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The Foundation of the United National Front

Sotomi Hakamada

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, in carrying out far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance is the basis for a broad national front.

(Statement of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties)

A Great Potential Source of Strength

THE feature of political life in Japan is the struggle waged by the people for peace, independence, democracy and neutrality against their two biggest enemies — aggressive U.S. imperialism and resurgent Japanese monopoly capital. In this struggle a united front embracing diverse sections of the population, democratic parties, groups and organizations, and headed by the working class, is gradually being built. A National Council to head the struggle against the "security" treaty has been set up, consisting of representatives of the Communist and Socialist parties, the General Trade Union Council (Sohyo), the All-Japan Federation of Peasant Associations (Zennichino), cultural associations and other democratic organizations.

There are joint-action organizations in nearly all the towns, and the peasants are taking part in the movement together with the workers, which is an important indication of the growing solidarity of the working people. Local branches of the Federation of Peasant Associations and other organizations of the peasants and the rural youth have joined in. The united worker-peasant actions have taken the form of rallies, marches, signature campaigns, etc.

The establishment of more than 2,000 joint-action organizations by the masses is a big step toward a united national democratic front. To achieve this, however, it is imperative that the nationwide struggle against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital be headed by the working class. The broader the struggle becomes the more at-

tention should be paid to strategic leadership — the leading role of the working class in the mass movements. To overlook or to minimize the importance of this Marxist proposition would create exceedingly great obstacles to the people's victory. The lessons of history and the experiences of the Communist and workers' movement in Japan bear this out.

The revolutionary proletariat cannot effectively lead the masses without building and consolidating the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The millions of peasants should become one of the mainstays of the emancipation movement, and the alliance of the working class and the peasantry its *political and social base*.

The role of the peasantry and the rural proletariat in the movement grows with the march of events and the development of the class struggle. Japan's gainfully employed population numbers 43,430,000, of whom 14,680,000, or 34 per cent, are engaged in agriculture. If we add to this those engaged in forestry and fishing, the rural employed account for 38.5 per cent of the total, or more than the number employed in the extractive and manufacturing industries, building, communications services and transport, which account for 30.1 per cent. In other words, the industrial workers do not constitute the majority of the nation. But an alliance of the working class and the peasantry would rally nearly 70 per cent of the population under the leadership of the former. This should be borne in mind by those who wish the people victory over the forces of reaction.

The lag of the peasant movement behind the struggles of the urban proletariat has made itself felt time and again. For instance, it was the rural vote that gave the Liberal Democratic Party the parliamentary majority which enabled the Kishi government to flout public opinion so flagrantly during the events of May 19 and 20 last year.

Of late there has been a certain activation of class struggle in the countryside. During the November 1960 general election the Communist and Socialist parties polled a higher rural vote than in the previous election. But the returns also showed that the majority of the peasants are still under the influence of the Liberal Democrats. The increase in the progressive vote was still too insignificant to deprive the Liberal Democratic Party of its majority in Parliament. The facts of political life thus pose before the working class and the Communist Party the question of a worker-peasant alliance as a task of the greatest urgency.

The situation in agriculture as well as the gradual awakening of the rural working people to their class interests facilitates the successful solution of this cardinal problem. But the alliance will not come into being of itself. The main factor is the active work of the Communists, who base their activity on Marxism-Leninism and its agrarian theory, analyzing the economic and political relationships in the countryside from the class standpoint. Working among the peasants, the Communists seek to apply Marxist-Leninist theory creatively, to make a thorough study of the living reality and respond to every change in the countryside, to draw the correct conclusions from the developments and elaborate them as the basis of their policy.

Dogmatism and conservatism are highly detrimental to Party work in the rural areas. There was a time when the Party failed to assess properly the new conditions in agriculture after the land reform. Erroneously assuming that there had been no change to speak of, it turned the 1932 theses into dogma*. The result was the spread of a subjectivist approach which acted as a serious brake on the peasant movement.

The peasants are a vast reservoir of potential revolutionary energy. But to release this energy and to channel it into the mainstream

of the working people's struggle, full cognizance must be taken of the peasants' needs, and their demands should be linked with the political slogans of the movement against the U.S. *diktat* and the domination of the Japanese monopolies. To do this the Communists should not only enlighten and organize the peasants, but learn from them, drawing on the boundless founts of militancy among the rural masses. Only in this way can the alliance of the working class and the peasantry be shaped and consolidated.

Differentiation Among the Peasantry

The land reform of 1946-49 initiated major changes in the economic and class relations in the Japanese countryside. The reform was implemented as a result of the pressure by the people and by the international democratic forces, and also by the resolute stand taken by the Soviet representative in the Allied Council for Japan. The U.S. occupation authorities, however, did their utmost to impart to the reform a non-democratic character acceptable to the bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism. Although a ceiling of three cho* was fixed for land holdings, the excess in the hands of the landlords was not confiscated. It was bought instead by the state and resold on deferred payments to peasants who had the means to till it. The landlord holdings thus passed into the hands of the rich and middle peasants and partly to the better off among the poor. The impoverished peasants, who make up one-third of the rural population, gained nothing whatever from the reform. What is more, all but a few of them lost the use of the land formerly rented by them. Those with plots of less than half a cho left them for their families to till and looked for earnings elsewhere.

The reform did away in the main with the large estates** and paved the way for the development of capitalist relations in agriculture, which previously had been based on a semi-feudal system of exploiting the peasants. At the same time the three-cho ceiling tended to slow down capitalist development.

In this situation a process of differentiation went on among the peasantry. For the reform in no way equalized the peasant holdings, which ranged from three cho to the infinitesimal one of two tan.***

*One cho equals 0.992 hectares.

**The only remaining form of big landed property in Japan is large-scale ownership of woodlands and uncultivated tracts.

***One tan = one-tenth of a cho.

*Theses adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the situation in Japan and the tasks of the Communist Party of Japan. They contained a profound analysis of the nature of agrarian relations and served as a program of action for the Communist Party before and during the war. But it was wrong to think that the theses, without amendment, were applicable also to postwar Japan.

DISTRIBUTION OF PEASANT LANDS

In the greater part of Japan(exclusive) of Hokkaido and Okinawa)	Group	Area of holdings (in cho)	Number of peasant farms	Percentage of total	Percentage of group to total
A		less than 0.3	1,268,000	21.8	72.8
		0.3 - 0.5	1,006,000	17.3	
		0.5 - 1	1,955,000	33.7	
B		1 - 1.5	981,000	16.9	23.4
		1.5 - 2	376,000	6.5	
C		2 - 2.5	132,000	2.3	3.1
		2.5 - 3	48,000	0.8	
D		3 - 5	28,005	0.5	0.5
		5 - 10	1,380	—	
		over 10	115	—	
Others			10,420	0.2	0.2
Total			5,806,000	100	100

The table illustrates the present situation in the countryside. The conditions, however, are not identical for all parts of the country. For instance, the peasant farms are smaller in Kansai, in the Southwest, than in Tohoku, in the Northeast, but in Kansai peasants gather two harvests a year and farm their land more intensively, obtaining a bigger surplus for the market. There are also differences between the mountainous districts and the plains. Although the cultivated areas are smaller in the former, the wealthier peasants there also own forest tracts which yield them a substantial income.

The land reform stimulated farm production. If we take 1950-1952 as 100, output had risen by 1959 as follows: rice 131.1, vegetables 173.3, industrial crops 165.1, fruit 250, and animal husbandry products 249.3,

Considerably more machines and fertilizers are used now. Capitalizing on the peasants' striving to improve their farms and increase their income, the monopolies seek to use the government-sponsored co-operatives, headed mostly by rich peasants, as agencies for the sale of farm machines, fertilizers, insecticides, etc. Before the war the tractor was a rarity in the Japanese countryside, but now the peasants buy annually more than 100,000 tractors, mainly small ones ranging from two to five horsepower.

But the development of the productive forces and growth of production are far from

being true of all peasant farms. Labor productivity is 2.5-3 times higher on the big farms than on those of the middle and poor peasants. Farm machinery, too, is used mainly by the richer peasants. For instance, power-driven cultivators are found mostly on farms of 2-2.5 cho and over in Tohoku, and in Kansai, on farms of 1-1.5 cho and over. Few peasants with smaller plots can afford to buy these machines.

Agricultural development is accompanied by a growing class differentiation among the peasantry. In Tohoku the wealthy peasants are those with three cho or more, and in Kansai, those with 2.5 cho and over (or even two cho, in areas where intensive farming is practised). In the mountainous areas this stratum includes peasants with 1.5-2 cho or more of cultivated land plus sizable wooded areas who go in for timber-felling besides agriculture. Although these peasants, too, are plundered by Japanese and U.S. monopoly capital, they are in a position to market large quantities of livestock products, rice and other produce and put away cash savings. Accumulating 300,000-500,000 yen or more annually, they use this surplus as capital to acquire more land, buy machines, develop livestock raising and horticulture, and employ more hired labor. During the past three years the contrast between the higher and lower income brackets has become particularly pronounced. Some farmers make 10 million yen

and more annually and farm five or six cho of land. In certain areas, in the Kitakami River valley, for instance, thirty-cho farms can be found. The rich peasants evade the legal restrictions by buying land in small parcels in the name of members of their families or other fictitious owners. The number of rich peasants now averages five per cent of the rural population.

The middle strata consist mainly of peasants in groups B and C (see table). In Kansai they belong mostly to the first of these groups, and in Tohoku, to the second. Throughout Japan the middle peasants make up about 30 per cent of the total, though the number varies greatly according to regions. In some areas they account for 35-40 per cent of the total peasant population, in others only 10 per cent. Here too the process of differentiation is making itself felt. Middle peasants in the upper income brackets manage to save anything from 100,000 to 200,000 yen annually, which they use to improve their farms, to live more comfortably, and to give their children an education. Part of this upper layer moves up into the category of rich farmers.

Generally speaking the middle strata seek to produce more for the market and develop animal husbandry to add to their incomes. But they pay a heavy price for this. Robbed by the monopolies, and hard hit by falling prices for their products, they have to work hard to keep their heads above water. Most of them lead a precarious existence, and as often as not even those who own machines and dairy cattle never get out of debt. Many sell their land and begin working for wages, joining the ranks of the rural poor.

As for the poorer sections of the peasantry, their transformation into semi-proletarians proceeds even faster. More and more of them join the ranks of wage workers. For instance, the peasants in group A (see table), who have less than one cho of land, are mostly semi-proletarians working for hire besides tilling their own plots.

According to official statistics, most peasants cannot make a livelihood on their plots. Those with less than 0.3 cho cover only 19.7 per cent of their expenses with the income it yields, those with 0.3-0.5 cho, 31.3 per cent, and those with 0.5 to one cho, 58.3 per cent.

Many of the peasants tilling less than 0.3 cho are actually rural wage laborers. In Japan as a whole the poor peasants and rural wage workers make up nearly 65 per cent of the total agricultural population.

The poor peasants have practically no modern machines. The credits provided by agricultural co-operatives do not extend to many of them, which makes them easy prey for the usurers. They are gradually driven off the land and many are forced to search for work in farm areas remote from their native villages. Some find jobs in road construction or at power sites, others work as day or seasonal farm laborers or become permanent or temporary factory workers. Their working conditions are usually the worst. In the mountainous areas they work felling timber, cutting firewood, burning charcoal, etc. Some rent land to till. Ten per cent of the total cultivated area in the country is still leased land, leased not only to the poor peasants, but also to part of the middle peasants. These processes are gradually remoulding the outlook of the rural workers and poor peasants, and militant forces are crystallizing in their midst.

It should be said that for a number of years after the land reform the Communist Party committed tactical errors in its work among the rural workers and poor peasants. Many members failed to see the importance of organizing these sections. The view that their militancy and political consciousness could not be expected to grow died hard, although it had been refuted by the facts of life. Here are some of these facts. In the main rice-growing areas unions of poor-peasant day workers sprang up; in areas with state-owned wooded tracts, unions of poor peasants working in the timber industry were established, as were councils of peasants who return to their villages from the woods during the winter season. These new organizations fight for the poor peasants and rural workers. Indicative also is the struggle waged by poor peasants against the sham agricultural "mutual aid" associations. But even after this there is still a widespread tendency to underestimate the role of the rural workers and poor peasants, which greatly hampers organizational work among them. Hence, too, the tendency to lump together all the peasants and not to pay due attention to the class differentiation among them.

The organized workers can play an important role in revolutionizing the rural proletariat and the poor peasants. There now are seven million workers organized in the trade unions, and their struggle has a beneficial effect on the rural poor. Together with the conditions of life, this influence is helping to awaken the latter to the need for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Designs of the Reactionaries

U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, under the flag of closer Japano-American economic "co-operation," are pursuing a policy of greater "liberalization" of foreign trade. One aspect of this policy is free competition between U.S. and Japanese agriculture on the home market. As a result, the big U.S. farm producers are ruining the small and middle farmers in Japan.

Relying on its economic advantages, primarily its high level of labor productivity in agriculture, the USA is flooding our country with cheap farm produce. Because of this unrestricted competition only the rich peasant farms with a comparatively high labor productivity can develop further. In 1959 the Kishi government set up a committee consisting of representatives of the monopoly capitalists, officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and reactionary experts to investigate the basic problems of agriculture, forestry and the fisheries. The body submitted its first report to the government in May 1960, recommending, "with a view to modernizing agriculture and consolidating it as a branch of production," that farm economy be based on large-scale capitalist production. To this end, the committee advised, first, fixing the minimum farm at 1.5-2 cho; second, reducing the number of peasant farms engaged exclusively in agriculture to 2,500,000. It was proposed that most of these farms should exceed two cho in area. The scheme also called for the reduction to the same figure of the number of farms with four-tenths of a cho or less, whose owners combined agriculture with other occupations.

With all their mendacity and prevarication the government and the Liberal Democratic Party cannot conceal the true aims of their "structural policy." The object is to abolish the small peasants wholesale by reducing the number of farms from the present six million to two and a half million and turning three and a half million peasants into proletarians. For peasants with four-tenths of a cho or less and who are forced to find work on the side in order to eke out a living are to all intents and purposes wageworkers — their tiny plots are merely a source of auxiliary income. By proposing to retain 2,500,000 such small farms the Liberal Democrats aim at creating a stratum of agricultural workers who could be used as a reserve of cheap labor for the rural capitalists as well as the monopolies.

The reactionaries are striving desperately to revise the present land law which affords

some protection to the peasant holdings. The draft of a so-called basic agrarian law which would do away with all restrictions on the size of holdings has been submitted to parliament. In the event of the provisions of this bill being carried out, the rural poor, or more than 60 per cent of the entire peasantry, will be driven off the land.

The land committees of local governments are getting ready to implement the proposed law. Anticipating peasant resistance, a campaign for what is called the "partial unification of agriculture" and a leave-the-land movement has been launched, and resettlement is being encouraged. The Liberal Democrats used to assure the peasants that they would guarantee their right to the land for all time. This won them the support and the votes of the countryside. But the class differentiation now under way shows up the emptiness of their promises. As the report of the committee investigating the basic problems of agriculture, forestry and the fisheries admits, the peasants, once the "stable segment of society," are losing their stability, and "in the future they can hardly be expected to play their former role." The Liberal Democrats' latest plans cannot but further undermine the peasants' faith in them.

The Communist Position

The Communists are consistent champions of the alliance of the working class and all working peasants. The Communist Party is rallying the rural proletariat and the poor peasants behind it and working to build a strong alliance with the middle peasants and to win over those rich peasants who are prepared to co-operate.

Resisting the policy of squeezing out the small peasant farm which the Liberal Democratic Party and the government are pursuing, and steadfastly defending the interests of the poor and middle peasants, the Communists hold that it is the rural workers, poor and middle peasants, fleeced and ruined by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, who are the mainspring of progress in the countryside. It is they who, after the establishment of a united national democratic front government and relying on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, will pave the way for far-reaching democratic reforms in agriculture.

With these prospects in view, the Communist Party sees its vital task as that of organizing and uniting the peasant masses. The march of events imperatively dictates the need

to channel into a single stream both the struggle against the "structural policy" and the so-called basic agrarian law, which the reactionaries are trying to put through, and the struggle waged by the poor and middle peasants to safeguard their land, their husbandry and their way of life. The two struggles must be directed against the two main enemies — U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital — as well as against the executors of their policy — the Liberal Democratic Party and its government. To achieve this, organizations of rural workers and poor peasants, which have already begun to spring up in many areas, should be established throughout the country. In organizing these associations it should be borne in mind that they have two aspects — the proletarian and the peasant. It is important, too, to broaden the activities of the older organizations such as the union of free rural workers, tenant farmers' unions, etc., which so far have stressed only one of the two aspects and for this reason have displayed a sectarian approach. As regards the numerous peasant unions affiliated to the All-Japan Federation and which are based mainly on the middle peasants, it is necessary to enlist also the poor peasants in them so as to bring the two strata together and ensure their solidarity in the fight for their fundamental demands.

Of great importance in uniting the workers and peasants is joint struggle for better conditions, for work and for implementing and extending social security. The same can be said of the fight for tax reductions, a progressive scale of taxation, agricultural grants and long-term credits at low interest rates to the middle and poor peasants, higher prices for the produce, primarily rice and wheat, and reduction of the monopoly prices charged for machines, fertilizers, chemicals, cattle feed and electric power. The Communists will continue to give their full support to the land demands of the rural workers and poor and middle peasants, and will oppose any revision of the present land law and will fight against other reactionary measures threatening the peasant holdings. In many areas land improvement is essential to promote farm production. But this should be financed mainly by the state and the share borne by the peasants reduced. At present land improvement has involved a considerable part of the peasantry in heavy debt. Annulment of this debt burden is one of the aims pursued by the Communists in their struggle for democratic agricultural reforms.

In order to uphold the fundamental interests of the peasants the rural reactionaries

must be deprived of their influence and isolated. These reactionaries who trample on the rights of the working peasants consist of the owners of large tracts of land in the wooded areas, a part of the rich farmers, building contractors, usurers, merchants and owners of enterprises processing farm produce — men who are linked with the government and the finance capitalists and who feed on the finances of the local administrations. They belong to clubs of the Liberal Democratic Party and hold office in local government, the land committees, peasant co-operatives, land improvement associations and agricultural "mutual aid" societies. Almost invariably whenever the rural workers and peasants seek to improve their conditions they come up against the local administrations which are overtly or covertly connected with the reactionaries. How many of the peasants' just demands have come up against a blank wall in these bodies dominated as they are by reactionaries who are bent on suppressing every progressive movement! Without fighting these elements openly no progress can be made in agriculture. Aware of this, the Communists link every major democratic campaign with the struggle against the reactionaries in the countryside. The brutality of the latter, and their connections with the Liberal Democratic Party, with the government and the prefects were fully revealed during the movement for the abolition of the so-called agricultural "mutual aid" societies, in the struggle against the reactionary system of certifying teachers, and in the fight against the foreign military bases and the "security treaty." Wherever these movements assumed mass scale, the peasants and the workers took joint action against the reactionaries. In the future, too, it will be necessary to unmask the rural reactionaries, especially as the struggle develops against the basic agrarian law and the "structural policy."

As to the rich peasants, here we should adhere to the tactics of alliance with the democratic elements and struggle against the reactionaries. We should not lose sight of the fact that many of the rich peasants' demands in the matter of prices, taxes and the desire for peace coincide with the general demands of the peasantry as a whole and are aimed against U.S. imperialism and the rule of the Japanese monopolies. The Communists should support these demands, with a view to bringing rich peasants as well into the united national democratic front. At the same time there should be no let up in efforts to paralyze the more reactionary of the rich peas-

ants through whom the Liberal Democratic Party exerts its influence.

So far the alliance of the working class and peasantry, which is designed to play the decisive role in the fight against the two main enemies of the people, is still weak. It still lacks an adequate mass base, which should number tens of millions of people. But progressive movements are appearing, one after another, augmenting and enriching each other. The actions for fair prices for rice and the movements against revision of the police law and against the foreign military bases and the "security treaty" are landmarks in the common struggle that has forged the unity of the workers and peasants.

In the fight against the "security treaty" and the government's agrarian policy, the Communists are directing all their forces towards strengthening and broadening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. They want to see the joint-action organizations that have sprung up throughout the country spread as widely as possible in the countryside.

Japanese agriculture is now being torn by new contradictions which U.S. imperialism and the Japanese monopoly capitalists are trying to resolve at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry through Japano-American "economic co-operation" and the so-called "liberalization" of foreign trade. This is creating a situation which is bound to help awaken primarily the poor peasants and also the middle peasants to the need for struggle against the ruling coterie and its American backers. It is the duty of the Communists and all worker activists to accelerate this process. Explaining to the people that the peasants and the workers have common enemies, the Communists are working to win the peasants away from Liberal Democratic influence. For this it is essential that all Communists and active workers should be profoundly conscious of the importance of the alliance

of the working class and the peasantry, which should be seen in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

The Trotskyite elements who appeared in Japan two or three years ago ignore the peasant question and have no faith in the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Essentially Trotskyite activities consist in provocative "radical" agitation among the workers, while distrusting the peasantry and rejecting both the alliance of the workers and peasants and the united national democratic front. Their "theories" would bring defeat to the revolution. The class alliance of the working class and the working peasants — the producers in industry and agriculture, the two leading branches of social production — is a fraternal alliance, the decisive force capable of overthrowing the domination of U.S. imperialism and the Japanese monopoly capitalists, a force capable of creating a new, peace-loving, independent and democratic Japan with a rising living standard.

Therefore it is essential for the Communists steadfastly to work for a mass alliance of the millions of workers and peasants. The line followed by the Party in building its ranks is to set up and extend its organization among the industrial workers, to set up and extend its organizations in the countryside, primarily among the agricultural laborers and the poor peasants, and also among the middle peasants. The Party must carry on this work unceasingly, constantly checking up on its progress and increasing its efficacy.

In 1959 a campaign was launched to double the membership of the Party. The targets were achieved, with a notable influx of new members in the rural villages and in the towns. This year we are again determined to double our ranks. Fulfilment of this new task will signify a major achievement in the struggle to build the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the foundation of the united national democratic front.

Building the Party Is an Integral Part of the Revolutionary Process

Alberto Suarez

THE new fighting spirit of the peoples of Latin America has given rise to an entirely new situation: sanguinary dictatorships installed by the dollar and maintained by imperialist arms have been overthrown; and Pan-Americanism which, it was hoped, would camouflage the fact that our countries were being oppressed and exploited by the imperialists, has been shaken by crisis. The Cuban revolution is a clear indication that the continent has entered upon a new phase of the anti-imperialist struggle, reflecting the deep currents in Latin America and mirroring the future of our people.

The new features in Latin American life are a corollary of the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the breakdown of colonialism and imperialism — an epoch comprehensively characterized in the Statement of the recent meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

To assess the new situation in Uruguay correctly we should bear in mind the two parallel processes taking place there since the end of the Second World War. One of these has been the pursuance by the ruling classes of a policy which has resulted in the subordination of the country to the USA, while the economic crisis has undermined the economic structure of the country. Declining foreign trade, an increasingly one-sided economy caused by the monoculture pattern of agriculture and the fact that a few big landowners are acquiring a growing monopoly of the land — these are the salient features of this process. Politically, these features are reflected in the advent to power in 1958 of men closely associated with the big landowners, industrialists, financiers and foreign-trade monopolists. The *diktat* of the International Monetary Fund (imposition of a currency reform which was tantamount to devaluation; obstacles in the way of free trade, especially with the USSR and the other socialist countries; extortionate American loans) is impelling Uruguay towards economic bankruptcy, leading to loss of sovereignty, to frequent

attacks on the social gains of the people, to impoverishment and to the consolidation of North-American domination.

It would be a mistake not to see the other process: the growth of anti-imperialist and anti-latifundist sentiment among the masses, the development of a powerful working class, a popular movement which is channelling into a single stream the struggles waged by the industrial working class and by the working people in the countryside, by the students, patriotic intellectuals, the medium and small businessmen and traders. There have been 15 general strikes during the past five years. And this determined struggle defeated reaction's plan to abolish the basic social gains, restrict democratic freedoms, barter the national sovereignty to imperialism and isolate Uruguay by severing all relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The reactionaries did not succeed in building a common front against the proletariat.

In fact the ruling circles, which have thrown in their lot with the imperialists and big landowners, have become even more isolated. Maturing now in the mass movement is a plan to establish a broad and independent union of all the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces, a union which would assure Uruguay's development along progressive lines. And the most pressing political task now is to achieve unity between the Socialist and the Communist parties, a unity which could be the core of a broad coalition of progressive forces.

Big changes are taking place in the country. And the question which path Uruguay should take is a vitally urgent one.

Party Development Is Not a Parochial Matter

Will the proletariat, in alliance with the peasants and guided by the Communist Party, steer the course of the country's socio-economic and political advance, or will the bourgeoisie be the decisive force in this process? Are the current discontent and unrest the precursors of the regeneration of Uruguay, or will they merely facilitate the advent to

power of a section of the bourgeoisie which will endeavor to preserve the basic features of the present regime? Will the two traditional parties continue to rule the country in turn, or will the mass struggle be instrumental in switching social and economic development to a new way for which the conditions have already ripened?

These questions add up to the number one political problem in Uruguay today. The sweep of the anti-imperialist struggle has sparked off a sharp ideological controversy as to the character, the perspectives and the motive forces of the struggle, as to what classes should play the leading role in it. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties in our countries call themselves "democratic," "socialist," etc., in order to win over the masses and to assure themselves the leading role in the democratic movement.

"Politics in the serious sense of the word," said V. I. Lenin, "can be made only by the masses, and the non-party masses who do not follow a strong party are disunited and unawakened masses, incapable of displaying fortitude and becoming pawns in the hands of the wily ruling class politicians who always show up 'in good time' in order to take advantage of 'right' opportunities."* That is why the question of the hegemony of the proletariat and the leading role of its party in the life of the nation is a task of paramount urgency and one we must solve now, at the present stage of the upsurge of the mass movement.

Any concept of unity of anti-imperialist forces which sacrifices or belittles the idea of the leading role of the Communist Party is a wrong concept and any underestimation of this role is fatal for the revolution. Erroneous views on this score are being spread by visiting delegations of Yugoslav revisionists in Latin America who, at the same time, laud the activities of Social Democratic and national reformist political groupings. It would be dangerous to ignore the harmful impact of this propaganda.

Trends influenced by anarchist and other "apolitical" theories deny the need of a party and allot the leading role to the trade unions, which is equivalent to disarming the proletariat and making it the easy prey of bourgeois ideologists and politicians. For the revolutionary struggle the anarchists have substituted an idyllic conception of co-operatives, dreaming of ending capitalism by simply extending the network of co-operatives. They

have, so to say, substituted efforts to develop co-operatives for the struggle for socialism.

We, the Uruguayan Communists, have been making a decisive contribution for forty years now to developing the class consciousness of the working people and helping them to realize the need to join trade unions; we have been fighting consistently for trade union unity and for a single trade union center; in the practical work of guiding the masses we have demonstrated that the trade unions are indispensable to the proletariat; nor have we belittled the importance of the co-operatives. We shall, nonetheless, always stress that to achieve its emancipation the working class needs its own party. Only such a party can draw up a clear-cut program based upon a scientific knowledge of the laws of social development and build an organization and train cadres capable of leading the revolutionary process to its ultimate end.

We see, then, that the strengthening of the Communist Party is not a parochial matter, a purely internal organizational matter and it should not be regarded as a simple problem stemming from the movement. No, we pose the question of consolidating the Party in a much broader way, as the chief problem of the development, essence and perspective of the revolution.

Plans for Party Development

There can be no question in the present conditions of a successful revolutionary movement without a big Communist party, a strong, ideologically cohesive party linked with the masses and built on the principle of democratic centralism. Our plans for the development of the Party pursue this objective.

Already in 1955 the Sixteenth Congress of our Party affirmed that a "cardinal question of the Uruguayan revolution" was to enhance the role of the Party, enlarge its membership and strengthen the Party. This means that developing the Party is not simply a process which spontaneously perfects the Party in the course of the mass struggle and the forward movement of society, it is a factor of this movement. It was of the utmost importance for the democratic development of Uruguay, the Congress pointed out, that all Party problems be solved, and it called for a plan to strengthen the Party organizationally, politically and ideologically.

Did the Party act correctly in drawing up plans to extend its ranks and in launching campaigns for the recruitment of thousands of new members? It is our view that in the

*V. I. Lenin, *Confused Non-Party People*.

conditions of Uruguay that was the right thing to do. On what is our assumption based?

By participating in the strikes and the democratic and anti-imperialist movement the masses acquire valuable political experience and deepen their class consciousness. They seek new ways and new solutions. And our activities should facilitate their going over to the Communist positions and joining the Party as the natural consequence of their participation in the social struggle and of their greater experience. The recruitment drives enable the Party to acquaint the people with its program and ideas, to tell them about its leading role in the social movement. And the bigger the mass movement, the harder should we work to extend our ranks. True, it may be asked: will not an influx of new members detract from the political and ideological strength of the Party? Perhaps this influx will, so to speak, inflate the Party to the detriment of its quality?

To this we say no: It is our belief that the advantages will considerably outweigh any possible dangers; for the advantages are obvious, while the dangers can be avoided.

New members are recruited at meetings of workers especially convened for this purpose, or at Party branch meetings. Here, in the presence of their workmates and comrades in the struggle, workers express their desire to join the Party. This means that we can win for the Party the best, the politically conscious and the militant workers. It should also be borne in mind that under capitalism, where membership of the Communist Party often implies victimization by employers and the state apparatus, the people who join the Party do so deliberately and are prepared to face the difficulties. When these workers, having in the simplest terms expressed their desire to fight for communism, come to us, it is the duty of the Party organization to educate them ideologically so that they become fully conscious of their obligations to the working class and fight in the ranks of the Party.

We hold, furthermore, that only by waging a consistent and purposeful struggle to consolidate and enlarge the Party can we overcome the spontaneity still prevalent among us—the false notion that the mass movement, as long as Communists are in it, will of itself guarantee the growth of the Party.

How was the first plan for building the Party, adopted at the Sixteenth Congress, carried out?

The newspaper *El Popular* was launched, Party branches were formed in the industrial

centers and transport, papers with a circulation running into several thousands each were published in enterprises and some industries; the Party opened a central school and various courses and founded the theoretical journal *Estudios*. At this time, too, the Party began to recruit workers in the big enterprises, the number of branches grew, and the Communist Youth League was born.

Simultaneously we tackled the problem of training Party cadres and raising their political and ideological level and — this is particularly important — of establishing an ideologically cohesive leadership which was linked with the Party and the people and employed collective methods of work. The renewal of the composition of the Central Committee and electing to it both experienced practical workers and theoreticians as well as a number of workers from the big enterprises contributed to the cohesion of the Party. All this helped to overcome the effects of the internal crisis through which the Party had passed.

A focal point at that time was the public discussion on the role and the tasks of the Party. Imperialist propaganda as is known, tries to falsify the struggle and the objectives of the Communists. We are still depicted as men who carry daggers between our teeth. And it would be a mistake to underestimate the harmful effects of this propaganda. Neither should we lose sight of the fact that a distorted presentation of our ideas can be an obstacle to our growth. The dripping of water wears the rock. Why not reckon with the fact that a systematic campaign of falsehood and calumny can build up barriers to the growth of the Party? That was why we decided to launch a discussion on such subjects as: the Communists and the homeland, internationalism, peace, democracy and, of course, the agents of imperialism. By making wide use of the press, public meetings, rallies and lectures, the Party demolished the ideological barriers standing between it and the masses.

The resolutions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU played a big part in this. The discussion on these (and on the problems connected with the criticism of the personality cult and the imperialist uproar over the events in Hungary), was a polemical discussion but no concessions were made to dogmatism, revisionism or to the smear propaganda, and it contributed greatly to the ideological education and cohesion of the Communists. The Party demonstrated that it was sufficiently

well equipped to conduct important ideological discussions from the unshakeable positions of Marxism-Leninism.

The first plan for building the Party was completed at the Seventeenth Congress with the adoption of a program declaration, a political platform of immediate demands and the new Rules. The Congress endorsed a second plan and we began to carry it out in July 1959.

The new plan did not aim at stepping up any particular aspect of Party activity, but rather at harmoniously developing the Party, although, naturally, emphasis was laid on specific objectives such as recruiting, forming more Party branches and raising the circulation of the Party paper. To promote the recruitment campaign and to propagate the Party's objectives on a nationwide scale, the Communists decided to fulfil the new plan under the slogan "Let us celebrate the fortieth anniversary of our Party with new achievements!"

The results have been very good. Thousands of new members have joined and the membership is now one and a half times what it was at the launching of the drive; the Party now has more than three times as many members as it had at the time of the Sixteenth Congress.

The majority are workers, in fact the percentage of workers has risen. Ninety per cent of those who joined the Party in the capital, for example, are workers, mainly from the key industries: city transport and railways, building sites, the metallurgical and textile industries, meat-packing plants, docks, etc. The same can be said of Party organizations in other parts of the country.

The recruitment drive did not mean a simple increase in Party membership; it was matched by an increase in the number of Party branches in the enterprises; there are three times as many branches in the capital as in 1957. In this important industrial center the Party has branches in nearly all the big enterprises, both private and state-owned. There are several hundred Communists working in many of these factories; in some industries their number is very big (in the wool warehouse, for example, every fifth worker is a Communist).

There has also been an increase in the number of branches in the province, especially in areas where there are many agricultural laborers. The ranks of the Communist Youth League (CYL) and the number of its local organizations have increased, too.

The Youth League Congress in October 1959 was an important event in the life of the country. It is now generally admitted that the membership, organization and militancy of the Youth League have advanced it to a prominent place among the youth organizations in Uruguay. Its recently opened central club has strengthened it still more.

The total membership of the Communist Party and the Youth League shows that the Communist movement in Uruguay has many participants and that their number has risen several-fold compared with 1955.

In conformity with the plan, the circulation of the Party's national newspaper has gone up; more copies are now sold in the factories. To achieve another objective of the plan — that of strengthening the financial position of the Party paper — the Party conducted a successful drive for funds; as against the 200,000 pesos collected in 1959, the target of 500,000 for 1960 was exceeded. More papers appeared in enterprises and in branches of the economy — in meat-packing plants, the wool industry, for dockers, transport workers, builders, textile workers, etc. As a rule, these papers are published once a month, consist of four to eight pages, and are sometimes printed in two colors. Some have already been coming out for a number of years and are liked and supported by the working people.

The Party now publishes five newspapers in five different towns, some of which are printed in its own printshop. In addition to Montevideo, the Party broadcasts from seven radio stations in the provinces. The circulation of the theoretical journal *Estudios* is rising.

The plan aimed at improving the Party's educational work and with this object 75 courses of lectures were delivered in the Central Party School, schools at branch level and in schools of a higher type. A special lecture week on ideological problems was held to mark the anniversary of *Estudios*. We are now preparing to open a center for social research and dissemination of Marxism-Leninism.

New premises for the Communist Party and the Youth League were opened in the industrial districts of the capital and in other towns.

All in all, implementation of the plan strengthened the Party and enhanced its role in the life of the country. Proof of this are the celebrations in honor of the fortieth anniversary of our Communist Party. A big ral-

ly took place in Montevideo on September 21, 1960, on the eve of which about 200 Party branch meetings with the participation of delegations from the Party leadership were held in the capital; the meetings attracted thousands of people. In addition to press and radio announcements, attractive posters and placards all over the country gave prior notice of the meeting in the capital. During the preparations for the celebration we told the people about such important national problems as the agrarian reform, defense of democratic liberties from attacks by reaction, defense of secular education and culture, bigger pensions, higher wages, etc. It can be said that preparations to celebrate the Party's fortieth anniversary were made in every part of the country without exception.

On the day of the meeting over 15,000 people filled the biggest covered stadium in the city, which could not accommodate all those who wished to attend. The speeches were relayed throughout the republic and were heard by hundreds of thousands. The Youth League arranged a sports festival in which thousands of sportsmen from the factories and working-class districts took part. Even the reactionary press was compelled to report on what had become an important event in the life of the country — the celebrations of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Communist Party of Uruguay. It was in this way that the Party completed the second plan for enlarging and consolidating its ranks.

The Reasons for the Success of the Plan

The success of the plan was due to the Party's correct general line, a line which reflected the needs and aspirations of the people, the need to develop Uruguayan society. No organizational measures could have strengthened the Party had its policy not been correct, had its program and slogans not been supported by the masses. But when we speak of a correct line it is not only the tactics of the Party that we have in mind or that the Party shows the masses the right path to follow but that building the Party is an integral part of the revolutionary process. The success of our plan represents the success of the line laid down at the Sixteenth Congress, the line of expanding and consolidating the Party ranks as a factor determining the democratic development of Uruguay.

The co-ordination of mass action and party activities also made for the success of the plan. A case in point was the campaign launched in support of the demands of the

meat-packing plant workers which resulted in driving out the American firms from this branch of our economy. Another example was the attitude to the marches on the capital — an important form of action. The marchers sometimes covered hundreds of miles and were on the road for weeks. The Party helped them in many ways: delegations headed by Communist deputies and Party functionaries publicly declared, on behalf of the Party, their solidarity with the marchers; the Party paper assigned reporters to tell the country about the marches; often the paper helped the marchers to keep in touch with their relatives. The Party assigned a group of doctors and medical students to give medical treatment, sent food, clothing, medicine, etc.

The Communist M.P.'s perform useful work in establishing contact with the masses and stepping up their activities.*

It is obvious that the Party could not effectively pursue its policy of supporting the working people if it had no influence in the trade unions and if it did not guide their struggle. Party members are often elected to the trade union leadership, to wage councils and other bodies set up to prevent the working people from being fleeced by the employers and the state. After a strike and upon winning their demands some of the big trade unions send delegations and messages to the Party and express their gratitude for its support. After a successful strike the Party usually arranges a "victory festival"; this has already become a tradition. At such times the premises of Party organizations are crowded with Communist workers, members of other parties and non-party people; these are festive occasions, meetings are held and the results of the struggle summed up. Many workers join the Party there and then.

The Party's policy has given hundreds of thousands of working people the opportunity to acquire rich experience. They have learned to distinguish friends from enemies, to assess the true worth of each class and each party, to appreciate that the working people's struggle for their demands is successful not only because of a strong trade union organization but also because the Communist Party is active in the political sphere. With a view to augmenting the experience, the Party impresses upon its organizations and members the need constantly to carry our ideas to the working-class movement, in the course of the struggle and in the class battles.

*See Niko Schwartz's contribution on this question in No. 1 of *World Marxist Review*, 1961.

In carrying out the new plan we repeated the experience of holding meetings of workers to discuss Party policy. The meetings, which took place in the Party organizations and in the homes of the workers, were run by the branches, by Communist workers, frequently by Communist trade unionists, and, quite often, by non-party people who got together their friends and workmates in order to talk to representatives of the Party and to learn the Party's opinion. The meetings were usually attended by leaders of Party organizations. There were lively exchanges of views and the Party members answered the questions put to them. Thousands of workers have participated in meetings of this kind in recent years.

The Party would not, however, have been able to engage in such extensive activities had its members not been imbued with the Party spirit, a spirit which comes from a correct understanding of the role of the Party; had they not properly organized their day-to-day work in the mass movement. We had to avert the danger of the Party dissolving itself among the masses (or of a possible tendency to dissolve), the danger that the broad movement would absorb or disperse the Communists, that the Party would lose its real face, lose its role of vanguard of the movement — the highest form of all working-class organizations. We had, therefore, to be on the look-out against any exaltation of the mass movement, against any opportunist counterposing — which would be fatal for the Party — of the Communists working in the mass movement to those doing mainly inner-Party work. On the other hand, ceaseless effort was essential against all attempts to confine the work of the Party organizations and especially of the branches, to purely internal matters, against standing aloof from the mass struggle.

In our Party these problems were resolved on the basis of guiding lines worked out by the National Conference in 1957. The line of harmoniously combining inner-Party work with work among the masses (with emphasis on the Party in the work among the masses and on the masses in inner-Party work) was an effective method of extending our influence among the people. This method presupposes a clear understanding of the role played by the Party branches and by the Communist groups in other organizations. In the conditions of our country and at the present stage of the mass movement, it is most important for us to have our Party groups in other or-

ganizations, because through them we coordinate the activity of the members working among the masses (under the guidance, of course, of the respective Party body). The branches are the permanent organizations of the Party and every member should work in his or her branch irrespective of the post to which he or she is assigned.

A situation in which a Party member is active only in his union, say, and refrains from regular work in his Party branch is not to be tolerated. Although both the one and the other are Party work, it is a matter of principle for the member to fulfil the day-to-day duties of a Communist — help increase the sales of the Party paper and literature, take part in political campaigns, collect money for the Party, etc. Only if the member participates in this way in the work of the branch, which is the core of the Party, does his individual will fuse with the will of the Party, and only then will the efforts of all merge into a single effort guided by the Party.

The Party's Strength Lies in the Activity of its Members

We must combat what we call lethargy, which, let it be said, is one of the most difficult organizational problems. To minimize it would be a grave error. Articles in *World Marxist Review* have emphasized the importance of the members participating regularly in the activities of their organizations — regularly, it should be stressed, and not sporadically as, for example, in election campaigns. Lenin's letter to Comrade Kuusinen published in this journal helps greatly towards an understanding of this.*

This problem is discussed in connection with the following question: What do we need in our conditions, a mass party or a party of trained cadres? Our answer is that we need a big mass party (mass in relation to the size of Uruguay) and at the same time trained cadres. In other words, we need a party of tens of thousands of members united around a numerically strong core of cadres; and simultaneously we should work ceaselessly to increase the number of cadres, promoting them first and foremost from ideologically trained workers. Properly allocated cadres form a strong, big and disciplined body of Party activists.

In building the Party along these lines we encounter two dangers. The first is sectarianism, which stems from the conviction that

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 3, 1958.

in our conditions we can accept into the Party only people who by virtue of their experience of the struggle and ideological training are, to all intents and purposes, already fully fledged Communists. This "theory" means abandoning the idea of a mass party inasmuch as the workers who are brought into contact with us through the mass struggle usually have experience of trade union activity; and precisely because of this are often captives of syndicalist views. These workers must be ideologically educated, we must make Party members of them and they should certainly not be bureaucratically thrust aside because they enter the Party without being politically educated Communists.

We have, of course, set ourselves a far from easy task; and the fact that over 30 per cent of the workers are very young, having entered the ranks of the working class only recently, that is, some 15 years ago, during the Second World War, when industry was expanding rapidly, only adds to the importance and difficulty of the problem. It should be borne in mind too, that in Uruguay the trade unions came into being before the Party and that the political vanguard played no part in establishing them. In point of fact, the Party itself was born in the midst of working people who had gone through the school of trade union struggle.

No less harmful to the working-class cause is another concept — the reverse of sectarianism — according to which the Party member assigned to work in a mass organization need not necessarily be active in his branch, that is to say need not comply with the fundamental requirement of the Rules. These concepts which question the need for ideological training and for discipline, lead in practice to denial of the Leninist principles of the Party organization, to lowering the Party's ideological level to that of the politically backward sections, to obliterating the specific features of the Party and weakening the members' contact with the Party. To combat these views we must effectively help the cadres working in the mass movement. These comrades come up against great difficulties and need the support, counsel and constant practical help that the Party can give them.

With a view of drawing all members into Party work we decided to hold branch meetings at least once a month. Political and ideological problems arising from the tasks of the given organization are discussed at these meetings which are usually attended by Party

functionaries who have prepared themselves for the meeting. These meetings help the branches to educate their members, and to promote the best trained to leading work.

We combine this tested method with another taken from the practice of the world working-class movement and endorsed by the Seventeenth Congress of our Party. At each big enterprise the job of guiding the work is concentrated in a core ranging from eight to 15 people. These comrades are sent to study courses or schools in order to improve their political knowledge, invited to meetings of activists, etc. Through the medium of this core we can give counsel and guidance to dozens of Party members and through the latter to all the workers in the factory.

All this requires of us to pay constant attention to increasing the number of Party cadres. Just as we draw up plans to enlarge the Party, so we plan a proportionate increase in the number of leading members at all links. The work with these activists calls for the greatest care and attention: the Party sends them to courses or schools, arranges exchanges of experience and special meetings on important ideological and political questions. Great importance is attached to the training of the branch secretaries.

We combat any manifestation of a bureaucratic or scornful attitude towards such vital elements of our work as the timely issuance of membership cards, dues payment and membership registration. Each year we have a card-exchange campaign; in the past years these have acquired a truly mass character. During these drives mass gatherings are held all over the country. Non-party people often attend these functions.

The widespread discussions organized by the Party leadership in the past few years have played an important part in uniting the Party ideologically and, hence, in the ideological education of its members.

At first these discussions took place, as we already said, when the Party was emerging from a profound internal crisis. At the second stage, in 1956, the Party discussed the question of unity and democratic centralism as the backbone of Party organization. The theme of strengthening the member's ties with the Party was not chosen fortuitously. It carried the previous discussions to a higher plane and, simultaneously, was the reply to the imperialists' subversive propaganda (Allen Dulles had publicly declared at that time that one of the objectives of this propa-

ganda was to sever the members from the Party one by one).

