisfaction that his design, in addition to being more simple and economical, has a greater capacity. Capacity for what? Burning bricks? That's none of his business. His job is technical, much the same as in any other kind of production. How can he be called a murderer? It is the men who gave the order to shoot that are the criminals. And they paid the penalty. True, those who executed the order, the men who pressed on the trigger, are likewise guilty. In other words, it is the men at the control panel, those who set the machine in operation who are the criminals. As to the various parts of the machine—the well-oiled cogs, wheels and gears that operated smoothly and noiselessly—they merely served as transmission belts. But what is the sense, on second thought, in examining the arrangement of a machine that no longer exists? And for that matter, how can the man who pressed on the trigger be guilty? After all, he too was only obeying orders. Had he not sworn fealty to the powers that be?

About a year ago I received a letter from a post-graduate engaged on a study of war-time literature. She was seeking information on the sources of the Second World War, on the aims that motivated the men who fought. Having grown up in the postwar, her work was such that she wanted an exact, and, if possible, brief answer to her question. To her it was as simple as all that.

The world of today is filled with explosives such as the A- and H-bombs. But it is filled also with another very powerful explosive: with all that is pent up in the hearts of people. The

names of many of the victims may have dropped out of memory, the ruins have given way to green pastures, new cities, new highways. And the killers? They are spending their twilight years in peace and quiet with the family, secure in the knowledge that their crimes will go unpunished, that the hand of justice will not reach them. True, trials are held now and again, for the sake of propriety. But why resurrect the past? And why should literature of all things, indulge in this?

In our 20th century, a dynamic century, the pace of life has been speeded up. Spiritual food? In modern society everything is reckoned per capita: output of cars, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, coal and steel. The more these are produced in units and tons per capita, the more fully will man's requirements be satisfied. But man feels the need for more than material things; he has his spiritual needs. After the day's work people like to see a comedy, sit by the T.V. set, read a tale of adventure, or a light novel. And there is no lack of authors who are prepared to satisfy these requirements. They mean well. They want people to be happy, just like the characters in their books. And not without advantage to themselves they help the reader not to think but to forget. To forget how the weapons of destruction were put into motion by the hands of man, not to think that it might happen again, but on a truly terrifying scale in view of the technological possibilities.

Among the manifold duties that take up man's time and thoughts, there is one that is paramount: to be a human being in the full sense of the word. And one of the functions of literature should be to remind him of this constantly, daily. For literature should also be the conscience of its time.

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