Eventually, at the National Conference in 1957, the discussion broadened out and included new problems such as work among the masses and in the Party, individualism and egoism. This discussion was dictated by the need to combat the negative phenomena which had come to light in the process of building the Party and which in many cases had their origin in the political situation that obtained in the country.

Forward to New Success

The Party is now drafting its third plan—covering the period up to 1962—for extending and consolidating its ranks.

What are the main features of this new plan?

In preparing the draft the first question that confronted us was: should we continue to recruit new members or should we stop doing so and concentrate on strengthening the Party organizationally? The question was a timely one, for thousands of new members had joined, new branches had been set up, there was a shortage of experienced cadres and leading functionaries. We were greatly tempted to announce a period of so-called organizational consolidation. Nevertheless, the Party leadership turned down the proposal unanimously, for to accept it would have created favorable soil for passivity and the solution of pressing problems would have been put off for a long time. Failure to advance means a halt, marking time. For this reason the Party leadership decided that the new plan should pursue even bolder goals. While ensuring the organizational consolidation of the Party the aim should still be recruiting new members and forming new branches.

The plan aims at making available to the Party the forces and the means that will enable it to exert a decisive influence on the course of events and achieve the unity of the working class and the people as a whole. This plan is, therefore, to be carried out under the slogan of "Unity Now!", the achieve-

ment of which is the cardinal task of the democratic forces in Uruguay.

We hope to double the membership by 1962 and to treble that of the Youth League. In a year's time the Party and the Youth League together will, judged by Uruguayan standards, have a most impressive membership. The plan also aims at enlarging the network of Party organizations; the target for the capital, for instance, is 500 Party branches by 1962.

The plan puts the accent on building the Party in the countryside, both among the peasants and the agricultural laborers. With the solution of this problem one of our biggest shortcomings will have been overcome. If we are to improve our work in the countryside we must increase the number of Party organizations in the localities, for the work in the countryside cannot be done solely by professional functionaries. The entire Party and all its local organizations must participate in it. Hence the plan provides for establishing branches in all localities with more than 2,000 inhabitants.

The rise of the mass movement and the need for unity enhances the role that can be played by university circles, students and professional people generally, civil servants and pensioners, etc., in establishing a united mass front. For this reason the plan calls for more members and more branches in the middle urban sections where the Party has already some important gains to its credit.

The training of cadres and ideological and educational work will get special attention. It is proposed radically to improve the Party apparatus at the intermediate level and to provide it with new cadres.

On the whole the new plan makes bigger demands than the previous ones; for extending the ranks of the Party and the Youth League is still a basic problem of the democratic development of Uruguay. By solving it the Uruguayan Communists will assure for the working class the vanguard role in the popular struggle for well-being, democracy and national sovereignty.

December, 1960.

Ideological Unity and Historical Responsibility

George Armstrong

DUE in large measure to its internationalist solidarity, the Communist movement has become an invincible force, exerting a decisive influence on the march of events; and all Communists consider it their supreme duty to safeguard this solidarity and to work for still closer unity.

The results of the Moscow Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the documents adopted by it are further proof of this. The Meeting made an important contribution to the task of further consolidating the world Communist movement and to the creative elaboration of a number of theoretical and practical questions concerning proletarian internationalism. This article deals with two of these questions—the importance of the ideological unity of the Communist parties and their growing internationalist responsibility.

I

Strengthening the ideological unity of the international Communist movement is an immutable and essential condition for its further international consolidation.

All Communist parties are independent and equal, and they shape their policies independently.

At the same time they are, in the aggregate, not an amalgam but an integrated international movement, a cohesive and united movement, knit together by bonds of mutual aid and support.

How to reconcile these two aspects of the movement—the independence of each Party taken separately, and their unbreakable unity? This can be done only if the relations between the national contingents of the proletariat and its parties are, to use a definition of Marx and Engels, relations flowing from a stable and sincere alliance, free associations and voluntary contact. Relations of this kind can be built only on the basis of ideological unity and the conscious discipline of like-minded people, which are as vital to the revolutionary parties of the working class as the air they breathe. Ideological unity is the

cement which binds together not only the Communists, but also the workers and the working people of all lands, makes class-conscious fighters of the "sons of toil" of whom the *Internationale*, the Communist anthem, sings.

Ideological unity is not achieved at the wave of a wand. It can only be built upon identity of aims and interests. And the revolutionary parties of the working class have this. For the interests and the aims of this class unite it with the workers and working people of all countries and nations.

But even given a complete identity of aims and interests, ideological unity does not come of itself. It can be achieved, preserved and strengthened only by consistent and conscious effort by the parties—through theoretical, educational and ideological work, combating wrong views, and regularly exchanging opinions with the other contingents of the Communist movement.

The Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960 facilitated this work by indicating the lines along which it should go.

At bedrock of the ideological unity of the Communists lies a common scientific world outlook based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy. And on this foundation there develops the teaching of the general laws and principles governing the transition from capitalism to socialism.

This, a comprehensive teaching, forms the theoretical basis for the activities of all the Communist parties. For it reflects the laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism, laws which are universal for all countries, and without taking cognizance of them there can be no question of socialist revolution or of socialist construction. At the same time solidarity on questions of the general principles of the transition to socialism unites all parties in their struggle for common aims and is an earnest of their unbreakable unity.

The Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, having summarized the experience accumulated, formulated the basic principles of this

transition, and noted two dangers that could arise from an incorrect understanding of the matter.

One would be an undue emphasis on the importance of the national peculiarities, leading to a departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism on the socialist revolution and building socialism. As a rule incorrect views of this kind arise where nationalism prevails over internationalism.

The reverse side could be a disregarding of the national peculiarities. In its practical work the Party should apply the general principles in accordance with the specific conditions obtaining in the country concerned. To underrate the importance of these conditions would divorce the Party from reality, from the masses, and place it in a position of not being able fully to utilize all the possibilities arising from the revolution and the building of socialism in the given country, and thus harm the socialist cause.

An important expression of the ideological unity of the Communist parties is, further, their joint assessment of the basic events and developments of the present time, and their common conclusions, based on this assessment, about the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. Solidarity in abiding by these assessments and conclusions is essential for co-ordinated action by the Communist and Workers' parties and for their unbreakable unity.

Observation of this condition by the Communist parties does not mean that any assessment becomes dogma. No one knows better than the Marxists how complex is the process of cognition, and all the more so when developments and events in a rapidly changing world come into the picture. For this reason the parties are careful to see that their assessments and conclusions take due account of the changes, to leave the door open for creative discussion, without which there can be no advance in theory, no elaboration of the scientific principles of policy.

By unswervingly following this line the Communist movement has achieved outstanding results in developing Marxism-Leninism, in handling the new and complex problems advanced by life. Of great help in this connection were the Meetings of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, which appreciably advanced the elaboration of new problems relating to the theory and policy of the Communist movement. The parties unanimously agreed that meetings of this kind are useful from the standpoint of exchanging views and sharing experience of

enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort, and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common goals.

Meetings of Communist and Workers' parties which worked under similar conditions (the 1959 Rome meeting of the representatives of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe is a case in point), and bilateral meetings and consultations have also proved useful.

Assessments and conclusions arrived at after a thorough study of the situation, help the parties to work out a policy and tactics in keeping with the concrete conditions and utilizing the new possibilities of waging the struggle, which have appeared in our time. Solidarity in observing these assessments and conclusions enables all the Communist parties to form a united, monolithic international force.

The unanimity of the Communists on questions pertaining to world outlook, the principal laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism and the evaluation of important events and developments is an integral part of the ideological unity of the Communist parties. *But the consolidation of this unity calls for agreement on the means and the methods of waging the struggle for the common objectives.*

The founders of Marxism attached great importance to this aspect of the problem. Summarizing the efforts made by the proletarian parties to strengthen international solidarity, Engels wrote in 1878 that the workers in the different countries now had a common plan of action which can be adapted to the conditions in each country and each locality, but which everywhere preserves its main features, ensuring thereby a unity of aim and, correspondingly, of common means of achieving the common object—emancipation of the working class by the working class itself.

As we know, it was the hard facts of the times—the necessity of combating the Anarchists, who advocated and employed methods unacceptable to the working-class movement, that prompted Marx and Engels to focus attention on the ways and means of the working-class struggle.

They realized that the adoption of anarchist methods of struggle by the smallest contingent of the working-class movement or even by one party, could cause grave injury to the whole movement, and would be detrimental to socialism. For this reason they publicly

dissociated themselves from the anarchist "Alliance" and subjected it to severe criticism.

Even in those days the politically conscious working-class movement had elaborated its attitude on the objectives and means of the struggle and had explicitly declared that the means should be both effective and in harmony with the noble aims of the working-class movement. "The end justifies the means" has always been the motto of the bourgeoisie which stops at nothing to maintain its domination. And let not the revisionists ascribe this motto to the Marxists who from the outset have upheld an entirely different principle: "The means should correspond to the aims."

This approach stems from the Marxist-Leninist concept of the historical mission of the proletariat and of the role of its class-conscious vanguard. The objectives of the Communist movement are those of the broad masses of the working people. And no political party, not even the strongest, ablest or most experienced can achieve these objectives without the participation of the masses. This signifies that the sole means and methods of struggle admissible are those which help to strengthen contact with the masses, to educate them, activate them and release the revolutionary initiative of the millions of working people.

An integral component of the internationalist unity of the Communists is their agreement on the main means of waging the struggle for socialism and on the harmony of the means with the aims of the movement. But this is far from implying uniformity of means and methods of struggle. For the Communists it is essential to make skilful use of diverse methods, paying due regard to the specific conditions in the country concerned and the needs of the day. Blind adherence to methods, which in other conditions secured brilliant results, can only do harm. So that unity on this question does not imply cramping the initiative or activity of the parties. It excludes neither armed struggle (when the bourgeoisie forces resort to this), non-violence, reasonable compromise with all forces, including the bourgeoisie (provided this does not run counter to the principles and interests of the working people in the country concerned and the international movement as a whole), strikes, demonstrations, mass political campaigns, nor parliamentary action. Multifarious, too, are the ways in which a party sets about transforming society along socialist lines after the proletariat has won power.

The struggle waged by the international Communist movement for its ideological and theoretical purity is, simultaneously, a struggle for ideological unity and, hence, for the greater unity of its ranks.

The harmfulness of incorrect views is that when they become the starting point for political action, they invariably injure the particular national contingent of the working class. They are doubly harmful in the sense that they can impair the ideological unity of the Communists. Moreover, as the example of the Yugoslav revisionists has clearly shown, ideological vacillation is often an expression not of theoretical errors, but of nationalistic aspirations. In this case discussion of theory turns into an exercise in semantics, a cover for nationalism and forthright denial of internationalism.

The Statement issued by the Moscow Meeting points to the need to continue a determined struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology, against revisionism, which remains the main danger of the Communist movement; it calls for ceaseless criticism of dogmatism and sectarianism, which can also become the main danger at a certain stage of development of the individual parties if these trends are not combated strenuously.

The Meeting stressed the need for resolute action against nationalism, national narrow-mindedness and chauvinism. Internationalism is part and parcel of the world outlook and policy of the working class, and there can be no compromise or concession on this point. That is why the Communists are relentless towards any manifestation of a nationalistic deviation and especially towards the nationalistic views spread by the Yugoslav revisionists.

The solution of these problems will be an important contribution to the struggle not only for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, but for the solidarity and the strengthening of the unity of the international Communist movement. To promote this is, as the Statement says, the supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party. For "unity and solidarity which redouble the strength of our movement, are the sound guarantee that the great cause of communism will advance victoriously and that all enemies will be effectively repelled."

II

The concept of responsibility for its actions is inherent in the Communist movement. In consciously leading the people in their fight for progress, the Communists have assumed a tremendous responsibility before history.

What does this imply?

First and foremost—and this applies to each member and to the party as a whole—they themselves bear a certain responsibility, in the sense that Marxist-Leninist theory provides reliable criteria for the elaboration of a correct policy and standards of behavior, and leaves no loopholes for switching personal responsibility for mistakes and blunders to outside forces or to the particular circumstances. For this reason criticism and self-criticism are an established thing among Communists.

Every Communist Party, furthermore, is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country. It is on their behalf and in their interests that the Party conducts its activity. And, leading the masses, the Party is accountable to them for its policy. This is being responsible in the full sense of the word and the price for evading responsibility is moral condemnation and loss of mass support. And what harder punishment can there be for a Marxist-Leninist Party?

Each Party is responsible politically to the international working-class and Communist movement. It goes without saying that this movement has no administrative powers or rights in respect of any Marxist-Leninist Party. Nonetheless a powerful force stands guard over the *internationalist responsibility* of the Communists; this force is international Communist public opinion based on a scientific knowledge of reality and elaborated by the creative exchange of views which helps to verify the soundness of any assessment and facilitates a thorough study of all problems. It will be appreciated that every Communist leader and every Party takes this public opinion into account.

The international responsibility of the parties implies responsibility not only to the international working-class and Communist movement, but also for its destiny, its successes, its ultimate victory. For the successes and the victory are the result of combined efforts by all the parties, each of which makes its contribution to the common cause.

The Moscow Meeting stressed the importance of the responsibility devolving on the parties generally, and their international responsibility in particular. And this is understandable. For although the Communists have borne this responsibility right from the very birth of the movement, it has grown immensely in our days.

Here we find that the stronger the international working class and its Marxist-Leninist

parties, the greater the influence they exert on the course of events and, consequently, the greater their responsibility. It will be readily understood, for example, that in its early years, the proletariat, deeply-conscious though it was of its responsibility for the destiny of society, was not in a position to exert any decisive influence on things. This was true of even a few decades ago. But things are different now that the proletariat rules in countries inhabited by one-third of the world's population, now that it exercises tremendous economic, political, military and ideological power, power which makes the international Communist movement the most influential political force of our time, a highly important factor for social progress. And in these conditions an awareness by the Communists of their historical responsibility is a factor which exerts a powerful influence on world developments.

The historical responsibility of the proletariat has grown also as a result of certain peculiarities of the times. Never before has the imperialist bourgeoisie plotted so heinous a crime against humanity as it is plotting now in preparing for a nuclear and missile war. And never before have the peoples had such an asset as the socialist world system, and the liberation from colonial oppression of over a thousand million people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In these conditions the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties bear a very great responsibility for safeguarding these gains and averting the catastrophe of a thermonuclear war.

The growth of the international responsibility of the Communists is linked with yet another feature — a greater interconnection and interdependence of the socio-political processes all over the world. The concept of political peripheries is losing its meaning nowadays; every major event, no matter how "local," has international repercussions and affects the destiny and the struggle of other peoples. The world has, so to say, become smaller not only geographically—due to the development of modern means of communication—but also politically—due to the fact that all countries have been drawn into a single historical process, that their economic interdependence is growing, that the conflict between the progressive and reactionary forces is being fought out on an international scale and that the political consciousness of the peoples is rising and they are becoming more educated.

In these conditions the activity of each Communist Party—be it big or small, whether

functioning under capitalist conditions or guiding the socialist state—affects the interests not only of the country concerned but also of other peoples and, not infrequently, has important and far-reaching international repercussions. It is clear, for example, that the influence wielded by the Communist parties of Italy and France is not restricted to those two countries. The ability and the preparedness of world imperialism to unleash another war will depend in large measure on how successfully these two parties organize the fight for peace, for both France and Italy are important members of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc. The stand taken by the French Communists on Algeria greatly influences not only the situation in North Africa and in the Middle East, but also the development of the relations between the Communist movement on the one hand and the national-liberation movement on the other. The political situation in all the countries of Western Europe largely depends on how successfully the French and Italian Communists wage the struggle against internal reaction.

The Communist parties in other West European countries, in the United States and Japan likewise bear a great international responsibility today. In these countries the Communists are in the front rank of the struggle against imperialism, and every success won by them is a contribution to the common cause of peace, democracy and social progress.

The work of the Communist parties of India, Indonesia, other Asian, African and Latin American countries is of great international significance. Each, while shaping its own policy, deems it a duty to take into consideration the overall international prospects of the Communist movement, and the interests of the struggle waged by other peoples for peace, national liberation and socialism.

Each Communist Party knows that its successes, mistakes or failures are not the concern of it alone. For directly and indirectly, in lesser or greater degree they affect the whole Communist movement, either furthering the great struggle which the Communists are heading, or impeding it.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting emphasizes that the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist states—the ruling parties in their respective countries — bear a special responsibility. Their policy is aimed not only at forwarding the national aims — building socialism and, eventually, communism in the

respective country — but at fulfilling their international duty of helping the working people of the other countries in their struggle for social progress, national independence, peace and democracy.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in particular, has set itself this aim. And if the Communists in all countries entertain such respect and warm feelings for the CPSU and regard it as the vanguard of the movement, this is largely because it sets an example by the way in which it fulfils its international duty. The Soviet Union's foreign policy—which is a policy of peace, of easing the tensions, of disinterested help to the other socialist countries and to the nations that have shaken off the colonial yoke, and those still fighting for independence, a policy of safeguarding the interests of the working people—is imbued with this sense of international duty.

The Communist parties see that the internal policy of the CPSU, aimed at the construction of communism, also takes into account the interests of the working people and progressive forces in all countries. Successful implementation of this policy is a sound and firm guarantee of peace, in which all mankind is vitally interested. Furthermore, Soviet economic and cultural achievements increase the possibilities of aiding the other socialist nations and the countries now breaking free from colonialism (and this means hundreds of millions, the majority of the population of the world). Lastly, by successfully building communism, by steady progress in the economic competition with capitalism, in the sphere of education and culture, in extending socialist democracy and the new social relations, the Soviet people are effectively helping the working class in the capitalist countries in the struggle for both immediate and ultimate aims, facilitating the victory of socialism on a world scale and exerting a powerful revolutionizing influence on the working people in the capitalist countries.

Socialist revolution, as we know, is not an article of "export." It takes place only as the corollary of the complex of economic and social processes in the given country, as a result of a struggle waged by the people headed by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. A basic condition for this struggle is the indignation of the masses of working people, their discontent with the capitalist system.

And we know too the socialist revolution does not come about merely as the result of a spontaneous outburst of discontent.

Any number of examples can be cited from history of the discontent being channelled in the wrong direction or of being utilized by the enemies of the working people for reactionary purposes.

Socialist revolution presupposes that if not all, then at least a substantial number of the elemental forces arrayed against capitalism, should become conscious advocates of socialism. This explains why the Marxists, who recognized this long ago, attach so much importance to moulding a socialist consciousness in the working-class movement.

In the early stages this was a difficult matter because the advantages of the new system could be judged only from the standpoint of theory. And to convince and enlighten the masses of the people whom the bourgeoisie had kept in ignorance and darkness was not an easy thing to do—especially when we bear in mind that the capitalists long ago established their machinery—which they are constantly perfecting—for ideologically moulding the working people, that they have got an iron grip on education, the press, the radio and other media of influencing people.

After the first victories of the socialist revolution, the theoretical arguments in favor of socialism were reinforced by the arguments of practical results. And the impact of the latter cannot be overestimated. These are the most convincing, the most easily understood and the most irrefutable of all arguments. With their help the masses of the working people are being won for socialism much more rapidly and effectively.

This explains the importance which Lenin attached to the example of the socialist countries as a factor contributing to developing the revolution. "Socialism," he said, "has the force of example." "We must show in practice, by example, what communism means." Lenin foresaw that in this way we would demonstrate that we are stronger, that we should be able to defeat capitalism and win the masses of the working people everywhere for socialism.

And true enough the example of the first socialist country proved an invaluable contribution to the further development of the socialist movement, and helped to win over to Communist ideas those peoples who after the Second World War threw off the capitalist yoke.

For a long time, however, this example could not make a really forceful impact for, as it happened, the first nations to take to socialism were war-devastated countries, most

of them at an intermediate stage of economic development, while others were economically backward. Small wonder therefore that the advantages of socialism in securing the well-being of the working people, as well as in other fields, were not immediately apparent.

This state of affairs, however, is coming to an end once and for all. A new era is setting in, when the grim heritage of the past will no longer stand in the way of the onward march and the advantages of socialism will be there for all to see. Successfully building communism, the Soviet people are creating fundamentally new conditions for the development of the capitalist revolution throughout the world. And in these new conditions the socialist revolution will develop by leaps and bounds. The Communists see this as an important aspect of the international significance of the all-out construction of communism now under way in the USSR.

Socialism, no longer confined to one country, has accumulated a vast collective experience. And the example set for the rest of the world by the countries in which socialism has triumphed is more far-reaching and effective. There are few in the world today to whom the example of socialism has not shown what the victory of the working people and the abolition of capitalist slavery mean to them.

It would be difficult in this respect to overestimate the power of attraction exerted by People's China, which is successfully building socialism in the extremely complex conditions of what was until recently a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. China's progress consolidates socialist positions in the world arena, inspires the working people of the world to fight, and demonstrates the ability of the new social system to surmount all obstacles and carry all before it, no matter what the difficulties. China's example shows in a most striking way the magnificent vistas which socialism opens up before peoples whose social and cultural development was for years, and even hundreds of years, retarded by the colonialists.

The impact of the example of the socialist countries has been even greater since Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic embarked on the socialist path. When it could no longer ignore the achievements of the new system, the imperialist propaganda machine turned out a new version of the old story—granting that socialism could do something, so ran the new version, it could do so only in the backward countries. The economically

advanced German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia give the lie to this.

The example of the other European and Asian countries that are building socialism is also affecting the thinking of people all over the world. The experience of these countries amply demonstrates the superiority of the new system, its ability to solve economic, socio-political and cultural problems which are beyond the powers of capitalism, even in the richest and most advanced countries.

To set an example and to demonstrate to the world the superiority of socialism on the basis of one's own experience is an honorable and highly responsible task. It is a task that calls for initiative, selflessness, indefatigable work; it presupposes exacting demands on oneself, adherence to principle, ability to discern and boldness in remedying the shortcomings and in correcting the mistakes in one's work. The Communists in the socialist countries consider it their bounden duty to foster these qualities in themselves.

The bigger the achievements and the successes of the Communists, the more exacting are the latter towards themselves. This, perhaps, is the purport of the proposition — stressed in the Statement — about the responsibility of the Communist parties. What, then, is the substance of the greater demands now made upon themselves by the Communists in all countries? Basing oneself on the Statement one can say as follows: the ability of the parties skilfully and correctly to utilize the excellent opportunities for carrying on the struggle for peace, socialism and progress.

Marxism-Leninism has established and experience has confirmed that society, by virtue of its inner laws, is moving irrevocably towards socialism. This inspires the Communists, imbues them with optimism, with confidence in the ultimate victory and makes them staunch in the face of difficulties and trials. But while relying on the laws of history, the Communists do not draw the conclusion that they can just sit back and wait, knowing that time is on their side and that victory, by virtue of the objective march of events, will come sooner or later.

Time, of course, is the ally of the fighters for socialism. But it is no less true that the fighters for socialism should work against

time and shorten the years, days and hours that separate mankind from the bright communist future; and not only because the conscious activity of the masses and their fight for progress are components of the objective progress of social development, especially during the transition from capitalism to socialism. It should be borne in mind that winning time means so much less of the misery and suffering which capitalism brings to whole generations, to hundreds of millions of people.

Thus, the working class, and the working people generally of the given country, as well as the international working class and communist movement, judge the work of a Marxist-Leninist party not by its successes alone, but also by the way it takes full advantage of all the opportunities for waging the struggle for its aims. Real victories are won by the parties which are able to do this.

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Proletarian internationalism is not a sterile moral category, but a political principle which makes concrete demands on the Communist parties and places definite obligations upon them. This principle does not operate in favor of any one party, but serves the common interests of the entire communist movement which can achieve its ultimate aims and win only from positions of true internationalism.

That is why the Communists consider it their supreme duty to strengthen internationalism and the international unity of the parties. In discharging it they have already achieved no little success. And if today the Communist parties are setting themselves new tasks in this respect, it is not because rifts have loomed or were about to loom in their midst. That will never happen, no matter how long the enemies wait.

The Communists regard it as their duty to work for even greater international unity for the simple reason that, as their movement grows stronger, the need to reinforce its cohesion also grows. The unity of the Communists is distinguished from that of other parties in that it is not a transient need engendered by emergency conditions, but an inalienable part of a movement aimed at establishing the worldwide community of free people of labor—a communist society.

Strike Struggles In 1960

Facts and Lessons

Georges Froid

AN important manifestation of the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism is the pronounced sharpening of the contradictions between labor and capital, between all sections of the people and the handful of the ruling monopoly bourgeoisie, which finds reflection in the rising wave of strikes.

The level of the strike struggle and its character are an important criterion of the social relationships in capitalist society, of the class antagonisms, of the political maturity of the proletariat and the degree of its organization and solidarity.

A feature of the strikes that took place in 1960 (and in recent years generally) was their mass character, the greater unity displayed by the working people, the variegated forms of struggle and, as a result, their enhanced role in solving the social tasks of the day.

All the countries of the capitalist world—from little Uganda to the USA, the heartland of world imperialism—were swept by strikes. And while successes were won, it should be borne in mind that the struggle was a bitter and difficult one. And so 1960 was another year of political schooling of the working people who have learned quite a lot from the experience.

In this article we shall dwell only on some of the facts and lessons of the strike movement in 1960.

New Sections of the Working People Are Joining the Struggle

A feature of the recent struggles was the participation of new categories in the strikes. Even non-proletarian sections of the working people are, increasingly, resorting to this traditional weapon of the working class.

The industrial working class is, of course, the backbone of the class struggle in general and of strikes in particular. As the facts show, it was this section of the working population that yielded the greatest number of strikers; it was conspicuous also by its organization, its political consciousness and

its staunchness. A new element is that the numbers of workers who are taking an active part in the struggle against the monopolies are growing rapidly and that more and more of them are taking up the strike weapon. This can be said, for example, about agricultural laborers in Italy, Africa and Latin America.

The year 1960 was marked not only by the liberation of many African countries but also by the intensified strike struggles fought by African workers. In most African countries the workers in the past were divided by the policy of discrimination carried out by the colonialists, were not organized in trade unions and for a long time could not offer organized resistance to the exploiters. Thus their strike movement reflects their initial and at the same time considerable successes in the moulding of class consciousness. The emergence of the African worker onto the arena of active class struggle signifies a reinforcement for the international working-class movement.

A feature of the postwar years is the rejuvenation, so to speak, of the working class, a rejuvenation unprecedented in so brief a time. In many countries young people make up a considerable percentage of the working class (nearly one-third in France, 60 per cent in Brazil, etc.). Many of them are idle for years before they can get their first job, having to live even without unemployment benefits. In the enterprises they are subjected to discrimination and exploitation. Small wonder, then, that in 1960, too, the trend typical of the preceding years continued to develop: the working youth are beginning to take an increasingly active part in the strike movement — a fact which becomes particularly significant if we bear in mind that the bourgeoisie spares no efforts to divert them from social problems.

Young people played an outstanding part during the summer events in Italy and particularly in the strike of July 8. In Britain a strike of 60,000 engineering apprentices ended in victory. In Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Guatemala, Greece,

South Korea, Pakistan, etc., in addition to young workers, students took an active part in the strike battles. In their turn, the workers supported the student actions.

As we see, the pessimism about young people voiced at times even by some working-class spokesmen has little justification.

Apologists for the bourgeoisie have spoken much about a decline in class struggle arising from the rapid numerical growth of the "white-collar" workers, i.e., non-manual workers. In reality the "white-collar" workers are beginning to realize that their interests are one with those of the workers on the factory floor, and they, too, are joining trade unions and are taking part in the strikes.

In India, for example, half a million civil servants went on strike for five days; in Japan medical workers fought a number of strikes. For the first time in New York the teachers of the city's 837 schools conducted a strike. In Santiago (Chile) clerical workers employed in the mixed private-government offices struck work; their example was followed by some 30,000 medical workers and 35,000 teachers. These actions were accompanied by clashes with the police. In Argentina, Peru and the Lebanon bank clerks came out on strike; in Mexico, Guatemala and South Korea there were strikes of teachers, and in Denmark and South Korea postal workers left their jobs; big strikes by civil servants took place in Italy, France and Argentina; in Greece 28,000 teachers (i.e., nearly all the teachers in the primary and secondary schools) struck work for 24 hours on January 21, 1960. These categories also took an active part in the general political strikes.

Thus, everyday life shows that the social base of the class struggle of the people against the monopolies is being extended.

Victory Is Impossible Without Unity

*The growing desire for unity among the working people and their solidarity are features of the strike movement. "Whenever in the big class battles of recent years the various trade union associations fought in common they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in winning their demands."**

Nearly all of last year's big strikes in Italy took place in response to the common call of the 2 trade union centers — the General Confederation of Labor, the Trade Union Con-

federation of Working People and the Union of Labor. Japan and France also provided good examples of united action, and especially during general strikes. In Holland members of all the unions—Communist, Socialist and Catholic—fought shoulder to shoulder during the building workers' strike. Solidarity committees were formed and took charge of the strike fund. Grants were paid to all strikers—organized and non-organized workers alike. This made it impossible for the employers to enlist any significant number of strike-breakers or to divide the workers.

The unity of the Belgian working people during the recent December-January struggles was characterized by *Le Monde* as follows: "The Christian trade unions in Antwerp and other towns were swamped by the workers' actions. When the union leaders called for a resumption of work, the rank and file refused to go back."

The success attained by the strike movement in Latin America, a movement unprecedented in scale, was again due to the unity achieved by the working people in recent years and the appearance of united trade union bodies. In Chile the different unions have established a United Trade Union Center. A United Trade Union Confederation has been formed in Venezuela. In Uruguay work is nearing completion to establish a United Trade Union Center.

Working-class unity is the basis for the broad unity of all sections of the people in the anti-monopoly struggle. In Argentina, for example, all the unions jointly organized a general strike on November 7 to protest against the government's rejection of a bill for more compensation to redundant workers. Almost all office employees and many small industrialists and traders joined forces with the workers in the strike. Examples like this are to be found in plenty in other countries (Brazil, for instance).

The urge for unity is manifested not only at national level but also on an international scale.

In Panama when workers employed by the United Fruit Company went on strike in November, the General Confederation of Working People of Costa Rica (where things are also run by United Fruit) called on its affiliated unions "to render moral and economic support to our brothers in Panama in order to frustrate, through the solidarity of the peoples, the criminal designs of the North American company." The December-January general

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

strike against the "austerity" program in Belgium was supported by workers in other West European countries.

Of late there have been many international gatherings of working people of the West European countries with a view to co-ordinating the struggle for the common interests. We will mention but one. On January 16-17, 1960, representatives of the French General Confederation of Labor (affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions) met in Paris with 83 functionaries of the West German trade unions (affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions). Both parties were unanimous in calling on the working people to fight resolutely for better conditions and for peace. The point made by Christiansens, secretary-general of the Belgian clothing workers' union (member of the ICFTU), who attended one of these conferences, was highly indicative: "The false arguments of those who oppose co-operation between workers of different beliefs are beyond understanding . . . The West European workers have common interests in the struggle against the bosses and they should defend these interests in common."

In 1949 when the splitters disrupted international trade union unity the World Federation of Trade Unions numbered 72 million members, last year it had a membership of 101 million (all in all there are 170 million trade unionists throughout the world). What is the explanation of this growth? The answer lies in the consistent policy of unity, of defending the vital interests of the working people in all countries, pursued by the WFTU.

Thus, a real international working-class alliance is being consolidated against the international conspiracy of the monopolies who are threatening war, intensifying the exploitation of the working people and, with the help of the reformists, seeking to divide them.

The Masses Want a New Policy

The bourgeoisie becomes frightened when the working people even hint at political demands. The reformists are also campaigning against the workers' "meddling" in politics.

But the working class knows from experience that a purely economic struggle is not enough. In France, for example, workers in many industries won wage increases. But prices soared so rapidly that, according to the CGT weekly *Vie Ouvrière*, between July 1957 and January 1960 the purchasing power of the working people declined by 10 per

cent. *Immediate economic demands which, of course, have a particular significance, impel the workers to a more conscious struggle for an effective curb on the monopolies, for deep-going economic and political changes.*

Political strikes, however, not only grow out of the economic struggles but more often take the form of direct protests against reactionary encroachments on constitutional rights, against national oppression, or against imperialism's aggressive policy. These strikes show once again that the working class is in the van of the struggle for general democratic rights.

At the end of June and during the first half of July the working people of Italy rose against the Christian Democratic Tambroni government which, supported by the fascists, wanted to carry out a "tough" policy. In the course of this struggle there appeared quite spontaneously at first in the localities and then in the center, resistance committees which took over the leadership of the struggle. The big demonstrations in Genoa, Rome, Reggio Emilia and other towns were followed by a general political strike on July 8 which played the decisive role in bringing about the downfall of Tambroni. Having spread throughout the country this strike was, by virtue of its scale and militancy, unprecedented in the recent history of the Italian working-class movement.

In France the nationwide strike, on February 1, 1960, in protest against the fascist coup in Algiers was, likewise, a successful instrument of political struggle. In all, twelve million workers belonging to the different trade union centers and political parties downed tools.

Another big success in France was the National Day of Struggle for Peace in Algeria, held on October 27. Brief strikes and public meetings and demonstrations were held throughout the country. While calling for peace in Algeria, the workers simultaneously continued the fight for their own demands. Outstanding in this respect was the strike at the Renault works. Tens of thousands of Renault workers advanced the slogans: "No Dismissals!" and "Down with the War!" In summing up the results of the general strike Benoit Frachon, secretary-general of the CGT, said: "The CGT's call to stop work for one hour and to hold factory-gate demonstrations received strong support everywhere. In many cases a common trade union front was formed. . . . But even where the CGT was alone in urging for a work stoppage, large numbers of workers responded to its call."

When the Belgian government proposed a bill that would increase taxes, cut pensions and abolish a number of other gains of the working people, this sparked off a general strike (the biggest so far in Belgium's history) which caused a political crisis. The experience has taught the people that economic and political struggles must be combined. That the strike had acquired a political nature was clearly evident from the statement made by Prime Minister Eyskens to the effect that "it is the government which should govern, not the streets." The antagonisms reached a point where, as a correspondent of *Le Figaro* put it, "one could feel the smell of the barricades in the air."

In Latin America, Asia and Africa the strike movement is fusing with the national-liberation struggle.

In Japan the National Council heading the movement against the new Japano-United States "Security Treaty" unifies over 140 organizations. More than 2,000 joint action committees have been established, based on the local trade unions.

Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Communist Party, said, not without reason: "True, in the past, too, there have been nationwide strikes for economic demands. This time the nationwide strikes, held on three occasions during the month of June, took place under the political slogans of annulling the 'security treaty' and overthrowing the Kishi government. These developments are of the greatest significance, for they show that the Japanese working class has taken a leap in its political and ideological growth . . . In these developments the working class has made the first step towards taking the destiny of the country into its own hands and shaping its political line, while marching in the van of the people as a whole."

It will be seen, then, that many of the major victories won by the working people in 1960 were chiefly due to the general political strike. Strike struggle is one of the best ways of drawing masses of the people into political activity and, in the long run, into the struggle for socialism. Lenin wrote: "Political and economic strikes . . . mutually support each other and are a source of strength for one another. Unless strikes of this kind are closely linked, a really broad, mass movement and, what is more, a movement of national significance, is out of the question . . . In fighting for better conditions the working class simultaneously elevates itself morally, mentally and politically, and becomes increasingly

capable of achieving its noble emancipating aims."*

The year 1960 abounded in facts which confirm the truth and validity of this Marxist concept.

The Forms of the Strike Struggle Are Many and Varied

The combination of economic and political strikes, strikes in the enterprises, in branches of industry and, lastly, on a national scale, the link between the strike movement and demonstrations and the range of its slogans—all are proof of the diverse forms of the struggle waged by the working people. The strikes themselves are extremely variegated—in scale, duration and degree of organization.

This variety in the forms of the struggles is due to the fact that, owing to the changes in the structure of the working class and in the tactics of the monopolies, the conditions in which they are taking place are constantly changing.

The year 1960 saw not a few strikes which lasted for months and which called for endurance on the part of the workers. There were the 282-day strike of Japanese miners at the Meeke pit, the 157-day strike of 16,000 American workers employed in the shipyard owned by the Bethlehem Steel Co., the nearly two months' strike of British shipyard workers and, lastly, the two-months' strike of 6,500 miners at the Chuquicamata copper-ore fields in Chile. These long strikes clearly hold an important place in the struggle. But in recent years there has been a tendency for the average duration of strikes to decrease, which is explained by the better organization of the proletariat, by the better results achieved in its struggle and by tactical considerations.

The workers often refuse overtime or to fulfil the quota, use the go-slow method. In countries where some branches of industry are being closed, use is made of the so-called "strikes in reverse" when, in defiance of the order to close the shop or enterprise, workers remain at their places and compel the employer to repeal the order and pay them for their work. This occupation of the enterprises by the strikers also makes it impossible for the bosses to employ scabs. In industries where strikes are prohibited, meetings and rallies during working hours are frequent (in some countries this is legal), demands are made for paid holidays for the entire personnel (in Japan, for instance, each employee can take

*V. I. Lenin, *Economic and Political Strike*.

his holidays at any time he chooses), etc. These are in the form of unofficial, formally undeclared strikes. More widespread are the "periodic strikes," i.e., brief strikes repeated several times a month on definite days of the week. Popular, too, are "chessboard" strikes. The moment the strike ends in one shop (or enterprise) it begins at another, spreading throughout the plant or throughout all kindred enterprises. Since most of the workers remain on the job and by virtue of this are entitled to full wages, the employer in the final count sustains greater losses than in case of the ordinary strike.

The experience of the recent strike struggles has demonstrated the definite advantages of the brief strike. Any work stoppage, even for an hour, often brought the shop to a standstill, while the series of brief chessboard strikes, while practically paralyzing the enterprise, simultaneously relieved the workers from the need to make heavy material sacrifices. For the workers these strikes are easier to organize and they encompass greater numbers; they often took the employers by surprise occurring at a time when, for example, the company was working on an urgent order. It was not fortuitous that *L'Usine Nouvelle*, mouthpiece of French industrialists, admitted in May last year: "In the face of such tactics which make the normal life of the plant impossible, the management has the choice of one of two solutions: either to concede or to close the enterprise."

Brief strikes were often the preliminary to general strikes on the scale of separate industries or even on a countrywide scale, as can be seen from the experience of Italy, Japan and France.

The extension of the arsenal of the strike struggles, the utilization of different kinds or strikes, the combination of these and other forms of the struggle—all testify to the growth of class consciousness among the proletariat.

Courage and Vigilance Needed

The scale of the strike movement cannot be measured in full without taking into account the difficult conditions under which the working class has to wage its struggle. While paying lip service to class collaboration, the employers and their agents in governments in reality resort to overt violence. Last July 12 strikers were killed and hundreds wounded in Italy. The Japanese workers suffered heavy losses particularly during the general strikes. In India 16,000 civil servants were arrested

during the strike. In Costa Rica the union leaders who directed the strike at the United Fruit Co. enterprises were imprisoned. In November nearly a thousand strikers were arrested in Brazil; in Santiago (Chile) and Porto-Novo (Dahomey) fire was opened on workers. December saw a police butchery of strikers in Greece and Nigeria. In Spain tens of thousands of workers downed tools despite the fascist terror. In Belgium the government used troops against the strikers and there were casualties. In reply to the terror, strikers in Mons said: "Should martial law be proclaimed, then beware of revolutionary action." What nonsense these actions make of the idyllic theories about "people's capitalism" and the "welfare state"!

There is hardly a single country in the capitalist world without its anti-labor laws, in which progressive trade unionists are not subjected to a kind of legal persecution and in which the capitalists do not compile black lists of "dangerous persons" and, in addition to the traditional means of deceiving the working people and keeping them in subjection, establish specialized anti-labor organizations, etc. Often the employers fall back on compulsory arbitration in an attempt to defeat the strike. The position is aggravated by the fact that often the anti-labor legislation meets with the approval of the Right-wing trade union leadership.

Thus, along with fighting for their economic and political demands (better working conditions, higher wages, democracy and peace) the workers also have to wage an unremitting struggle for the right to strike. And if, despite these adverse conditions, the strike movement continues to grow, this is the clearest sign of the growing strength of the proletariat.

* * *

The Communists, who have no interests other than the interests of the working class, are in the forefront of the anti-monopoly struggle and are the first to be attacked by reaction. The Communists, being good trade unionists, strictly observe the union rules and trade union democracy; they do not impose their views nor do they issue administrative commands — theirs is the method of persuasion.

The selfless struggle of the Communists for the vital interests of the people has won them sincere respect among big sections of the working class in the capitalist countries. And the workers pay tribute to them by electing

them to leading posts in the trade unions, to strike committees, and to deputations.

Now, as in the past, the Communists are fighting against the Right-wing opportunism of the reformists and revisionists and against Left sectarian tendencies. They are cementing the unity of all sections of the working people, but in doing so they remain steadfast to their principles, for in the final analysis any renunciation of principle would lead not to unity but to subordinating the interests of the working class to the bourgeoisie. The Communists do not withdraw into a sect of "pure" preachers afraid of any contact with life. They go *among the masses and work with them*. "They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything right now, without waiting for socialism, to uphold the interests of the working class and the people, to improve their conditions and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people."*

The new balance that has set in in the relationship of forces between socialism and capitalism opens up clear perspectives for the strike movement, too. On the one hand, the role played by strikes in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism grows in importance and, on the other, equally important changes are taking place, as we have seen, in the character and form of the strikes. The strike movement and, above all, the general political strike is destined to play a big part in the struggle for peace. To retaliate to an imperialist declaration of war by issuing a call for a national strike for the purpose of bringing the war to an end, as was suggested by some socialists fifty years ago, was but an anarchistic utopia. But to develop a large-scale struggle for peace, to avert war, for general and complete disarmament, and to use strikes as an effective weapon in this struggle, this in the conditions of today is a reality.

The further development of the strike movement should be analyzed from the standpoint of the competition between socialism and capitalism. The stronger the camp of socialism and the more clearly the people in the capitalist countries see its decisive superiority, the greater will be the demands of the working people, the more persistent their struggle and the less room for the capitalists to maneuver. The progress made by socialism and the entire way of life in the new society will have a growing influence on the demands advanced by the working people of the capitalist countries.

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

Marxism teaches us to see in every minor crisis of capitalist society the rudiments and the kernels of the battles that are bound to develop during major crises. And the strikes fought today are, in a way, the rehearsal for the class battles of tomorrow.

The Communists stress the significance of the vitally important task which confronts the working class in the capitalist countries: *to study the experience of the class struggle (and of the strike movement, in particular) not only in its own country but also the experience of their brothers in other countries, to take cognizance of all that is useful and of all that is erroneous in it and, above all, to apply this rich experience to the specific conditions obtaining in the particular country.*

"CLASS PEACE" AND REALITY

In Britain there were in 1958, according to official figures, 2,629 strikes involving 524,000 workers. The respective figures for 1959 were 2,073 and 644,200, and for the first ten months of last year—2,427 and 708,800.

Outstanding were the struggles fought by the motor-car workers against curtailing production. On February 1, 1960, rail workers in London held a 24-hour strike. Ten thousand dockers struck work in November.

* * *

In France, along with the big political strikes in February and October 1960, a number of successful actions were fought in separate branches of industry. On May 31 over half a million took part in the general strike of railway workers. June 9 was the Day of Demands in the engineering and iron and steel industries which employ roughly 1,600,000. On June 10 post and telegraph workers, civil servants and those employed in public services declared a general strike (in which 1,300,000 participated).

* * *

In Italy there were over five million strikers in 1959—twice the figure for 1958—and in 1960 this all-time high was surpassed. During June and July powerful strikes of an anti-fascist nature took place. In August there was a successful "underground strike" at the Pertusola pits (Sardinia). September and October saw general strikes in the electrical equipment industry in which about 100,000 participated. In October 65,000 building workers in Rome and 30,000 workers employed in the boot and shoe industry were on strike, and in November 50,000 confectionery workers

struck work. In December there was a powerful demonstration in Milan in solidarity with the families of 40,000 electrical workers who had been on strike for three months.

* * *

In *West Germany* at the beginning of 1960 nearly ten million factory and office workers took part in actions for better conditions. Sharp protests were aroused by the government's bill to reform the sick-benefit insurance and medical services, which envisaged heavy cuts at the expense of the working people.

* * *

In *Belgium* 750,000 downed tools on January 29, 1960, responding to the call of the General Federation of Labor. In reply to the government's threat to apply sanctions against the strikers a protest demonstration was organized on March 27, 1960, in Brussels in which thousands participated. In October 25,000 miners were on strike. Over 800,000 workers took part in the general strike last December and January.

* * *

In *Greece* printing workers in Athens and Piraeus struck work in March and April. On December 1 there was a 24-hour general strike of building workers in which 100,000 participated.

* * *

In *Holland* 200,000 builders walked out for 16 days in March, the biggest strike since the war.

* * *

In the *United States* the first strike since 1946 took place last year in enterprises of the General Electric Co. Lasting 20 days, it affected 70,000 workers in 55 of the company's enterprises. The strike of 1,200 wage and salaried workers at the Henderson textile factory has been in progress for two years. In September the Pennsylvania railroad employees struck work.

Also on strike were workers of the shipbuilding and automobile branches and of the new industries such as electronics, etc. In June 3,000 of the maintenance staff union at the rocket and satellite launching sites went

on strike. All in all there were 3,300 strikes in the United States last year, in which 1,400,000 participated.

* * *

The year 1960 was a record in the strike history of *Latin America*. There were general strikes in a number of countries: in March and November in *Chile*, in November in *Argentina* (over three million participated), in November in *Brazil* (nearly a million), in May in *Peru* (where nearly a million out of the total force of 1,300,000 took part), in November in *Mexico* (1,300,000) and in *Panama* (60,000); 17,000 Brazilian railwaymen stopped work in December.

* * *

During April and May in *Japan* millions took part in brief strikes which in June developed into a general political strike. In October 150,000 miners fought against "rationalization" of production. In November there was another round of one- and two-day strikes in the coal industry.

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In *Australia* there were about 100,000 strikers in September, and another 10,000 workers declared a one-day strike in November.

* * *

In *India* 45,000 textile workers were on strike in May; in June half a million civil servants held a five-day general strike; in December transport and textile workers as well as dockers stopped work.

* * *

Strikes took place last year also in the *Union of South Africa*, *Nigeria*, the *Congo*, *Senegal*, *Tanganyika*, and *Morocco*. In September African workers in *Southern Rhodesia* held a strike and a mass demonstration. In the same month there was a strike on the tea plantations in *Kenya*. In November there was a strike of 15,000 workers in *Uganda* and a general strike in *Dahomey*. In December 47,000 workers stopped work at the Djos tin-ore mines in *Nigeria*.

Belgium: The General Strike

—A Political Action

THE Belgian general strike, which began on December 20 and continued on the whole for more than a month, summed up as it were the strike struggles of 1960, reflecting all the features of the strike movement of today.

It began on the day of the opening in parliament of the debate on the so-called "loi unique," the "austerity" law providing for a policy of stringent economy expressed primarily in higher taxes (especially indirect), wage cuts for state employees and reductions in pensions and unemployment benefits, representing an overall cut in the purchasing power equivalent to one-fifth of the national income.

The government claimed that "loi unique" was essential for a policy of "prosperity and normalcy." Actually, however, it was a matter of finding a way to check the drain on the country's finances caused by the costly arms drive, on the one hand, and to compensate the monopolies for the losses incurred in the Congo, on the other.

The working people, who kept a watchful eye on the drafting of the "austerity" law, went on strike several times during the past year in protest against the government's anti-labor moves. The first to down tools on December 20, when the debate opened in parliament, were the state employees (railwaymen, gas industry workers, school teachers), i.e., those who would be immediately affected by the new law. Soon afterward the iron and steel workers, engineering workers and miners joined in the struggle. These seasoned fighters were the backbone of the strike. The industrial center and the Liege district became the main arenas of the struggle.

The government made desperate attempts to prevent the strike from spreading and to break the will of the workers. Police were moved against the strikers from the very first days; and when these proved inadequate, regular troops were brought out. Wishing to bring matters to a head, the government announced that the strike was the result of "subversive activities of foreign powers." Threats were showered on the strikers. Toward the end of December the government switched from threats to reprisals. The police

and troops opened fire on demonstrations. Four strikers were killed, dozens were wounded, hundreds thrown into jail.

The tried and tested weapon of the splitting tactic was also employed. The leaders of the Catholic trade unions, close to the government, refused to participate in the strike. Primate Cardinal Van Roey appealed to the faithful not to take part in the strike. The nationality question, too, was brought into play: the government and the employers tried to prevent the strike from spreading to Flanders, by counterposing the "well-meaning" Flemish workers to the "hotheaded" Walloons. And finally King Baudouin stepped into the breach to "persuade" the strike leaders to give in.

None of these measures, however, produced the desired results. The strike did not cease either at Christmas or at the New Year. Toward the beginning of January around a million workers both in Walloon and in Flanders were out. Catholic trade unionists took an active part in the strike together with the Socialists and Communists.

The strikers countered the many and diverse methods of struggle employed by the government with a similar variety of means and forms. Strikes by whole trade unions and districts alternated with brief stoppages at individual enterprises. Such forms as mass rallies and meetings, demonstrations, picketing of government and municipal offices were widely employed. At times the struggle reached white-heat intensity, with the workers building barricades, setting up road blocks and overturning freight cars on railways.

The intensity of the struggle fostered a rapid growth in the political consciousness of the workers. Begun as an economic action, the strike rapidly assumed a sharply-defined political character. The immediate goal of the strike was to write finish to "loi unique." However, the strikers spontaneously advanced other slogans such as "Down with the Monarchy, Long Live the Republic!," "Down with NATO!" And when the government, in the face of nationwide opposition, steamrolled the bill through the Lower Chamber, the people unanimously demanded its resignation.

The staunchness of the strikers and their high level of political consciousness caused

consternation in government quarters. Contradictory tendencies arose within the ruling Christian Democratic Party and a split appeared to be threatening. In the Socialist Party, too, the leaders were in sharp disagreement. The Right wing, fearing the possible results of the strike, favored coming to terms with the government. But the Left leaders, representing mainly the unions and standing closer to the masses, hesitated to betray the movement. In point of fact, a profound political crisis had set in in the country.

All this taken together gives us every justification for characterizing the strike of the Belgian workers as one of the most outstand-

ing events in the strike struggles of 1960. The fact that this was the biggest strike in the history of the Belgian working-class movement is also notable.

The strike dealt a powerful blow at the bourgeois theories of "class peace." Its significance in this respect is all the greater since in the capitalist world Belgium has always been held up as an example of a "welfare state" in which class relationships are well-nigh idyllic . . . No wonder the strike caused such alarm in Right-wing Social Democratic circles in Great Britain and Sweden. After all, it knocks the bottom out of their policy of class collaboration with the monopolies.

Imperialist "Aid"—An Instrument of Enslavement

William Grey

THE disintegration of the colonial system is one of the most momentous developments of our times. As the Statement issued by the recent meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties points out, "the complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the socialist world system."

Capitalist ideologists and Western statesmen claim that with the emergence of new independent states in Asia and Africa imperialist plunder and exploitation have come to an end. This was the substance of the case submitted, for instance, by British Prime Minister Macmillan at the recent United Nations General Assembly. Imperialism and colonialism are old and outdated concepts, he declared.

Backing up this absurd claim with what he probably thought was incontrovertible proof, Macmillan argued that the Western imperialist powers were rendering substantial "aid" to the former colonial and semi-colonial countries. According to him, the governments of the countries of North America — that is,

the United States and Canada — and the governments of the Western European countries, including the United Kingdom, spend some \$3,500 million annually on such "help."

For years now the imperialists have been boasting about aiding the underdeveloped countries, demagogically claiming that they are doing so gratis. But let us look behind the verbal smokescreen and examine the facts. What does the "benevolence" of the imperialist countries amount to? Data on American "aid" provide the answer. For, as the Statement of the meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties puts it, "more than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. *U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.* The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic 'aid'."

Help or Coercion?

U.S. "aid" to foreign countries — military, economic, technical and "special" — is channeled through the so-called "mutual security program" operating on funds appropriated

annually by Congress. This aid is distributed by a number of organizations, such as the International Co-operation Administration, Development Loan Fund, Export-Import Bank, and also agencies engaged in disposing of U.S. farm "surpluses" in the underdeveloped countries.

U.S. "aid" operations were first begun in 1949, when the imperialists, aware that the huge profits extracted from the colonies and dependent countries were endangered by the rising wave of the national-liberation struggle sweeping the vast areas of the capitalist world, decided on active measures "to save the situation."

U.S. official spokesmen do not bother to conceal the true aims of the "aid." For instance, President Eisenhower pointed out in his foreign-aid report to Congress on May 2, 1960, that unless the Western powers helped the underdeveloped countries, the political and economic influence of communism would be consolidated over entire continents where the first decisive steps were being taken in the sphere of political and economic development.

The point could hardly be stated more clearly. One need only add that the countries receiving American "aid" are expected to join aggressive blocs and to allow the establishment of military bases on their territory. Examples of this are not hard to find. The lion's share of U.S. "aid" goes to South Korea, South Vietnam and the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan and, accordingly, their territories have been turned into springboards against the socialist and neutral countries.

The "aid" extended by the imperialist governments to the underdeveloped countries is, then, a means of exerting all-round political, economic and military pressure on them. Let us examine the main types of American "aid."

An Instrument of War Preparation

Military aid is the basic element of the "mutual security program." All told, during the past eleven years the U.S. government has spent more than \$27,500 million on arms, military equipment and munitions, etc., for other countries. Between 1950 and 1960 this type of "aid" was given to 56 capitalist countries, including nearly 40 of the economically less developed.

The recipients of U.S. military "aid" are expected to increase their own expenditure

on "defense," moreover, to an extent considerably in excess of the total received from the USA. As a result, within a span of ten years, the "beneficiary" countries have spent for military purposes \$141,000 million, while receiving from the USA a bare 23,000 million.

The twelve Latin American countries with bilateral "mutual aid and defense" agreements with the USA spend from nine to 10 dollars of their own for every U.S. military "aid" dollar received.

For the American monopolies this "aid" is a gold mine, since 85-90 per cent of all U.S. budgetary allocations for the purpose go to pay for orders placed with them. Suffice it to recall the statement made in Congress by Sprague, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, that although these "aid" programs are intended for America's allies, 85 cents out of every military-"aid" dollar are spent in the United States. Thus the bulk of the cost of these programs is poured back into American economy.

Involvement in the armament drive is a severe economic strain on the underdeveloped countries which the United States has entangled in aggressive blocs, and the U.S. "aid" by no means helps them to extricate themselves from their difficulties. Turkey, Pakistan, Iran and Thailand, for instance, spend the bulk of their budget funds for military purposes, the last of the four squandering 83 per cent of its revenues on war preparations.

"Program of Aid to America"

Economic "aid" in the strict sense amounts to only seven per cent of the overall foreign "aid" allocations. This is evident from a report prepared for the U.S. Senate in 1957 which showed that from 1950 to 1957, 83 per cent of all foreign "aid" was earmarked for military purposes, seven per cent for development "assistance," and 9-10 per cent for technical co-operation and other programs, including the Presidential Fund.

The economic "aid" takes the form of loans, which must be repaid. Since 1955 these loans have been granted only to the underdeveloped countries.

The main purpose of the Development Loan Fund is to promote the infiltration of private capital. When it was established, the late John Foster Dulles, speaking in the Senate, pointed out that "a substantial part of the financing undertaken by the Fund would be devoted to basic public works such

as transport, communications systems, power installations, harbors, irrigation and drainage projects — the capital needed to create the economic environment in which private initiative can come into play." At the same time Dulles grandly declared that the fund "would primarily be an instrumentality of foreign policy."

The Fund administrators constantly interfere in the internal affairs of the underdeveloped countries, seeking to direct their economic development along lines advantageous to the imperialists. For instance, the loans are usually granted on the condition that they be used to buy goods in the United States. In other words, the American government is out to increase U.S. exports in the guise of "aid," charging the "beneficiaries" about three times the current world price. This, as the American capitalist Averell Harriman has admitted, turns the Development Loan Fund into an "aid-to-America" fund.

The purpose of the Export-Import Bank, too, is to stimulate American exports. It grants credits not for the purpose of creating independent economies in the underdeveloped countries, but to pave the way, politically and economically, for penetration by American private capital.

Lastly, the same ends are served by the U.S. Public Law 480 on Agricultural "Surpluses." The buyers of this "surplus" are countries like India, Pakistan, Brazil and South Korea, to mention but a few.

In order to facilitate the export of private capital, the acceptance of economic "stabilization" programs is made a preliminary condition for the granting of "aid." Such "stabilization" plans, worked out by the International Monetary Fund, have been imposed, for instance, on some Latin American countries. For the countries concerned they mean further enslavement by monopoly capital, lowering of living standards, and plunder of national wealth. For example, a plan of this kind foisted on the Frondizi government in the Argentine has increased the flow of American capital into the country.

In the Argentine, as elsewhere, the "stabilization" plan provides for almost complete abolition of the state sector in industry, the creation of a "favorable climate" for foreign investments, a sharp increase in prices and taxes, wholesale dismissals of industrial and other workers, and annulment of the restrictions on the import of a number of U.S. goods. Of the total sum of \$329 million which the Argentine will receive in "aid," 250 mil-

ion, or 80 per cent, will go into the U.S.-controlled meat-packing industry.

"Technical aid" is also insignificant. It accounts for 4-5 per cent of the annual foreign "aid" appropriations and is used mainly to further the propaganda and political aims of American monopoly capital.

"Special aid" comes from the so-called Presidential and "special aid" funds and is used to combat the national-liberation movements and to finance subversive activity abroad.

True, part of the "special aid fund" is used for emergency relief in the event of natural disasters, to combat epidemics, etc. But the main function of this fund is to pay out subsidies to U.S.-controlled governments in cases of political emergency. Such "special aid" was extended to the Guatemalan rulers after the overthrow of the democratic government headed by Arbenz, and to the Shah of Iran after the suppression of the struggle for nationalization of the oil industry. Now this type of aid is extended to the governments of Bolivia, Haiti and other countries in order to retard the national-liberation movement. Substantial sums go for financing the preparation of aggression against Cuba. Millions of dollars are being spent on arming bandits and instigating provocations.

Of late U.S. politicians have been working hard to activize the policy of "aid" to the underdeveloped countries and at the same time to clothe it in a more attractive camouflage in order to facilitate the continued exploitation of these countries.

Recommendations on this score have been made in various presidential messages to Congress and in many recent surveys by government agencies and Congress. In all these one can discern the same idea: better adaptation of the methods of extending "aid" to the new conditions arising from the growing strength of the socialist camp and the advance of the national-liberation movement, while leaving the aims unchanged.

The USA has urged its NATO partners to increase economic "aid" to the underdeveloped countries and to make it more comprehensive. It is intended to set up regional development banks, a bank for the Arab countries, an inter-American bank, another for South-East Asia, etc. Together with the existing international monetary bodies which are completely under the control of the imperialist powers, these banks are designed to create a more expedient financial system for the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries.

President Kennedy has declared that his administration will regard as one of its main tasks the working out of "programs of aid to underdeveloped areas." Moreover, he believes that West European countries as well as Japan and Canada should take part in implementing them.

Expenditure? No, Profit!

Western leaders are trying to persuade the world that they are making heavy sacrifices in their desire to help the underdeveloped countries.

We have seen from the foregoing that the "aid" actually amounts to investing capital for military and political considerations, in order to preserve a foothold in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But this is not all. A simple comparison of what the Western powers spend on "aid" to the underdeveloped countries and what they get out of them shows that their "aid" is quite a shrewd bit of business.

One can hardly assess the *total* profits made by plundering the underdeveloped countries — the exact figures are kept a deep secret by the colonialist monopolies and banks. Nevertheless, figures published in some countries show that in the underdeveloped areas of the world the imperialists *spend far less on "aid" than they net in profits* through unequal trade and capital investments.

Unequal trade is one of the economic scourges of the backward countries. Raw materials and agricultural products constitute about 80 per cent of the exports of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, and about 65 per cent of the exports of the countries of Asia and Oceania. The prices paid for these goods are *low*, while *high prices* are charged for the manufactures of the developed capitalist countries which they have to buy.

According to U.N. data, on the eve of the Second World War the underdeveloped countries had to export 40 per cent more raw materials than 50 years before to pay for the same quantity of manufactures.

The losses inflicted by the 1957-58 crisis on the countries whose economies were based mainly on the export of raw materials were *equivalent to all the loans these countries had received from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development during the previous six years*. The total losses of the underdeveloped countries through unequal trade, according to estimates made by econ-

omists in various countries, amount to \$14,000-\$16,000 million annually. All this is clear profit for the imperialist powers. Monopoly income from the investments in Asia, Africa and Latin America is estimated at \$5,000 million a year:

Thus, according to the most conservative estimates, the monopolies extract from the underdeveloped countries an average annual tribute of *\$20,000 million!* The most magnanimous aid indeed to "the small and the weak!"

A Specific Form of Export of Capital

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that imperialist "aid" is a specific form of export of capital, a form which took shape after the Second World War and which is designed to ensure political, economic or military gains for imperialism.

This new form of imperialist exploitation came into being in a situation marked by the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism as a result of the breaking away of a number of countries from the capitalist system and the growth of both the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies and the general democratic movement in the industrially developed capitalist countries.

The recent Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties noted that the imperialists, headed by the USA, are exerting desperate efforts to preserve by new methods and in new forms the exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies. The monopolies do not want to relinquish the levers of economic control and political influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their aim is to cling to their old positions in the economies of the countries that have won freedom and to seize new ones through the agency of economic "aid," to involve these countries in military blocs, implant military dictatorships in them and establish military bases on their territories.

State-monopoly capitalism, which combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state, pursues its policy of government loans and subsidies to the underdeveloped countries in order to insulate them against the influence of socialism and to bolster up the relations based on exploitation and plunder.

The latest form of export of capital — imperialist "aid" — is simply a more flexible and more subtly camouflaged instrument of oppression and exploitation of the under-

developed countries. The monopoly capitalists hope that it will enable them to prevent the new countries of Asia and Africa from using their political freedom to secure economic independence, i.e., to achieve genuine statehood and nationhood. The monopolies will stop at nothing in their efforts to preserve the system of exploitation, to perpetuate the economic dependence of the underdeveloped countries.

"The colonial powers," the Statement adopted at the Moscow Meeting notes, "never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting."

Recent history has shown, however, that the imperialists' efforts to cling to their colonial possessions are doomed to failure.

History Marches On

No amount of money in foreign "aid" programs will achieve for the United States or its imperialist partners their economic and political aims.

The contradictions between the countries of monopoly capital and the vast majority of the underdeveloped countries are growing sharper year after year. As a result, the wave of the national-liberation struggle is swelling, more and more countries are breaking with the system of imperialism, and imperialism and its system of military blocs are being weakened.

The peoples of the dependent and backward countries are battling ever more resolutely against the survivals of colonialism and against the new forms of imperialist dependence. Tangible evidence of this is seen in the recent events in South Korea, South Vietnam, Japan, Turkey and Laos.

The anti-colonial movement for freedom and national independence has assumed unprecedented sweep in Africa. And the victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has ushered in a new stage in the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America.

In the countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke, the pressing tasks of national

regeneration as they advance towards complete political and economic independence can be solved only by resolute struggle against imperialism and the survivals of feudalism. The adoption by the UN General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples is a big victory for the peace-loving peoples in their fight to abolish colonial rule in all its forms and manifestations.

The peoples of the dependent and underdeveloped countries are actively supporting the efforts of the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces for disarmament, for these efforts have a direct bearing on their own struggle against imperialism, against poverty and hunger, for complete independence. Complete and general disarmament would open up inexhaustible sources of aid to them. African and Asian economists have estimated that 10 per cent of the military expenditure of the Great Powers would be enough to do away in 20 years with poverty, disease and illiteracy all over the world.

Foreign capital and other forms of aid can either promote economic development or retard it. The economic development of any underdeveloped country that orientates its policy on the imperialist powers is marked, as a rule, by a solely quantitative growth of production, while the colonial structure of the economy remains unchanged. This is because imperialist "aid" is designed simply to exploit the recipient country.

But there is another type of aid available to the less developed countries — aid that is genuine and disinterested. This is the aid extended by the socialist states, which regard economic and technical co-operation with the former colonies and semi-colonies as a means for accelerating their development and consolidating their national independence. Indeed, practice has provided ample proof of its efficacy in creating favorable conditions for speeding up economic progress of the newly independent countries. This new type of international economic co-operation gradually deprives imperialism of the opportunities to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

Cuba—Where Freedom Has Entered the Americas

A Journalist's Notes

K. Brutents

UNTIL recently Cuba attracted no more attention than any other Latin American republic. In the bourgeois press she figured mainly on the advertisement pages, and for the average newspaper reader the name at best conjured up visions of mountains of sugar, Havana cigars and Baccardi rum, of a paradise for U.S. tourists.

But two years ago the people of Cuba swept away the tyrant Batista, stooge of the U.S. monopolies, and the exotic island assumed a new, revolutionary visage. Since then the world has been watching the developments there with the keenest interest. Today clouds are again gathering over the Caribbean as the United States imperialists scheme to strangle the Cuban revolution. And everywhere men who love freedom and loathe slavery are rallying to the defense of this small but valiant nation.

Here I would like to describe some aspects of life in the new Cuba and the gains of the revolution, which her people are determined to defend at all costs.

Popular Enthusiasm

"No man has ever seen a land fairer than Cuba," Columbus wrote in his diary when he discovered the island. And indeed, Cuba is a wondrously beautiful country. Yet the visitor to the island today is struck primarily by something else — the spirit of its people, the all-pervading atmosphere of patriotic uplift vibrant with a new, intense rhythm of life.

This enthusiasm finds an impressive outlet in the revolutionary gatherings and meetings held throughout the length and breadth of the country. The snobs and the enemies of the revolution sneer at these rallies, which often last long into the night. For instance, the U.S. Embassy publication *Times of Havana*, reporting a mass meeting in the capital, wrote: "They talk, and talk, and talk . . ." The author of the item, evidently under the impression that at last he had

found something ludicrous about the revolution, was completely oblivious of the fact that he was dealing with a development constituting one of its greatest gains. For years the people had been gagged. Now they can freely voice their views. No wonder, then, that they experience an irresistible urge to speak out, to discuss their country's future, to demonstrate their devotion to the revolution, and, joined in a patriotic upsurge with thousands of their fellow-citizens, to savor their collective strength and solidarity. This is the political activity of the people at flood-tide, the jubilation of a people triumphant.

We attended many of the meetings which drew thousands of men and women, old and young, peasants, students, and workers, as often as not in working clothes so as to go to their jobs straight from the rally. And each was a moving demonstration of anti-imperialist sentiment and patriotism. Most memorable was the Assembly of the People of Cuba at which the Havana Declaration was adopted. The Plaza Civica and the adjoining streets were filled with a surging sea of people — over a million, one-fifth of the country's population — a gigantic dynamo of revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm. How wholehearted was their response to the words of Fidel Castro! There were no passive bystanders. At times it seemed that one could physically feel the vitality of the crowds, the powerful tide of emotion that surged forward to the platform where the leaders of the revolution were standing. Time and again Castro's words were met with thunderous applause and hundreds of thousands, swaying in rhythm, chanted tirelessly, "Cuba — yes, the Yankees — no!" or "Carry on, Fidel, give it to the Yankees!" And to restore quiet and enable the speaker to continue, the National Anthem or the *March of July Twenty-Sixth* — the most popular melodies in Cuba today — were played again and again through the amplifiers.

When Castro said, "We know that you are making sacrifices for the revolution," the multitude responded in unison, "it does not matter." When he asked for a show of hands in favor of annulling the military treaty with the United States, hundreds of thousands of upraised hands holding white kerchiefs blanketed the Plaza Civica in white. And when Castro tore up the treaty and consigned the scraps "for safekeeping to the museum of history," there was tumultuous rejoicing. Although the meeting had lasted nearly six hours, no one wanted to leave. "Speak, Fidel, speak!" the crowds shouted.

The overwhelming majority of the Cubans have identified themselves with the new Cuba. Here the journalist has no difficulty in getting people to share their views on political topics. The Cubans are eager to do so. They want to infect the interviewer with their enthusiasm. If you talk to a Cuban on the traditional theme of his country's scenic beauty, he will agree with you, of course, for he loves his country and is proud of its landscape. But he wants to talk about something more than that; today his greatest pride is not the bounties of nature, but the new, revolutionary Cuba. And in a moment he has guided the conversation into other channels. The agrarian reform, economic independence, U.S. aggression — these are the topics uppermost in the minds of all. One hears them discussed everywhere. A young electrician repairing a street lamp in Havana talked about the threat of U.S. intervention. Pointing in the direction of Florida, he said: "We'll give it to them if they come!" Workers in Santiago gave a spirited description of the plans for industrialization that will put an end to unemployment. A middle-aged woman working at a lunch counter in Santa Clara started a conversation about the prospects opened by the abolition of the latifundia. I was told that at the time of the nationalization of foreign companies, the switchboard operators in the Havana hotels would answer calls with "The fatherland or death!"

Although the standard of living is still low and many families experience hardship, people no longer work only for the sake of the money. The desire to do one's bit in the revolution is an increasingly important factor. The workers donate four per cent of their wages to the industrialization fund. Workers in the towns go out on Sundays to help put up homes for the peasants. School teachers lead study classes for illiterates free of charge. And on the same voluntary basis

doctors travel to the most remote areas to render medical help to the rural population.

The enthusiasm of the Cubans is evident in everything they do. Where does it spring from?

The People's Revolution

Morro castle stands at the waterfront in the old section of Havana. Over it floats the red, white and blue flag of the republic. Looking up at it, Jose Garcia, a teacher and an ex-guerrilla, observed: "On the face of it it's the same flag that has been flying there for nearly sixty years. At least the colors are the same. But actually it's an entirely new flag, the flag of the free, independent Cuba."

The revolution has put an end to political dependence on the imperialists. For the first time Cuba has become truly independent. Her government is Cuban not only in name but by its very nature. The country's destinies are no longer ordered in the sumptuous building on Malecon Boulevard where the U.S. Embassy used to be situated.

We left Cuba before the Eisenhower government broke off diplomatic relations with her as the latest in a succession of aggressive acts. The North American diplomats were accorded every courtesy — indeed, perhaps special emphasis was laid on this so as to give no pretext for provocations — although it was common knowledge that diplomacy was by no means their main occupation in Cuba. But when they saw embassy officials trying to make themselves as inconspicuous as possible as they drove by in cars flying the stars and stripes, the old arrogant expression changed by the revolution, the people of Havana could not refrain from caustic remarks. "We've taught them a lesson," they said proudly. "The Yankees no longer feel they're the bosses here." And how triumphant was the air of the Cubans when the government imposed travel restrictions on the U.S. Ambassador in retaliation for the discriminatory measures taken by the State Department against Fidel Castro during his visit to New York for the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly. "No government in the past would have dared to do this," the people said. But there was not a trace in this of that "hatred of Americans" about which the U.S. capitalist press has been so noisy; behind it was a feeling of deep satisfaction at this vindication of patriotic dignity. U.S. monopoly rule over their island could not but deeply wound Cuban pride.

In August a symbolic ceremony took place in Havana — a "wake" for the nationalized

U.S. companies. Twenty-six coffins were laid out in front of the Capitol, each representing a U.S. firm. The wreaths laid on them bore inscriptions such as "May you rest in peace, Cuban Electric Co.," "To the dear departed United Fruit sugar-cane plantations," etc. Enterprises and other property belonging to foreign companies to a total value of nearly \$1,000 million have been nationalized or placed under state control by decree of the revolutionary government. *Cuba has thus put an end also to the economic domination of imperialism.*

"A nation committed to one-crop farming commits suicide," so wrote Jose Marti, leader of the Cuban national-liberation struggle against Spanish rule. And Cuba was such a nation, only it was driven to suicide by the U.S. monopolies which did their utmost to perpetuate a monoculture economy in Cuba. The concentration on sugar resulted in the country, despite its fertile farmland, supplying only two-thirds of the foodstuffs it needed. The balance — rice and beans, groundnuts and potatoes, tomato juice and beer — was imported from the United States, as were footwear and fabrics, bathing suits and toys. Even the postcards with views of Cuba came from the USA, as did the cigarettes.

The ousting of the foreign monopolies has paved the way for an advanced diversified national economy. This is the task assigned to the Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA). Work here goes on day and night; indeed, the throb of intense activity never seems to die down in the INRA building, which towers over Plaza Civica. There is a saying in Havana that those who work there regard sleep as a luxury they cannot afford. For industrialization is a matter that brooks no delay.

But the scope of the revolution is broader than this. It has penetrated deeply into social and economic relations. *Far-reaching social reforms are being effected in the interest of the working masses, and this is the fountain-head of the revolution's internal strength.* Radical changes have taken place in the life of the peasants, although here, too, the new is still intertwined with the old. One still sees the hovels that have changed little with the passage of centuries. But the latifundia have gone. The peasants and the farm laborers have received land. And the villages have begun to build, as is witnessed by the new, gaily-painted houses springing up in many rural localities. The agrarian reform won by the peasants in armed struggle and effected in their interests, is revolutionizing the countryside.

The revolution has also brought relief to the urban working people. Electricity is much cheaper, and so are medical aid and medicine. Unemployment has decreased. The government is devoting much attention to housing. Rent, which once swallowed 30 per cent of the average family budget, has been cut in half. In Havana we visited the Las Vegas district, once an exclusive residential district where Batista's hatchet-men had their mansions. Now homes for the poor are mushrooming here. Calixto Sanchez and Havana Oriente are two other residential districts being built for the needy. In other towns, too, housing construction is in progress. Slum districts inhabited in the recent past by the unemployed are being razed and their residents are building new homes with the assistance of the state.

On a Sunday we visited the Varadero, one of Cuba's most picturesque holiday resorts. The beach was crowded and we soon found ourselves surrounded by workers, clerks and teachers. This, too, was a sign of the times. A year and a half or two years ago the average Cuban could hardly have thought of going to Varadero. Only the rich could afford it. Many "have-beens" can still be seen strolling about; try as they might they cannot conceal their annoyance at having to share the place with the working man. But it is no longer in their power to change the course of events. Cuba's playgrounds now belong to the sons of labor.

No, the Cuban revolution was no palace coup of the old vintage so common in Latin America. A radical upheaval, it is transforming society and enjoys the support of nine-tenths of all Cubans. It is *their* revolution.

The Masters of the Streets

The masses are always the motive force of revolution. But when the bourgeoisie leads the struggle, it exerts every effort to divert the people into the sidings the moment victory has been won. This did not happen in Cuba. Here the masses have retained their political independence and are upholding their own program in the revolution. They remained the "masters of the streets" even after Batista was overthrown. This above all explains the rapid development of the revolution and the "plebeian" resolve with which its reforms are being implemented.

The new government relies on the people. It could not do otherwise by virtue of its nature. For its strength lies in the political activity and initiative of the people. This is

evident from *what* the revolutionary government is doing as well as from *how* it is going about the job. Not one of the major measures introduced by the government was conceived, or still less implemented, by armchair leaders. The nationalization of the property of the foreign monopolies is being effected with the active participation of the factory and office workers. The agrarian reform is being implemented by the INRA with the full support of the peasants and largely through their agency, through the peasant associations.

The people are armed. Many revolutions and progressive movements in Latin America have come to grief at the hand of military juntas. But in Cuba things took a different course. Batista's army, defeated in battle, ceased to exist. Whatever was left of it was disbanded. Even the word "soldier" was deleted from the military dictionary; its painful associations with Batista's cutthroats were too fresh. Instead, servicemen are called rebeldes (rebels) and the armed forces, the Ejercito Rebelde (Rebel Army). The core of its rank and file and officers consists of workers, peasants and students who fought against Batista. Precisely because of this the new army is the bulwark of the revolution and as such enjoys universal esteem. The people regard the fighting man not as an enemy but as one of themselves.

The army's interests are the nation's interests; it is dedicated to the defense of the revolution and to building the new Cuba. It is undergoing intense training, but it is also building stadiums and schools, peasant homes and premises for co-operatives, roads and bridges. For instance, servicemen are helping to build the Camillo Cienfuegos educational center, designed to accommodate 20,000 children, in the Sierra Maestra. Bearded men in olive-green who never part with their arms can be seen wielding pick, shovel and paintbrush in the country villages.

In the army, as elsewhere, an important role is played by the youth — energetic, fervently devoted to the revolution. At one political meeting we heard two officers, a captain and a major—the highest ranks in the Rebel Army — greet the audience on behalf of the armed forces. Neither was much more than twenty. Without their thick beards and their bearing of seasoned fighters they probably would have looked like students.

Besides the army, the people's militia stands guard over the revolution. On the walls of many houses in the towns and espe-

cially in the villages one can see the inscription: "This house is a strongpoint of the revolution. A *miliciano* lives here." The people's militia, numbering tens of thousands, has already had its baptism of fire in defending the revolution. It smashed the counter-revolutionary bands that landed in Cuba last October.

The masses are able to play a decisive role in the development of the revolution because they are united. The working class, the peasantry and the radical-minded petty bourgeoisie — in a word, the people as a whole — stand solidly behind the patriotic anti-imperialist platform of the revolution. The alliance of the workers and peasants which took shape in the course of the armed struggle is being strengthened on the basis of joint defense of the gains of the revolution and struggle for a national democratic course of development. The Rebel Army, which is taking part in developing the country, is in large measure the military-political expression of this alliance.

The unity of the patriotic forces is growing stronger as the nation forges ahead. The revolutionary organizations are drawing closer together. In August the women's organizations amalgamated, and in October three youth organizations followed suit. Working-class unity, too, has been cemented as a result of the defeat of the Right-wing elements at the conferences of a number of trade union federations.

Co-operation among the revolutionary forces is effected both at the top and — what is particularly important — *at lower levels*. It is no longer merely a slogan, something the various organizations are striving for. Joint effort is becoming more and more the governing principle in the relations between their members. Political coalition is developing into deep-seated mutual trust.

The leaders of the revolution *speak to the masses in a language they understand*, and are able to expose the machinations of the enemy. When Cardinal Arteaga, the Catholic primate in Cuba, issued a pastoral letter which, on the pretext of defending religion, attacked the revolutionary government and raised the bogey of "Communist infiltration," Fidel Castro had no difficulty in unmasking the reactionary prelate. Showing that the cardinal was actually attacking the poor inasmuch as the revolutionary government, as all Cuba can see, champions their interests, he asked his audience: "Does not he who betrays the poor also betray Christ, who found-

ed his religion as the religion of the poor?" The argument found a response among thousands of Cuban Catholics.

The revolutionary government has the full support of the people. Revolution cannot secure itself or forge ahead without the conscious backing of the masses. And all the more necessary is this mass support when events develop with kaleidoscopic speed and the scale of constructive endeavor grows. "To defeat Batista," docker Jose Capas Castro, an active trade unionist, said to me, "it was not essential to know how to read and write. But in order to go forward one must be educated." And all Cubans, the young and old, are studying. It is expected that by the end of the year there will be no more illiterates.

There is a general thirst for political knowledge. The present printings of political literature, for instance, would have seemed fantastic in old Cuba. Yet the editions are bought up as soon as they are released, and often prove too small to meet the demand.

The political activity of the masses and their decisive role in the revolution throw light on the prospects of the new Cuba. Although there is a private sector in the economy, revolutionary Cuba does not see its future in capitalism. It is looking forward to independent development along democratic lines. Already now the nationalization of foreign property and that of the Batista stooges has placed the key positions in the national economy in the hands of the state. Moreover, there is an essential difference between the state sector in Cuba and in some Eastern countries where the national bourgeoisie is in power. In Cuba it is in the hands of the revolutionary government, of a state based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. This, incidentally, explains why the revolution was able at once to improve the conditions of the working people.

The Friends and the Enemies of the Revolution

No one can be indifferent to the Cuban revolution. Some side with it and admire it, others regard it with loathing and malice. The first are the friends, and the second, the enemies of the revolution.

The socialist countries have extended a fraternal hand to the new Cuba. Were it not for this, the U.S. militarists would no doubt have already fallen upon this small Caribbean nation. The support of the socialist countries is also foiling the imperialist plans

to strangle it economically. More and more ships dock in Havana with cargoes from the socialist countries. And a powerful movement in defense of the Cuban revolution is spreading in the other Latin American countries and all over the world.

United States imperialism, the mortal enemy of the Cuban revolution, cannot become reconciled to the banner of freedom and progress being raised at its doorstep. The U.S. imperialists seek to justify their hostility by invoking the "Communist danger" in Cuba, alleging that she is out to "organize" revolution in other countries and is sending arms and groups of insurgents there.

Actually, the situation is altogether different. The Cuban leaders realize very well that revolutions are not for "export" and have said so clearly and definitely. There is, however, one Cuban "export" which greatly alarms the imperialists, although they prefer to maintain discreet silence upon it. This is the *revolutionary example* of Cuba — the example of a Latin American country that has boldly challenged U.S. imperialism and remains unbowed, a country that is consolidating its sovereignty and developing its economy *in spite of the U.S. imperialists*; the example of a country thanks to which the Caribbean is no longer a U.S. inland sea, and of a government dedicated to the people. The radical agrarian reform, the revolutionary expropriation of nearly all the property of the foreign monopolies, an independent foreign policy, the arming of the people, these and many other developments in Cuba are practically without precedent in Latin America. They impel the peoples of the entire continent to action, giving rise, in addition to solidarity movements, to a growing desire "to do as the Cubans have done." The voice of the "free territory of America" (as the Havana radio quite correctly calls Cuba) is hearkened to with growing eagerness throughout Latin America.

The Cuban revolution has done more than toll the death knell of the defeatist theory of geographic fatalism which regards Latin American dependence on the USA as inevitable. It has also blasted Latin American "exceptionalism" — the concept that this part of the world lies outside the mainstream of revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle.

To disguise their complete bankruptcy, the proponents of these views have concocted another "exceptionalist" theory, this time for Cuba. They claim — and some even with an admixture of praise for the Cuban patriots —

that the Cuban revolution is of "too specific" a kind to be repeated elsewhere in Latin America. It goes without saying that the pattern of any revolution cannot be regarded as the acme of perfection applicable in all its aspects to all countries, and this applies to the Cuban revolution as well. But the fact remains that the *basic* problems which this revolution is solving are not confined to Cuba alone. Is it not imperative also for the other Latin American countries to put an end to the political and economic dependence on the USA, to implement a radical agrarian reform and build a national economy?

History has placed Cuba in the vanguard of the revolutionary process in Latin America. One of her leaders has referred to her as the torch of the liberation struggle. And this torch has been lighted alongside a continent that is filled with inflammable material, a continent ready to burst into the flames of revolution. This is the fear that haunts the U.S. imperialists.

The imperialist propagandists are continuing a smear campaign in an effort to prevent the growth of sympathy for the Cuban revolution. Fantastic tales are circulated about a reign of terror on the island. Men who remained coldly indifferent when Batista tortured and killed tens of thousands of innocent people, now shed crocodile tears over the handful of killers sentenced to death by the people's tribunals.

The U.S. imperialists are doing their utmost to activize the internal counter-revolution. But the forces of the latter are not very great; they include members of the overthrown classes and their stooges, the remnants of the Batista machine, and anti-patriotic elements among the national bourgeoisie. The best organized of the counter-revolutionary forces is the Catholic Church. Although the mass of the Catholics are wholeheartedly for the revolution, the higher clergy use their pulpits to fight it politically on the pretext of combating communism. Efforts are made to place Catholic organizations, youth groups included, at the service of the counter-revolution.

The internal reactionaries would not be very dangerous were they not instigated and supported from without. In order to galvanize them into action, the imperialists are doing their utmost to create favorable conditions for them — for one thing, economic hardships, so as to cause dissatisfaction among the population. Practically all U.S. exports to Cuba have been banned. Revealing the cards of the State Department, the bour-

geois press in the United States has been gloating over the "inevitable" stoppage, owing to lack of spare parts, of the transport services and oil and sugar refineries, which are mostly equipped with machinery made in the USA. By no means the least important place in the imperialist plans was the hope that the revolution would carry out measures that would broaden the internal base of the Cuban counter-revolution. However, these hopes have been dashed, for the revolution does not rely on passive defense. While they are forging ahead, the revolutionaries are doing so with caution, taking care that the measures taken against the reactionaries, against the parasitical property-owners, should not be detrimental to the small entrepreneurs and property-holders.

Weighing the results of their maneuvers and scheming new designs, the strategy planners in the State Department, the FBI and the Pentagon are preparing armed intervention against Cuba, under the flag of the counter-revolutionary emigres who have found shelter in the USA, or the Organization of American States, or perhaps openly under their own flag.

Diplomatic preparations for the intervention are already under way. The United States wants joint action by Latin American governments against Cuba, and to this end it is resorting to both crude pressure and thinly-veiled bribery. When the U.S. Congress appropriated \$600 million for Latin America, Fidel Castro's comment that the recipients would have only revolutionary Cuba to thank for it was very much to the point.

However, the schemes for restoring the reactionaries are doomed to failure. The Cubans are determined to safeguard their country and their revolution. And as hitherto, they are not alone. They have loyal and powerful friends. It would be very unwise indeed of the imperialists to underestimate the solidarity of these forces with the Cuban revolution.

We were shown over Morro castle by an old sailor, Jeronim Rente. Drawing our attention to the triple iron grating in the windows of the prison cells, he said that in ancient Rome it was an unwritten law that anyone who succeeded in breaking through three such barriers was given his freedom. Then he pointed to the horizon in the direction of Florida and added: "We have broken through three sets of prison bars — the Spanish yoke, the Machado dictatorship, and the tyranny of the U.S. puppet Batista. We have earned our freedom and shall never give it up."

Africa—Continent of the Future

Facts and Documents

THE great stream of history casts up onto the shores of reality, one after another, its hard facts of life and human relationships. And one of the outstanding facts of our times is the impact of awakening Africa on the contemporary world. . . . We are advancing a just and positive demand; our voice rings out across the oceans, over the mountains and hills, in the valleys, deserts and in the vast populated expanses, insisting on freedom for Africa. Africa wants to be free, Africa shall be free."

These words were spoken by Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana and a prominent African statesman.

The Calendar of Freedom



For centuries Africa had been, in the words of Marx, "a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins." By the end of the Second World War there were only four formally independent countries: Egypt, Liberia, the Union of South Africa and Ethiopia (shown white on the map). The rest of the continent languished under the colonial yoke.

The imperialists hoped that Africa would remain a colonial warren forever.

"It must be made clear to the Africans . . . that it will be several generations before they will have sufficient experience . . . to take a real part in the administration of the country, and that in these days no one is fit to govern. . . ."

So wrote Colonel Ponsonby, a Tory M.P., in *The Times*.

But history has decided in a different way. The Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the triumph of socialist revolu-

tions in many countries in Europe and Asia and the rise of the socialist world system have changed the balance of forces in the world and greatly accelerated the process of liberation from colonialism. This process was ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and Africa did not remain outside it.

THE COUNTRIES WHICH GOT INDEPENDENCE AFTER THE WAR

Date	Country	Population (in thous.)
December 24, 1951	Libya	1,153
January 1, 1956	Sudan	11,390
March 2, 1956	Morocco	10,330
March 20, 1956	Tunisia	3,925
March 6, 1957	Ghana	6,691
October 2, 1958	Guinea	2,707
January 1, 1960	Cameroon	3,187
April 27, 1960	Togo	1,100
June 20, 1960	Senegal	2,550
June 20, 1960	Mali	4,300
June 26, 1960	the Malagasy Republic	5,184
June 30, 1960	the Republic of Congo (former Belgian Congo)	13,559
July 1, 1960	Somali	1,980
August 1, 1960	Dahomey	1,725
August 3, 1960	Niger	2,555
August 5, 1960	Upper Volta	4,000
August 7, 1960	Ivory Coast	3,103
August 11, 1960	Chad	2,600
August 13, 1960	the Central African Republic	1,177
August 15, 1960	the Republic of Congo (former French Congo)	795
August 17, 1960	Gabon	421
October 1, 1960	Federation of Nigeria	33,663

Between 1951 and 1960 twenty-two independent countries with a total population of 118 million made their appearance. This is how the map of Africa looks today.



—In most of the countries medical services are practically non-existent; before gaining independence Nigeria had one doctor for every 52,985 people, Togo for every 33,000, the countries of West and Equatorial Africa for 30,000 and 25,000 respectively, and Cameroon one for every 23,000. Compare these figures with Britain and France which have one doctor for every 700-1,100 people.

Cultural backwardness is another feature of the colonial legacy.

Today Africa is almost completely illiterate. Between 95 and 99 per cent of all African adults in Somali, Equatorial and West Africa

AFRICA ACCOUNTS FOR

eight per cent of the population and 20.5 per cent of the territory of the world; Yet it accounts for only one per cent of world industrial output and less than three per cent of the world income.

The soil of AFRICA contains

the biggest known deposits of uranium, 34.4 per cent of the iron ore deposits, 74.9 per cent of the chromium, 51.4 per cent of the cobalt, 90.2 per cent of the diamonds, 47.3 per cent of the copper in the capitalist world, as well as vast oil deposits, etc.

Independence Is But the First Step

Political independence is an important but certainly not the last stage in the struggle for freedom. The liberated countries of Africa now face the task of overcoming their socio-economic and cultural backwardness — the grim heritage of colonial rule.

The economic potential of Africa is stupendous. Yet today it is the poorest of all the continents.

Throughout the postwar period the annual income per head of population in Africa has averaged \$75. This is less than one-fifth of the average annual income of West Europeans. These are but average figures. In reality, the greater part of the income is appropriated by the colonialists. It takes an African worker a year to earn as much as a West European worker earns in a month. The African peasant income is still less.

But this is only part of the colonialist legacy. No less tragic is another consequence of colonial rule:

—The average span of life of Africans ranges from 23 to 30 years.

are illiterate. In other countries illiterates constitute 60-80 per cent of the adult population.

What is needed in order to wipe out this grim heritage of the colonial past?

President Sekou Touré of Guinea said:

"... We have no grounds for saying that the imperialist states intend to relinquish voluntarily their economic, political and military power. Africa, despised and deprived of rights, now occupies the main place in their expansionist plans. . . . Colonialism tends to acquire an international form which permits the banners and anthems of African nationalism but forbids any infringing of colonial interests. Political independence does not in itself signify complete national liberation. It is, of course, an important and decisive stage. Nevertheless, we must recognize that national independence presupposes not only political liberation but, and this is the main thing, complete economic liberation. Social progress is impossible without these two essential factors."

Colonialism Is Still Alive

It is still a long way to the complete economic liberation of Africa. At present foreign capital controls practically all the industry and agriculture of the independent African countries. The fruits of the African workers' labor are reaped as before by foreign imperialists. The peasantry continues to slave for foreign oppressors.

TODAY IN AFRICA . . .

Anoma Marcel

President of the General Student Union of the Ivory Coast

"To this day ours is predominantly a one-crop agriculture, that one crop being coffee. The result is that we are short of rice and other food products. Also, we must improve our agricultural methods, for our harvests are low. Most of the fertile lands belong to the French planters; the indigenous population has been pushed into the forests and swamplands.

"Independence within the framework of the Franco-African Community has not brought any substantial economic changes. In my opinion the posts of ministers of economy and agriculture are of paramount importance in a country like ours, yet these posts are held by Frenchmen who act in the interests of the planters."

Diop Abdou-Cogne

Secretary-General,
African Democratic Youth Rally
(Senegal)

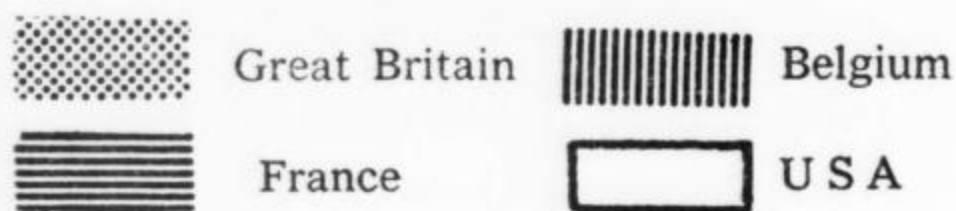
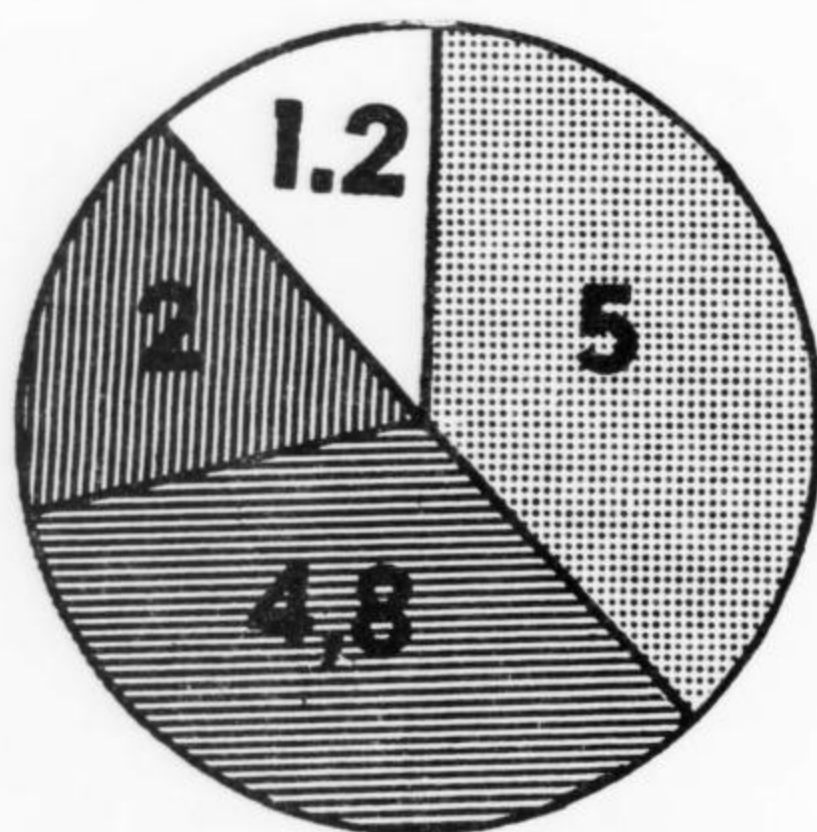
"In my view, the proclamation of Senegalese independence within the framework of the Franco-African Community was largely a matter of form. In practice little has changed. True, Senegalese have replaced the French in the administrative sphere but in other spheres all remains as it was before. I work with the SAFRA insurance company. It is still in French hands and Senegalese can hold only the lowest posts in it. The same thing obtains everywhere. Our entire economy remains under the control of Crédit Lyonnais, Société Générale and other French banks. The biggest enterprises — the cement works and the phosphate mining company — are still French-owned."

According to a United Nations report, most of the minerals extracted in Africa (92 per cent) are still exported, and only eight per cent are left for internal consumption. Africa's agriculture is still a one-crop enterprise.

Thus, though direct colonial rule has been abolished on the greater part of the continent, colonialism still exists. It relies mainly on the economic positions of the imperialist powers in Africa.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN AFRICA

(in \$1,000 million in 1959)



As we see, along with the capital of the "classical" colonial powers, U.S. capital has seized strong positions in Africa.

U.S. imperialism is determined to cash in on the favorable situation brought about as a result of the collapse of the European colonial empires. After his African tour in 1957 Richard Nixon noted, in a confidential report, that the crisis of colonial policy in Africa was an opportunity for the United States to extend its direct influence there.

Taking advantage of the dependence of Britain, France and Belgium on the United States, the latter was able to establish military bases in Africa.

At the same time U.S. capital is fast penetrating into the African economy. In the past twenty years U.S. capital investments in Africa have risen twenty-fold.

In effect, U.S. imperialism is becoming the main force of neo-colonialism in Africa, the

main danger to the free African countries. In this part of the world, too, it is doing its dirty job as the biggest exploiter and the gendarme of the capitalist world.

In recent years West German capital, too, has increasingly flowed into Africa. Its total investment is not very great at the moment — less than 100 million dollars. But its expansion is a grave potential threat to the peoples of Africa. The Japanese monopolies are also active in Africa.

As long as foreign capital wields such an influence in Africa there can be no talk of overcoming the economic backwardness and raising living standards.

But this is not all. A feature of the situation at the present stage is the absence of fully-fledged nations. African nations either have not yet taken shape or they are in the making. In most of the free countries of Africa there are numerous tribes, and inter-tribal strife is a frequent occurrence. Tribalism is conducive to the economic backwardness. On the other hand, economic backwardness provides fertile soil for perpetuating tribalism and for the emergence of separatist trends which bring grist to the mills of the imperialists. Strijdom, former Premier of the Union of South Africa, cynically said that tribal life under the leadership of chiefs supported by the government was a bulwark against the spread of communism.

The Opposing Forces

Economic backwardness, an extreme paucity of industry, and tribalism — all have left their imprint on the anti-colonial revolutions in Africa. Who are the conflicting forces in the struggle for independence?

On one side of the barricade we find the foreign colonialists-imperialists. These elements, not very great in number, are the white settlers, landowners and the colonial administration. The colonialists find support among the upper-strata Africans "allowed" to participate in the administration. They, too, are not numerous and include, as a rule, the tribal and feudal chiefs and, sometimes, representatives of the local bourgeoisie.

Lacking a strong social foothold in Africa, the colonialists seek, on the one hand, to capitalize on the tribal strife and, on the other, resort to brutal repressions and war against the people.

On the other side of the barricade we find practically the entire population.

These are, first of all, *peasants*. The peasant question is the fundamental issue of the national-liberation revolutions in Africa.

"WHEN THE WHITES CAME THEY HAD THE GOSPEL AND WE HAD THE LAND, NOW WE HAVE THE GOSPEL AND THEY HAVE THE LAND," the Africans say.

Having appropriated the land the European settlers concentrated on one or two crops for export, whereas the peasants had either to leave their villages or become semi-slaves, semi-proletarians on the plantations of their white masters.

The African peasantry is rigorously oppressed and, as a rule, is not organized. In recent times, however, peasant unions, often of a semi-religious character, have appeared in Kenya, in the republics of Equatorial Africa and elsewhere on the continent; some of them are active in the struggle.

Another important force in the national movement, one that does not yet play the decisive role but which undoubtedly soon will, is the *working class*.

The numerical strength of this working class, just as is the case with Africa's population generally, is not known. According to rough estimates, it ranges up to 11,000,000.

African Wage Workers

Union of South Africa	2,240,000
Southern Rhodesia	488,450
Northern Rhodesia	258,340
Nyasaland	106,900
Tanganika	439,094
Kenya	359,000
Uganda	224,500
(other estimates say 300,000)	
Zanzibar	107,800
Nigeria and Br. Cameroons	500,000
Ghana	216,300
Sierra Leone	90,000
Gambia	5,400
Former French Equatorial Africa	216,500
Former French West Africa	232,000
Former Belgian Congo	1,030,900
Ruanda-Urundi	110,000
Angola	800,000
Mozambique	110,000
Liberia	25,000
(on rubber plantations only)	
Total	7,560,184

To this should be added approximately 3-3.5 million wage workers in the countries of North Africa.

This table shows that the distribution of wage workers is extremely uneven. In North and South Africa — industrially the most developed — we find considerable numbers of workers. The working class there is concentrated in large enterprises, primarily in mining, and is more developed politically.

In Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, the Union of South Africa and in some other countries there are Communist parties which unite the class-conscious workers.

In the central, eastern and western parts of the continent where most of the new states are located, the working class is small in number—from two to five per cent of the gainfully employed population. The workers there are concentrated in medium-sized and small enterprises, often of a semi-handicraft type.

Large numbers of African workers are migrants. These are peasants evicted from their land. Migrant labor suits the European companies in Africa. And not only because it can be exploited freely and without restrictions, but also because migration is an obstacle to the formation of class solidarity and class consciousness.

The colonialists, conscious that the proletariat is the more consistent, most active fighter against colonialism, have a deadly fear of it. The French writer, R. Delavignette, quotes in his *The Peoples of Overseas Territories and Western Civilization* a French colonialist as saying: "The price we have to pay socially for the African worker is exceedingly high. His proletarianization, his instability (!) as a proletarian are more dangerous than the proletarianization of Europeans because the class struggle in the overseas territories is accompanied by the national struggle."

A feature of political life in Africa is the absence of an influential national bourgeoisie. True, the situation is not the same everywhere. But in most of the countries that are now independent the arbitrary rule of the colonialists, the absence of a national industry together with the economic stagnation have produced a situation in which the national bourgeoisie is either non-existent or extremely weak. Wherever there is a national bourgeoisie it takes part in the anti-colonial struggle.

AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

Number of trade union members in the countries south of the Sahara:

the countries of former French West Africa	250,000
Nigeria (together with British Cameroons)	150,000
Kenya	50,000
Northern Rhodesia	50,000
Cameroun	50,000
the Union of South Africa	40,000
Tanganyika	15,000
Sierra Leone	15,000
Uganda	10,000
Nyasaland	5,000
the countries of former French Equatorial Africa	5,000

All in all in the countries south of the Sahara there are about a million trade union members.

Such in general outline are the complicated and rather specific conditions of the political struggle in the young countries of Africa.

The picture would not be complete without mentioning another salient feature of the times—the growing solidarity of the African peoples in the struggle against colonialism. The imperialists, closing their ranks to crush the national-liberation movement, have opted for a "collective colonialism," for a colonialist united front of sorts. To this the Africans are responding by consolidating their ranks.

Since 1958 important conferences of independent African countries and conferences of African peoples have been held in Accra, Conakry, Tunis, Addis-Ababa, Leopoldville and Casablanca. At these the foundations were laid for a united anti-colonial front, and various aspects of economic and political development were examined.

An End To Slavery!

Nearly 180,000,000 Africans are now politically independent. But another 65,000,000 are still under colonial rule in its most detested forms. The anti-colonial movement is gaining momentum and assuming the form of armed struggle (Algeria), strikes (Angola), etc.

Colonial Africa
(January 1, 1961)

Country	Territory (in thous. sq. km.)	Population (in thous.)
I. British Colonies		
Basutoland	30	658
Bechuanaland	712	337
Gambia	10.4	289
Zanzibar	2.6	304
Cameroons	88	1,621
Kenya	583	6,450
Mauritius	2	631
Swaziland	17	267
St. Helena	0.1	5
Seychelles Islands	0.4	42
Sierra Leone	72	2,260
Tanganyika	937	9,076
Uganda	243	6,517
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	1,253	7,990
II. French Colonies		
Algeria	2,382	10,300
French Somaliland	22	69
Réunion Island	2.5	318
III. Portuguese Colonies		
Angola	1,247	4,550
Cape Verde Islands	4	192
Mozambique	783	6,234
Portuguese Guinea	36	565
Sao Tomé Principe Islands	1	62
IV. Belgian Colonies		
Ruanda-Urundi	54	4,700
V. Spanish Colonies		
Ifni	1.5	63
Spanish Guinea	28	216
Spanish Sahara	266	13
VI. Colony of the Union of South Africa		
South West Africa	824	554

The proposal for the complete and immediate abolition of the colonial system, submitted by N. S. Krushchov at the Fifteenth UN General Assembly, was warmly supported by the peoples of Africa.

On December 14, 1960, the General Assembly adopted the *Declaration on Granting Independence to the the Colonial Countries and Peoples* which says:

"this General Assembly,

"recalling the resolve proclaimed by the nations in the Charter of the United Nations Organization 'to reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small', and 'to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger liberty' . . .

"being convinced that all peoples have the inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of their national territory,

"solemnly proclaims the need of immediately and unconditionally putting an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations . . ."

Thus, the liberation of the countries still suffering under the colonial yoke has become a practical issue of the day.

* * *

For the colonialists Africa was the "continent of the future." They dreamed of the fabulous profits they would pocket from the ruthless exploitation of its people. Alas, these were but pipe dreams. . . .

Africa is truly the continent of the future. For in the years to come, when its people will have rid themselves of the last vestiges of colonialism, they will be prosperous. They will have a rich economy and culture and a decent standard of living. How will this take place?

"Different classes and parties offer different solutions," reads the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. "Which way to take is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. . . . The people, however, are beginning to understand that the best way to abolish the age-long backwardness and raise their standard of living is the non-capitalist way. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. In solving this basic social problem the working class and the peasant masses are called upon to play the leading part."

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Unanimous Approval

COMMUNISTS everywhere are discussing the results of the meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and endorsing the documents it adopted as a guide to action which reflects the unity of theory and practice, the wisdom of the international Communist movement as a whole and its unshakeable solidarity.

In the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union* the results of the Meeting have been discussed at a plenary session of its Central Committee and at meetings of Party activists. The Central Committee points out in its resolution: "The Statement and the Appeal to the Peoples of the World are in line with the interests of the broad masses, their striving for lasting peace, socialism and freedom from social and national oppression. These documents are bound to play a great, inspiring, mobilizing and organizing role in the struggle for the achievement of the lofty goals of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard as well as all the working people and progressive forces of all countries.

"The new ideas and propositions formulated in the Statement are instances of the application and further development of Marxism-Leninism in conditions when the international situation and the balance of class forces are changing more and more decisively in favor of socialism. The Statement is the common ideological platform and program of struggle of all the Communist and Workers' parties."

Rank-and-file members and Party leaders in all countries have emphasized, at meetings and in the Party press, the importance of the unity of the international Communist movement as a guarantee of fresh victories in the fight for peace and socialism. Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, *Communist Party of China*, said:

"The Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union are the biggest sections of the international Communist movement. China and the Soviet Union are the biggest countries in the socialist camp.

"An extremely great responsibility for our common cause devolves on our two parties and countries, and the unity of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the unity of the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR is of the utmost importance. . . .

"Our unity is cemented by the identity of our ideals and of our cause. It has developed and gained strength in joint struggle against the common enemies. It is founded on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Ours is a great unity that has stood the test of prolonged tempests, and there is no force in the world that can destroy it."

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party "warmly welcomes the epoch-making results achieved by the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and fully endorses the Statement and Appeal to the Peoples of the World adopted unanimously at that Meeting. The Communist Party of China will fight resolutely to carry out the common tasks outlined in the documents of the Meeting. The plenary meeting calls upon all members of the Party and on the people of the whole country to hold aloft the great Marxist-Leninist banner of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and of the Moscow Statement of 1960, to strengthen solidarity with the Soviet Union in international affairs, to consolidate the solidarity of the entire socialist camp and of the international Communist movement, strengthen the solidarity of the working class of the world and of all peaceful and freedom-loving nations, and to fight for new victories in the cause of world peace and progress."

Voicing its approval, the Central Committee of the *Korean Party of Labor* has declared that the unanimous adoption by 81 parties of the Statement and the Appeal to the Peoples of the World "is a graphic demonstration of the unity of the world socialist camp and of the solidarity of the international Communist movement, and also a new great victory for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the *Polish United Workers' Party*, in his report to a plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee stressed: "The most important and decisive condition of success in the struggle for the implementation of the historical tasks of the Communist movement in each country and throughout the world is the international solidarity of all Communist and Workers' parties, unity of ideas, will and action."

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the *Rumanian Workers' Party* which unanimous-

ly approved the documents of the Meeting noted that observance of the Leninist standards founded on equality and mutual support in relations between fraternal parties, ensures unity of will and action in the world Communist movement. It was stressed that the Meeting of Marxist-Leninist parties was of great importance as an occasion for exchange of experience, acquaintance with one another's views and positions, and for elaborating through consultation common views and agreed joint actions.

The unity of the Communists is expressed in their ideological solidarity and is being consolidated and deepened in struggle against bourgeois ideology and anti-Leninist views of diverse kinds. The Central Committee of the *Bulgarian Communist Party* "regards it as its primary task to combat any deviation from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, uncompromisingly to fight against revisionism as the main danger, as well as against dogmatism and sectarianism, and to consolidate the unity, solidarity and proletarian discipline in the ranks of the international Communist movement."

The decisions adopted by the plenary sessions of Party Central Committees point out that the documents of the Meeting confirm the positions taken at the congresses and in policy statements of the respective parties, and elaborate the line adopted by the international Communist movement.

The Central Committee of the *Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party* "notes with satisfaction that the Statement confirms the correctness of the policy which the Socialist Workers' Party has been pursuing since November 4, 1956, in the spirit of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the 1957 Declaration and which has been the main prerequisite of the accomplishments of the Party and the Hungarian people in the past four years. The Socialist Workers' Party will continue the same policy in the future as well, its resolve fortified by the ideological support of the present Statement."

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Finland* has pointed out in its resolution that the appraisals of the main problems of our times given in the Statement will help the Party to implement the decisions of its Twelfth Congress. "The defense of peace, the development of peaceful coexistence, particularly through consolidating good-neighborly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, intensification of the struggle against big capital, co-operation among the various sections of the working class and the establishment of a broad people's front, work in the various mass organizations, as well as other key tasks posed by the Congress of our Party, find further elucidation and confirmation in the Statement."

The C.C. of the *French Communist Party* meeting in plenary session pointed out that the conclusions of the Meeting fully confirm the correctness of the program adopted by the Fifteenth Congress of the Party. Conditions are ripening in France for joint action by all sections of the people whose interests are encroached upon by the monopolies. The task is to unite all the popular forces and develop the struggle for the restoration and regeneration of democracy to the full. The abolition of one-man rule and the establishment of a democratic regime that would enable the working class and its Party to play an important role, as well as the implementation of the necessary economic measures, would greatly undermine the positions of the monopolies and, consequently, strengthen the forces fighting for socialism. The fight for democracy is part and parcel of the Party's fight for socialism.

Approving the activities of their delegations at the Moscow Meeting, the Central Committees of the parties pay close attention to implementing the tasks set by the Meeting. The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*, regarding the Statement and the Appeal as being of "tremendous significance, a mobilizing directive for the international Communist movement in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism," stressed that they set forth the main tasks which the Party will further elaborate and carry out.

The resolution of a plenary meeting of the C.C., *Socialist Unity Party of Germany*, contains a detailed program of action for its organizations based on the analysis of our times given by the Meeting. The main tasks of the time, the resolution states, call for "the victorious building of socialism in the GDR, for further all-round consolidation of our worker-peasant power, which is a bastion of peace in Germany. This creates the prerequisites for the peace-loving forces gaining the upper hand throughout Germany and curbing West German militarism and imperialism. Today, when the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor of social development, progress in the GDR exerts a steadily growing influence on the future of the German nation. . . . The greater the achievements of the GDR in the peaceful economic competition with monopoly-capitalist West Germany, the more will the working people in the Federal Republic be drawn to socialism and the more will the positions of German imperialism be undermined."

The documents of the Meeting were unanimously approved by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the *Albanian Party of Labor* which stressed their importance for the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Drawing practical conclusions from the exchange of views at the Moscow Meeting, the Central Committee of the *Italian Communist Party* "has made it incumbent on the entire Party to intensify the struggle for peace, disarmament and peaceful coexistence, and points to the grave consequences implicit in the support the Italian government is giving to the U.S. imperialist plans for the so-called 'European atomic striking force' and to French colonialism; it calls on all Party organizations and members immediately to join the struggle against the schemes of the fascist, colonialist and reactionary forces of Western Europe, for Algerian independence, for the abolition of foreign nuclear bases on our soil, and for a new Italian foreign policy. . . . The Moscow Meeting has correctly pointed to the need for constant creative development of Marxism-Leninism; it has deemed it essential for all the Communist and Workers' parties to study more actively the complex problems of our times, closely combining theory with practice."

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Austria*, stressing the importance of joint action by the peace forces in all countries, noted that in their fight for peace the people of Austria should put an end to all war propaganda and slander of the socialist countries, resolutely oppose the schemes of the neo-Nazis, monarchists and other reactionaries, work for the establishment and consolidation of friendly relations with the neighboring socialist countries and the establishment of diplomatic and other relations with the Chinese People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Indonesia*, at its plenary session, pointing out that the documents of the Meeting provide a weapon in the fight to carry out the program of the August 1945 Revolution and help to intensify the struggle for peace, declares that they "will play an outstanding part in promoting and leading the struggle not only for the goals of the Communist Party but also the aims of all working people and democrats of Indonesia. Among these aims are: the liberation of West Irian, implementation of an agrarian reform in the interests of the peasantry, restriction of the imperialist forces and their expulsion from the national economy, creation of a national industry, better conditions for the people, and democratization of public life."

Dwelling on the section of the Statement which points out that in many countries the internal and external conditions are now favorable for the establishment of an independent national-democratic state, the Central Committee notes that this fact facilitates the development of the struggle of the Indonesian people for the democratization of public life, for a government basing its activities on national co-operation and a socialist perspective.

Noting with satisfaction that the Meeting voiced its sympathy with and warm support for the heroic people of Algeria, the Central Committee of the *Algerian Communist Party* declares that "the developments in the country have once again posed before the Algerian Communist Party—the Party of the working class and the poorest peasantry—the question of upholding its independence and further improving its organizational and ideological work and contact with the masses. In the future, too, the Party will combat any underestimation of its role, for at the present time such underestimation represents the main danger."

The Communist parties attach much importance to popularizing the documents of the Meeting of 81 parties as widely as possible.

The Nineteenth Congress of the *Communist Party of Sweden*, voicing its full agreement with the Statement and the Appeal, called upon "all Party organizations and members thoroughly to study them, to base their work on them and exert every effort to make them known to the Swedish working-class movement as a whole and all the peace-loving forces of the nation, in the interests of the common struggle for peace, democracy and socialism."

The Sixth Congress of the *Communist Party of Ceylon* welcomed the documents of the Meeting which "greatly enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and provide an invaluable weapon to all the Marxist-Leninist parties, our Party included." The Congress decided that all members should discuss and thoroughly study these documents.

The *Communist Party of Japan*, a resolution of its C.C. states, "will popularize among the working class and all working people of Japan the Statement and the Appeal, which, like the 1957 Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, are of exceedingly great international significance."

"Consistently championing proletarian internationalism and the solidarity of the international Communist movement, our Party will devote all its energy and effort to developing in our country a movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The Central Committee of the *Tunisian Communist Party* "calls upon all members and organizations to study both documents of the Meeting and use them as a compass in their struggle for the consolidation of national independence and of fraternal solidarity with Algeria, for economic liberation, social progress and democracy."

The leadership of the *Communist Party of Chile* has decided to publish the documents of the Meeting in its theoretical journal *Principios* and in pamphlet form, and to organize courses and classes in all Party organizations with a view to studying them. The studies will go hand in hand with discussion of the burning problems facing the country.

Speaking at the C.C. plenary meeting, Luiz Corvalan, General Secretary of the Party, said that the documents are of great historic significance. They are a charter of the international Communist movement, Marxism-Leninism applied to the conditions of our times. "We should link our struggle for peace," he stressed, "with the big and small problems of our country, intensify our struggle against the military pact with the United States, against the Organization of American States, against excessive military expenditure, against conflicts provoked by the imperialists in Latin America. . . . We should lay more emphasis on broadening the movement of the working class and other sections of the people for peace, give more support to Cuba, and intensify the struggle against colonialism."

In the resolutions of their plenary meetings the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties lay particular stress on the section in the Statement dealing with the vanguard role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in

the international Communist movement and the fundamental importance of its experience. Special mention is made of the outstanding contribution to the development of the international Communist movement made by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Maurice Thorez said at the meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, "is the most experienced from all points of view. The historic decisions of its Twentieth Congress reflect the achievements of the entire international working-class movement and contain conclusions generalizing them. That is why the theses formulated at the Congress are so important for all the parties."

The decisions taken by the Communist and Workers' parties testify to their resolve to carry out the program elaborated by joint efforts. The Communists are aware that this requires of them persistence, courage in face of difficulties and tireless work among the masses.

Statement of the Algerian Communist Party

THE Algerian Communist Party is gratified to note that in spite of enemy propaganda and the splitting activity of the Messalist leaders,* and in spite of the strong-arm tactics and brutal repressions which made the referendum in Algeria a sinister sham, the Algerian people responded to the call of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and of their national organizations—the National Liberation Front and the Communist Party—and boycotted the colonialist referendum. The Party rejects in advance the "positive results" (of the referendum) which the French government, with characteristic cynicism, is bound to announce, just as it rejects the "new institutions" planned for Algeria and the bestowal of a paternalist "statute."

*The Messalists are the Algerian National Movement, a party headed by Messali Haj, a deserter from the liberation movement whom the French imperialists use as their tool.
— Ed.

Never before have the Algerian people boycotted so actively and on so wide a scale elections engineered through the agency of the French expeditionary corps. After this fresh political success, which has nipped in the bud de Gaulle's "third force"; after the December events and the support given to the Algerian cause by the majority in the United Nations; after the referendum in France which testified to the declining prestige of de Gaulle, the isolation of ultra-colonialists and the desire of the French people—even those who voted Yes—for peace and negotiations, the fight continues, a fight to compel the French rulers to enter into negotiations, on the basis of equality, with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic for a cease-fire and genuine guarantees of self-determination.

Algiers, January 10, 1961

The Communist Party of Australia Calls to Repel the Attack of Reaction

SINCE its foundation in 1920, the Communist Party of Australia has played a prominent part in the fight to safeguard and extend the democratic and civil liberties won by the people in more than a century of struggle. When the labor movement became strong at the end of the 19th century, it took over the leading role in the struggle for national self-determination and democracy. In 1942, the then Labor Government signed the Westminster Statute which recognized the sovereignty of the country.

It is these hard-won democratic liberties that the Menzies government is now attempting to strangle. Its recently passed draconic laws, aimed at crushing the labor movement and shackling all criticism of the actions of the government represent an attempt to strangle the traditional bourgeois democracy and make Australia safe for the monopolies.

Since the end of the Second World War, Australian capitalism has rapidly evolved into state-monopoly capitalism, and especially during the ten years of the Menzies government.

Mergers and take-overs are almost weekly occurrences, as well as the bankruptcies of weaker capitalist firms. Australia now has one of the most inflated currencies in the world, according to recent figures, twice that of the USA and four times that of Britain. This factor is undermining the standards of living and causing a growth in militancy and struggle, not only among the industrial workers, but also among office workers and people in all walks of life.

Under the Menzies administration Australia is steadily being turned into a satellite of U.S. imperialism, having little or no independent foreign policy of its own and entangled in the Pentagon's war plans through its adherence to the SEATO and ANZUS* pacts.

There is also a considerable and growing penetration of U.S. capital in Australia, General Motors alone making a profit of £A15,000,000 from the sale of its cars made in its Australian plants.

The bourgeoisie live in dread of a new economic crisis, having experienced several "recessions" in the past ten years. And behind all this is the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism, sharpening all the internal and external contradictions of Australian capitalism, a stage which has been charac-

terized in the Statement issued by the Communist and Workers' parties.

Such is the background of the new "Amendments to the Crimes Act" adopted by the government. What are these Amendments?

In the section dealing with treason, clause D reads that a person who "assists by any means whatsoever an enemy at war with the Commonwealth, whether or not the existence of a state of war has been declared" is liable to the death sentence. This clause is interpreted by the labor movement as meaning that it could apply, for example, to a just war for the national liberation of a colonial country, which the working-class movement has always sympathized with and supported.

A new provision headed Treachery, reads, "A person shall not do any act or thing in an attempt to overthrow the Constitution of the Commonwealth by revolution or sabotage." Under this clause, doubtlessly, a general strike for immediate demands of the workers could be regarded by a reactionary government as an attempt to "overthrow the Constitution." One of the amendments dealing with "sabotage" states that notwithstanding that such an act is not proved against the accused person, he may be convicted if, from the circumstances of the case or from his conduct, it appears that his purpose was a purpose prejudicial, or a purpose intended to be prejudicial, to the safety or defense of the Commonwealth.

The "sabotage" provisions menace the trade unions, as an industrial stoppage could be regarded as sabotage. The penalty under this section is 15 years' imprisonment.

There are many more amendments but these examples indicate the repressive nature of the new laws, which could be easily applied against the labor movement with its stated objective of struggle for socialism and to put an end to monopoly-capital's exploitation of the people.

The administration tries to make out that these amendments are aimed solely at the Communist Party of Australia. Barwick, the Attorney-General, stated, for instance, that such repressive laws became necessary (to the exploiters) because of the "emergence of the Communist Party, nationally and internationally." But in fact, during the debate in parliament, one of the Cabinet members openly stated that a large section of the Labor Party is Communist in outlook.

The Communist Party has exposed the true nature of these amendments which are spearheaded

*A military pact signed in 1951 by Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

against the democratic gains of the people and against the progressive organizations opposed to the present government.

The working class and all the democratic forces are united in their opposition to the reactionary laws and are demanding repeal of the Amendments.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions, representing 1,500,000 trade unionists, has issued a statement in which it stressed that the government's legislation tramples on the democratic rights and traditions of the people. A similar stand has been taken by the Federal Executive of the Labor Party; the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party opposed the bill in Parliament.

A pamphlet issued by the Metal Trades Federation Federal Council states that "once more the democratic rights of the Australian people are under attack by the Menzies government. A new Crimes Act Amendment Bill is designed to give this government far-reaching dictatorial powers over the Australian people." The pamphlet exposes Garfield Barwick's attempt to exploit the patriotic sentiment of the people by saying to parliament that these amendments are necessary for defense and security. Their true aim is "to cripple the labor movement, to silence the critics of the government's foreign and domestic policy. They are aimed to stop workers organizing for the economic improvement of their lives, to silence those who speak out for peace and friendship with all nations. . . . The amendments are actually political penal powers." This is typical of working-class opinion throughout the country.

In a comment on the Amendments *Tribune* said that with the introduction of another new idea, that of the "proclaimed country," any country can be declared a proclaimed country—by resolution of parliament, i.e., by the Menzies majority—whereupon it becomes "treachery" to oppose the actions of that foreign country. The USA could be proclaimed, and then Australian citizens jailed for life for "treachery" to America! If the USA attacked Cuba (as it is threatening to do) and if the Menzies government then declared America a proclaimed country, it could be held to be "treachery" and punishable by life imprisonment to "assist by any means whatsoever" the Cuban people.

The *Sydney Morning Herald*, political spokesman for a powerful section of Australian capitalism, expressed serious concern about the Bill in an editorial column. The provision concerning "treachery" against a "proclaimed" country, said the newspaper, is "remarkable" and "unacceptable," since it can be used to suppress public discussion of the government's foreign policy; "neither Barwick nor Menzies," the Herald continued, "have justified some of the worst provisions of the Bill which are

causing misgivings to many thoughtful people." Other capitalist newspapers were no less critical. A number of the major Protestant Churches voiced opposition to the Bill, as did numerous local bodies of differing political views. Professors, legal men of standing and journalists also joined in the avalanche of criticism.

The Communist Party was at the core of the resistance and waged a most energetic campaign in its press, by means of factory gate, street and indoor meetings, pamphlets, leaflets, posters and other methods in order to arouse the people to the threat to democracy contained in these amendments. The Party calls for a nationwide campaign by all sincere Australians against the reactionary laws and to secure their repeal.

Can the Australian working class, at the head of all progressive forces in our country, and assured of the international solidarity of the working-class and progressive people of the entire world, overcome the new offensive on the part of the forces of reaction and war led by the Menzies government? Certainly it can. The experience of our struggle testifies to this.

The Menzies government has already tried to outlaw the Communist Party which it perceives as the main force combating its reactionary attacks upon the people's movement. It formulated the "Communist Party Disssolution Bill," which, however, was ruled unconstitutional by the High Court of Australia thanks to the pressure exerted by the democratic forces.

The Menzies government then held a national referendum to alter the Constitution and thus legalize its reactionary legislation. As a result of a splendid campaign, led by the Communist and Labor parties together with the Trade Unions and various progressive groups in the universities and the intellectuals, the majority of the people refused to give Menzies the powers sought which went beyond outlawing the Communist Party. Anti-Communism, the stalking horse used to camouflage the sinister designs of the monopolists, failed to yield the anticipated results. The people saw through the designs of the reactionaries and frustrated them.

Then came the Petrov Commission, which pursued similar aims. Another fierce battle was waged around the Petrov affair between the forces of democracy and reaction in which Menzies again suffered defeat.

The new amendments to the Crimes Act represent yet another effort on the part of reaction to attain the goals which it failed to attain in the national referendum and the abortive "Petrov Commission."

In order to frustrate the new reactionary move which spells grave danger to the future of the nation, we must unite all forces — petty bourgeois

sie, midde capitalists, farmers, intellectuals and others—in a broad coalition similar to that which appeared at the time of the national referendum on the "Communist Party Dissolution Act," an anti-monopoly mass movement of all those oppressed by state-monopoly rule, to restrict monopoly and assure the defeat of the Menzies government at the national elections in 1961.

The Communist Party explains that the Menzies government supports the cold war and aggressive policies of the State Department which could involve us in wars against national-liberation movements, and against socialist countries, in particular, of Asia.

The reactionary role of Mr. Menzies on the international field is well known in relation to Egypt and his recent discreditable effort at the General Assembly of the United Nations which was obviously against our national interests.

The Australian people are more and more opposed to U.S. domination and earnestly desire peace and friendship with all peoples. Here is another firm basis to build a mass movement for the defeat of the Menzies government and to safeguard and extend democratic liberties.

L. L. SHARKEY,
General Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Australia

A Communist Newspaper on Reunion Island

A FEW years ago the newspaper of the Communist Party of Réunion, *Temoignage*, found itself in a critical position. A drastic decline in circulation added to its financial difficulties.

The Party repeatedly discussed the situation, but matters did not improve, nor could they at that period. Torn by sectarianism and dogmatism, on the one hand, and by opportunism, on the other, the Communist Party found it extremely difficult to work out a firm line of policy. Anti-Party elements undermined systematic work among the masses and prevented the Party from giving a clear answer to the questions that were worrying the working people.

In recent years the Communist Party has grown stronger organizationally, a correct and firm political line has been elaborated, laying emphasis on active work among the masses.

For the first time in its history our Party participated in an international forum of Communists—the Meeting of representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow.

The consolidation of the Party brought about a sharp change in the position of the Party paper. In place of articles of too general a nature and often remote from the needs of the workers, it began to carry material reflecting the pressing popular demands.

The paper launched a campaign for wage increases and family allowances. The workers and indeed all the people now appreciate the important role our newspaper played in the French Government's decision to raise the minimum wage and pay grants to large families of such categories as domestic servants and fishermen.

Our paper exposes the inhuman forms of exploitation, it brands racist tendencies displayed by

some of the officials and spotlights abuses of the law. A notable instance was its defense of workers employed on building a mountain road. It carried a series of articles disclosing the hardships and the abnormal working conditions. The workers met in the evenings and discussed the articles, they wrote to the paper giving additional information and sometimes delegated one of their number to discuss urgent issues with the editors. The systematic exposures published by *Temoignage* aroused indignation throughout the country, with the result that the building company was forced to make concessions: sanitary conditions were improved and plans to cut wages were dropped. Notwithstanding their meagre earnings, the building workers organized a collection of funds in aid of their newspaper. Facts of this kind are now quite common in various parts of the country.

During strikes and other actions the newspaper appeals to the workers to support the strikers and organizes solidarity campaigns.

Temoignage enjoys prestige also among the peasants. It has always supported their demands, especially the cane-growers (who form the majority of the peasants on Réunion). In the past, however, the paper did not take up issues concretely: it did not reveal the mechanics of the exploitation of the farmers by the sugar companies, nor did it show the peasants how to fight their exploiters.

Today its support to the peasants is more consistent and thorough. For example, when the island sugar trusts tried to close a competitor's refinery, the newspaper took up the cudgels on behalf of the hundreds of workers who were in danger of losing their jobs and of the thousands of farmers threatened with ruin.

The campaign started by the paper spread rapidly all over the country. The workers and peasants united and took energetic joint action. Meetings and demonstrations were held for a period of two weeks. Thanks to the support of the workers, the peasants were able to obtain a fair price for their cane from the trust to which the refinery belonged. In their turn, the peasants upheld the workers' demands, and their combined efforts ended in victory. The demands of both the workers and the peasants were met. Since then the peasants have recognized the paper as their staunch champion against the grasping colonialist sugar monopolies.

Each year during the sugar-cane harvest *Temoignage* campaigns for the elementary demands of the cane-growers: control over the weighing of the cane on delivery to the refinery, definite dates for the delivery of the sugar cane by the peasants (to prevent the big planters from forestalling the small cane-growers in delivering their crop to the refinery). Thanks to our efforts, good results have been achieved in many instances, thus adding to the prestige of our paper in the countryside.

Not long ago several cases of poliomyelitis which threatened to develop into an epidemic were reported to our paper by some doctors. The French authorities tried to under-rate the seriousness of the outbreak, but the newspaper took energetic steps to alert the population to the danger, reporting every new case. Since medical service is costly on the island and a worker would have to spend half a month's wages to give his child a polio injection, the paper, with the help of parents and the democratic organizations, launched a campaign for free polio injections for all children. Within a few weeks the administration was obliged to yield. The epidemic was stopped. People realized that they owed their children's lives to the Communist Party newspaper.

In a colonial country it is often necessary to defend the democratic rights and basic civil liberties. *Temoignage* has exposed the election machinations of the French administration and their puppets. Due largely to these exposures the crudely falsified "elections," which were accompanied by murder, violence, forged returns, ballot papers signed by "dead" and fictitious voters, etc., were declared invalid. Our paper initiated a powerful movement in solidarity with those who were persecuted for criticizing the sham election. Thanks to our efforts the families of the arrested men were paid their full wages throughout the period of their detention. A lawyer was invited from Paris to attend the trial of the murderer of a young man who was shot outside a polling booth.

On the initiative of the paper, big protest demonstrations were held on the occasion of the visit of

the French President to Réunion. On the day of his arrival and during his public appearance thousands of citizens voiced their indignation at the actions of the authorities during the elections.

Campaigns of this kind have a tremendous impact, they help to stimulate the growth of our paper's influence and prestige and at the same time deepen the political consciousness of the people.

The newspaper keeps the people regularly informed of the progress made by the socialist countries, of the struggle of the working class in France and other capitalist countries, as well as with the national-liberation movements in Asia, Latin America and, especially, Africa. The people of Réunion closely follow the struggle of Cuba, of the heroic people of Algeria and of their nearest neighbor—the Malagasy Republic.

The colonialists, and especially the French authorities, naturally hate the Communist Party newspaper. They persecute it in every way, levying heavy fines on all kinds of pretexts, demanding all sorts of damages, forbidding businessmen to advertise in the paper. The Catholic Church, in its turn, seeks to intimidate Catholic readers by refusing to christen and confirm their children. Factory workers who subscribe to the paper are threatened with persecution and dismissal.

Yet the people give their unfailing support to the paper. Its circulation has trebled in recent years. Since June 1958 it has been appearing daily (instead of twice a week). However, it still faces great financial difficulties since the cost of newsprint and other materials is constantly rising. Moreover, in a country where the average income is around 20,000 francs a year (20,000 colonial francs = 40,000 old French francs) subscription rates must be very low if the paper is to succeed.

Hence, *Temoignage* makes no secret of its difficulties and frankly appeals to the masses for help. It is a common thing for workers to take up collections in aid of the paper. The farmers too, after harvesting the crop, make donations to the paper. In subscribing to the paper, civil servants and office employees who are better off usually add a sum of money equivalent to 25-50 and sometimes even 100 per cent of the cost of the subscription.

Popular support is particularly generous on the paper's anniversaries. A few weeks before the occasion activists organize a collection of goods from shopkeepers, handicraftsmen and peasants for bazaars. Woodworkers and clothing workers make articles of furniture and garments for the bazaars. Special "tickets in aid of the paper," the equivalent roughly of half an hour's wages, are printed, and activists and friends of the newspaper circulate them widely among all sections of the population, but chiefly among the workers and peasants who

comprise the majority of the inhabitants. In 1959, for example, every second worker or small farmer bought a ticket in aid of the paper. Last year this was done by two out of every three workers, and this year we expect every wage earner to donate half an hour's earnings to the paper.

The *Temoignage* anniversary has become the biggest popular festival in the country and a striking demonstration of the sympathy of the working masses for their paper. Experience has shown that active and organized support and a conscious feeling of solidarity on the part of the working people even under the most adverse conditions can ensure the publication of a revolutionary newspaper and a big circulation for it.

The editors are constantly striving to improve the paper. Since 65 per cent of the population is barely literate, we must make our paper simple, clear, lucid and convincing. This can be achieved by strengthening contact with the masses. In actively supporting the working people's demands and defending their rights and liberties the organ of the Communist Party brings home to them the principal aims of their struggle: genuine political autonomy for the island, consistent agrarian reform and industrialization.

Paul VERGES,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Reunion, Manager of *Temoignage*

Moroccan Communists Are Working for a Democratic Constitution

AFTER the dissolution of the government of Abdullah Ibrahim, which had been supported by the National Union of Popular Forces and by the Moroccan Union of Labor, King Mohammed V declared that one of the main tasks of his new government would be to establish a democratic system and draw up a Constitution with the help of the people. Shortly afterwards a committee was set up by the King to draft the Constitution. The people, however, fear that the basic law of their country may not express their will and that the people will not be regarded as the source of power.

Morocco has suffered much owing to the absence of a Constitution. The frequent government crises that have occurred since the winning of independence, the indecision in the handling of the crises, the weakness of the successive governments and the retarded development of the country were all due in large measure to the fact that the Moroccan people have no firmly established and universally recognized constitutional standards regulating the internal life of the country.

The Constitution is a vital necessity for Morocco. It is the common demand of all classes (with the exception of the feudal beys) and is now one of the basic slogans of all parties and organizations.

What, in the view of the Communist Party, should be the character of the Constitution?

In answering this question, the present stage in the country's development, the needs of the people, the national peculiarities and political potentialities should be taken into account.

The people want a Constitution founded on two basic principles:

1. Recognition of the sovereignty of the people and their sacred right to manage their own affairs. This recognition presupposes legislative power of the people to be exercised through their representatives in a National Assembly elected by free, universal and direct ballot. It also presupposes an executive authority wielded by the people — a government created by the Assembly and responsible to it.

2. Establishment of a constitutional monarchy—a principle acceptable to all, as can be seen in the speeches from the throne, in the programs of all the parties and in the pronouncements of all public leaders.

The Constitution, then, in harmony with the spirit of the times, will satisfy one of the deepest aspirations of the people by giving them the opportunity to manage their own affairs through a parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, it will also be in keeping with the national traditions and customs of the country.

There are three basic ways of establishing a constitutional monarchy: 1) a Constitution drawn up and proclaimed by a central authority; 2) a Constitution drawn up by the central authority and submitted to the people for their approval; 3) a Constitution drawn up by the people through their elected representatives.

What is the essence of each of these methods and which is best suited to our country?

The first method was widely practised at the time when the people were not yet conscious of their role and had neither parties nor organizations to defend their rights. It is no longer in keeping with the spirit of the times, and any attempt to apply it would have deplorable consequences.

Nor would a refurbished vision of this method serve the purpose; in any case it would be ineffective. The appointment, for instance, of a preparatory committee empowered by a central authority, would be wholly unacceptable to the Moroccan people. Not being elected by the people there would be no confidence in such a committee, however distinguished some of its members may be for their patriotism, culture and experience and even if they represented various districts of the country.

This method should be rejected.

The second course—a referendum—is a parody of democracy, inasmuch as the people have no part in drafting the Constitution, no right to submit proposals, discuss the articles of the basic law or introduce changes and amendments. The people are merely given the choice of accepting or rejecting a ready-made draft.

Dictatorships have frequently resorted to this method in order to deceive the people. It was used in 19th-century France by Louis Bonaparte and, as we know, nothing good came of it. Hitler employed the same method and succeeded in duping the German people. As a result the country experienced a terrible catastrophe.

This path therefore cannot be taken.

The third path is the only truly democratic one. The people themselves become the authors of their own Constitution. This is a just method, in keeping with the level of political consciousness and maturity of the people, and realizing their cherished hopes and aspirations. It offers an opportunity to build a democratic system and establish progressive bodies of government and administration. It would hasten our country's advance toward complete independence, which is

impossible without the withdrawal of foreign troops from our territory and the liberation of the national economy from the shackles of the foreign monopolies, and would lead to an improvement in the standard of living.

For these reasons the Constitution should be drawn up and proclaimed by a National Assembly, elected by direct ballot on the basis of proportional representation and voting lists with the participation of all men and women who have reached the age of 18.

Before it was suppressed the newspaper *Al Moukafih*, directed by Ali Yata, devoted much space to the attitude of the Communists and other democrats to the Constitution. At the same time joint letters were written and sent to all the national organizations, all the newspapers published in Morocco and all the trade unions. These questions were widely discussed at meetings of the leaders of the progressive parties.

Much work was carried out in the mass organizations—the trade unions youth, etc., and a campaign was launched in the towns and villages.

The stand taken by the Communists was widely supported. The trade union newspaper *Vanguard*, organ of the Union of Labor, for instance, opposed a "tailored" Constitution and favored a Constitution drawn up by representatives of the people. The newspaper of the National Union of Popular Forces (a Left organization) also criticized the government drafts and took a stand in favor of a genuinely democratic Constitution proclaiming the sovereignty of the people.

A feature of strikes during the past few months (dockers, miners, builders) is that the workers are fighting not only for their economic demands but also for social and trade union rights and for a democratic Constitution. The movement takes in big sections of the people. The Communists, working under adverse conditions, aim at turning this movement into a national front of struggle for a democratic system established in conformity with the will of the people.

Mohammed FERHAT

Matters of Moment

'Educate Him. Don't Throw Him Out!'

SUCH is the counsel offered by readers of *Neues Deutschland* (organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany) which initiated a discussion of some aspects of teen-age life. The discussion centered round teen-agers whose attitude to others and to work run counter to socialist ethics and who interfere with their fellows during working hours and recreation. This is a problem that can arise in one form or another in any factory or office or in an agricultural co-operative. Small wonder, therefore, that so many readers eagerly took part in the discussion. Letters were received from foremen, apprentices, and work teams, from parents, government officials and others active in public life; activists of the Free German Youth Union, leaders of the Young Pioneers and veteran workers—all expressed their views. The range of questions broadened out: "What educational methods should be adopted?" "What is the explanation for the appearance of the teen-ager who is reluctant to work for his bread and butter, for the trouble-maker and brawler?" The discussion developed into a useful exchange of opinions about the socialist education of young people generally.

It began a few months ago at a meeting in the Berlin transport equipment plant, a publicly-owned enterprise.

When Patience Gives Out

Bodo is still young—he has just turned eighteen. But he has already won for himself a dubious fame. He is bad mannered, arrogant and he is capable not only of snarling "shut up" at a woman as old as his mother, but of talking lofty nonsense about politics — a subject of which he knows nothing whatever. One day Bodo, for no reason at all, showered insults on people respected by everybody in the factory.

Things came to such a pass that the question was raised: what to do about him? Opinions differed. Some suggested that he should be thrown out of the factory. The factory, they said, is no kindergarten. Why should we be bothered with those who abuse the privileges of worker-peasant rule? It often happens that the step from slander to sabotage is a very short one.

But, argued others, suppose Bodo gets into the wrong company, things might end badly for him. Let us try and do something with him, maybe he'll respond. If we kick him out he'll land up in another factory which means, in effect, that we're shoving our responsibility onto others, or

it may be that he'll simply cross the border into the West.

The upshot was that the meeting decided not to fire Bodo. The members of one work team undertook to take care of his education. But they were not quite clear as to what was burning up this boy who had had his schooling under worker-peasant power.

Neues Deutschland gave this answer: "No great imagination is needed to realize that in the divided Berlin Bodo gets his arguments from the turgid stream of anti-Communist propaganda, channeled through Western films and books, newspapers and radio, and through bad company."

And this was more or less the case where Bodo was concerned. The workers discovered this for themselves when they decided to find out who his friends were and how he spent his time.

But are we doing the right thing in keeping him—so queried some of the workers. To educate a man and remould his character is far from being an easy matter.

And because it was a matter concerning not only Bodo or dozens like him, the question of how to educate young people properly was submitted to the *Neues Deutschland* readers.

You Did the Right Thing

This was the considered view of the overwhelming majority of those who took part in the debate. "The fact that Bodo, judging by his own words," wrote Peter Kaizer from Schwerin, "is not interested in politics and that the Free German Youth organization did not try to help him in this, shows that the blame is not his alone."

Hans-Kurt Schulz, a worker in the nitrogen plant in Pisteritz, related the story of a young worker named Heinz who, because of absenteeism, found himself cold-shouldered by his workmates. "But does this help matters? Personally I don't think so, because if we, Heinz's fellow-workers, do nothing to break him of his habit, who will?"

Ruth Breede, Berlin, is of the same opinion: "We should never cold-shoulder young people when things go wrong with them. . . . The factory collective should begin from their good qualities and, by stressing these, help them along the road."

The Editors summed up the results of this stage of the discussion as follows: "Our job is to fight for every man to help him do what socialist society expects from him. Making an outcast of

the transgressor at best slows down the process of remaking character, and may ruin it completely."

'Educate,' But How?

On this question, too, opinion differed. "The main thing is to be at once trustful and exacting"—such was the key-note of many letters. Helga Schilling, deputy to the People's Chamber, told about her work team of 19 girls who at first didn't take their work very seriously. "I was not afraid to say that I respected only people who took pride in their work, in doing a good job." Things went better when the girls were encouraged to achieve good results.

When the foreman was called away and no one was in charge of the team there were those who said: "Now things will go awry with them." But Helga told the girls she had faith in them. And they did not let her down.

Kurt Gueldenstein, Berlin, wrote about education, which he understands as convincing people of the superiority of socialism. He warns, however, against indulging in empty talk.

His view is supported by Heinz Moebius, Dresden: "... One should keep to the point. No one bothers to argue with Bodo. The chaps just turn away from him. They either don't take him seriously or they tell him off. But it is very rare that these boys are driven into the corner in an argument so that they themselves see how silly their attitude is."

The need for better use of communist ideas in educating the youth is emphasized by Heinrich Peuss, Gelbersande: "We should tell the people about the ideal society, about communism, conscience, honor, loyalty and love, about the sense and value of labor and the purpose of life. Ours is the best cause in the world, and it is our duty to uphold it."

Educating the young people is a matter for all of us, wrote Alfred Rose, Kamenz. "Success comes when both the Party and the trade union organizations really tackle youth matters, where the work is not put on the youth organizations alone."

Ewald Keding at the harvester combine plant in Weimar wrote about the role of labor in educating the conscious builder of the new society, about a creative attitude toward one's work.

Writing about the splendid opportunity opened to the youth by the worker-peasant government, some readers recalled the difficult days of their childhood and adolescence in capitalist Germany when every pfennig counted, when young people could only dream of the educational facilities available today in the Democratic Republic. Thinking along these lines, some of the readers expressed the view:

Maybe Things Are too Easy For Young People Nowadays

Many disagreed with this. Alfred Korschewski, mechanic, recalled that as a boy he worked in a shipyard. Malnutrition and blows—these were the things that came my way and the way of most working-class boys. And we are glad, he says, that in our Republic the young people have everything needed for work, study and recreation.

Readers are in agreement, however, that it is a mistake to indulge the young people for this can only spoil them. From childhood boys and girls should be taught to be modest and should be accustomed to doing things. Education begins in the family, stresses Elsa Schneider from Berlin.

The results of this part of the discussion are summed up in an article by Horst Schumann, first secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth. Any attempt to restrict the rights of the young people or of any young man and woman, says Schumann, no matter how good the intentions, runs counter to the new socialist principles in the Democratic Republic. "It was not fortuitous," he goes on to say, "that the State Council in its policy statement stressed that right from the establishment of the Republic our affection and concern have been for the youth."

At the same time, he writes, we need new methods of education; we should have the conviction that in essentials young people are sound; we should be patient with them, display understanding and recognize their worth. Naturally, we should openly expose and criticize bad habits and every manifestation of hooliganism. Conscious discipline—this should be the basis of the socialist relations between people.

It goes without saying that there are difficulties: it is harder for the young person "to discern the enemy than it is for the veteran worker tempered in class battles." And it's wrong to give free rein to the young person, although encouragement is the right thing. He should be brought up strong, diligent, confident and full of initiative, for "the youth must help to elevate science, technology and culture to the level that will create a world of plenty and enable everyone to work according to his ability and to live according to his needs."

The discussion is still in progress. Its significance lies in the direct and frank way of posing the difficult questions of education, in that it is spear-headed against indifference towards people, against formalism, and in publicizing the valuable experience accumulated by the Party organizations in the course of their educational work.

R.S.

Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge in Bulgaria

IN propagating atheism in our Republic we abide strictly by the Constitution which guarantees freedom of conscience. The criticism of religion presupposes a well-argued ideological struggle of materialism against idealism, of science against mysticism and superstition, a struggle in which any abuse of the religious feelings of the believers cannot be tolerated. Adherence to this Leninist principle and the method of painstaking persuasion help both the believers and non-believers to work in close co-operation, and enables the former to take an active part in building socialism.

We have 1,500 propagandists, all members of the Party, who lecture on the structure of the Universe, the origin of life and man, the origins and class essence of religion, the harmfulness of superstition and prejudice, etc.

It should be pointed out, however, that not only Party organizations conduct atheistic work. In the past two years lecturers of the Fatherland Front—the biggest socio-political organization in the Republic—have read some 2,500 lectures on scientific subjects in towns and villages throughout the country. The Fatherland Front runs popular-science courses, and put out a symposium entitled *Popular Science* with a view to helping them.

Discussions of questions pertaining to atheism, organized by the regional and city committees of the Party, are of great educational value. They are preceded by extensive preliminary work. At numerous meetings factory and office workers and peasants tell of their experience in overcoming religious superstition. Suggestions are often made on how to improve atheist propaganda. Thanks to the preliminary meetings these discussions are held on a high level.

They cover a wide range of problems. In the Tyrgoviste Region, where there is a substantial Turkish population, the meetings took up such questions as, for example, the Islamic view on woman and her place in society, and the harm caused by religious superstition and tradition. Thanks to this preparatory work the subsequent discussion was a success.

Question-and-answer meetings are both effective and popular. In Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Burgas, Ruse, Vratca, Gabrovo, Sliven and other towns these meetings, at which numerous questions were answered, made a big impression.

This is how, for example, a question-and-answer meeting was held in Gabrovo. Special boxes for

written questions were placed in the factories and offices, as well as atheist slogans and other materials. Posters appeared on the billboards. A poster depicting a fortune-teller with playing cards all around her bore the inscription: "Don't believe them! They rely on ignorance!" A poster depicting a rocket—the personification of science—piercing the Bible and soaring upwards attracted much attention. The views of well-known scientists on religion, announcements of the forthcoming meeting, and excerpts from books exposing religion were broadcast over the radio.

After this preparatory work the People's Theatre was filled to capacity on the day the meeting took place. The answers were relayed over the radio and people stopped to listen in the streets and squares.

At a meeting in Tryavna, Nikola Tsanev, the local priest, said that after his 13 years of practising religion he had lost faith in God. "Where the light of science penetrates, no room is left for superstition," he said.

Atheist exhibitions organized by the regional and city Party Committees have also proved their worth. The Plovdiv exhibition, for instance, consists of 80 big stands containing reproductions of pictures and excerpts from works by the founders of Marxism-Leninism and well-known atheist writers.

The radio plays an important part in this propaganda. A regular program, entitled "Talking about Religion," deals with religious rites such as the marriage ceremony, christening, etc. Of late, the editors received from listeners about a thousand letters containing various proposals.

The publishing houses are printing many books on the subject of atheism. Works by Marx, Engels and Lenin, by modern critics of religion in the capitalist countries, as well as a number of research works, have appeared in big editions. The Communist Party Publishing House produced a textbook, *Talks on Islam*, which in a popular form shows the essence of Islam. The Union of Writers published a symposium of atheist works by Bulgarian writers entitled *The Age-Old Lie*. For a long time now the trade union publishing house has been putting out a series of pamphlets entitled *Scientific-Atheist Knowledge* designed mainly for workers. The Narodna Mladezh (People's Youth) Publishing House has printed many books, both popular science and fiction, and a textbook

on communist education a large part of which is devoted to atheism. Newspapers and periodicals regularly feature materials on atheism, against religious traditions, and for new, socialist traditions. Such forms of the new traditions as the wedding in the Communist Youth League fashion, celebrations of anniversaries of factories and co-operatives, harvest festivals, etc., are being popularized.

Atheists' Houses have recently been opened in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Pleven. Their task is to provide ideological guidance to the cultural, educational and other mass organizations in their atheistic work.

Six-month courses are arranged at the Sofia House of Atheists; among the students we find teachers of history and biology, propagandists of Party district committees, and Communist Youth League and Fatherland Front lecturers. In conjunction with the local Party committee, the House of Atheists in Varna has opened an evening school which teaches scientific atheism with a program for one year; about 90 Varna teachers and propagandists attend this course.

Scientists, cultural and art workers are doing much to disseminate scientific knowledge. They deliver lectures and give consultations, write articles and pamphlets, take part in art performances, and sit on the committees of the Atheist Houses. Their example is being followed by the intellectuals both in the towns and in the rural villages where they are beginning to play a regular part in disseminating atheist knowledge.

The ideological struggle against religion in Bulgaria is greatly facilitated by the firm atheist traditions which took shape during the national-liberation struggle against the five centuries of Turkish rule and the clerical expansion of the Greek patriarchate. Ever since its inception, the Bulgarian Communist Party has furthered these traditions.

The people's-democratic government cleared the way for the dissemination of materialist, Marxist-Leninist ideas. An important part in this work has been played by the decision adopted by the Political Bureau of the Party in December 1957 to intensify and improve atheistic propaganda. Thanks to this decision the work has become effective and purposeful, attracting large numbers of the population.

There are, however, serious drawbacks which limit the scope of our atheist propaganda and detract from its ideological effect. Individual explanatory work among believers is still unsatisfactory. Not everything is being done to oust the vestiges of religious traditions and replace them with the new, socialist traditions. The public organizations rarely invite scientists and other experts capable of exposing the anti-scientific essence of religion. It is most important that this shortcoming be overcome especially when we bear in mind that the clergy in our country are doing their utmost to present themselves as champions of science, speculating on the epoch-making scientific discoveries of our times.

Todor STOICHEV

William Foster in Moscow

FOR more than ten years William Z. Foster, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of the USA, has been kept under a form of house arrest. The government denied him the right to go abroad for treatment. At long last, however, the right to travel has been won. *The Worker*, Communist Party paper, wrote that this victory should be regarded "as a victory for the Communist Party and civil rights."

Before leaving the USA Foster was visited by a television reporter who asked him what he thought of the Communist Party's strength. Full of optimism he replied that the Communist Party was "potentially stronger than ever."

Foster will be eighty on February 25. This veteran workers' leader, prominent Marxist and author of numerous works on the history of the American labor and Communist movement is respected by all progressives as a symbol of another America—the America of the forward-looking working people, the America of freedom.

Foster's birthday will be celebrated in many towns in the USA and abroad. At present William Foster is in Moscow whither he has come for medical care.

On the occasion of his 80th birthday our journal has sent him a message of greetings.

Exchange of Views

The Agrarian Problem and the National-Liberation Movement

(Continued from our issue No. 1, 1961)

M. RIFFI
(Morocco)

IMPERIALISM and feudalism are the two main forces oppressing the people of Morocco and retarding its social development. Like other countries classified as "economically underdeveloped," i.e., countries still dependent on the imperialist powers, Morocco is an agrarian country. Agriculture accounts for more than 40 per cent of its national income, and over 70 per cent of its population live in the countryside.

The first major victory of our revolution was the winning of political independence at the price of heavy sacrifice on the part of the people. Today the tasks are to complete the national liberation: secure the withdrawal of all foreign troops and abolition of foreign bases, reunion with the territories still under foreign rule, nationalization of the key branches of the economy, agrarian reform; establish genuine social and political democracy by creating the institutions necessary for rule by the people, and abolish all feudal, social and political privileges.

Before the French and Spanish imperialist colonization, the majority of the peasants were exploited by a handful of feudal overlords relying on their armed strength. The land at that time was communal property.

By the beginning of the colonization, however, considerable changes had taken place: land ownership, not armed strength, had become the foundation of feudal power. The peasants, falling into debt bondage, lost their lands to the feudal lords. The colonization accelerated this process. Having seized the country, the imperialists established a regime based on brute force. The feudal lords became their allies.

The first consequence of the colonization was the appropriation by the colonialists and their allies of a substantial part of our country's wealth, with corresponding changes in the social and class

structure, especially in the villages. At first associations of colonizers penetrated to the countryside, and then came the individual settlers, bringing with them capitalist class relations. An agricultural proletariat, which now numbers some 100,000, came into being.

There now are some 6,000 foreign settlers in Morocco. They own 600,000 hectares of the best farmland and 400,000 hectares of untitled arable and pasture land, i.e., 1,000,000 hectares in all. It should be said that roughly 1,500 settlers work on small holdings of about ten hectares. This means that the other 4,500 own between them almost a million hectares of our land.

The social and class structure in the countryside is as follows: five per cent of the rural population are foreign settlers, feudal lords, big landowners and upper-bracket rich peasants. They hold nearly 60 per cent of the land. Some forty-five per cent of the rural population consists of the rich peasants, middle peasants and poor peasants. These own about 40 per cent of the land. The remaining 50 per cent are landless peasants. In other words, the middle, poor and landless peasants make up roughly 90 per cent of the rural population.

In the poverty-stricken, economically backward, sparsely populated areas the main occupation is animal husbandry. Nearly half the peasants are engaged in this branch. Here, too, we find the same social categories which we have mentioned above. For instance, on the eastern plateau, which is typical livestock country, 800 families own herds totalling 260,000 head of cattle. In other words, 10 per cent of the population own roughly 60 per cent of the cattle.

In view of this class structure and the position occupied by the various classes, the Moroccan Communist Party believes it is possible to build

up a political alliance of all sections of the population, excluding the feudal elements and the big settlers, for struggle against imperialism and for complete independence. As for the last two sections, we should carry on an unrelenting political and social struggle against them until colonialism and feudalism in the countryside have been completely uprooted.

The colonial regime and the social changes which came in its wake have added to the burden of poverty and exploitation weighing on the peasants. When Morocco gained independence in 1956, the peasant masses looked hopefully to a change for the better. But their hopes were betrayed. Despite the promise of an agrarian reform, the parties of the national bourgeoisie that came to power have changed nothing in the state of affairs inherited from the protectorate.

Why is the national bourgeoisie hostile to agrarian reform?

It should be emphasized, in the first place, that a considerable section of the bourgeoisie is connected in one way or another not only with foreign capitalists but also with the feudal beys at home.

Because of the economic and political weakness of the bourgeoisie, these connections can result in its entering into a political alliance with the feudalists, especially at times when reaction is on the rampage. This is what happened quite recently.

The bourgeoisie is hostile to agrarian reform also because such a reform would undermine the foundations of the "sacred" principle of private property and would extend the mass liberation movement to all spheres of life.

However, in order to divert the poor and middle peasants from struggle for their class interests and to open the way to capitalist development in agriculture without touching the semi-feudal institutions, the national bourgeoisie demagogically declares for agrarian reform. It has resorted to this deliberate deception of the peasant masses in order to press on toward its basic aim: capitalist development by "peaceful means," without any inroads into the semi-colonial and semi-feudal foundations of the economy.

In view of the foregoing we must formulate the aims of the agrarian reform with the utmost clarity.

The working peasantry suffers from an acute shortage of land. Consequently, the first thing to be done is to satisfy this land hunger. Peasants who have little land or none at all know that their needs can be met by dividing up the big holdings of the settlers and the feudal beys. An agrarian reform, by turning these lands over to them free

of charge, would lay the foundation for a radical reorganization of the entire system of land tenure and rural economic and social relations.

Politically this reform would change the balance of class forces in the country. Economically it would signify a more rational use of land, raise the technical level of farming, abolish the backwardness and provide work for all. Only such an agrarian reform can ensure the speedy and effective development of Moroccan agriculture. So long as the peasant lacks the land to feed his family, so long as he works for others, he cannot have a really conscious attitude to technological progress which would raise yields, labor productivity and overall farm output.

Where is the much-needed land to be found? Primarily in the estates of the feudal chiefs and colonialist settlers. Land belonging to the latter should be confiscated at once. In addition to the feudal estates, which should be taken over without compensation, the cultivated land held by the other big owners should be handed over to the peasants. Confiscation and distribution of this land is the first and most important stage in an agrarian reform designed to satisfy the land hunger of the Moroccan peasants. The support of the state and its administrative bodies is essential for the success of this operation.

How should the confiscated lands be distributed? Primarily they should be put at the disposal of all the needy—the landless peasants and the smallholders who cannot feed their families on their tiny plots—with the distribution effected by village agrarian reform committees. The quality of the soil, water supply, proximity to wooded areas, distance from inhabited points and transport arteries should be taken into account. But the principal yardstick should be the size of the family. Moreover, the land should be distributed free of charge.

In carrying out the reform, the peasants should not be left to fend for themselves. The state should render them assistance, provide seed on credit and help with the farm work. Every encouragement should be given to mutual aid among the small peasants, in particular, joint use of implements and draught animals, and a ramified network of state committees set up to control the grain trade and put an end to the plunder of the peasants by speculators.

The line of the Communist Party in the countryside is thus perfectly clear. It calls for a fight against imperialism and feudalism — a fight in which we should base ourselves on the masses of poor peasants and join forces with the middle peasants. In this struggle we also seek an alliance with the rich peasants and the national capitalists, without, however, ceasing the fight against the

exploitation of the agricultural laborers and poor peasants. We are working for the immediate satisfaction of their economic demands.

We are certain that this struggle will end in victory. We know that our country can free itself of imperialist domination and abolish the survivals of colonialism only when all classes with the nation's interests at heart unite against imperialism and the feudal system. Most important in this struggle is the alliance of the proletariat and the peasant masses.

The proletariat, as the most revolutionary class, is the motive force of our national-democratic

revolution. To ensure the realization of the aims of the revolution, it seeks to rally in the united anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front all forces capable of playing a part in the struggle.

Provided it builds and consolidates an alliance with the peasantry — numerically the strongest force of the movement against imperialism and feudalism—the working class will be able to take its place at the head of this front, establish its leadership in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and thereby achieve complete and final victory over imperialism and its allies, the feudal lords.

ALONSO OJEDA (Venezuela)

In examining the agrarian problem, we proceed from the demands of the national-liberation movement of our people, from the need to solve the urgent issues confronting it — putting an end to imperialist oppression and exploitation, the abolition of the latifundia and the distribution of the land among the peasants, who comprise slightly less than half the population.

Venezuela has an area of 912,000 sq. km. and a population of just over 6,000,000. According to the 1950 census, there are 234,730 farms in the country. Of these, 178,004 (71.6 per cent), ranging from one to 10 hectares, have a total of 543,595 hectares, which amounts to 2.5 per cent of all the arable land. Then there are 3,422 farms, or 1.5 per cent of the total, accounting for 17.5 million hectares, or 68.6 per cent of all the cultivated land. These figures give an idea of the disparity in the structure of land-holding in our country.

In addition to the arable land there are over 15,000,000 hectares of natural pasture and 2.5 million hectares of artificial pastureland.

Since 1945, the share of agriculture in the country's economy, notwithstanding a certain increase in absolute figures, has steadily diminished (from 14.4 per cent in 1945 to 7.1 per cent in 1956) with a simultaneous rise in agricultural imports. The share of the agricultural workers in the total wage bill dropped from 11.4 per cent in 1950 to 8.8 per cent in 1955.

Output of the latifundia, or rather, of the peasants who work on them (corn, beans, coffee, cocoa, celery, yams, batata, manioc), has risen by only 14 per cent in the past 20 years.

The situation in farms of the capitalist type is somewhat different. Capitalism penetrated into agriculture by turning the big latifundia into capi-

talist estates, and the peasants into farm laborers or rural semi-proletarians. The production of market crops such as rice, potatoes, tobacco, sesame, sisal and cotton rose by 332 per cent during the same 20-year period. Output of sugar, one of the main products of the capitalist farms, increased nearly 10-fold. There has also been a substantial increase of production in dairy farming, of which there are also some capitalist-type farms. As for the raising of beef cattle, this is extensive in scope and is centered mainly on the large latifundia where primitive methods are used and the workers poorly paid.

Venezuela has a peasant population of about 2,500,000 who live in small villages and farmsteads. These half a million peasant families are waiting impatiently for land from the agrarian reform.

The farm laborers, numbering about 100,000, are a big force in the countryside.

Production relations take various forms. In the latifundia they are of a *semi-feudal* nature with the peasants paying rent chiefly in kind—one-third or one-half of their crop. However, payment is made in cash as well, and sometimes, especially in bad harvest years, payment takes the form of labor rent.

The second type is *capitalist relations*. The small, middle and big farms employ laborers and pay piece rates or hourly wages on the basis of an eight-hour day.

Lastly, there are the semi-commodity and semi-natural type of farms belonging to the small coffee growers.

The most numerous section of the peasantry are the rural semi-proletarians, i.e., peasants who

own tiny plots or which they rent and pay for with part of their crop. These farms are too small to feed a family, and the peasant is obliged to seek additional earnings elsewhere. This section, comprising about 323,000 families, lives in extreme poverty and is the main force in the struggle for agrarian reform.

Next comes a small group of peasant families who farm their own or, as in most cases, leased land. They do not work for wages nor do they employ laborers. A system of mutual aid during the harvest season and for the more labor-consuming work is practised among this section. They are just as poor as the semi-proletarians and their share in producing for the market is limited. The agrarian reform would be of direct advantage to them, for they would receive a land allotment free of charge as well as credits and other assistance.

The next group is made up of middle peasants, comprising around 70,000 families who employ a few laborers to help with sowing and harvesting but who do not work for wages themselves. These farms produce some surplus products for the market. The middle peasants are taking an active part in the struggle for the land reform. These three sections, we believe, comprise the working peasantry in Venezuela.

The agrarian bourgeoisie also falls into several groups, though all of them employ machinery, hire labor, permanent or seasonal, and produce both food and agricultural raw materials for the market. The bourgeois group includes approximately 18,000 wealthy peasants and capitalist farmers. We believe that a large part of the agrarian bourgeoisie can be neutralized and that the rich tenant farmers can be won over to the agrarian reform.

Lastly, the latifundists. In our view anyone in Venezuela who owns a large tract of land, cultivated or not, but for which rent of some kind is exacted, is a latifundist.

How are the class forces organized in the village?

The latifundists have their own organization, the influential and reactionary Agricultural Chamber. The stock farmers also have their own national association which includes some of the agrarian bourgeoisie — the big dairy farmers. The sugar plantation owners are united in what is known as the Venezuelan Sugar Agency and in rural associations of sugar-cane planters. In addition, there is the Federation of Agricultural Producers' Associations which usually includes rich farmers and other groups of the agrarian bourgeoisie. Lastly, there are organizations of cotton-growers, tobacco planters, producers of rice, potatoes

and sesame, in which rich farmers also participate.

The majority of the peasants are united in the Peasant Federation of Venezuela which is controlled by the Party of Democratic Action, while the agricultural laborers (the sugar plantation workers, for instance) are in the Federation of Sugar Plantation Workers. The agricultural laborers have in point of fact organized the entire peasant movement, drawing the peasants into rural unions and leagues. The laborers employed on the sugar plantations have an imposing record of struggle behind them. Through their unions they have succeeded in improving their conditions.

It is against this general background that the country is faced with the need to settle the agrarian question. Each class, naturally, is advancing the solution best suited to its own interests.

While all are agreed on the need for agrarian reform, many support it only in words. This emerged when it came to drafting the agrarian reform bill (it was drawn up by a commission consisting of representatives of the different sections of the population, from the clergy to the Communists, including the latifundists and leaders of the agrarian bourgeoisie).

Our Party set forth its own views on this question. We pointed out that the country did not need just any agrarian reform. In our opinion, and in the opinion of the peasantry, the reform should abolish the latifundists, paying them compensation in the form of bonds of an agricultural loan floated for a period of 30 years. The land should be turned over to the peasants free of charge. Our proposal was scoffed at in the commission (how could one demand that the land be given away free!). But we stood firm. We argued that the peasants had in fact already paid for the land not only in money and products in the form of rents over hundreds of years, but with the blood they had shed in the battles for independence and in the civil war. After the adoption of the land reform law in Cuba, the demand for free distribution of the land could no longer be considered "madness."

We also proposed that the existing lease contracts should be cancelled to prevent continued exploitation of the peasants by the latifundists; that the maximum size of the holdings should be fixed; that definite time limits be set within which the National Agrarian Institute would act on peasants' applications for land and issue title deeds; that 40 per cent of all members of the bodies concerned with implementing the reform should be peasants, and that a minimum of 10 per cent of the budget should be set aside for carrying out the reform. We further proposed

re-examining deeds of landownership with a view to returning land, some of it belonging to the state, unlawfully seized by the latifundists. Most of these proposals were rejected.

The commission approved a preliminary draft law providing for land settlement, for moving lease-holders and share-croppers to distant virgin land, and the carrying out of so-called agricultural reform, i.e., the development of agriculture by turning the latifundia into capitalist estates, and the peasants into agricultural laborers.

We then turned to the people and explained what the Communists meant by agrarian reform and the legal principles on which it should be based. We set forth our views at the First Peasants' Congress which was attended by more than 4,000 delegates from about 1,200 local organizations. The congress endorsed all the points for which we had fought, with the exception of the principle of free distribution of the land. Although the delegates voted in favor of this point, which showed that the Party had correctly assessed its appeal, the leaders of the majority group at the congress—representatives of the ruling Party of Democratic Action — so manipulated things that they were able to announce that this point had been rejected. We appealed to the working class, and the free-distribution-of-the-land slogan was placed on the agenda of a number of workers' congresses (transport workers, oil workers and printers) and won their support. Many workers belonging to the Party of Democratic Action voted for it as well.

We advanced the demand for free distribution of the land at peasant meetings and as part of a public campaign. The peasants, including members of the Party of Democratic Action, voted for it. The campaign assumed such dimensions that the Party of Democratic Action, followed by all the other parties, decided to support the free-of-charge principle. At the same time, however, they did their best to ignore the fact that this demand had been originally advanced by our Party.

The Communist Party won a big victory during the debate in parliament when the principle of transferring the land without payment received legislative recognition. The law provides for the allotment of 17-20 hectares per family, depending on fertility and location of the allotment. A clause was adopted forbidding the conclusion of lease contracts between small peasants and latifundists two years after the promulgation of the agrarian-reform law. Although no time limit was set for answering peasants' applications for land, the law states that the land, providing there are no buildings, highways, etc., on it, must be allotted within six months of submitting an application. A peasant movement based on this point has been

started to speed up the transfer of the land. The law further provides that 40 per cent of the members of the National Agrarian Institute and the regional agricultural delegations should be peasants. Peasant committees are recognized as the organizational vehicle for carrying out the reform. They are formed for the purpose of filing petitions for allotments after which they will become part of committees of new landholders.

The law, however, has some serious shortcomings. For example, it introduces the so-called principle of the "social function" of the land on the basis of which lands declared "socially useful" are not subject to expropriation. Moreover the law does not fix a maximum size for holdings, the procedure for determining the value of and payment for confiscated lands subject to distribution is not defined, and the procedure for alienating the land is complicated and cumbersome.

The agrarian law reflects a compromise between the different classes: the principle of land settlement is of advantage to the latifundists, that of "social function" of the land suits the agrarian bourgeoisie, and the transfer of the land free of charge and within a definite time is a concession to the peasants. In sum, the law does not correspond to the present upsurge of the mass struggle in the countryside.

With the adoption of the agrarian-reform law the question of when it will be realized assumes first-rate importance. President Betancourt and his government maintain that it will take 20-30 years to put the reform into effect, a prediction that has aroused the justifiable objections of the peasants since only their grandchildren will benefit.

We have advanced the slogan: "Agrarian Reform within Four Years!" having in view only the first stage of the reform, namely the abolition of the latifundia and the transfer of the land to the peasants, as well as the granting of credits. At first we were told that this was impossible, but a plan drawn up by a group of experts from the National Agrarian Institute showed our slogan to be quite realistic. We began by putting the issue before the Peasants' Federation and it adopted our slogan. The question was then discussed in the trade unions, in the youth and particularly in the student organizations, which began to support the idea of agrarian reform in four years. The slogan had such an impact that the ruling Party of Democratic Action was obliged to recognize at least verbally the need to carry out the agrarian reform in four years. The other parties followed suit. However, the thing went no further than verbal declarations.

In connection with the political crisis that gripped the country, the Communist Party drafted a document listing the latifundia, their location and size and proposing to divide this land within the first year of the plan. Inasmuch as the representatives of the bourgeois business circles and the parties of the government coalition claimed to be at a loss as to where to begin, we took the bull by the horns. "You don't know where to begin?" we said. "Well, take this gentleman. He owns 40,000 hectares. Let us begin with him." This move, combined with the mass campaigns, resulted in several estates being expropriated and turned over to the peasants without delay. An example of the part played by the mass movement is afforded by the so-called "fight-for-bread fronts." The fall of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship in 1958 brought no substantial changes in the countryside. The vast possessions of his supporters remained untouched. It was then that the peasants launched the "first front of struggle for the right to bread" (as they called it). For example, the peasants seized the estate belonging to the former Minister of National Defense, appointed an administrative committee to take care of the livestock and began to cultivate the land. The Party played an active part in these peasant actions, thereby rectifying the mistake we had made under the provisional government when we failed to assist in the struggle that developed in the countryside.

President Betancourt insisted that legal proceedings be instituted and the peasants punished. However, the latter, supported by the democratic forces in Congress and outside of it, refused to budge; they remained in occupation and in the end the government was forced to divide up the estates of the Jimenez supporters. Now that part of these estates has been distributed on the strength of the new law, the "fronts" have directed their action against latifundia where the land is either poorly cultivated or not cultivated at all.

The main feature of these actions is the unity with which they are carried out. The peasants agree among themselves and, acting in unity, occupy the land, after which they send a telegram to the President and the chairman of the National Agrarian Institute to the effect that they have commenced the division of the particular estate. Some of these peasant actions have been complicated by the fact that a number of well-to-do tenant farmers have their homes on the estates. It is important to avoid antagonizing these farmers, since they, too, are exploited by the latifundist to whom they pay rent. The peasants would therefore explain to them that they were not against them, but that the land they had rented formerly belonged to the peasants and must be returned

to the rightful owners. The wealthy tenant farmers were given land in other districts and the Agrarian Institute compensated them for any reclamation or other improvements, and the Agricultural Bank granted them loans to farm the new lands. This experience showed how the strata of wealthy but not hostile peasants could be neutralized.

In other places the movements for division of the land have been emerging in connection with the threat of a coup d'état. The Peasant Federation has ordered the peasants to take immediate possession of the land in the event of a coup. During one of the recent reactionary insurrections the peasants proceeded to divide up the land.

By employing these forms of struggle it has been possible to achieve some progress in carrying out the agrarian reform. A good part of the transferred lands were directly seized by the peasants. According to official figures, of the 500,000-odd hectares which have been divided up among 12,000 peasant families since the formation of the Constitutional Government, more than 200,000 hectares granted to some 6,000 families were allotted under the agrarian law.

The Party's stand on the agrarian issue can be summed up briefly as follows. The agrarian reform must be effected as soon as possible in order to end the existing state of affairs in the countryside and abolish the latifundia. Such a reform is revolutionary in substance inasmuch as it signifies a social revolution in the countryside, though as yet within the framework of the bourgeois-democratic system. At the same time, the agrarian reform is part of the general process of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution typical of backward and semi-colonial countries. In our own country, where the oil and iron-ore deposits are concentrated in the hands of the imperialists, chiefly North American, this reform assumes a particular significance for the national-liberation movement as a whole. With the abolition of the latifundia, one of the pillars of imperialist exploitation will have been undermined and the masses of the peasantry drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle. Consequently, agrarian reform is now the key task of our Party and of the entire revolutionary movement in Venezuela.

We know that there are various ways of solving this problem. There is the reformist, bourgeois, peaceful way of gradual evolution—a process controlled from above by a bourgeois government which seeks to reduce peasant participation to nought. This way suits the bourgeoisie primarily and retards revolutionary reforms. But there is the revolutionary way, the way of active participation by the peasant masses who, in alliance

with the working class and the other progressive forces, set about abolishing the latifundia by their own resolute action. This process reaches its culminating point with the advent of a democratic government. It is aimed chiefly at upholding the interests of the peasants, although it does not exclude advantage for the capitalists as well. From this standpoint we regard the implementation of agrarian reform in Venezuela as a complex process of struggle, involving the peasant masses acting in alliance with the working class and supported by the other progressive forces against the latifundists, for the abolition of the estates and the distribution of the land to the peasants. We should like also to stress the follow-

ing point: there are some in Venezuela who claim the agrarian reform is the panacea for all ills, capable of accomplishing all the democratic tasks. Of course the agrarian reform will not only improve the position of the peasants; it will pave the way also for industrialization and can deal a serious blow at unemployment as well. But this does not mean that it can do away with poverty in the countryside. The possession of small holdings will not put an end to all the peasants' troubles. This can be done only by developing the voluntary producers' co-operative in the villages in which there will be no room for any form of exploitation.

J. KARLIK (Czechoslovakia)

Although the background to agrarian reform in Czechoslovakia differed from that in the underdeveloped countries now getting rid of the imperialist yoke, a genuinely revolutionary solution of this question everywhere is bound to have much in common. A vital internal condition for an effective agrarian reform is *the building of a stable alliance between the working class and the working peasantry*. This is borne out by the experience of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in solving the agrarian question.

To prevent a stable worker-peasant alliance, defeat the working class and take state power into its hands, the bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia suggested, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed, that the government should purchase surplus land from the big landowners (crop land in excess of 150 hectares or all the land in excess of 250 hectares, including forests) and sell it to the peasants. In the crucial period of the class struggle to determine the character of the Czechoslovak state the bourgeoisie won over the peasantry by this demand, and the working class was defeated.

The bourgeoisie, naturally, carried out an agrarian reform in its own way. The reform dragged on for years, and only 640,000 hectares were distributed, for a purchase payment, among 650,000 peasant households. As a result of this reform new capitalist farms appeared, while the old big estates were not greatly affected. In 1930, that is, after the "reform" was completed, small holdings of about five hectares comprised more than 70 per cent of all the farms, but accounted for only 15.5 per cent of the crop land. Farms in excess of 50 hectares numbered less than one per cent

of all the farms, but they owned 43.3 per cent of the land.

The results of the agrarian reform fell far short of even the stipulations of the law passed by Parliament. This was so because the reform was put into effect by the bourgeoisie and its government and not by the revolutionary peasant committees.

The working class and its Communist Party drew lessons from this. When during the Second World War our people began the national-liberation struggle against the Hitler occupation the Communist Party advanced the kind of slogans that led to a firm alliance of the working class and the working peasantry.

At the first stage we called for confiscation of the land and other property of the enemies of the Czech and Slovak people and its distribution among the working peasants. These measures, introduced immediately after liberation, affected mainly the big German and Hungarian landowners, as well as the traitors and collaborators.

During the second stage when a bitter struggle flared up between the working class and the bourgeoisie and when the question of which way our country would go—towards socialism or capitalism—was on the order of the day, the Party called for a new land reform. This demand was aimed against all other landlords.

During the third phase when the struggle was approaching the crucial moment and a head-on clash between the working class and the bourgeoisie was in the offing, the Party insisted that farms in excess of 50 hectares should be distributed among the working peasants according to the principle: "Land to the tillers."

These demands and the consistent efforts of the Party to secure their realization resulted in the peasants becoming the allies of the working class which, simultaneously, fought for a fuller realization of its socialist demands — nationalization of large-scale industry and the banks and, later, of foreign and wholesale trade.

It should be pointed out, however, that a land reform in favor of the working peasants could not have been carried out without the victory of the working class in this struggle. The slogans advanced during the second and third stages became effective only after the suppression of the bourgeois counter-revolutionary putsch in February 1948 when state power passed wholly into the hands of the working class. The working class, on the other hand, could not have defeated the bourgeoisie without peasant support, without a militant alliance with the working peasantry. Thus it can be said that without a firm worker-peasant alliance the working class would not have won in its just struggle against the bourgeoisie and the new land reform would not have been carried out.

The worker-peasant alliance laid the foundation for a broad National Front at the time of the national and democratic revolution when this front embraced, in addition to professional workers, part of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie. It was also the basis of the National Front later, when we began to build socialism in our country.

The Party won the peasant masses not only by carrying out the land reform, important though this was; it fought during the revolution also for other democratic demands of the peasantry. It regulated the general level of agricultural prices in keeping with the peasants' interests, introduced the system of differentiated state purchase prices depending on the size of the holding, secured higher prices for the goods produced mainly by the small and middle peasants, reduced prices for agricultural implements, fertilizers, fuel, etc., and changed the terms of tenure in the interests of small and middle peasants. The latter were

also granted credit at cheap rates, taxes were cut and social insurance for peasants introduced.

Of particular importance was the fact that the Party supported the peasants in the struggle against the bourgeois elements in the co-operative movement and promoted the lower forms of co-operation.

The firm alliance of the working class and the working peasantry was the decisive condition for victory at the time when our country began the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The peasants who received the land taken from the landlords soon realized that small individual plots could not ensure any substantial rise in agricultural production and the standard of living and, under the leadership of the Party, they began to form producer co-operatives, which today have won complete victory in our country. This led to a swift rise in the peasant standard of living. Suffice it to say that by 1957, according to a special investigation, more than 90 per cent of the co-operators' families lived in their own houses, all had radio sets, 72 per cent had electric washing machines, 36 per cent had motorcycles, and nearly every tenth family had a car.

The road to these splendid achievements of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was paved by the revolutionary land reform, carried out in the first years after Czechoslovakia was liberated by the Soviet Army.

The solution of the agrarian question in our country has its specific features. But whatever the forms of the revolutionary solution of this question—whether in Czechoslovakia or in any other country—they have one thing in common: they must result in the peasantry becoming a reliable ally and the main reserve of the working class, not of the bourgeoisie, and they should lead to a firm alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, for this is the guarantee of victory of the people in all countries both in the national-liberation struggle and in the struggle for socialism. The experience of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in recent years has reaffirmed this indisputable tenet of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

N. SANMUGATHASAN (Ceylon)

The defeat of the reactionaries and the pro-imperialist United National Party (UNP) in the election of July 1960 and the formation of a progressive government headed by Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike (the first woman in the world to be elected Prime Minister) represent a tremendous

step forward for the national and progressive movement of our country.

The victory, which opens up the perspective of the completion of the anti-imperialist and democratic stage of our revolution, was made possible by the unity of the main anti-imperialist and

progressive forces which came together in a no-contest agreement with a view to defeating their common enemy—imperialism and the UNP.

This alliance succeeded in winning 91 out of 151 seats in Parliament. Under the agreement between these parties, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, which won 75 seats, formed the government. The Lanka Samasamaja Party (12 seats) and the Communist Party (4 seats) extended their support to the government.

Thus we have now in Ceylon a government of the national bourgeoisie which enjoys the support of the Left and the working-class movement. The prospect for completing the anti-imperialist and democratic tasks are good.

One of the basic problems requiring solution under the new government is the agrarian problem. Our Party, however, has so far failed to make a thorough and comprehensive study of the land question.

The problem as we see it is of overcoming the backwardness of our agriculture and changing the relationships of land tenure so as to secure greater output and thus meet the food requirements of our people. Despite the fact that under the Sinhalese kings Ceylon was known as the granary of the East and exported rice, today we import the greater part of our food. What should be done to alter this situation?

The first thing to realize is that the classic pattern of large-scale feudal agriculture found in other colonial and semi-colonial countries does not exist in Ceylon. We do not have feudal owners of vast tracts of arable land farmed by hundreds of thousands of peasants under feudal forms of tenure.

The plantation economy introduced by the British colonialists superimposed itself on the ancient system of agriculture. The result has been that although about 72 per cent of our population live in the rural sector, nearly 60 per cent of these rural families do not depend on agriculture for their main income. Only 40 per cent of the rural families depend on agriculture for their income. In addition, agriculture is the source of subsidiary income to many families engaged in other pursuits.

Of the 40 per cent engaged in agriculture the landlords constitute only one per cent, owner cultivators more than 13 per cent, tenant cultivators about seven per cent, and the farm laborers 18.7 per cent, thus forming the largest group of agricultural families. If we take into account non-agricultural labor in the rural sector, we shall find that laborers are the largest group in the countryside (44 per cent).

One of the immediate effects of British rule in Ceylon during the last century was not only the neglect and destruction of the ancient irrigation

system leading to a decline in agricultural production but also the physical destruction of the peasantry.

British imperialism was interested in developing a plantation economy in Ceylon, and to this purpose it sacrificed the interests of agriculture. The result was a gradual ruining of the peasantry and the inevitable creation of an impoverished and landless peasantry.

Thus, just as the enclosure movement in England in the 18th and early 19th centuries deprived the English peasantry of millions of acres of common land and turned them out of the villages, so British capital established itself in Ceylon only after destroying the self-sufficient peasant economy in the hill country.

Thousands of acres of village land were alienated on terms very favorable to the capitalists — first to foreign capitalists and subsequently to local capitalists.

The land in the hill country was sold mainly to foreign capitalists for the cultivation of tea and rubber. But the land in the low country was sold mainly to local capitalists for the cultivation of coconut. Thus land became concentrated in the hands of capitalist companies, and the peasantry was deprived of the means of subsistence. Peasants would not have suffered from landlessness had they been absorbed as laborers in the plantations or in the new industries (as in England). But the plantations recruited only cheap Indian immigrant labor and no new industries were started. Thus the greater part of the peasantry was "de-peasantized" and reduced to the level of beggars.

In the nineteen-twenties the British government realized, at last, the grave political and social implications of the slow and painful extinction of the peasantry and appointed a Land Commission in 1927. This commission recommended that the government policy of transferring Crown Land to capitalists should cease and that it should be mapped out and reserved for village expansion to meet the land requirements of the peasants.

But by this time the greater part of the village land had passed into private hands and to the Crown. As a result of the new policy of transferring Crown Land to the peasants, 565,944 acres had been allocated by 1957 to 319,597 peasant families. In other words, roughly 24 per cent of all rural families were granted land by the government between 1935 and 1957. Despite this, 34 per cent of the rural families remained without land while 32 per cent owned less than one acre. The average size of holdings was 0.82 of an acre, while that of the large estates was 544 acres.

The transfer of Crown Land to the peasants emancipated a number of them from dependence on

feudal overlordship; but it did not lead to the strengthening of the peasant households or to an increase in agricultural production. What the government achieved was the creation of a mass of inefficient small producers.

The only kind of agrarian reform attempted by the former governments was the passing of the Paddy Land Act which directly affected only part of the rural population, namely the tenants. It should be borne in mind that the latter cultivate about 43 per cent of the total acreage. Strictly speaking, this measure was not a land reform because it did not transfer land ownership to the peasants. The Paddy Land Act could have guaranteed the tenants from eviction by the landlords, that is, it could have ensured permanent security of tenure and freedom from interference by the landlord in the work of the tenant, established an upper limit on interest rates, restricted the rent for land and for the hire of tractors, agricultural implements, buffaloes, etc.

Thus, the tenant cultivator could have been given permanent security of tenure irrespective of changes in the ownership of land. In other words, the Paddy Land Act could have made the tiller of the soil virtually the owner and reduced the privilege of the landlords. The Act was intended to remove some important obstacles in the way of increasing paddy production and building the framework for future agricultural development. Tenant cultivators and hired laborers were to have been granted some rights.

But even such a long overdue reform as the Paddy Land Act was introduced in a bureaucratic manner and ended in failure. No attempt was made to organize the tenant cultivators and agricultural laborers who stood to benefit from the Act, so that in every village there would be peasant organizations to supervise and enforce this agrarian reform. Implementation of the Act was left to officials, many of whom were strongly opposed to it. As a result, the landlords were able to take advantage of the situation to evict their tenant farmers or introduce new forms of continuing the old relations of exploitation. Thus the majority of the tenant farms got no benefit from this reform.

These, then, are some of the problems facing agriculture in Ceylon. A solution of these problems lies in the provision of irrigation facilities to enable the cultivation of two crops a year, drainage and good control, the application of techniques through the better use of fertilizers and land reform designed at least to grant security of tenure and reduction of rents to the tenant farmer. Since the plantations cover nearly 37 per cent of the cultivated area we stand for the eventual nationalization of all the big plantations and for the immediate nationalization of foreign-owned plantations.

A solution along these lines will eliminate feudalism and pave the way to rapid industrialization and thus help to complete the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution in Ceylon.

JUAN AHUMADA (Chile)

Chile covers an area of 741,800 sq. km. and the estimated population is 7,424,000. Latifundia and small peasant holdings—such is the picture of land ownership in the country. According to available data, 165,568 peasants with less than 50 hectares each own 15.7 per cent of all the cultivable land. Another 18.5 per cent is owned by 10,544 middle peasants with farms ranging from 50 to 200 hectares, and 28.9 per cent by 4,588 landowners, each having from 200 to 1,000 hectares. And, lastly, less than a thousand latifundists each with 1,000 or more hectares own 36.9 per cent of the land.

Over 500,000 work for wages, remunerated partly in money and partly in "grants," as they are called by the landlords, that is, plots of land, dwellings, food, the right to pasture some cattle, etc. This is the most numerous and militant section of the rural working people, consisting

primarily of permanent farm laborers on the estates who rent the same houses and plots generation after generation with the obligation to work for the landlord. Then there are the sharecroppers who, in addition to their own plot cultivate another on a metayage system. The work on the extra plot entails much time and the sharecropper is forced to employ another hand to work on it and pays him more than he himself gets for this work from the landlord. The third group of this section is composed of farm laborers whose position does not differ from that of industrial workers since they get a wage (without "grants"), one meal a day, sometimes a hostel but more often a bare shelter, a shanty or a night's lodging in another laborer's cottage.

The daily wage of the laborer ranges according to province from 560 to 730 pesos, or from 50 to 70 U.S. cents. From this meagre pittance the land-

owner deducts the value of the "grants." Sometimes the tenant does not get any money and lives only on the "grants."

The immediate demands of this most numerous section of the rural working people are: higher wages; due observance of the law, including the law governing holidays; a guaranteed weekly wage and family allowances; an eight-hour day; decent housing and meals. But their cherished aspiration is to obtain a plot of land of their own.

The most widespread organization is the union in the estate or a combined committee (also a union) embracing laborers employed in neighboring estates but residing in the same village. These organizations are formed in defiance of the law which in fact prohibits trade unions and strikes. Thus, the agricultural laborers are legally denied the rights enjoyed by the industrial workers. The unions catering to the estate laborers, the sharecroppers and farm laborers are united in the National Federation of Agricultural Workers which in turn is affiliated to the Trade Union Center of the Working People of Chile. The Federation has a long history of struggle and enjoys great prestige. That is why, although not recognized by law, it took part in the work of government bodies—the first commission for fixing a minimum wage for peasants working for wages, the commission for peasants affairs, labor questions, etc.

The poor peasants, the section second in importance among the rural working people, include most of the smallholders, small tenants, squatters on state-owned land and others. All of them engage in family cultivation and only in very rare cases employ laborers. Like the laborers, they are severely exploited by the latifundists and middlemen who buy the standing crops at cheap rates. Many of them have no title-deeds and often fall victims to the rogues who grab their land. The conditions of the poor peasants approximate those of agricultural laborers. The poor and middle peasants belong to the National Association of Farmers with branches in some provinces (communes, committees of small tenants and landowners). The middle peasants differ from the poor in that they have more implements; they work themselves and often employ a man or two. This group likewise suffers from exploitation at the hands of the latifundists and the pro-imperialist policy of the government.

The poor peasants also include Red Indians, but they constitute a group by themselves inasmuch as they have their own specific problems. The Indians are waging a fight for their culture, language, customs, etc. But the main thing is protection of their land, inroads on which are constantly made. There is an Indian National

Association, which was formed in 1953. The Indians are organized in their own communities, but at present the government is working on a bill designed to abolish these communities.

The wealthy farmers either have small estates or rent them. They are anxious to end the semi-feudal relations and introduce modern techniques on their farms. They employ laborers and themselves act as managers and supervisors. The wealthy farmers show more concern for production than the landlords. The government's policy likewise infringes on their interests. However, most of them are associated with the latifundists through the National Agricultural Society.

And, lastly, there are the latifundists—the most reactionary and conservative elements who resist everything new and progressive in the technical, cultural and social spheres. The latifundists are the mainstay of the imperialists. Although small in number, they are well organized and, together with the imperialists, exert a decisive influence on government policy and impose their will on Parliament. In addition to the National Agricultural Society, they run many other organizations in different parts of the country and in different branches of agriculture. It is against the latifundists and the government policy that the struggle of the peasants and agricultural laborers is chiefly directed. This struggle is supported by the Communists.

Were all the cultivable land brought under the plough agricultural output would be three times the present figure. But this can be achieved only through an agrarian reform which would abolish the latifundia and transfer the land to the tillers. The way to this lies through organized struggle by the peasants with the support of the working class and the other democratic forces.

The present government is incapable of carrying through a genuine agrarian reform. It upholds the interests of the landed oligarchy and imperialists who have a decisive say in government agrarian policy. In Chile there are no latifundia owned by imperialist companies, as is the case in other Latin American countries. The U.S. imperialists exercise their sway in our countryside through agreements which enable them to dispose of part of their farm surplus. They are retarding agricultural development, particularly of those branches producing the things imported from the United States. Some twenty years ago we had farm surpluses for export, but in 1955 the country spent \$70 million (one-sixth of the budget) on imports of goods in short supply. Yet, the government has no intention of meeting home requirements with Chilean farm products. At the same time it has adopted a series of measures reflecting a tendency to develop capitalism in the countryside

while preserving the latifundia. For instance, it has introduced a bill for more farm production which encourages the landlords, by granting them privileges, to utilize fertilizers on a big scale.

Not long ago the government launched a big press and radio campaign announcing an alleged agrarian reform. Parliament adopted a law on the sale to private persons of state-owned lands in Magallanes Province where some 12 million hectares of rich pasture are given over to sheep farming. The government decided to do away with this pasture and has described the measure as an agrarian reform which, it claims, will eliminate one of the biggest (over 12 million hectares!) latifundia in the world. In addition it is selling the land owned by the social insurance and public health funds. The decrees issued in this connection make it clear that preference will be given to a settlement designed to encourage agricultural laborers who live off the land to buy it. In reality very few peasants are in a position to buy land, they are too poor.

The government was forced to take these steps because of the nationwide demand for agrarian reform. Acting in this manner it is trying to paralyze the fight for reform and to reward its stooges for their help in the presidential election campaign.

Our Party, jointly with the other forces affiliated to the Popular Action Front, stands for an agrarian reform that will abolish the latifundia and give the land to the working peasants. We hold that the compensation for the expropriated land should be in bonds payable over a certain period of time in keeping with the means at the disposal of the state. The peasants should purchase the land on favorable terms. We have posed the question of paying compensation for the expropriated land because this will make it possible to rally broader forces against the latifundia and for agrarian reform. Moreover we are wholeheartedly with the Indians in their struggle to preserve their communes, culture, language and customs, and we support their economic demands.

Agrarian reform will make it possible to bring into use the millions of hectares inefficiently cultivated by the latifundists or not cultivated at all. Not only the peasants but the people as a whole stand to benefit from this reform, for it will enable the country to save millions of dollars now spent on the purchase of U.S. farm products. This will also make it possible to meet the needs of the national industry for some raw materials which have to be imported. Agrarian reform will help raise the living standard of the peasants and extend the home market, and this in turn will promote trade and industry. The fight for agrarian reform is only part of the struggle for national

liberation which the working class must wage in alliance with the peasantry and the other democratic forces.

Whenever agrarian reform is seen not as a component of the national struggle for liberation but as a means of satisfying the peasants' desire for land of their own without changing the agrarian or political system and the pro-imperialist policy, this brings grist to the mill of the reactionaries. When in some areas land was given to the peasants and they still continued to live a miserable existence the reactionaries used this to raise a hue and cry about the failure of the agrarian reform. But they remained silent about the fact that these measures were carried through by a bourgeois government which is incapable of completing the agrarian reform.

The agricultural laborers and the poor and middle peasants make up over 90 per cent of the rural labor force. Each section has its specific problems, but all of them have common interests and they fight jointly. We have always tried to unite them on the basis of common problems and to secure unity of action. Not long ago the National Association of Farmers, the National Federation of Agricultural Workers, the Indian National Association and the National Front of Working Farmers combined to form a united front known as the National Peasant Movement with the aim of fighting jointly for the solution of concrete issues and for convening, in the not too distant future, a national peasant congress.

A few words about the worker-peasant alliance. Although the Chilean peasants have splendid militant traditions they are badly organized. We are seeing to it that the working class helps the peasants in this respect. This help is rendered in a variety of ways. Most effective is the patronage of an industrial trade union over a union of agricultural workers or a peasant committee. The industrial unions extend medical aid to the peasants; they send lawyers to the countryside to defend the peasants, support them during conflicts and strikes, which break out in spite of the law, and help organize educational and recreational activities in the countryside.

We have enlisted people of different occupations to help the peasants. Industrial unions have sent members to work in the National Federation of Agricultural Workers. These activists help the peasant organization on the spot. The Federation arranged with the personnel of a publishing house for publication of its newspaper. The printing is done gratis, so that the paper can be sold to peasants at a reasonable price. As a result there now appears, although not regularly, *El Surko* (Furrow). All this helps to bring the workers and peasants closer.

The Chilean peasants have demonstrated, especially in recent times, that they are an impressive force and want to better their conditions of life and labor. This was seen during the presidential elections when most of the peasants voted for Dr. Salvador Allende, the candidate of the popular forces. We Chilean Communists realize that we must conduct day-to-day work in the countryside.

This is a vital necessity, not only because it enables us to form new Party organizations in rural areas and to train cadres from among the peasants. It is also the best guarantee that any peasant action will have proper guidance and will be successful. The liberation movement will never advance as it should until it forges a stable worker-peasant alliance.

S. SAWAYA (Lebanon)

Lebanon is a small country of 10,400 sq. km. Sixteen per cent of the 270,000 hectares under cultivation are irrigated. Although 600,000 people obtain their living off the land, only 200,000 actually own any.

According to available data 80,000 hectares are concentrated in the hands of 116 big landowners. Most of this land is irrigated and under fruit. All in all three hundred big landowners, including the 116 already mentioned, own between them nearly a half of the land (some 135,000 hectares) and about 198,000 landowners—approximately 35 per cent of the cultivated land. The monasteries and other religious bodies are also big landowners and, according to experts, own 25 per cent of the land and 75 per cent of the fertile land.

In most regions, especially in Békaa, Akkar and South Lebanon, land tenure is of a feudal character. Relations between the landlord and the tenant are, in the main, based on the sharecropping system. The peasant's share is 60 per cent at the most, and he has to pay for fertilizers and seed, to cultivate the land, and bear the cost of bringing in the harvest, of threshing, etc. The feudal owner only provides the land. In many cases the peasant gets no more than 50 per cent of the crop.

Some landowners in the Akkar and Békaa districts (the El-Hajje Chahine family, for example) regularly collect an additional tenth of the crop from the peasants, although legally they have no right to do so. Feudal owners in the Akkar area make the peasants pay quit rent and perform various services.

The feudal survivals in the countryside—large-scale feudal ownership and feudal exploitation—do not imply that capitalism has made no headway in Lebanese agriculture. There has been a close interlocking and merging of the feudal estates and the big farms employing capitalist methods of cultivation. One can even come across landowners who use both feudal and capitalist

methods of farming simultaneously. A landowner of this type takes care to use the method which will assure him the biggest income from ground rent. Big landowners become traders, capitalists and bankers all in one; they concentrate a considerable amount of money capital into their hands, some of which they use to farm part of their land by capitalist methods, using tractors and fertilizers, and employing labor. The big comprador bourgeoisie and some of the industrialists as well are investing heavily in agriculture.

Bank and merchant capital is also used to forward the process of capitalist penetration into agriculture. Banks and trading companies buy up large tracts of cultivable land which they turn into capitalist type farms. A big part in this is played by the foreign banks and banks with mixed capital: the Bank of Syria and Lebanon, the biggest French bank in the country, the Algerian-Tunisian Bank, the Algerian Company and various American banks. The Egyptian Bank has come to the fore lately and is engaged in large-scale operations connected with land transactions and mortgages.

Differentiation is proceeding at a rapid pace in the villages. In the past ten years there has been a marked growth in the number of agricultural laborers, whose ranks are continually augmented by ruined peasants. Their number now stands at 40,000.

The agrarian problem has not been radically solved, despite the changes which have taken place in farm property. This can be done only by carrying through a democratic agrarian reform which would abolish feudalism and the big farms, transfer the land to the peasants and clear the way for the rapid development of agriculture.

Those in power seem to have no intention at all of solving the land problem—even in the way this is being done in some of the other newly independent Arab countries. This can be explained chiefly by the fact that power in Lebanon is held by the

compradore bourgeoisie who have allied themselves with the feudal landowners and the big landed proprietors. They are backed by imperialist governments, imperialist companies and banks who are the real masters of the country's economy and play a big part in shaping its policy.

No parties or politicians of the bourgeoisie associated with the national industry and production have included the agrarian question in their program. This reflects the weakness of the national bourgeoisie. Upon coming to power at various times since the winning of political independence, its representatives have either pursued the policy of the compradore bourgeoisie or have resigned from the government.

A radical agrarian reform cannot, thus, be carried through without a resolute and effective struggle against imperialism and the imperialist companies and banks, without rallying the peasant masses—the main force in the struggle against imperialism and its feudal base, against the big landed proprietors and the compradores. A firm worker-peasant alliance is the essential condition for implementing an agrarian reform.

In view of the situation in Lebanon, a national front backed by the majority of the people should be counterposed to the alliance between imperialism's agents and the go-betweens from the compradore bourgeoisie, the feudal beys and the big landed proprietors, a front that would wage struggle against imperialism, its agents and its base.

In these conditions the Communist Party of Lebanon is working for the following basic aims in the sphere of agrarian relations:

- ✓ abolition of feudal survivals and the distribution free of charge of the land held by the feudal beys, the big landed proprietors, monasteries and churches among the peasants with little or no land and the agricultural laborers working on the estates of the feudal beys or big proprietors;

- ✓ solution of the water problem in the interests of the peasants, and agricultural development;

- ✓ democratic freedoms for the countryside and the right of peasants and farm laborers to form their own unions which will protect them and supervise the carrying out of the agrarian reform;

- ✓ granting the means (seed, fertilizers and pest killers) needed by the peasants to cultivate the land received under an agrarian reform;

- ✓ a policy of bringing new land under the plough in order to grow more grain.

These *basic demands* are bound up with a democratic agrarian reform and have been included in a long-term program. *The immediate demands*, for which our Party is fighting in the countryside, are:

- ✓ a bigger share of the crop for the peasants; all villages to be provided with water for irrigation, and drinking water; feudal owners, monasteries and officials to be deprived of the monopoly of distributing water;

- ✓ an end to the monopoly of chemical fertilizers and pest killers, and the sale of these to peasants at low prices;

- ✓ branches of the Agricultural Credit Bank to be opened in each agricultural region and guarantees given that the small and medium peasants will be the first to benefit from credits bearing a rate of interest not exceeding three per cent, and from long-term credits of up to 20 years;

- ✓ get rid of the middlemen and commission agents by setting up co-operatives, to be established at the wish of the peasants;

- ✓ abolish tithes and relieve the peasants in the Akkra and Békaa districts of all imposts exacted by the feudal lords; serfdom in all its forms to be abolished;

- ✓ foreign banks to be prohibited from engaging in any land operations; an agricultural policy which would prevent the banks, the middlemen and the compradore bourgeoisie from having a monopoly of the land;

- ✓ improve conditions for farm laborers and see to it that their rights are incorporated in the Labor Code and that they are granted the right to form trade unions and other organizations.

The peasants' struggle for these demands is part and parcel of the struggle for a national and democratic government which would pursue a policy of preserving and consolidating independence, of abolishing imperialist domination and its institutions, take account of the demands and needs of the masses, respect social liberties, guarantee democratic rights and take the country along the road of independent and democratic development.

RAYMOND BARBE

(France)

LIKE all colonies and perhaps to an even greater degree than others, the present and former colonies of France are economically very backward. They are predominantly agricultural. Peasants comprise some 75, 90 and even up to 95 per cent of the population. In Senegal, for example, the figure is about 75 per cent, while in Upper Volta, Niger, Chad and Togo—the most backward countries—the percentage is as high as 90 or even 95.

The relative importance of the peasants is all the greater in the former French territories and those which still have colonial status because the growth of a working class has been held back by the paucity of industrial expansion.

The position of the peasants and the agrarian problems are specific in each country. They depend on the pre-colonial social structures, on the forms of colonial rule (domination and exploitation), and on the ways in which these factors reacted on each other over a more or less prolonged period of colonialism.

Let us take a few examples:

When, in *North Africa*, France seized Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco she found there relatively centralized feudal states with feudal hierarchies and all kinds of feudal dues and services. As far as landownership was concerned, family ownership of arable land tended to grow to the detriment of the communally-owned tribal and village land.

At the time of the colonial seizures West and Equatorial Africa were peopled by various social groups: some of the tribes were still close to primitive society, others had a differentiated hierarchy with the more or less marked features of the slave-owning or feudal systems. But clan and tribal survivals and communal landownership were observed almost everywhere. The sparsity of the population in relation to useful land—usually about 10 persons to the square kilometer, often considerably less—undoubtedly helped to preserve the communal ownership.

The colonial pattern, too, was variegated. For example, in *Algeria*, typical “settler colony,” a policy of strict “direct administration,” of so-called forced assimilation, was pursued. In the span of a century the colonialists seized 2,700,000 hectares, i.e., one-third of the arable land, and the best land at that. The Arab and Berber tribes were pushed towards the mountains and the desert, to less fertile and sometimes arid lands.

Over 6,000 big settlers*, each owning upwards of 100 hectares, account for 87 per cent of the settled lands. They grow chiefly export crops (grapes, citrus fruits and early vegetables).

Some 800,000 hectares were seized in *Tunisia* and about 1,000,000 in *Morocco*, and although here too the colonial settlement took place on a large scale, it was less significant than in *Algeria*. The feudal system of tenure was more firmly entrenched in *Tunisia* and *Morocco*. Hence in these two countries the agrarian reform program was spearheaded simultaneously against both the French settlers and the feudal beys.

Driving the people off the land and replacing the indigenous population by settlers, was much rarer in *West and Equatorial Africa* and, on the whole, less important than in *North Africa*. The colonialists ran things differently on these territories. The people were forced (by imposition of “obligatory crops” and money taxes) to raise certain kinds of export crops for the metropolitan market. This was the case with groundnuts in *Senegal*, olive palm in *Dahomey*, coffee and cocoa on the *Ivory Coast* and later in *Cameroun*, cotton in *Ubangi-Shari* (*Central African Republic*) and *Chad*, and coffee on *Madagascar*.

On *Martinique*, *Guadeloupe* and *Reunion*** the bulk of the exploited population are descendants of the slaves brought to these islands during the slave trade. The abolition of slavery in 1848 emancipated the slaves politically in the sense that legally they became free. But it did not bring them economic emancipation. The land remained with the former slave-owners and, on the pretext of growing sugar cane as a near-monoculture crop and expanding the sugar industry, vast tracts of land were concentrated in the hands of a few big owners. The prevailing tendency, especially after the Second World War, has been the proletarianization of ever bigger sections of the landless peasants working on the sugar plantations owned by the big landowners and in the refineries. These estates are being run more and more on capitalist lines.

As the conquest of colonies in *Africa* by French imperialism took place, the seized lands were distributed among the metropolitan financial groupings. By 1950 the position stood as follows: *West Africa*—225,000 hectares were divided among 59,000

*Europeans who seized the land from the indigenous inhabitants.

**The *Martinique* and *Guadeloupe*, French colonies in the Caribbean Sea, are part of the Lesser Antilles. *Reunion Island*, French colony in the Indian Ocean.

owners; *Equatorial Africa*—451,000 hectares among 2,000 owners; *Cameroun*—101,000 hectares belonged to holders of concessions.

French imperialism, furthermore, made huge grants to government companies: 440,000 hectares for example to l'Office du Niger in the Niger River valley in the Soudan; 200,000 hectares to the *Compagnie Générale des Oléagineux Tropicaux* in Kasamance (Senegal).

In recent years many timber concessions have been granted in the forest areas along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. On the Ivory Coast the concessions rose from 600,000 hectares in 1920 to 2,575,000 in 1945. For the present and former French colonies in West and Equatorial Africa they have more than doubled since the Second World War—from 3,800,000 hectares in 1945 to the present figure of eight million.

The changes which in these colonies have affected large masses of people were caused by the expansion of the area sown to export crops. As a rule this has been accompanied by a reduction in the acreage under food crops, the social consequences of which have been very grave.

Food crops had little commercial value in the villages. The chiefs could, of course, force their subjects or slaves to cultivate the fields. But there was little point in producing more than could be consumed. Export crops on the other hand had an exchange value: they could be sold and all kinds of goods bought with the proceeds. Hence the desire to have as many export items as possible and to have more land and trees for their production.

But land (or trees) is not everything; one must know something about cultivation. Primitive techniques mean low labor productivity. Hence the search for manpower, the demand for which cannot be met by the African family. The traditional chiefs are in a better position for they can use the labor of their subjects.

But when there is not enough local manpower, recourse is had to the other tribes whose conditions are worse. Often they come from hundreds and sometimes from thousands of kilometers away. But whereas formerly the African who left his tribe could easily obtain a plot of land in his new abode, this is not the case now. During the past few years tens of thousands of Sudanese and Guineans working on the Senegalese ground-nut plantations, have been returning home when the crop is gathered. The same is true of the Ivory Coast where thousands of workers (mainly from Upper Volta) no longer qualify for land. They work on the coffee and cocoa plantations, receiving one-third of the crop (under sharecropping terms). But because of the big incomes derived

from these crops, this form of share-cropping is, increasingly, being replaced by hired labor.

At the same time a growing social differentiation can be observed among the indigenous planters. Of the 7,000 planters in one of the richest areas of the Ivory Coast, fifty per cent farm on the average less than six hectares, and hardly employ any laborers; from 12 to 13 per cent farm an average of 20 hectares, of which 15 hectares are usually under coffee or cocoa. These farms employ laborers, say five or six, in addition to the members of the family.

As the plantations become larger there is less free land available for growing cocoa, a crop which requires a special kind of soil. The new plantations are located at ever greater distances from the villages, roads and railways, a factor which makes cultivation more difficult. Here we have a typical process of individual appropriation, not, as yet, of land, which has not entirely lost its communal character, but of the trees growing on it.

In the palm groves in the south of Dahomey this process of individual appropriation began at the end of the last century, possibly as a result of the unusual density of population in this part of West Africa, and because the fruits of the olive palm took on commercial value. The process has been stepped up since then. Whereas most families have about twenty trees (about a quarter of a hectare), some of the farms are numbered in hundreds of hectares. Thus a process of polarization is taking place among the tribes and in the villages. At one end there is the influential landed aristocracy, on the other—the impoverished agricultural proletariat.

In conclusion I should like to dwell on some of the measures which have been carried out in Guinea in recent years (both before and after independence).

Communal ownership of land prevails almost everywhere in Guinea. In Upper Guinea, however (in the upper reaches of the Niger and its tributaries), the Malinké tribes have evolved certain forms of family property.

On the other hand, tribal societies are usually strongly hierarchical. The Feul tribes in Fouta-Djallon, the most populated region, are a kind of feudal state with certain forms of slavery.

The relatively small concessions granted to the colonialists — about 4,000 hectares in the Conakry region—were used to grow bananas, citrus fruits and pineapples.

It was only recently that cash crops became widespread; bananas in the coastal region since 1945, and more recently, coffee in the forest region. But these crops affect the interests of only a few thousand producers in Guinea.

In these conditions a reform which was given priority over all others was carried out. It abolished the canton chiefs — local heads appointed by the French authorities. These were either the traditional chiefs or people whom the colonial administration appointed in the place of the chiefs. The decision, taken in 1957, was implemented in 1958 by the Sékou Touré government which for some months had had a certain amount of independence in resolving its internal problems.

The reform was supported by the Democratic Party of Guinea, a mass party, dynamic and well-organized, uniting all sections of the people and opposed to colonialism.

The abolition of cantonal chieftainships was primarily of political importance. It deprived the colonial administration of its mainstay in the villages, played a big part in the struggle against de Gaulle and the colonial administration, and contributed to the landslide victory in the independence referendum of September 28, 1958.

The peasants are now free to work for themselves and no longer have to pay the numerous dues in the form of labor, food and money imposed by the chiefs. One of the results of the reform is that people no longer go to Senegal for seasonal work on the ground-nut plantations, and many of the Feul herdsmen who emigrated to Portuguese Guinea have returned to Fouta-Djallon.

Divested of political power, the chiefs were obliged either to work their own land or to move to the towns to take jobs as employees or officials.

In addition to this major reform, the Guinean government has carried out a number of other measures during the past two years.

The fields which belonged to the chiefs and were cultivated by sharecroppers are now the communal property of the village. The crops, i.e., the fruits of the joint labor of the villagers, are used

in the main to cover the expenditures of the village and to pay part of the taxes levied on the inhabitants.

Some forms of agricultural co-operation are making their appearance, although this is being done with prudence, especially in cases where the technical base is wanting.

In the fertile valleys of Upper Guinea (the Malinké tribe country), where various forms of family appropriation of land took place, some of the land (chiefly the rice paddies in the Niger valley) has been re-distributed among the poor peasants. The re-distribution was carried out painlessly, partly owing to the prestige of the Party, and partly because individually-owned property is not yet firmly entrenched. Measures have been taken to mechanize the work on heavy clay soils, and irrigation installations are planned for the rice plantations.

As to the export crops—bananas and coffee—production is being extended with a view to increasing foreign trade, especially with the socialist countries. Forms of co-operation are being worked out for the procurement of fertilizers and the sale of products within the framework of a state monopoly of foreign trade.

There is no Communist Party in Guinea. The Democratic Party expresses the aspirations of all sections and classes of the population and is a sure barometer of the antagonisms that, possibly, may arise between them. The Party's decisions are effective, adapted to the local conditions, and contribute to further progress.

In mapping their future programs, the countries now winning independence in West and Equatorial Africa will undoubtedly take cognizance of the specific conditions, of the social and traditional features obtaining there and of the relationship of the social and political forces which will carry out the reforms.

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Reviews

“History of the American People”

AN important literary and political event in the United States is the publication of the first two volumes of a twelve-volume *History of the American People*, by Herbert Aptheker.* There are many flaw-packed bourgeois histories of the United States, and a number of partial revolutionary historical studies. A well rounded-out Marxist-Leninist history of the country, however, is much needed. Aptheker, editor of *Political Affairs*, theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the USA, is, in my opinion, as well as that of many others, the leading historian of the United States. So far, only two volumes of the scheduled twelve of the history have appeared, but it is already clear that Aptheker's work will have his usual superlative high quality.

In reading this review, it should be borne in mind that the history it deals with covers but a fragment of the history of the United States. At the time it covers, the United States, just concluding its bourgeois revolution, was undoubtedly the most progressive country in the world. But in the 177 years since then, the United States has become the richest, most powerful among the capitalist countries, and the most reactionary country in the world. Its aim is now to rule the globe. It is the bitter enemy of socialism and communism. It is constantly threatening humanity with the holocaust of a world atomic war. Many of the seeds of the future American imperialism are already to be found in this, the American Revolutionary period.

Vol. I. The Colonial Era

This volume deals with the colonial period which, generally speaking, begins with the discovery of the hemisphere by Columbus in 1492; but Aptheker, after reviewing the struggles of the major countries for colonies in America, settles down to the real history of the American people from 1607, when Britain, which had driven most of the other powers from the area, established Jamestown, Virginia, the first of the 13 colonies which were later to become the United States. The general content of Vol. I flows like a broad current to the inevitable outbreak of the Revolution in 1775. Aptheker follows these historic

events carefully and draws the basic lessons from them.

One of the elementary tasks of the new state soon to be born was to take the necessary steps, both ideological and political, to fuse the scattered colonies into a well-knit nation; one strong enough to cope with Britain, at that time far and away the most powerful country in the world. The aim of the British colonizers was to keep the young colonies as a collection of straggling groups incapable of concerted thought or action. Each of the colonies had its link with the “home” country, but each was sharply separated from the other in trade, politics, and ideology. But all through the colonial period the people were gradually tearing down these artificial separation devices and laying the groundwork for a new nation under the name of “American.” This trend facilitated the ultimate growth of a revolutionary spirit among the people.

Britain, at this time, was a mercantilist country. Its colonies were especially looked upon and treated as mere feeders to the welfare of the “homeland.” Every device was used to prevent the colonies from building up a rounded-out industry and trade. All they were permitted was a minimum of fringe industries, while the products of the most important industries—none competitive with Britain—were siphoned off to England. The colonies poured commodities — tobacco, lumber, rice, fish, etc., into the mother country. This draconian line of mercantilism was reinforced by laws forbidding trade between the colonies, forcing the carrying of all foreign-destined commodities in English ships to English ports, and strictly prohibiting by law the duplication of English goods, etc. Rigid control was maintained by Britain over the export of capital to the colonies, the supply of credit, the coining of money, etc. These regulations had in them the making of revolution. The colonials struggled and maneuvered against these laws, and they were driven to such expedients on a large scale as trading with enemies of Britain in times of war.

The British developed a widespread system of slavery in the American colonies to meet the insatiable demand for labor power. The American Indians, robbed of their lands, were slaughtered on the slightest pretext, and those of them that could be captured were sold as slaves. The In-

*International Publishers, New York. Vol. I, 1959, 158 pp. Vol. II, 1960, 304 pp.

dians, however, were unsatisfactory as slaves. They could easily escape. About the only way they could be deeply exploited was in the fur trade. There were vast numbers of fur-bearing animals in the forests; these were trapped by the Indians, who functioned nominally as free hunters, but who were mercilessly robbed by the fur traders—British and American. There were about 1,000,000 Indians in the total area later to be known as the United States.

The white immigrants, almost entirely from the British Isles, were widely enslaved on the pretext that they had to sell themselves as indentured servants for from two to fourteen years to pay their fare across the Atlantic. Large numbers, if not the majority of the colonial immigrant workers, had to pass through this vicious "redemptionist" or "indentured servant" system, which lasted up to and beyond the Revolution.

But numerous though they were, these bonded workers did not suffice, so the exploiters had recourse to the enslavement of Africans on a vast scale. The first Negro slaves were kidnapped and brought to Jamestown, Virginia, in the early part of the 17th century. In the centuries that it lasted, the slave trade took on huge proportions, resulting in untold suffering. "Africa lost in enslaved and killed about 65 to 75 million people" (p. 17). Aptheker estimates that at the time of the American Revolution of the 18th century, about one-third of the total colonial population of 2,500,000 were chattel slaves and indentured servants. Slaves furnished a large portion to the struggles in colonial times and to the eventual Revolution.

A profound factor in developing the American Revolution were the two English revolutions of the 17th century—the revolution of the forties and fifties and the revolution of 1689. These basic upheavals helped to give a class meaning to the many struggles that took place in the colonies during these years and they also helped in the American Revolution itself in the next century. A strong feature of nearly all the political struggles during the colonial period was that they were violent in character, especially with the approach of the American revolution.

Like their similars in various parts of the hemisphere, the British tried to forestall the Revolution, which they feared and foresaw almost from the beginning of the colonial system. They kept all key political offices to themselves — governors, military leaders, church dignitaries, etc., and they juggled matters so that all important business of state was referred to London. The British strove to build a strong class of big landholders, who were favored in every way. They made the sprouting colonial trading elements primarily into agents of the great London mer-

cantile companies. The local manufacturing bourgeoisie were poison to them and they tried all means to reduce them in number, power and influence.

The colonials were comparatively free and independent-minded. They lived in scattered farmsteads in the heavily forested lands, which basically were beyond the control of the distant British overlords. The frontiersmen on the fringes of the Indian country lived, dressed, ate, and fought pretty much as the Indians did. What land they wanted they took from the Indians (squatters) with scant regard for the laws of remote Britain. Altogether they formed a rough natural democracy which for about two centuries was a very big factor in the United States.

Religion, too, played its part in shaping the many colonies in the American hemisphere, those of Britain included. In the British colonies there were many Churches, chiefly Protestant. Large numbers of them, especially the Church in New England, were extremely reactionary, but they lacked that grip on society held by the Spanish Catholics. They were by no means so deterrent a factor on industry as the Catholic Church was in Latin America, and industry grew quickly. By 1775, the colonies were producing more bar and pig iron than the "mother" country.

American national consciousness was coming to the fore, and Aptheker says that, "Englishmen were frequently classified as 'foreigners' in the colonial press by about 1765" (p. 140). The colonials were rapidly building new governmental machinery adapted to their needs. The growing nationalism in the colonies was well stated by Patrick Henry, who said, "The distinction between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, is no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." (p. 141-).

Mostly, however, the Americans then felt that they could settle their differences with the British government without a revolutionary struggle. Meanwhile, Britain, power-drunk and arrogant, passed one industrial discriminatory law after another and filled the colonies with soldiers. George III, a despot, hardly dreamed that the colonials would dare to take up arms against seemingly all-powerful England. Yet, in the spring of 1775, with the minor battles of Concord and Lexington in Massachusetts, the Revolution became an open conflict.

Vol. II. The American Revolution

During recent years, particularly since the United States has been playing such an ultra-reactionary role in the world, the American political leaders have found it increasingly inconvenient to recognize the American Revolution. This has laid

an imprint on American historical science which seeks to underrate the significance of revolutionary developments. In contrast to this Aptheker makes an excellent case of the American Revolution, the best that I know of. In characterizing this great movement, Lenin, quoted by Aptheker, said the decisive word, when he declared it was "... one of the great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars, of which there have been so few" (*Letter to American Workers*, 1918). Aptheker quotes Foster's characterization of the struggle as "a bourgeois revolution, with some strong democratic currents within it."

One of the insoluble puzzles of the Revolution to conservative historians is how the great and strong England was decisively defeated by the much poorer and less-developed colonies, but Aptheker furnishes a thoroughly rounded-out answer to this question. First, there was the general terrain to be considered. The colonies were strung along the Atlantic seaboard for about fifteen hundred miles, and the colonists thoroughly knew the country and behind them stretched an enormous expanse of land nearly three thousand miles deep inhabited only by Indians, most of whom were unfriendly to the settlers and to a large extent also to the British. Along this relatively narrow strip of land the war was fought.

The British, almost throughout the entire eight years of the revolutionary war, occupied the towns dotted along the coast. Their troops were readily provisioned and they made necessary military movements with the help of their Navy. The rebels fought over the inland territories, largely on a guerilla basis. They were commanded by George Washington, but for the most part, the officers had little or no formal military training. The soldiers were made up, in the main, of farmers, frontiersmen, and town workers, with at first barely a semblance of uniform and little or no wages. The "ragged Continentals," nevertheless, often in head-on battles, displaying magnificent heroism, succeeded in roundly beating the "invincible" British army which outnumbered the Colonials about four to one.

Another highly important factor in the Americans winning the Revolutionary war was their successful diplomacy (Benjamin Franklin led in this for many years) carried on with various European states. These were fruitful sources of loans and volunteers. They included France, Spain, the Netherlands and Russia. France especially, with its big Navy, was a first-class ally. Generally speaking, the American colonists succeeded by and large in winning over the peoples of Europe to their cause. Lafayette, Saint-Simon, Kosciusko, Pulaski, von Steuben, and other outstanding Euro-

peans fought in the armed forces. This was a big factor in winning the war for the Americans.

Still another important element for the Americans was the close co-operation of the American rebels and the English liberal and revolutionary forces in the "homeland." At this time there was a strong ferment in England against the ruling autocracy. This largely took on the shape of support for the revolutionary movement in America. Tom Paine, a splendid pamphleteer, led in this.

The American Revolution was, undoubtedly, a popular mass movement. The reactionary writers of today, however, attack its broad character and try to make it appear as the work of a relatively small minority. Their favorite argument is that at the time of the Revolution the population was divided as follows: one-third in favor of the revolution; one-third against it; and one-third neutral. Aptheker demolishes this argument and adduces convincing facts to prove that the Revolution was a majority movement. "Thus, when in September, 1774, it was rumored—falsely, it turned out—that General Gage's troops had killed six people in Boston, very nearly every able-bodied man in Massachusetts (estimated at 80,000) took a gun and set out for the city" (p. 57). Aptheker cites many such examples to prove the mass character of the Revolution.

The Indians fought but sparsely on the side of the Revolution. This was because they felt it was mainly the white colonists that had robbed them of their land and butchered them in the process of doing so. The Indians friendly to the British were in a particularly difficult position when the Americans won the Revolutionary war, because their British allies, treacherous to the last degree, deserted them and left them at the mercy of the colonial victors.

The Negro slaves, who numbered about twenty per cent of the population, varied in their attitude toward the Revolution. They saw their chief enemy in the colonial plantation owners, who were generally a part of the Revolutionary forces. Many Negroes fled to the British in response to false promises of freedom. All the American slave colonies lost heavily in fugitive slaves. "Thomas Jefferson declared that Virginia alone in the single year 1778 lost 30,000 slaves through flight" (p. 218). Aptheker remarks that "... it appears to be conservative to say that from 1775 until 1783 some 100,000 slaves ... succeeded in escaping from slavery, though very often finding death or slavery elsewhere" (p. 218). Nevertheless, says Aptheker, "Negroes, free and slave, where and when permitted to do so, played a conspicuous part in the armed forces of the Revolution. Much red tape had to be cut before the Negro, particu-

larly the slave, was allowed to contribute his services to the Revolutionary army, but the Navy—Continental and provincial—did not pursue a Jim-Crow policy. Hence, throughout the Revolutionary years there are repeated references to Negroes as members of the crews of the infant nation's sea fighters" (p. 220). Aptheker also says that, "Certain it is that several thousand Negroes, a minimum estimate would be 5,000, served as regular soldiers in the American Revolutionary Army. Certain it is, also, that others, probably a greater total, served that army as teamsters, cooks, guides, and what were then called pioneers—or are known today as combat engineers" (p. 226). The Negro soldiers were widely noted and highly praised for their bravery in action.

As usual, there were many traitors. There was a sprinkling of them throughout, but they were not strong enough to control any of the thirteen colonies. They were mostly made up of high colonial authorities, wealthy landholders, top officials, high churchmen, and the like. Frequently, the traitors were roughly handled by the people—tarred and feathered, jailed, and their lands confiscated; some were hanged. The respectable bourgeois historians are careful to hide these militant sides of the Revolution.

The political control of the Revolution was pretty much in the hands of the wealthier classes; merchants, planters, native landholders, lawyers, and intellectuals played a big part in governing the colonies and in the leadership of the Revolution. There were many complaints among the colonists about the lack of democracy and about the snobbish class ideas among the predominant classes. Aptheker quotes the following complaint from the *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 5th, 1776: "Do not the mechanics and farmers constitute ninety-nine out of a hundred of the people of America? If these by their occupations, are to be excluded from having any share in the choice of their rulers, or forms of government, would it not be best to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the British Parliament, which is composed entirely of gentlemen?"

At this early period there were no trade union or other working-class organizations in the Americas. The workers, particularly the mechanics, took a very active part in the Revolution, but they lacked organizations of their own. The labor movement proper, and it was quite class conscious, did not begin to take shape until after the victorious close of the Revolutionary war in 1783.

The workers, notably the mechanics, the maritime workers, and unskilled laborers exerted a powerful influence on the course of the Revolution. The Sons of Neptune and the famous Sons of Liberty were almost entirely working-class in composition. They were so radical that often the

more conservative top bourgeois leaders objected. Generally, in the field of government, the workers got minor consideration, but in all the fields of struggle the workers and farmers did most of the fighting and formed the left wing of the Revolution. They had had as allies the small shopkeepers, who like them, were for the most part disfranchised.

The pressure between the colonies and Britain was so great that as early as 1750, revolutionary institutions began to appear, especially to replace the British state organs in the colonies. Long before the Revolution proper had begun, these new bodies, mostly illegal, but sometimes legal, were playing a decisive role, as the people boycotted the British institutions. When the Revolution actually began there was a definite organization to take the place of the obsolete British colonial structures.

The Revolutionary war was well under way by 1775. The purse-proud lords of England, then ruling the world, with over three times as many people in Britain as in the colonies, with a veteran army that had defeated the other armies of Europe, with a navy, then the strongest in the world and incomparably more powerful than the scattered fleet of the colonists, had only the utmost contempt for the colonials. It took eight years of hard fighting before the stiff-necked British Lords took to heart the lessons their fellows have been taught many times since by the people in revolutionary action, hauled down the flag and quit.

"Independence was not declared until more than 15 months had passed after Lexington and Concord" (p. 91), the opening battles of the Revolution. This shows the gradualness with which the idea of separation developed. The Declaration of Independence, written by Jefferson, was endorsed by Congress on July 4, 1776. In line with the bourgeois character of the Revolution, its drafters, most of them planters, merchants, lawyers, etc., paid very little attention to the rights of the Indians, the Negroes, women and the poor whites. While this document spoke of "equality, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, 600,000 American slaves—slaves for life, who transmitted their status to all offspring through the maternal line—were held to labor under the lash . . . the author of the Declaration of Independence was himself a slave-owner" (p. 108). However, the Declaration, because of its advanced character, made a stir throughout the world.

The Revolution worked out very much to the advantage of the merchants, planters, industrialists and lawyers. Royalty was abolished in the United States (although Hamilton tried hard to make Washington a king). The bourgeoisie got almost full control of the new republican form of gov-

ernment. There was confiscation of the king's forests, confiscation of the estates of Tories, termination of the rights of primogeniture, and the elimination of many other remnants of feudalism. The bulk of these advantages went to the industrial and trading capitalist elements. Aptheker says, "In addition to significant advances in particular areas of social iniquity — as slavery, the inferior status of women, educational inadequacies, religious intolerance, barbarous criminal procedures—the Revolution stimulated action on the broadest front of economic" development (p. 258). The separation of church and state was substantially achieved.

The lower ranks of society got less consideration.

Only some 50 per cent of the entire population were allowed to vote, which largely meant the disfranchisement of the worker. While the workers gained much from the many reforms introduced by the Revolution, on the whole their interests were subordinated to those of the employing classes. The Indians got nothing from the Revolution except intensified seizure of their lands. As for the Negroes, slavery was abolished in the northern states but it was left intact in the southern states where it became an even greater evil.

The bourgeois Revolution of the 18th century left many democratic tasks undone, which later fed the cause of reaction. The worst of these was the failure completely to abolish Negro slavery. Jefferson proposed to do this, but the southern planters vetoed his plan. The result was that the slave question has plagued the United States ever since. It led to the second American Revolution in 1861-65, which, under Lincoln's leadership, freed the slaves. But they were left in a sort of segregation, a shattering disgrace which only now is being very slowly rectified by the Negro struggle.

Another democratic task left undone by the first Revolution was to halt the robbery of the land of the Indians. In fact, this robbery, long practised under the British, was intensified after the Revolution. The Indians were practically stripped of their lands and driven into reservations in desert areas.

A bad feature that was stepped up by the Revolution was the unscrupulous way in which the borders of the country were extended. England had practised this widely. During the following three-quarters of a century large territories were seized, some under cover of fake purchases. Countries which lost territory in this way were England, France, Spain, Canada, Mexico and Russia. About one-half of Mexico was grabbed in the ultra-aggressive Mexican war of 1846-48. By such devices about three million square miles of valuable land were secured to the new republic. (In 1790 the USA had an area of 888,811 square miles,

by 1950 it had accumulated 3,628,130 square miles.)

In the revolutionary times, very little governmental representation was granted to the working class, and virtually none to the Negroes, poor farmers, Indians, women, many foreign-born workers, etc. It became a sort of tradition that the bourgeoisie should freely rule the country. There has never been a powerful labor party, social democratic party, or Communist Party in the United States to really test the power of the bourgeoisie.

Because of the firm control of the government exercised all these years by the capitalists, the United States has been one of the most difficult countries in which to secure important reforms. Thus the United States, home of the open shop, shop gunmen, organized strikebreakers, and the like, was for many years at the tail end of all countries in the matter of trade unionism. And so, it was not until the great economic crisis of 1929-33 (Roosevelt period) that elementary forms of social insurance were adopted—about a generation behind Europe on the average.

Another marked effect of the capitalist grip on the government is the corruption typical of the United States. In the second Revolution, of 1861-65, the capitalists, after the masses had crushed the slave-holding planters, turned the outcome into a great triumph for themselves, the effects of which are still manifest. For years afterward, the manner in which they milked the government by getting subsidies for the railroad companies, vast tracts of land, flouting the weak anti-trust laws, packing the government bodies with rump members, was a world scandal. The elections were farcical.

America has always been a comparatively high-wage country, especially from the first Revolution onward. This was due for many years to the chronic shortage of labor. But there always had been a big residue of hungry and oppressed workers, unemployed, as there is now. At present there are large bodies of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and less skilled workers living in abject poverty. Since the first Revolution, America has received some forty million immigrants from Europe and elsewhere. These were always the source of cheap labor.

The United States has long been saturated with many forces of reaction. It is now the most reactionary country, a gendarme and an enemy of progress. The American bourgeoisie, which once fought against British colonialism, has become the principal advocate of colonialism, the rabid foe of national liberation. The successful struggle of the peoples against American reaction is the main condition for the growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Wm. Z. FOSTER

Gaullism and Big Business

THE recent events in France have been followed by an attentive and at times puzzled public. No wonder it is bewildered, for, having granted political independence to its African colonies and recognized the right to self-determination for Algeria, the French government holds a referendum which denies the very principle of self-determination. And after putting forward a proposal to prohibit the means of delivery of nuclear weapons, France decided to create a nuclear "striking force" and to go ahead with the testing of atomic devices. General de Gaulle, who during the Second World War led the French Resistance to German militarism, has now permitted the new Wehrmacht to return to France.

What is behind these seemingly contradictory acts? In the interests of what class are they carried out? What is the political and social content of the regime established in France in May 1958? What is the role of General de Gaulle; is he really an arbiter between the classes, as official propaganda would have us believe, or is he simply the instrument of a class? Was it mere chance that installed the new regime in France? These questions are examined by Henri Claude, the French economist, in his book *Gaullism and Big Business*.*

The Nature of Gaullism

The author defines the political nature of the regime as "Gaullism." To designate it otherwise would, in his view, hit wide of the mark, for the appellation "Fifth Republic" does not convey its real nature. Gaullism is an amalgam of an ideology, the Constitution and the man.

For a time most Frenchmen believed de Gaulle to be a kind of enlightened nationalist whose intentions were above reproach. In point of fact, Claude writes, though General de Gaulle's activities could at times be identified with the national interests — as during the Resistance — they were always motivated by definite class interests. De Gaulle serves monopoly capital faithfully and the latter makes skilful use of him. It did so in May 1958 when the fascist character of the Algiers insurrection aroused concern among the working class and moved it to strengthen its unity, when objective grounds arose for the re-establishment of the alliance between the working class and the middle sections with the object of safeguarding the republican institutions.

*H. Claude, *Gaullisme et Grand capital*. Paris, Editions Sociales, 1960, 224 pp.

A victory of the democratic forces over the Algerian fascists and their accomplices in the metropolis would have ended the discrimination against the Communists, could have led to a regeneration of democracy and destroyed the gains of reaction after 1947. The monopolies were alarmed by this prospect. At the same time they knew that naked fascist methods of government were abhorrent to the people. Big Business needed a man who, in the guise of a savior of the Republic and the civic peace, would be supported also by the rebels. And de Gaulle was the man. "The Bourse considers General de Gaulle to be the only public figure with sufficient prestige to retrieve the situation," wrote *La Vie française*, the financial organ (p. 79). De Gaulle fully justified their hopes.

On his accession to power the General directed his fire not against reaction but against the democratic institutions. He saved the rule of the big bourgeoisie and thrust onto the shoulders of the working class and the middle sections—to a far greater extent than any government of the Fourth Republic had ever done—the entire burden of the expenditure resulting from the deepening crisis of the colonial system and the growing expansionist aims of French imperialism. It was to carry out these measures that the personal power of the President was established.

The Gaullist regime reflects French monopoly capital's fear of the growing might of the working class and the people as a whole. It is a specific form of the dictatorship of Big Business which has broken with traditional bourgeois democracy but is not fascism.

For the activity of the French Communists it is important that the essence of de Gaulle's power be assessed correctly. At the January (1961) meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Waldeck Rochet pointed out that an erroneous assessment of Gaullism had resulted in a wrong position being adopted by some Left circles who, favoring negotiations with the provisional government of the Algerian Republic, urged the people either to vote "YES" in the referendum, or to abstain, although both attitudes ran counter to the concept of negotiation. Instead of recognizing that de Gaulle was the spokesman of the big monopoly bourgeoisie, they made the mistake, Rochet stressed, of believing him to be a representative of the liberal bourgeoisie, and decided to support him against reaction.

The French Communists are not blind to the existence of antagonisms among the bourgeoisie. Thus in January 1960, at the time of the attempted

fascist putsch in Algiers, they mobilized the masses against the ultras, against the fascist danger and for peace, and showed that the authorities were conniving with the rebels.

After the failure of the putsch, the Central Committee urged the Communists to bear in mind another danger—the danger presented by the government itself. “This danger,” said Maurice Thorez in February 1960, “has now become the main danger.”

The Cherished Dream of the Grave-Diggers of Parliamentarism

Henri Claude shows that the new regime, a product of the development of French capitalism since the Second World War, reflects the old aspirations of the reactionaries. The fact that the de Gaulle Constitution embodies principles and even the wording of many of the drafts for constitutional reform proposed before and during the Second World War by the representatives of Big Business, is proof of this.

The author, for example, analyzes the program of the French Revival Party, formed shortly after the First World War with the aid of big capital. Many of the things said at the time of the crisis of the 'thirties by Tardieu, a man closely associated with the Comité des Forges, have been picked up by Debré and repeated word for word in the new Constitution.

In 1935 the Technical Committee for the Reform of the State, under the chairmanship of Jacques Bardoux—who was connected with the Indo-China Bank—with the help of the big industrialist Ernest Mercier, founder of the French Revival Party, proposed formulas which figured in the Constitution of the Vichy regime and were later incorporated into the Constitution of 1958.

During the Second World War Debré together with Emmanuel Monick, a prominent representative of monopoly capital, expressed themselves on the country's political structure in the following words: “In view of the impossibility of a president of the American type, and the impossibility of a king, the only chance for French democracy is, if one can so put it, a republican monarch” (p. 54).

Thus, Claude writes, the regime installed in 1958 reflects the policy which the ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie have been pursuing for the past thirty years. As it stands it is the culmination of the efforts undertaken since 1947 and which were crowned with success only by virtue of the events of May 1958. This enables Claude to define the historical significance of these events and the role played by General de Gaulle. The events, he writes, presented the opportunity,

and the General was the instrument which enabled the big bourgeoisie to achieve its objectives.

The objective reasons behind the aims of the French bourgeoisie should be sought not so much in the minds of its ideologists, as in the specific features of the crisis of French imperialism and in the development of state-monopoly capitalism.

The author examines these at length. After the Second World War the French capitalists were confronted by complex problems: their foreign investments had shrunk considerably and their plant and equipment, which was partly destroyed, partly worn out or obsolete, needed to be completely renewed. In order to re-establish their economic base and to do so at the expense of the people, big capital had to step up the exploitation not only of the working class but also of the other sections of the population, to appropriate their savings, to absorb or to oust a large number of small and medium enterprises, and to continue the plunder of its Asian and African colonies. The struggle was fought also on a shrunken capitalist world market where competition was becoming more acute.

Because the interests of finance capital clashed with the interests not only of the working class, but of the middle sections and the petty bourgeoisie, contradictions arose between the National Assembly, in which various social sections and classes were represented, on the one hand, and the financial oligarchy which held sway in the state apparatus, on the other.

In these conditions the big bourgeoisie could no longer rule by the old methods, or use the traditional parliamentary forms. This explains why in 1943 Debré was already speaking out against a sovereign National Assembly, and why de Gaulle opposed the 1946 Constitution which was the product of a compromise between the Left forces. It was not pure chance, the author observes, that the 1958 Constitution appeared at the height of the French colonial crisis and was presented by the reactionaries as being indispensable for overcoming the difficulties engendered by this crisis.

Monopoly Will in Action

The feature of the present regime in France, says Claude, is the advent to power of the direct representatives of finance capital. The President of the Republic is, according to bourgeois propaganda, above parties and above classes; his sole aim is to safeguard the interests of the nation. The Socialist Party has played its part in fostering this myth. “I am convinced for my part,” wrote Guy Mollet, for example, on November 5, 1959, “that General de Gaulle continues to show the independence which comprises his main strength, and that he is not prepared to serve

the interests of any particular group to the detriment of the general interest" (p. 24).

The author cites a number of facts concerning de Gaulle's personal ties with representatives of the big reactionary and Catholic bourgeoisie in the north of France and the cosmopolitan banks of Worms and Rothschild, the Union Parisienne, the Banque de Paris et de Pays-Bas, etc. "Of course," Claude writes, "family ties do not always determine the political orientation of a man, who can, for example, break with his class. More important is the people with whom he surrounds himself and to whom he confides important government posts." Claude recalls that since 1943 de Gaulle has surrounded himself with people connected with the highest financial circles. It was no longer a question of the penetration of finance capital into the government institutions but of a veritable invasion. "One must go back to the Vichy regime to find the same number of representatives of Big Business in the leading bodies of the state apparatus: the government, administrative bodies and the political apparatus" (p. 33).

Debré, appointed Prime-Minister by de Gaulle, is closely linked with the financial oligarchy. The director of two companies, he has family relations with the bankers Wendel and industrial circles. Other members and officials of the government are in the service of big capital. There are representatives of all the big banks in the government establishments. This shows that "behind the personal power of de Gaulle is concealed the personal power of the banks. The Gaullist power thus appears in its stark reality and it can be epitomized in the following words: de Gaulle reigns, big capital governs" (p. 36).

The representatives of monopoly capital have now more opportunity to influence government policy. Since the installation of the de Gaulle regime it has become customary to convene conferences with the participation of the industrial magnates. If, for example, there arises the question of government policy on the production of equipment, a meeting is at once called of representatives of the engineering industry—not of the workers of course, but of the industrialists. When on June 3, 1959, Debré convened a meeting of representatives of the iron and steel monopolies to discuss steel production, "the former Comité des Forges came to the Council of Ministers in a body in order to determine government policy at a dinner held at the expense of the taxpayer. . . ." They were joined by the automobile kings. Collaboration with the big industrialists takes on various forms—even to the point of establishing working groups which draft government decisions. These groups include only the

most influential employers and they function in the Ministries quite openly.

Much of the book is devoted to the measures adopted by the de Gaulle government. They mirror the desire of the French ruling circles to safeguard their imperialist interests and the class interests of world capitalism at a time when world imperialism is on the retreat and colonialism disintegrating.

Claude points out that the particular interests of French capitalism do not overshadow the class solidarity which binds it to the bourgeoisie of other countries. De Gaulle's changed attitude towards the USSR and the German problem is proof of this. "The man who went to Moscow in 1944 to subscribe to 'a good and splendid alliance' with the USSR, approved in 1947 the renunciation of this alliance and became the champion of anti-Sovietism; the man who after the defeat of Hitler wished to dismember Germany . . . shortly afterwards advocated the re-establishment of the Reich and the remilitarization of West Germany" (p. 81). This man has gone even further of late and has, in effect, agreed to the occupation of French territory by the new German Wehrmacht.

When he went to Moscow in 1944 to conclude the Franco-Soviet alliance, de Gaulle believed that the balance of world forces was not in favor of socialism. In this perspective it was possible, in his view, to rely on the USSR in order to push back the British and American imperialists. But when it became clear that he had miscalculated and that the balance of forces had tilted in favor of socialism, de Gaulle changed his attitude. The class interests of the French bourgeoisie demanded that he range himself with American imperialism. That was why he approved the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the aggressive anti-Soviet policy.

Neither could de Gaulle's nationalistic and chauvinist positions on Germany hold out against the class interests of the French bourgeoisie which, confronted with the growing forces of socialism and the rising revolutionary movement, sought to form a united front of the West European bourgeoisie against the proletariat and the democratic forces. It was with this object that it agreed to re-establish the economic, political and military positions of the West German bourgeoisie.

In the same way the class interests of finance capital determine de Gaulle's policy on "European integration." There was a time when French capital, weakened by the war, was opposed to a union of the European capitalist states. In 1954 the Schneider group and some of the Lorraine industrialists opposed the European Defense Community, which included several economic provisions. At that time de Gaulle and his followers also

sharply opposed the EDC. But things were good for French capitalism between 1954 and 1958. Just before 1958 the rate of growth of industrial output in France was higher than that of the other capitalist countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

The discovery of oil in the Sahara and of power sources in France itself contributed to changing the attitude of the French monopolies. They could, they hoped, now compete successfully within the framework of the Common Market. Representatives of Big Business urged de Gaulle to change his attitude to "European integration." Speaking in Lyons on November 4, 1958, G. Villiers, President of the National Employers' Federation, said that "the European Economic Community is at the same time a test and a chance for our country. That is what I told General de Gaulle, and I entreated him solemnly to proclaim with all the prestige enjoyed by his person that the Common Market should become a reality" (pp. 98-99). And as he always does, de Gaulle "hearkened to" the "supplication" of the head of the financial magnates. "The personality of the General, the Constitution of October 4, 1958, and the nationalist ideology of Gaullism," observes Henri Claude in this connection, "... conform fully both to the class interests and the economic interests of the most active section of French capitalism. . . . General de Gaulle's ambition to play a political role in the Europe of the Six is objectively based on the pretensions of finance capital to play a similar role on the economic plane" (p. 103).

As far as the African colonies are concerned, French finance capital aims at: concentrating its forces in order to rank first in exploiting the natural resources of Africa and particularly in the Sahara; securing the co-operation in this of American, British and, eventually, German capitalism. De Gaulle's advent to power was a great help in this respect. De Gaulle's first plan for Algeria, known as the Constantine Plan, envisaged close collaboration between the colonial administration and the monopolies. However, if the "industrialization" of Algeria is to be effected and an industrial labor force built, the war must be ended. And it was on this question that a contradiction set in between the interests of finance capital and the interests of the Algerian settlers, a contradiction which led to the latter's abortive putsch in January 1960. This time de Gaulle did not support the rebels because they were not supported by the Bourse, which is pleased with the present political regime in France. "The end of the insurrection in Algiers," wrote *La Vie française* in this connection, "was welcomed by the oil group with relief" (p. 155). However, says Claude, "if French capital is prepared to

fight against the ultras up to a certain point and if it is moved by a desire to end the war in Algeria, it fears at the same time the emergence of an independent national state which can nationalize the power resources of the Sahara" (p. 154). This explains the constant vacillation and inconsistency of de Gaulle's Algerian policy.

It was not because he was prompted by anti-imperialist convictions that de Gaulle ultimately agreed to grant independence to Mali and Madagascar and, in words, recognized the right of the Algerian people to self-determination, but because, emphasizes Claude, he was forced to retreat together with the whole of French imperialism under the impact of the liberation movement in Africa and the democratic movement in France and throughout the world. De Gaulle did his best to carry out the basic task assigned to him by the big bourgeoisie: that of finding new positions from which it could maintain its rule in the new political conditions, for the old political and legal framework could no longer be held together.

* * *

In embarking on his analysis of Gaullism, Henri Claude says he will write another book on the perspectives of this regime and on the possibilities and conditions for the democratization of the social life of France. But the book under review contains enough material to enable the reader to draw a number of conclusions. The new regime, established as a result of the events of May 1958, is not the simple consequence of these events and therefore is not something that just happened. It follows from this that the regime will not disappear from the political scene as quickly as it appeared, and that struggle will be needed to achieve this. On the other hand, history shows that the establishment of this regime was not something ordained by fate, and this idea is stressed by the French Communist Party. Unity of the working class, the solidarity with this class of all those opposed to monopoly capital and joint action by all the democratic and republican forces could have prevented power from passing to the direct representatives of the oligarchy. And today the unity of the millions of French people could foil the fascist plots, achieve peace and the regeneration of democracy. It could disarm the handful of monopolists now entrenched in power. The results of the January referendum — which showed that the number of those voting against de Gaulle had risen somewhat and the number voting for him had declined—are an indication that his personal power is on the wane. This examination of the problems now facing France has enabled Henri Claude to substantiate the objective possibility and the need for the unity of the anti-monopoly forces. And that is its merit.

R. MATVEYEV

Giuseppe Boffa: "The Challenge to America"

IT would be hard to find a person today who is indifferent to the prospects of the peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist systems and who does not follow the Soviet Union's fulfilment of its pledge to outstrip the United States in per capita production.

This competition is the subject of countless newspaper and magazine articles, of radio broadcasts and television, of researches and estimates, interviews, pamphlets and books.

A recent book on the subject which merits attention both for the research that has gone into it and for what it foresees for the next decade or so, is *The Challenge to America*,* by Giuseppe Boffa, the Italian Communist writer. Boffa not only examines the prospects of the competition between the two systems, but also dwells on the tasks of the Communists and other democrats in the various countries in the course of this contest.

The author is to be commended for his systematized exposition in the space of 176 pages of the basic relevant data, mainly Soviet and American, and for the striking and politically pointed commentary. Particularly noteworthy are the pages dealing with the evolution that has taken place in the U.S. response to the Soviet challenge and the achievements of the Soviet Union since 1955.

In the past, too, countries have vied with one another in various ways for first place in the world. This being so, why is it, Boffa asks, that the present contest between the USSR and the USA exerts such a powerful influence on the minds of men? The answer, he tells us, is to be found in the times we are living in, in the rapid progress in technology and science, in the threat of nuclear war hanging over man, and also in the source and circumstances of the challenge.

The issue at stake is not what it used to be all too often in the past, namely, world domination, achieved as a rule by plunder and bloodshed. The Soviet Union's challenge is to a competition to produce more, to provide more food, clothing and homes, to ensure a higher living standard, to enable men to live a better, more enlightened, freer life. Never before has there been a competition like this between states. And the distinguishing feature of this competition is that it is not between identical states, but between two opposite ways of life, two world outlooks, two systems of production, two types of relations between people, in a word, between two differing societies, one of which, the first of its kind in the world, free of class antagonisms,

is not founded on exploitation of man by man. *The issue at stake is to establish which is the best social system.* If this were not so, many would no doubt be indifferent to the contest. But since peace, man's future and the consolidation of the social and political system capable of ensuring that future depend on it, this competition of the two worlds is of vital interest to all people; and the competition between the USSR and the USA is regarded as being decisive.

Two other circumstances help to make this competition the universal centre of attraction: first, it presupposes peaceful coexistence, with the danger of war and armed clashes steadily receding and being replaced by efforts to make the best showing in production — a matter of the greatest interest to the people of all countries; second, it is the only rational and possible way to end the cold war, which is hated by the peoples. This struggle between the two systems, one of the basic forms of class struggle in general, is for the first time in history taking place in conditions dictated by the forces of socialism.

Today hardly anyone can be unaware of the magnitude of the issues involved. But in 1955, when the Soviet people officially announced their intention to overtake the United States, "their challenge," says Boffa, "was pooh-poohed as a propaganda stunt." The view that the USSR was a whole century behind the USA still had wide currency in the capitalist West.

Besides, a survey conducted by the U.S. Congress in that year on Western and Soviet economic trends showed that most American economists believed that the gap between the United States and the Soviet Union in the production of material values (both gross and per capita) would widen in the next twenty years, i.e., by 1975.

Another congressional investigation of the same kind made in 1957 revealed a pronounced evolution in views. This time it was conceded that the rate of development was higher in the Soviet Union than in the United States, though the conclusion remained unchanged — it was still assumed that the USA would retain its superiority indefinitely.

By 1959, when the last survey was made (the findings are given in the book), the American experts were ready to admit that the Soviet rate of development was faster, and they said quite frankly that unless the situation changed radically, the Soviet Union would overtake the USA. Thus, the views have changed drastically, but the tendency is still to underestimate the Soviet economic potential, while some even distort the Soviet data in order to magnify the U.S. potential: "It would be too

*Giuseppe Boffa, *La sfida all America*. Editori Riuniti, Rome, 1960, p. 176.

much to expect," Boffa observes, "perfect accuracy from those who ridiculed the early five-year plans and who only a few years ago were unaware that the adversary they thought was a whole century behind was already hard on their heels."

Even the most diehard believers in U.S. "omnipotence" and "exceptionalism" have had to readjust their thinking under the impact of the Soviet Union's unprecedented accomplishments in cosmic exploration, which opened their eyes to the new relationship of economic, scientific and military forces on the world arena.

As an example of sober thinking, Boffa quotes a statement by George Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, which has a particularly timely ring today, considering the fact that he is a spokesman of President-elect Kennedy's wing of the Democratic Party. As Kennan puts it, the USA, with its lack of high ideals and its concentration on personal prosperity and amusement, with its great shortage of public funds and abundance of gadgets, with its chaotic transport system, vast cities that are gradually losing their centripetal force owing to the rapid growth of mechanized transport, a school system which systematically sacrifices quality for the sake of quantity, and a social discipline which cannot ensure work even for the major industries without grave interruptions, is unable to withstand long-term competition with a purposeful, serious and disciplined society such as the USSR.

This point and other points cited in the book show that more and more bourgeois leaders and economists are frankly admitting the inability of the USA to compete successfully with the Soviet Union.

Of particular interest are some of the views published after the book appeared and which confirm Boffa's points. Most significant perhaps are the conclusions reached at a special discussion on the Soviet economy held behind closed doors in Washington in November 1960. The *New Republic* said that the experts who attended, while speaking for themselves, nevertheless expressed in one or another degree the views of the Central Intelligence Agency Committee on Economic Development, Rand Corporation, State Department, and other government agencies.

The *New Republic* article reveals to some extent the cards of those economists who for propaganda purposes deny or minimize the achievements of the Soviet Union. The feature of the Washington gathering, says the journal, was straight-from-the-shoulder talk and absence of the usual prevarication which evidently is considered necessary in any public discussion of Soviet accomplishments. It was agreed that the Russians would achieve their seven-year plan targets.

While still not conceding that the Soviet Union would be able to reach the U.S. production level

in the next ten years, the American experts had to admit, painful though it was, that even if President Kennedy were to bring up the annual rate of U.S. economic growth to four per cent (which we think most unlikely), the Soviet Union would catch up in the 1980's.

A striking thing is that even part of the monopoly press in a number of countries holds — on the basis of American figures and estimates — that before long the Soviet Union will outstrip the United States also as regards living standards. For instance, the *Corriere della sera*, mouthpiece of the monopolists in Milan, the main industrial, financial and commercial centre in Italy, stated in an editorial in its November 29, 1960, issue that in the USA "the saturation of the market with goods and services has retarded economic development. A policy designed to control the economic cycle has taken the upper hand over economic development. It is not fortuitous that during the election campaign the growth of the national income in the USA was compared time and again with that in the USSR. . . . The difference between the indices of the two countries is such that the USA is beginning to fear that in another ten or twenty years — the exact time is not important — the USSR will catch up with the U.S. standard of living."

Many non-Marxist economists feel that by 1965 the socialist camp will have substantially outstripped the USA in the key fields of economy. They hold, for instance, that by 1965 the socialist countries will be producing about as much steel as the United States and Western Europe taken together. They also reject the view that steel production can grow only alongside the growth of armaments, emphatically declaring that war industry can have only a very limited effect on it. If armaments are reduced sharply on a global scale and the world powers agree to turn over part of the saving to an international fund for promoting industrial development in the young, rising countries, this in their opinion would expand the world steel market and have a much greater and more lasting stimulating effect on investment by the old industrial countries.

These economists believe that only radical disarmament and the elimination of the war danger can give the people the security they yearn for and safeguard them against the horrors of nuclear annihilation.

But how is this to be achieved? How can disarmament and peace be ensured and nuclear war averted? What should be done by the peoples, the working class, the Communists and Socialists, to defeat militarism and war and pave the way to a world at peace, without hunger, poverty or social injustice?

Boffa answers these questions with utmost clarity.

He likens the competition between the two systems to the beam of a searchlight focused on the basic contradictions and problems of our time, primarily the problem of war and peace, making them understandable to the broad strata of the population, including those most directly subjected to anti-communist propaganda. Peace, Boffa declares, is, and will be increasingly, the "result of the conscious struggle of the peoples who today have more means at their disposal than yesterday, and tomorrow will have more means than they have today, to impose peace on those who do not even want to hear of it."

Further, the author discusses the tasks of the Communists and all other democrats in the light of this competition.

In the course of this peaceful economic competition, Boffa says, it becomes more and more obvious that capitalism offers no way out either for the underdeveloped countries or for those at a higher economic level. As time goes on, it becomes clearer that only socialism can solve the problems of the day. "Yet," he continues, the mere "proof of the superiority of socialism does not automatically yield victory to socialism in the Western European countries and the United States (or in the countries of the 'underdeveloped' East, for that matter). This is a sphere in which one must avoid any mechanical association of phenomena. The economic competition — this should be underscored again and again — is but one aspect of the class struggle on an international scale. The other aspect cannot be overlooked. Under no circumstances — and especially when the issue is the victory of socialism in the various parts of the capitalist world — should the one decisive factor be ignored, namely, the conscious action of the popular masses headed by the working class along a wide front. Without this revolutionary activity all along the line, it will be impossible to establish the new society, regardless of the achievements of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist system in their competition with capitalism."

Boffa quite correctly points out that it is up to the people of each country to choose the system they want, that no outside force can impose one or another type of society on them. "To think otherwise," he says, "would mean falling into the error of fatalism, which would inevitably put off the desired victory. It is utterly incorrect to believe that the gains of socialism in the competition soften the resistance of the old ruling classes in the countries where they still are in power. Rather the op-

posite is true: they will cling to their privileges still more stubbornly, with the resistance at times becoming desperate, approximating in some cases to the methods of fascism (suffice it to mention France), and at times more insidious, with methods akin to those of the reformists. Each people will have to mount its own offensive against this wall; no one else can do it for them."

What will be the outcome of the peaceful competition? To this the author answers: the victories of socialism in the economic competition and the struggle in general between the two systems provide the peoples with new and more effective means for storming the bastions of the old world. And while it would be a mistake to stand by and wait for victory to come as a result of the achievements of others, it would be no less a mistake to fail to see the greater opportunities opened up to all the forces fighting for socialism by the competition between the two systems. The alternative offered to a capitalism gripped by crisis will be not only a socialism "richer" than it (instead of "poorer" as formerly), but a fuller socialism developing into communism, in other words, socialism capable of ensuring a rapid growth of prosperity in both the "underdeveloped" and highly developed countries. "Moreover," Boffa goes on, "the membership of the Communist parties does not grow mechanically. But the conditions in which the battle for the new society is fought become far more favorable. Socialism, which stands for progress, civilization, well-being and freedom, will attract more and more people to its banner. It is essential that the working class and the masses rallying around it should be aware of this. The achievements of socialism in the peaceful competition open up wider and wider vistas for us. More they cannot do. But that in itself is a great deal. It is up to the progressive forces themselves to make the most of these prospects."

One can but welcome the appearance of a book on this vital and timely subject. Boffa's contribution, though naturally it does not cover all aspects of the competition between the two social systems, is useful reading both for economists and people active in public life and for the public. It is to be hoped that other researches will shortly appear in the various countries dealing with the subject of the peaceful competition and the impact of its progress on political, social and economic life, with the fight for peace and disarmament, for friendship and co-operation among countries, and for the growth of democracy and socialism.

S. BRUNI

Looking Forward to the Year 2000

*Apropos of Dr. Fritz Baade's Views on the Prospects of Peaceful Competition**

THE changes that have taken place in the world in favor of socialism, and in particular the steady strengthening of the German Democratic Republic, have aggravated the moral crisis of West German Social Democracy, accentuating the tensions in its ranks. This is manifest in the growing sentiment among both the rank and file and the functionaries of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in support of the policy of peaceful co-existence and general disarmament pursued by the socialist states, against atomic armament of the West German army, and for agreement between the working class and all other peace-loving forces in West Germany on the one hand, and the German Democratic Republic, on the other, as proposed by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany with a view to establishing a confederation of the two Germanys.

In contrast to this policy, which corresponds to the vital interests of the peoples, the clique of Right-wing leaders are doing everything in their power to turn the Social Democratic Party into a tool of the Bonn militarists. The basic policy of these enemies of the working class and people of Germany, entrenched in the Social Democratic Party, is anti-communism, which is also the official doctrine of Adenauer's military-clerical regime. In fact the Right-wing leadership of the Social Democratic Party is at one with the military course of the Bonn government.

Evidence of this was provided once again by the Hanover Congress of the SDPG at the end of November which reaffirmed the policy of capitulation. Contrary to the will of the rank and file, who submitted numerous resolutions calling for a clear-cut stand against nuclear armament, the Rights pressed, in the spirit of Adenauer and Strauss, for equipping the West German army with atomic weapons through the devious channels of NATO and thus for making it the leading military force in Western Europe. All the local recommendations against atomic armament were turned down and things so manipulated that decisions lending support to the diehard militarists and revanchists were taken.

The course adopted by the congress runs counter to the views of the majority of the membership, who are emphatically demanding consistent struggle against nuclear armament, a curb on West German imperialism and militarism, and the im-

plementation of a working-class policy. Indicative in this respect was the demand for political strikes against the projected legislation to give extraordinary powers to the Adenauer government, and for unrelenting struggle against arming the Bundeswehr voiced at the recent West German metalworkers' congress. This sentiment is reflected also in the book *The Race for the Year 2000*, by Dr. Fritz Baade, a Social Democratic member of the Bundestag and director of the Institute of Economics in Kiel, the recent publication of which in West Germany attracted considerable attention.

Dr. Baade disagrees with the Right-wing leaders of the SDPG who, justifying their subservience to Adenauer, claim there is no alternative to his NATO policy. Analyzing the present situation and the prospects for the decades ahead, the author shows that there is an alternative — the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the two social systems. He unequivocally declares his support for this policy and says that the purpose of his book is to "study the possibilities and perspectives of peaceful competition" (p. 12).

Communism Will Triumph

For Dr. Baade the sense of the peaceful competition is the "building of an entirely new world, a world without hunger, poverty or war" (p. 15). He has no doubt as to the outcome of this competition and points out that his book contains many facts that will hardly soothe the rulers of the Western world. And "saddest of all (for the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, of course—R.H.) is that the predominant influence in the world will be exerted by the East—not only because of size of population but because of the economic potential" (p. 17).

Particularly noteworthy are the facts adduced to show that by the year 2000 the overwhelming majority of mankind will be living under communism. According to the author's estimates, the population of the socialist countries will have increased from the present 1,000 million to 2,400-2,600 million, whereas the capitalist countries will have risen from 770 million to 1,000-1,200 million. In the underdeveloped countries the population is expected to grow from 1,000 million to 2,400-2,600 million.

Moreover, the author foresees fundamental social changes taking place in the near future in the areas designated as underdeveloped, and as a result, the world correlation of forces will shift still more in favor of socialism.

*Fritz Baade, *Der Wettlauf zum Jahre 2000*. Gerhard Stalling Verlag, Oldenburg and Hamburg, 1960 pp. 304.

In contrast to the prattle of the Right-wing Socialist leaders about the Communists infiltrating into the underdeveloped countries, Dr. Baade stresses that the motive forces of social change mature inside these countries. Just as the ultimate collapse of the colonial system is dictated by the laws of history, so will the peoples of the new anti-imperialist national states, as well as the peoples still fighting for freedom from colonial oppression, push on towards a society free from exploitation and oppression. Even the so-called aid which the Western imperialist powers render the underdeveloped countries with a view to interfering in their internal affairs and preventing their industrialization cannot alter this. Incidentally, the Adenauer government, too, in furtherance of its expansionist ends and not without the support of the Social Democrat and trade union officials, is extending such "aid."

The new national states can expect genuine help in winning complete independence from imperialism and developing their economy and culture only from the socialist countries, which, as is pointed out in the November 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties, are wholeheartedly against any interference in the internal affairs of these states. The socialist countries, the Statement says, "help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel" Dr. Baade quite correctly comments that "Russia's contribution to date in this sphere already eclipses everything done by all the countries of the West" (p. 131). He regards the fight for winning the support of the population of these countries as a key element in the competition between the two social systems.

Socialism Is Superior to Capitalism

Dr. Baade's examination of the global relationship of forces confirms the superiority of the socialist world system. Basing his analysis on the expansion of the productive forces and the rate of growth of industrial output in the two systems, he compares, in particular, indices and trends in the Soviet Union and in the USA and shows that in the past ten years the annual increase of industrial production in the latter has averaged 3.6 per cent, whereas the Soviet annual increase is more than 10 per cent.

In Baade's opinion, the difference is bound to increase inasmuch as the rate of capital investment is considerably higher in the Soviet Union than in the United States. Total investment in the Soviet Union in 1958 was 28 times as great as in 1929, while investment in industrial plant increased 70-fold, he points out. The superiority of the Soviet

Union in this sphere is evident from the fact, also cited in the book, that in 1958 the Soviet Union produced 138,000 machine-tools against 32,000 in the USA.

From this Dr. Baade concludes that the socialist camp is "superbly equipped" for the economic competition with capitalism. "An annual 9-10 per cent growth of industrial output will, in the course of a number of years or even decades, ensure an overall increase bordering on the fantastic" (p. 154). This makes it possible, as the recent Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties says, to surpass "the capitalist world system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then to outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and the standard of living."

The book also contains an analysis of productivity of labor and production costs in the engineering industry. Dr. Baade shows that the USA lags behind the Soviet Union in this branch, and cites Professor Melman, the American machine-tool expert, who after his visit to the Soviet Union in 1959, said that "in the Moscow and Leningrad factories he visited, only 200 man-hours were required to produce a 16-inch lathe as against 600-800 man-hours at Western European plants; that a machine tool comes off the assembly line in a Moscow plant every fifteen minutes, whereas in Western plants similar machine-tools are turned out in series of only 10 or 20, depending on the orders" (p. 155).

As regards prices, the author points out that a machine-tool costing 14,000 rubles (3,500 dollars at the official exchange rate in force at the time) in the Soviet Union, comes to 3,800 dollars in Western Europe and 10,000 in the United States. In the light of this he foresees a big expansion in the Soviet Union's machine-tool exports "unless production methods in the West in general and in the United States in particular are considerably improved" (p. 155).

In addition to the engineering industry, steel and power production and other key branches are also examined in detail. Here, too, the author arrives at the same conclusions, thereby confirming N. S. Khrushchov's words that the time is not far off when the socialist countries will be producing more than half the world's industrial output.

Dwelling on the prospects of food production on a world scale, Baade explodes the myth of the superiority of capitalist agriculture and private ownership of land. He warns against the delusion that "part of the Russian or Chinese people might be induced to support the principle of private ownership of land" (p. 103). Comparing the progress made in Soviet and American agriculture and analyzing their trends, he arrives at the conclusion that "collective agriculture, too, will have registered many positive achievements by the year 2,000

regardless of whether there will be 300 or 350 million people to be fed in Russia by that time; collectivized agriculture will, undoubtedly, be able to feed even a bigger population" (p. 82).

Examining the reasons for the economic superiority of the socialist countries, Dr. Baade declares that "the communist countries are at an advantage largely because they can plan far ahead on a generous scale and also market the output according to plan, whereas in the Western countries in general and in the United States in particular the process of growth is again and again interrupted by crises" (p. 156).

Although he does not forecast the prospects of all the socialist countries, he makes it clear that the same tendencies are in evidence there as in the Soviet Union. This applies also to the German Democratic Republic. In point of fact, Dr. Baade indicated a long time ago that the real economic miracle in Germany is taking place in the Democratic Republic.

Much space is devoted to an analysis of the superiority of socialism in the matter of public education and science. This is a sphere of cardinal importance for it is people with their skills, experience and knowledge that are decisive for the development of the productive forces. The author points out that the superiority of socialism is manifest both in the numbers of specialists trained and in their scientific and technological qualifications.

The main reason why the educational system in the Soviet Union is better than that of the USA lies in the nature of the social system. Here, as in the other socialist countries, class privilege has been done away with and every opportunity provided for the millions to develop their creative talents. To acquire an education under socialism a child need have only ability and the desire to study.

The author emphasizes that, contrary to the United States, Soviet schools attach particular importance to mathematics, physics and chemistry, and this has laid a broad foundation for training technicians and researchers. Dwelling primarily on the training of engineers, which has a direct bearing on the outcome of the economic competition between the two social systems, Dr. Baade finds that in this respect the American educational system is in a bad way. In 1950 U.S. technical colleges graduated 52,732 certified engineers, and in 1954 only 22,236. The number of graduates in the natural sciences declined by nearly half between 1950 and 1957. "The situation is different in the Soviet Union. In 1950, 28,000 engineers were trained, in 1954, 53,000, in 1955, 63,000, and now more than 70,000. And these figures cover only the annual increase in the numbers of certified engineers. Some 170,000 finish the Soviet Union's secondary technical schools every year. The United States trains only

about one-third as many specialists with comparable qualifications" (p. 244).*

Dr. Baade makes a special point of the large appropriations made in the Soviet Union for education and research. The funds are far in excess of those allocated for the same purpose in the West. Hence the difference in results. "The substantial advantage the Russians undoubtedly had over the Western world in rocketry when they put the first sputnik into orbit has not diminished, on the contrary, it has increased," we read in the book. "Sputnik I was not mere chance. It was something that was bound to happen" (p. 249). The author stresses that the Russian system of research is superior to that in the West not only because of the expenditure for constructive purposes of nearly twice the percentage of the national income used for these purposes in the West, but also because the funds are employed more effectively to stimulate all fields of endeavor according to plan.

In scientific research in the Soviet Union the same expenditures produce a greater effect than in the capitalist countries, where the drive for profits and cutthroat competition between monopolies act as a brake on research.

For Complete Disarmament and Peaceful Coexistence

From Dr. Baade's examination of the facts it follows that socialism undoubtedly has a better chance of winning in the peaceful competition of the two social systems. "The Western world," he says, "will have to exert very great efforts if it wishes to obtain more or less satisfactory results in this competition" (p. 253).

Dr. Baade is for peaceful economic competition and definitely against any competition in armaments. Contrary to the old illusion cherished by the imperialist circles that the triumphant march of socialism can be halted by another world war, he writes: "All our traditions as regards war and defense have become (because of nuclear weapons—R.H.) senseless and fraught with deadly danger for us and our children and grandchildren" (p. 272).

The very existence of weapons of wholesale annihilation should make it clear, in Dr. Baade's opinion, to every statesman that radical disarmament is the only hope. Hence he advocates not only banning nuclear weapons, but the destruction of all conventional arms and the return of all men now in the armed forces to peaceful labor.

This brings him into open opposition to the views on nuclear armament propounded by the Right-wing Social Democrats at their recent Hanover Congress, where one of them, Brandt, declared in

*According to Soviet statistics, 36,000 certified engineers graduated from the Soviet Union's higher schools in 1950, 56,000 in 1954, 66,000 in 1955, and 108,000 in 1959. The secondary technical schools graduated 273,800 persons in 1959.

a summing-up speech: "We must get used to living in a balance of fear." Brandt, moreover, promised that should he be elected to the Chancellorship he would continue Adenauer's policy. And in conformity with this, one of the congress resolutions declares: "The Bundeswehr shall be equipped with effective (i.e., nuclear—R.H.) weapons".

In view of the complex situation in the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, it is highly significant that one of its deputies in the Bundestag should support complete disarmament and have no doubts as to the sincerity of the Soviet disarmament program, thereby challenging the stand of the Right-wing who denounce the Soviet disarmament proposals as propaganda and bluff.

Dr. Baade also exposes the illusion still widespread in the West that the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals are dictated by its weakness. "If we soberly examine the situation as regards modern armaments and their development in the foreseeable future, we cannot but conclude that Khrushchov's proposal was made not because of military weakness but from an awareness of strength A reduction of armed forces would signify — and this is most important — a substantial saving in military expenditure. If the Western countries do not take up this initiative of the Russians, their military spending will be a heavier and constantly growing burden on the economy than is the case in the Soviet Union. The fact that it is Khrushchov who proposes radical disarmament with effective control is of cardinal importance in modern history" (pp. 256-257).

The author foresees that by accepting the Soviet disarmament proposals, "the world could wage such a fight against hunger as would abolish it everywhere the fight against poverty could be so conducted as to wipe it out in all corners of our planet. But hunger and poverty can be eradicated only if man's third greatest scourge — war — is abolished" (p. 254).

This is a program that expresses the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the SDPG rank and file and the West German population as a whole, who want peace and disarmament. "Radical disarmament and the consequent abolition of war," the author emphasizes, "would give people the security the nations yearn for and do away with the threat of wholesale annihilation" (pp. 263-264). Hence he opts for peaceful coexistence, the

underlying principles of which he formulates thus: "1. I have no need of your territory, you have no need of mine. 2. I have no desire to persuade you, to say nothing of forcing you, to accept my system. Nor should you try to persuade or force me to accept yours" (p. 103).

These views on peaceful coexistence and total disarmament correspond to the vital interests of the German people, and for this reason they are supported by all who really wish to preserve peace.

Dr. Baade's approach to the basic issues of peace coincides with the viewpoint set forth by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party in its open letter of July 1960 to the members, functionaries and friends in the Social Democratic Party. A weakness of his book, the excellent things said notwithstanding, is that it fails to emphasize the need to rally the masses to fight for these demands. Today it is no longer enough to be realistic in assessing the situation and to declare for complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence; one must also wage an active struggle against all the forces working against these vital aims. Taken as a whole, Baade's book cannot be described as a Marxist analysis of world developments. In point of fact a Marxist would hardly agree with some of the opinions.

But for all that, Dr. Baade's book shows that the common interests of the working people of the two Germany's are stronger than their differences. At the same time it throws light on the deep-seated contradictions within the Social Democratic Party, contradictions which are bound to come out into the open as the burden of military expenditure grows heavier. And by showing that the socialist world system now exerts a powerful influence on world developments, Dr. Baade makes a useful contribution towards bringing home to the West German working class the basic issues of our times. This process of clarifying ideological questions, stimulated by the achievements of the German Democratic Republic in the fight for socialism, fosters a growing resistance to the policy of capitulation pursued by the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders. And, in turn, this strengthens the forces favoring united action of the working class and other working people in West Germany for peace, democracy and social progress, forces which have firm support in the German Democratic Republic.

Richard HERBER

Communications and Comment

Bonn's Revenge-Seeking Is a Threat to Peace in Europe

RECENT developments testify to a growing threat to peace through the militarism and the spirit of revenge now being fostered in West Germany.

For several years past West Germany, aided by the United States and other NATO countries, has been building up its military strength. The support given by international, mainly U.S., imperialism is encouraging the revenge aspirations of the West German rulers. This is evident from the place which the claims to Polish territory along the rivers Oder and Neisse and on the Baltic coast occupy in the plans of the Bonn revenge-seekers.

These gentlemen are becoming increasingly reckless and provocative. Only recently the Bonn government pretended that it had nothing in common with these revenge-thirsty elements. Now, however, it has openly proclaimed the incorporation by force of arms of the German Democratic Republic and the seizure of Polish, Czechoslovak and Soviet lands as the chief goal of its policy. Bonn officials are frequent "guests" at anti-Polish and militarist rallies of the associations of "countrymen." Having donned the rusty armor of a knight of old, Chancellor Adenauer has assured these "countrymen" that NATO will help them to return to the Polish territories in the former East Prussia. Recalling the notorious memorandum drawn up by the West German generals who demanded nuclear arms for the Bundeswehr, Speidel, one of Hitler's army chiefs, told U.S. generals in Washington that the task of the Bundeswehr was to defend Europe on its eastern frontiers. Vice-Chancellor Erhard, Ministers von Merkatz and Seeböhm have also claimed Polish and Czechoslovak territories. This leaves no doubt that revenge is now official policy of the Bonn government.

The "avengers" resort to all kinds of subterfuge in trying to prove the "German character" of Poland's western and northern territories. But contrary to their falsifying, the simple and indisputable fact is that these territories *are Polish and will always be Polish*. Warmia, Mazury, Pomorze, Ziemia Lubuska and Silesia never lost contact with the homeland. Silesia, for instance,

was a part of Poland for 400 years; for another 400 years it was associated with the Czech state, and it was only in the second half of the 18th century that it was seized by the Prussian militarists. The struggle waged by the Brandenburg-Prussian rulers for Western Pomorze continued up to the Vienna Congress of 1814-15. Warmia and the lands along the Wistula with the towns of Olsztyn and Elbląg were seized by Prussia in 1772 as a result of the first partition of Poland. For centuries the Polish population of these areas valiantly resisted "Germanization." It should be said that over a million Poles living to the East of the Oder and Neisse withstood "Germanization," a policy pursued by the Hohenzollerns, Bismarck and Hitler contrary to the interests of the German people.

In the fifteen years since the liberation these lands have become so identified with People's Poland that they are now in every respect an indivisible part of the Polish state and nation. Relying on the mighty socialist camp, the eight million people of the reunited territories are building socialism together with the other working people of the country.

The gentlemen thirsting for revenge claim that in the past the lands to the east of the Oder and Neisse were the "granary of Germany." But this perversion of the truth is designed as a screen for the policy of revising the present frontier. In reality the German militarists have always regarded the lands on the Oder and on the Baltic coast mainly as a springboard for aggression against Eastern Europe.

At the time the territories to the east of the Oder and Neisse were reunited with Poland they were completely devastated—the result of Hitler's "scorched earth." Here are some figures showing the extent of the devastation: 40 per cent of the urban dwellings, 28 per cent of the peasant households, most of the bridges and 63 per cent of the railways were in a state of ruin; 50 per cent of the machines and industrial equipment, practically all the rolling stock and 90-92 per cent of the horses and cattle had either been destroyed or taken to the West.

The people had to rebuild the territories from the ashes. Under the leadership of the United

Workers' Party, they quickly healed the scars left by the war. The scale of the rehabilitation and of new construction far surpassed the original plans. Upon its completion, the reunited territories not only made a contribution to raising the standard of living and the economic level of the country, they themselves enjoyed a prosperity that they had never known before.

By the end of 1959 industrial output in the territories had risen 60 per cent compared with prewar and continued to grow at a rapid rate. The directives of the Third Party Congress envisage the building of large enterprises and considerable development generally in the reunited areas. With the fraternal aid of the German Democratic Republic, a big power plant is being built in Turoszow; when completed this plant will have a capacity of 1.2 million kw., or two-thirds of the power capacity of prewar Poland. Recent prospecting has disclosed in the vicinity of Glogow and Lubin rich deposits of copper ore, the richest in Europe. These deposits are now being worked. A center of the chemical industry is growing up around Kedzierzyn, Blachowna and Zdzeszowice. Many new plants are being built in the Olsztyn and Koszalin regions, which under German rule had particularly suffered from neglect.

This rapid industrial expansion is part of the general progress of rehabilitation and new construction. During the past 15 years some 200,000 million zlotys have been spent on developments in these areas. The expansion has been facilitated also by the socialist reconstruction of industry throughout these areas. Local industry has been co-ordinated with nearly all the industrial areas of the country; it is switching from the small enterprise to large-scale production.

The changed industrial structure has resulted in a threefold increase in the number of enterprises employing a thousand workers and upwards. Characteristic in this respect is the shipbuilding industry. Although it had to be completely rebuilt, it now holds a leading place in the world. Polish-built ships are purchased by the Soviet Union, by the People's Democracies and by many capitalist countries (Brazil, Indonesia, France and others).

Agriculture in the reunited territories now accounts for one-third of Poland's output of grain. The Opole area ranks first in the country for grain yields (1.96 tons per hectare in 1959); the Wroclaw and Gdansk regions have also exceeded the average for the country.

The economic progress is accompanied by impressive educational and cultural developments.

Dozens of scientific institutes have been established. The 21 higher schools have an enrolment of about 50,000 students, nearly seven times as much as under Hitler.

The people in these areas, like the Polish people as a whole, are vigilantly watching the intrigues of the West German revenge-seekers. Speaking at a Polish-Czechoslovak friendship meeting on September 10, 1960, Wladyslaw Gomulka said: "The aims which the Bonn gentlemen have set themselves today do not differ essentially from the aims Hitler set himself in 1938-39. But the times have changed. The road of German imperialism to the East is barred by the political, economic and military might of the socialist camp, the powerful alliance of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty."

The Polish people remember Khrushchov's words that "... Wroclaw, Gdansk and Szczecin are Polish towns and will remain such for ever ... All who harbor evil designs against People's Poland should clearly understand that today Poland is not the same as it was 20 years ago. It now has such staunch allies as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They will defend the frontiers of People's Poland as their own."

The fraternal friendship and co-operation of People's Poland with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, their indissoluble unity in the struggle against international imperialism and against West German revanchism and militarism have their source in fidelity to the sacred idea of proletarian internationalism. In the community of socialist nations with which Poland is linked by relations of cordial friendship there is also the German Democratic Republic, the first peace-loving and democratic state in German history. Poland and the GDR have established good-neighborly relations and friendly co-operation. The Oder-Neisse line has become the frontier of peace and friendship. The Potsdam Agreement on the western and northern lands, confirmed by the Zgorzelec Agreement of July 6, 1950, on the demarcation of the Polish-German border, have further strengthened the relations of sincere friendship between the neighboring peoples.

The Potsdam Agreement solved the question of the western borders of Poland. All genuine supporters of lasting peace in Europe, and, consequently, throughout the world, are interested in preserving these borders intact.

Jan IZYDORCZYK

From Under the NATO Gateway

AT THE beginning of December the doors of the NATO Palace in Paris were open wide for the delegates who came to an international conference on political warfare. The purpose of this conference, as reported in the French press, was to discuss the trends, methods and the reasons for the success of Soviet propaganda and to find reliable means of defending the West from the "psychological offensive" of communism.

Everybody was present at this "symposium"; Monarchists and Liberals, U.S. senators and European parliamentarians, newly-hatched politicians from Mobutu's entourage and self-styled Socialists. As *Figaro* wrote in all seriousness, "all the most democratic trends of the free world" were represented at this conference.

What united the participants in this odious gathering? Only one thing—anti-communism. In the motley audience that assembled in the NATO Palace anti-communism was a kind of freemason's sign by means of which like-minded people recognized each other.

The French journalist Suzanne Labin was the sponsor of the gathering and the main speaker. Labin is known in France as a virulent anti-communist. Her latest book *Beware: Soviet Propaganda and Infiltration* is a concoction of falsehoods and fantasies. She writes, for example, that "the Soviet political-warfare machine spends \$2,000 million a year and has 500,000 agents operating in the free world." Neither more, nor less.

"The Soviets," claims Labin, "call for the termination of nuclear tests, for disarmament, but they do not worry about control," although she should know, of course, the Soviet Government's appeal to the West: "Accept our disarmament plan and we will accept your control program."

"Ideas" of this kind were as plentiful as blackberries in Madame Labin's speech. She outlined a whole program for an anti-communist offensive and urged the establishment of "headquarters for dealing with the strategy of political warfare," a "world league of freedom," a "freedom academy," the training of 20,000 "freedom missionaries", etc.

Some of the delegates went even farther. Lord Birdwood, Vice-President of the British Institute of International Relations, proposed an executive committee of political warfare under the "ideological" guidance of NATO. But the cream of the gathering was the speech by NATO's secretary-general Spaak who called for hotting up the cold war against the socialist countries. "Mr. Khrushchov's most devilish weapon," said Spaak, "is

peaceful coexistence." Here, it appears, is the main danger to civilization and freedom.

Hundreds of millions of people are watching hopefully the noble struggle of the Communists against the danger of war and support their efforts to put an end to wars. The world press commented at length on the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, and many of the comments hailed the main idea of the meeting—preserve world peace, work for peaceful coexistence. *Tribune*, a Left paper in Britain, had this to say about the conference: "This was a great victory for peace. Indeed, the results will condition world events for years to come." The Swiss bourgeois newspaper *Tribune de Geneve* commented editorially: "It can be believed that the thesis on peaceful coexistence is quite sincere." Similar comments could be found in newspapers and magazines in all countries. But Mr. Spaak, who calls himself a Socialist, slanders the peace policy of the socialist countries and casts doubt on the sincerity of the thesis on peaceful coexistence.

It is easy to guess why the Paris jamboree of the anti-communists was held shortly after the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The sponsors of the spectacle wanted to play down the impression made on public opinion throughout the world by the documents of the Moscow Meeting.

The gathering in Paris was an indication of the deep anxiety of the reactionary forces over the fact that the idea of peaceful coexistence is being taken up by additional millions of people. "For a number of years," reads the Manifesto adopted by the Paris gathering, "the free world has been losing one position after another. To understand how erroneous is the view that the West needs for its defense mainly weapons suffice it to recall that none of the positions has been lost because of the shortage of rockets in our arsenal. They were lost because there was no clarity in our heads. Why arm the hands when the brains are being disarmed?"

We can agree that there is no clarity in the heads of those who are pushing mankind to the brink of war. But what is important is that clarity of thought is being acquired by the masses of the people despite all the efforts of capitalist propaganda to befuddle them.

The reactionaries are using every means in the battle for men's minds—from the scribbling of hired hacks to corruption and intimidation. But

vain are the hopes of the anti-communist high priests. The awakening of people, their desire to live in peace cannot be thwarted by NATO-spon-

sored gatherings or by the millions of dollars allocated for anti-communist propaganda.

M. O.

Following the Proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus

(Letter from Nicosia)

ON August 16, 1960, Cyprus was proclaimed an independent Republic by virtue of an agreement reached at Zurich and London in February 1959 between the governments of Great Britain, Greece and Turkey and Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Kutchuk on the part of Cyprus. Under the agreement Cyprus has acquired its own government, legislative bodies and the right to be represented in the United Nations as an equal member.

Yet some provisions of the agreement prevent the Cypriots from freely choosing their political future on the basis of the principle of self-determination. Following the proclamation of independence Greek and Turkish troops were quartered in Cyprus with the right to intervene, under certain circumstances, in the internal affairs of the country. The British colonialists have retained control over part of Cyprus and use it for their military bases. They also have the right to use our air space, ports and territory for military maneuvers. These rights are a blatant violation of Cyprus' independence. Were war to break out this could mean the annihilation of our people.

At present, therefore, the struggle of the Cypriots remains basically anti-imperialist and national-liberation.

Under the Constitution the government is composed of ten ministers (seven Greek and three Turkish) appointed by the President and Vice-President from persons who are not members of Parliament. The executive branch is not responsible to Parliament. The Constitution envisages three Houses: the House of Representatives, numbering 50 members (35 Greek and 15 Turkish), the Greek Communal and the Turkish Communal Chambers.

The House of Representatives is the legislative body of the Republic, whereas the Communal Chambers exercise legislative powers in matters of education, culture, co-operation, etc. These bodies were elected last August under a most undemocratic law promulgated by the provisional government of Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Kutchuk. This law

provides for a majority system considerably worse than the system imposed, for instance, on the people of France. The Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) polled over 42 per cent of the votes. Yet it would not have had a single seat in Parliament were it not for an agreement with the Nationalist Party. In keeping with this agreement, AKEL got five seats in the House of Representatives and three seats in the Greek Communal Chamber.

The Party's thesis that the struggle continues to be basically anti-imperialist has met with the approval of the people. The general political climate both before and after the elections has been characterized by an easing of tension in the country and the growing determination of the people for unity and co-operation.

The new State inherited from the British colonial rule a backward and ruined economy with a trade deficit of over £20 million and an exceptionally high cost of living. The present economic crisis in Cyprus is the most acute in the postwar period. Drought has made the situation worse. Thousands of families lack the bare necessities of life and many go hungry. In a country with a population of just over half a million there are 12,000 unemployed. Emigration is assuming really dangerous proportions.

The lack of markets and high production costs are leading the peasants, who are heavily in debt and run inefficient households, to bankruptcy.

The people of Cyprus expect from the government care and attention to the problems facing them. Although it may be too early to give a comprehensive assessment of the government policy some features of it should be noted. The government practised mass dismissals of civil servants and intends to abolish the Public Works Department and to transfer its functions to private enterprise. Archbishop Makarios has accused the civil servants of not working conscientiously and

the trade unions of reluctance to alter this situation. In reply to these unwarranted accusations the civil servants and their trade unions demanded that a representative commission be set up to examine their efficiency. But this offer has as yet not been accepted. Fully determined to protect the interests of their members, the Greek and Turkish trade unions combined their efforts and held a 24-hour protest strike. By the mass dismissals of civil servants the government is giving a bad example to the employers at a time when unemployment is a serious problem.

Another example characterizing government policy is the attitude towards the offer of Soviet aid. Premier Khrushchov has repeatedly made it clear that the Soviet government would give Cyprus all possible aid without political strings, provided Cyprus asked for such aid. But the reply of the Cyprus government was that the offer was not "concrete."

The government has appointed the Nazi theoretician Forsthoff to the post of chairman of the Constitution Court. At the U.N. General Assembly the Cypriot delegate abstained from voting on the resolution which urged the inclusion of the Chinese question in the agenda, but he voted for the discussion of the so-called Hungarian question. In his statements on Congo and Algeria, the Cypriot delegate supported the imperialist position. This attitude runs counter to repeated statements of President Archbishop Makarios that Cyprus' foreign policy is based on neutrality, equality and friendship with all peoples.

In the new conditions after the proclamation of independence the main tasks of our Party and the people are:

a) the struggle to make Cyprus really independent in accordance with the will of the people;

b) the struggle for denuclearization and demilitarization of the island, for general and complete disarmament, for peace and peaceful coexistence. The people believe in peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems and in the possibility of preserving peace provided the peoples fight for it. They wholeheartedly support Khrushchov's proposals for general and complete disarmament, for settling international issues by negotiation, and hope that the government will pursue a policy of friendship with all nations, as stated by Archbishop Makarios, and will support the worldwide struggle for peace, disarmament and national independence;

c) the struggle to safeguard and extend political liberties and the democratic rights of the people, for really democratic parliamentary institutions;

d) the struggle of all progressive forces to solve the economic problems of the country and safeguard the interests of the people. Mass dismissals will not lead Cyprus out of the economic crisis. This can be done only by a rational utilization of the productive forces and by a policy of full employment.

AKEL must play a decisive role in the new conditions. It is a political force uniting the progressive Cypriots and exerting a big influence on the people. Conscious of its tasks AKEL will work to rally the people against their main enemy — imperialism and those associated with it. The unity of the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie, both Greeks and Turks, is essential for an effective fight for peace and democracy, for the demilitarization of Cyprus, independence and social progress.

Cyprus, January 1961

PERICLES

A Rebuttal That Backfires

THE Belgrade *Komunist* recently published an article by Kiro Hadzi Vasilev purporting to be a refutation of the article "Edward Kardelj's 'Verbal Dialectics'," by A. Rumyantsev, published in *World Marxist Review* No. 11, 1960.

There is hardly any need to go in detail into Hadzi Vasilev's futile attempt to bolster up Kardelj's untenable position. It is enough to dwell only on some of his basic arguments.

The author of the *Komunist* article criticizes us for missing the keynote of Kardelj's book. This, he believes, is the criticism of the Chinese Communists. We take an entirely different view.

For us the basic consideration in the given case is not on what issues and with whom Kardelj has entered into polemics, but the *standpoint* from which he argues and, hence, the position he has taken in the ideological struggle. Since both Kardelj and the Yugoslav press claimed that his book was a Marxist research into the key problems of our time, we undertook to analyze its fundamental methodological premises. This analysis revealed, as was to be expected, the anti-Marxist nature of the book. As for the position of the Communist Party of China, it is set forth clearly in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, which was signed and endorsed by all the Communist

and Workers' parties, and reaffirmed in the Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties — the program of the international Communist movement.

Vasilev tries to refute what we said about Kardelj glossing over the class character of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and cites Kardelj's reference to the "struggle for socialism" which, he argues, is the equivalent of class struggle. But is it? It is common knowledge that many Right-wing Social Democrats and even bourgeois elements nowadays talk about the need for socialism and of fighting for it. Mere reiteration of the words "struggle for socialism" is a far cry from recognizing the class struggle. What is important is that behind a verbal recognition of the struggle for socialism there should be recognition of the class struggle, all the way to recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And that is just what is lacking in Kardelj's theorizing.

Vasilev accuses us of being against co-operation between countries with differing social systems. This is too ridiculous for words. To see that one need only glance at our article. Moreover, there is no doubt that Vasilev knows very well that what we oppose is not international co-operation but the approach to it which Kardelj advocates with so much zeal. An analysis of Kardelj's book shows that there, too, he abandons the positions of class struggle. He treats co-operation not from a class standpoint, or from the standpoint of socialism, but from the view-

point of merging the interests of socialism and capitalism into a single world economy. Seeing only the interweaving of the interests of all peoples "within the framework of a world economy and world development of the productive forces," Kardelj the "dialectician" fails to discern the *competition and struggle* between the interests of the two world systems. How can we co-operate with the capitalist countries, say, in exploiting colonies or in dividing up spheres of influence? We can co-operate only in honest trade, in extending honest aid to the underdeveloped countries, in honest cultural exchange. But everywhere we are competing and fighting so that the advantages of socialism over capitalism should grow and to demonstrate these advantages.

Having registered his main objections, Vasilev avoids the "ticklish spots" in our criticism of Kardelj's book. For instance, he is discreetly silent about Kardelj's outrageous claim that socialism can engender wars, and not only against capitalist countries, but between socialist states as well.

Why did Vasilev "overlook" things like this in our criticism of Kardelj? Because he is powerless to refute the substance of our criticism. Nor does he make this his purpose. He has a more "pressing" task to do — to cover up the odious traces of revisionism.

But this, too, is beyond his powers.

A.R.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

FRANCO AT WAR WITH THE PEOPLE

ON September 21 the Franco government issued another decree which shows that the dictatorship is so shaky that the only way it can cling to power is through wave after wave of reprisals. According to the decree, the government "will regard as participants in an armed mutiny . . . those who spread false or tendentious rumors aimed at disrupting civil order in the country . . ., undermining the prestige of the state, its institutions, government, army or authorities, those who in one way or another connive at or take part in meetings, conferences or demonstrations organized in pursuance of these aims, participate in joint expression of protest, in strikes, sabotage and similar actions." The "crimes" listed will be judged by military tribunals, and "the guilty" face terms of imprisonment or capital punishment.

The decree, which unifies the previously adopted special laws against political opposition, is a continuation of the war against the country and its people. It is an indication of the weakness, not of the strength of the dictatorship.

Directed in the first instance against the Communists, the decree is also aimed at all the opposition forces, including some sections of the national bourgeoisie and Catholics. By resorting to this legislation the government hopes to forestall the peaceful strike which is now being prepared on a nationwide scale.

The terror is unceasing. Some 500 people were arrested in February 1960. Those arrested in April included Carlos Rebellon, member of the Executive Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, and other members of this Party. All were

tried before a military tribunal. Comrade Rebellon was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

In May, during Franco's visit to Barcelona, hundreds were arrested; their number included more than 50 young Catholics arrested for singing a Catalonian hymn "The Song of the Banner" at a public concert, in which the entire audience joined. Several demonstrations protesting against these arrests took place outside the Bishop's Palace in Barcelona. Many of the participants were thrown into prison. Dr. Jorge Pujol, University lecturer and leader of one of the Catholic groups, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for taking part in the demonstration.

Recently two anti-Francoists were sentenced to death for activity during the civil war, i.e., 22 years ago.

A tidal wave of repressions swept the rural areas of Andalusia in early summer 1960. In the Cordoba and Seville provinces alone some 3,000 peasants and farm laborers were arrested.

On November 19, the Madrid military tribunal condemned 18 people charged with being members of the Communist Party. Engineer Aladino Cuervo and Maximo Santa Juliana were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment; others, including a young woman, Antonia Roca, were sentenced to terms ranging from four to 14 years. The police are preparing a trial of another 80 persons on the same charge.

Recently the military courts sentenced 39 persons arrested in Asturias in February 1960, and six other workers who had petitioned for an amnesty for the political prisoners.

The widespread persecution and the feverish activity of the military tribunals have aroused wrath and indignation. Last August in Asturias over 20,000 signatures were collected in the space of a few days to petitions calling for an amnesty. Not long ago a commission composed of members of the families of political prisoners submitted to the authorities an amnesty petition signed by 75,000. Members of the Bar have asked that political cases be removed from the jurisdiction of the military courts and that accused persons be granted the rights recognized even by Franco legislation.

The demand for an amnesty has developed into a truly nationwide movement. It was supported, in an open letter to Franco, by prominent intellectuals headed by Professor R. Menendes Pidal, President of the Linguistic Academy. Painters headed by Daniel Vasquez Diaz sent the following statement to the government: "The civil war ended twenty years ago. One result of that war is that large numbers of Spaniards, including well-known painters, are still in prison. We, the representa-

tives of the fine arts, conscious of our responsibility for the future of Spain's culture, call for a general amnesty which would give freedom to all political prisoners"

Over 300 prominent citizens in the capital of Catalonia protested against the brutal treatment of prisoners at the hands of the police. Such brutalities were also exposed in a letter signed in June last year by 339 Basque priests. "The police commissariats of our country," reads the letter, "use torture as a method of investigation and interrogation in relation to transgressions of laws which are often unsatisfactory and at times unjust. A spiteful suspicion alone suffices for any policeman or gendarme, bearing absolutely no responsibility, to beat and maim the suspect who often does not know what he is accused of. We are referring not to isolated examples but to a system, because the authorities are aware of these facts and condone them"

Franco is trying might and main to prevent the truth about his regime from leaking out. The government denied entry to the commission set up by the First South American Conference for an Amnesty for Political Prisoners in Spain and Portugal, even though it included members of Parliament from Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. Yet, our country has been visited by delegations from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation and other international mass organizations which told the world about the lawlessness perpetrated by the Spanish authorities.

The words spoken by N. S. Khrushchov at the U.N. General Assembly session and the just charges advanced by Fidel Castro, head of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, that Franco has held hundreds of political prisoners in jail for more than 20 years, are a powerful support to us. We are inspired by the fact that the painters, writers and critics at their thirtieth biennial meeting in Venice called upon the Spanish authorities immediately to release the young painters Joaquin Fernandez Palazuelo, Godofredo Edo, Manuel del Palacio, Eduardo Encinas and Isidro Balaguer and the writer Luis Goytisolo Gay. We are heartened by the action of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the delegates to the congress of the International Students' Union in Bagdad, the world gathering of journalists in Baden, and the congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in Sofia in protesting to the Spanish government against the September 21 fascist decree and the wholesale reprisals.

We greatly appreciate the solidarity of the Communist parties of Latin America with the Spanish Communist Party in its struggle against Franco.

The September 21 decree is powerless to prevent the actions for an amnesty, or the national strike. For us the struggle against the repressions and for an amnesty, apart altogether from its profoundly human content, is of significance as an

important political battle against the dictatorship. We shall carry on this struggle, confident that we shall have the help of millions all over the world.

Madrid, November 22, 1960

Luis DIAZ

STAY THE HAND OF THE BUTCHER!

THE struggle against the military-terrorist dictatorship of Stroessner in Paraguay is gaining momentum. The tyranny, seeking to paralyze it, has unloosed another wave of terror; it is carrying out the so-called Estrella Plan, drafted by Insfran, Minister of the Interior; this plan, designed to meet the emergency of a popular uprising, provides for the physical extermination of all who are discontented with the regime. Not long ago twelve peasants were murdered near Estacion Fasardi. The corpses of the peasants Patrocinio Duarte and Ramon Barrios were displayed outside the town hall in Coronel Bogado. Last July 30 peasants were beheaded in the village of Charara, on the charge of aiding the rebels. In Limpio, Leon Coronel, a leader of the Liberal Party, was assassinated on the personal order of dictator Stroessner. When Morinigo, a shoemaker and workers' leader in the town of Villarrica, refused despite torture to betray his comrades, the tormentors cut his tongue out.

Law does not exist for the authorities. Even the lawyers who defend political prisoners are persecuted. Jose Maria Bonin, a prominent Catholic lawyer, was arrested. The same happened to Antonio Cacace, Juan Andres, Nunez Gonzalez and others. The police ignore decisions of the judiciary and refuse to carry out orders for the release of prisoners. Antonio Maidana, Julio Rojas, Alfredo Alcorta, Luis Casablanca and many others are unlawfully detained in prison.

The concentration camps and prisons in Tacumbu, Pena Hermosa and Ingavi are filled to overflowing. Another camp has been opened in Charara for people suspected of sympathizing with the rebels.

Your journal has already reported the fearful conditions under which political prisoners are detained in Paraguay. But these pale before the brutalities to which the government has resorted in the attempt to crush the rebel movement. Its crimes are on a par with those of the Nazis or the ex-dictator Batista.

The authorities are systematically exterminating rebel prisoners whose names are then put on the

lists of those "killed in action." Last May, for instance, government troops captured ten rebels near Toro-Cua. All ten were beheaded and their mutilated bodies were thrown into the river. Among them were Lieutenant Lopez, Olmedo and another patriot named Enrique. Francisco Lopez Meza had taken part in the fighting at Tavai; the government announced that he had been killed in action. On July 5 his body was found by the Argentine authorities in the River Parana, 100 km. away from the scene of action. The body bore marks testifying to torture: the eyes had been gouged out and the nails torn from the toes, the tongue had been cut out, and the neck and chest covered with knife wounds; not a single fire-arms wound was discovered. There is no doubt that Meza was taken prisoner and tortured to death.

Two other rebels, Insaurralde and Aguilera, were brought to the village of Capitan Meza where they were brutally beaten, and afterwards roped to poles on the village square for the purpose of intimidating the inhabitants. The men were later murdered in the mountains and the bodies thrown into the river. In a statement issued on June 21, the Minister of the Interior referred to them also as among those "killed in action" at Tavai. The list of these crimes could be continued.

The public in Argentina have been shocked by the news of large numbers of mutilated bodies found in the River Parana. Even reactionary newspapers reported the facts. Voices were heard in Parliament calling for an investigation of the crimes.

The United National Liberation Front of Paraguay has issued a manifesto in which, pointing to the spread of the liberation movement, it urges the people everywhere, and especially in Latin America, to insist on the Stroessner government strictly adhering to the universal declaration of human rights and discontinuing its crimes immediately. The manifesto expresses the conviction that "the broad movement of human solidarity and help to the people of Paraguay in each country and throughout the world can and will stay the hand of the butcher."

Jose RAMIREZ

TRUJILLO ON THE RAMPAGE

DICTATOR Trujillo and the North American imperialists are resorting to more and more repressions in an attempt to strangle the struggle for democracy waged by the people of the Dominican Republic. Some two and a half thousand Dominicans were thrown into prison for political reasons between January and August 1960. In August 107 young people were forced to seek refuge in foreign embassies or to go abroad to avoid police persecution. A few days before this Alberto Coronado Abreu and three others who were evading government persecution, were shot dead outside the Brazilian Embassy.

The leaders of the Popular Movement, a small political group seeking legal status as an opposition party, were beaten up by the fascists in the service of the Trujillo regime. The premises occupied by the groups were looted and burned. The leaders of the group, Maximo Lopez and Andres Ramos Peguero, have been in jail since August 31. The tyranny framed a trial and through their puppet judges found them guilty. Still unknown is the fate of Dr. Mario Jerez Cruz, Francisco Ramos, Ramon Feliu, Luis Estrella, the brothers Erikson and other participants of the movement. Some members of the group were machine-gunned by the police when they tried to take refuge in one of the embassies. Among those still in jail are well-known cardiologist Dr. Jose Fernandez

Caminero, Dr. Minerva Mirabal, Dr. Rafael A. Sanchez Sanlley, Dr. Cristobal Gomez and dozens of others arrested in January 1960.

Recent developments have intensified the tension which was a feature of the country last year. Secret-police agents are continually on the prowl and never hesitate to resort to violence. In the university where students are waging an underground struggle for democratic freedom, the police measures border on the absurd: agents are assigned to duty even at public lavatories to see to it that no slogans are inscribed on the walls.

Different political groups, including considerable sections of Catholic youth, are taking part in the struggle against the Trujillo dictatorship. In the van of this struggle is the Popular Socialist Party. Many Communists, including Fredi Valdez, the Secretary-General of the Party, have sacrificed their lives for freedom. Six members of the Party's Central Committee—Ercilio B. Garcia, Jose Manuel de Pena Gonzalez, Federico Pichardo, Bienvenido Fuertes Duarte, Manuel Lorenzo Carrasco and Aquilez Ramirez Guzman — fell in the revolutionary actions of June 1959. Their memory, and the memory of their fellow patriots, is a source of inspiration to the people in the struggle against the tyranny, for freedom and independence.

J. D.

SAVE THE LIVES OF AND RELEASE THE HEROES OF MOSSOUL

IN March 1959 the world learned about a mutiny against the anti-imperialist revolution in Iraq engineered by the Anglo-American imperialists and carried through by their agents among the reactionaries and feudal elements jointly with some representatives of the United Arab Republic. The plot was headed by Col. Abdel Wahab Chawaf, the then brigadier in Mossoul. Chawaf proclaimed himself head of government and in broadcasts incited the army to overthrow the Kassem government. The conspirators planned to unite with the mutinous units led by their agents, occupy Bagdad and instal a government that would return Iraq to the Bagdad Pact and annul the gains of the revolution.

In response to the appeals of Prime Minister Kassem, as well as of patriotic organizations and committees, the people and the loyal military units led by patriotic officers rose in action. Acting on the

order of the General Headquarters and Brigadier General Kassem, the air force and the army took part in crushing the mutiny. Col. Chawaf was killed.

Kassem publicly declared that the mutiny had been plotted and carried through by the imperialists, foreign circles and their agents.

The Supreme Military Court in Bagdad found a large number of the mutineers guilty and sentenced them either to death or to terms of imprisonment.. Prime Minister Kassem approved these sentences. Some of the traitors were executed.

The Communists and other democrats played an outstanding part in putting down the mutiny. They fought jointly with the army and police, relying on the support of the workers, students and other young people. The struggle lasted five days. The mutineers murdered many people, including women and children. It will be appreciated that in the arm-

ed clashes between the people and the army, on the one hand, and the mutineers, on the other, many of the latter were killed.

In July 1959 the Kassem Government began to take a reactionary line. It renounced the basic principles of democracy and justice and had recourse to ruthless and reactionary measures; it began to suppress the democratic movement and to victimize Communists and other democrats. All this suited the reactionary circles, the imperialist oil monopolies and the CENTO agents who are exerting pressure on Iraq in an attempt to divert it from neutrality, deprive it of national independence and direct it into the channel of imperialism and aggressive pacts.

The government arrested and brought to trial a large number of those who had fought against the mutineers. They included people imprisoned at one time by Col. Chawaf.

On December 16 last, the military court, despite the law and government declarations, passed the death sentence on 38 heroes of Mossoul — Communists and other democrats, trade union officials, leaders of the youth and student movement and army

officers. Later, the government substituted life imprisonment for the death sentence for some of them. Those who have been sentenced to death can be executed at any moment.

The people of Iraq have voiced their protest against the trial of these patriots. Petitions signed by tens of thousands and demanding freedom for the imprisoned have been sent to Prime Minister Kassem. Protests have been voiced also by democratic journals and organizations.

On behalf of the Communists and other democrats, of all who are against these measures, we appeal to the world public and the press, to organizations and people in all countries:

In the name of human rights and the principles of justice and law join your voices to those of the people of Iraq in protest against the unjust sentences on the Mossoul patriots!

Flood Prime Minister Kassem with letters and cables urging the repeal of the sentences!

Fight to save the lives and secure the release of the heroes whose only crime is that of upholding the national independence of Iraq!

Aziz KOURDI

THE MOVEMENT IS GROWING

IN Athens the Executive Committee of the United Democratic Left Party has published *The Case of Manolis Glezos*. The book exposes the trial against the national hero of Greece and stresses that the Glezos case has not ended with the passing of a sentence. On the contrary, it has acted as a powerful stimulus to the struggle for civil liberties, for a general amnesty, against turning the country into a NATO forepost, for democracy and peace.

The struggle is gaining momentum. Mass meetings have been held in Greek towns under the slogan: "Freedom for Manolis Glezos and the other Democrats!" Citizens and deputations from different parts of the country are calling on the leaders of political parties and visiting newspaper offices, sending letters and cables to the government urging freedom for Glezos and other Resistance fighters now languishing in prisons and concentration camps.

The ruling circles are resorting to every means to intimidate and split the people. They have staged another frameup against the newspaper *Avgi* of which Glezos was director. Glezos, who is seriously ill, has been transferred to Crete where the trial will take place. The authorities are victimizing patriots fighting for his release and the release of other democrats; they incite terrorists to attack the leaders and participants in this movement. The main blow is directed against the United Democra-

tic Left Party which heads the struggle of the people. During the first weeks of this year about 30 activists and sympathizers of this Party were arrested in Salonika, Janina and other towns. They are threatened with exile to concentration camps without trial or investigation.

But despite the terror signatures are being collected to the appeal for the release of Glezos. The appeal has already been signed by more than 100,000. Among the signatories are the poet Varnalis, winner of the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations"; A. Avgeris, writer, and other prominent personalities. The mayor of Athens and twelve municipal councillors have also urged the release of Glezos.

In their fight for democracy and justice the people of Greece have the support of millions of people of good will all over the world. Letters, telegrams and protest resolutions are coming from many countries to the King, the government and parliament. In the German Democratic Republic and Federal Germany over six million people put their signatures to the appeal for the release of Glezos. In Britain a similar petition was signed by 70 M.P.'s. John Baird, M.P., said that a man like Glezos who in his youth devoted his life to the struggle against fascism must not be kept in prison, and added that

he would do everything in his power to secure his release.

Speaking on December 12, 1960, in the Greek Human Rights Committee, Tsirimokos, chairman of the committee, said that public opinion throughout

the world had prevented the passing of a death sentence on Glezos in July 1959. The people of Greece and the progressive forces everywhere will force the government to release Glezos.

I.G.

THE COLONIALISTS WILL NOT BREAK THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

The French colonial war in Algeria has already taken a toll of more than a million Algerian lives. Tens of thousands have been thrown into prisons and concentration camps where they are being subjected to inhuman treatment. One and a half million women, children and aged people have been driven from their homes and herded into compounds surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by French troops. One-fourth of the Algerian population has suffered much at the hands of the French colonialists.

At the end of last year hundreds of thousands of Algerians in Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Ain-Temouchent, Tlemcen, Boufarik, Orleansville, Bone, Philippeville and other towns, filled with enthusiasm and with no other weapons but confidence in the justice of their cause and faith in victory, took resolute action against the attempts of the ultras to bolster up their rule and against the maneuvers of de Gaulle who was trying to convince public opinion that the people in the towns "support" his policy.

When they saw the huge demonstrations marching with banners and shouting "Free Algeria!", "Negotiate with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic!", "Power to Ferhat Abbas!", "Long Live the National Liberation Front!" the police, parachute troops and ultras opened fire on the people. According to the official French press which is notoriously tendentious in everything concerning Algeria, more than 100 were killed and 2,000 wounded. But these figures do not give the whole truth. The bloodshed was much greater.

Moreover, large numbers were sent to jail and concentration camps. In the Casba, the Moslem district of Algiers, some 3,000 arrests were made.

But this did not stop the demonstrations. On the contrary, they became so powerful that de Gaulle who had come to Algeria to prepare the referendum, was forced to cut short his visit and hurry back to Paris. Responding to the call of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and the Algerian Communist Party, the majority of our people boycotted the referendum which de Gaulle sought to impose on the French and Algerian people in order to secure endorsement for his policy of decep-

tion. This fresh demonstration of Algerian patriotism touched off a wave of repressions of unparalleled ferocity. In Oran alone 100,000 persons were "screened" in the space of three days. Colonial troops broke into homes and ransacked the premises. In Algiers and its suburbs paratroopers searched houses day and night. Needless to say these "operations" were accompanied by wholesale arrests.

The paratroopers forced people at the point of their guns to remove the patriotic slogans from the walls and write "French Algeria" in their place.

In an effort to terrorize the people in order to break their resistance, the colonialists are extending the activities of military tribunals which, in violation of international law, pass death sentences nearly every day. Between December 17 and 29, 1960, 18 death sentences were passed in Bone, Algiers, Constantine and Oran, and another seven patriots were condemned to death in Oran and Lyon between January 12 and 15 of this year.

The events in Algiers have opened the eyes of world public opinion to some of the truths that had been carefully concealed by the French imperialists.

It is now more obvious than ever (if any proof were needed) that both the rural and urban population of Algeria are more united than ever with the National Liberation Army and are ready to make any sacrifice for it. The people have shown that notwithstanding the brutality and violence of the imperialists, they are resolved to fight on until their right to self-determination is fully recognized.

The people have made it plain that they recognize only the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

The people of Algeria are not alone in facing their enemies. The brutalities to which they have been subjected have aroused the wrath of people everywhere. Democrats have raised their voice demanding the termination of the war and an end to the sufferings of the Algerian people. The governments of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Morocco, Tunisia and many African and Asian countries have assured the Provisional Government that

they support its just cause. World public opinion, and especially in France, Italy, Britain, Scandinavia, the Latin American countries and the United States, has denounced the latest crimes perpetrated by French imperialism. The solidarity which has surrounded the Algerian people from the beginning of their heroic battle for freedom is growing strong-

er and there is no doubt that in the end it will force the colonialists to give serious consideration to Algeria's right to self-determination. With the support of the other nations, the Algerian people will win the just fight they have been waging for more than six years.

Abdelkader E.O.

ALL PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE ARE WITH US

In an effort to stave off the disintegration of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal, Salazar is resorting to more repressions against the democratic forces. The country has been turned into a vast concentration camp. The political police are extending their network of informers. Every "suspect" is placed under surveillance. Nor is it only the Communists who are being persecuted. Salazar and his agents in a desperate endeavor to crush any opposition are seizing patriots of varying political views. Lawyers are being prevented from defending persons arrested on political charges, and they are frequently examined in the absence of the defendants. Political prisoners are often detained in prisons after the expiration of their sentences under the so-called "security measures."

These arbitrary actions have evoked angry protests in all countries. Movements of solidarity with Salazar's victims are springing up. One such movement saved the life of Alvaro Cunhal, one of the leaders of the Portuguese Communist Party, whom the secret police intended to murder. When the police jailed over 100 striking miners from Aljustrel in the dungeons of the Caxias fortress, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Association of Miners' Trade Unions and other organizations took energetic action against this unlawful act with the result that Salazar had to back down and release most of the men.

Slave labor flourishes in the Portuguese colonies. Every year in Angola a quarter of a million people are sent for forced labor in agriculture, in the mines and on building jobs. Some 400,000 Africans are brought in from Mozambique. Of these about 100,000 are "exported" to the mines in South Africa and Rhodesia. The Portuguese authorities derive no small profit from the slave labor trade.

The Portuguese government is trying to crush the national-liberation movement in the colonies by terrorizing the population. Last August some 50 people were killed in Portuguese Guinea merely for demanding higher wages. In October the inhabitants of the Angola village of Bengo

(birthplace of Neto, a leader of the liberation movement who had been arrested by the colonial authorities), joined by people from the neighboring village of Icolo, marched to the local authorities and demanded Neto's release. They were met by troops who opened fire on the unarmed crowd, killing 30 and wounding 200. The villages were pillaged and burned. On November 2, eight Africans were shot without trial in the yard of the military prison in Luanda.

The fascist terror has not silenced the Portuguese people. Tens of thousands of signatures were collected to a petition calling for an amnesty for political prisoners. In November 1960 the Salazar government was obliged to proclaim the amnesty which, however, applies to only a few Communists; this was an attempt to split the unity of the people for a broad amnesty.

Still, even this partial amnesty was a victory for the progressive forces. It demonstrated the need for a more powerful popular movement, which alone can force the Salazar government to free all the political prisoners.

The Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, which expressed on behalf of all the Communists of the World "proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy languishing behind prison bars in the USA, Spain, Portugal . . ." and called for "a powerful world-wide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy"; the forthcoming Second Latin American Conference for an amnesty for political prisoners in Spain and Portugal, and other manifestations of international working-class solidarity, show that the Portuguese democrats are not alone in their struggle.

The year 1961 promises to be a year of even more stubborn battles. The knowledge that we have behind us the support of all progressive mankind gives us redoubled strength.

Joao MATOS

GOVERNMENT TAKES POLITICAL REVENGE

THE Communist Party of Chile has lodged a vigorous protest against the unjust sentence of exile passed on Salomon Corbalan, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, who exposed the machinations of the government in the distribution of the aid received from abroad for the victims

of the May earthquakes. The Communist Party has called upon the citizens of O'Higgins and Colchagua to retaliate by electing to the Senate Salomon Corbalan and Baltazar Castro, candidate of the Party of the National Vanguard of the People.

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication unless indicated otherwise; the titles are given in English)

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- D. Bergner, V. Jahn. *The Crusade of the Evangelical Academies against Marxism*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1960, 195 p.
- Essays on the History of Foreign Capital in Rumania*. Institute of Economic Studies, Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic. Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy of the RPR, 1960, 591 pp.
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- O. Mrazek. *Fifteen Years of Nationalized Industry in Czechoslovakia*. Prague, Statni nakladatelstvi technické literatury, 1960, 245 pp.
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- The Young Marx*. Recherches Internationales a la lumiere du marxisme, No. 19. Paris, Editions de la Nouvelle Critique, 1960, 220 pp.

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