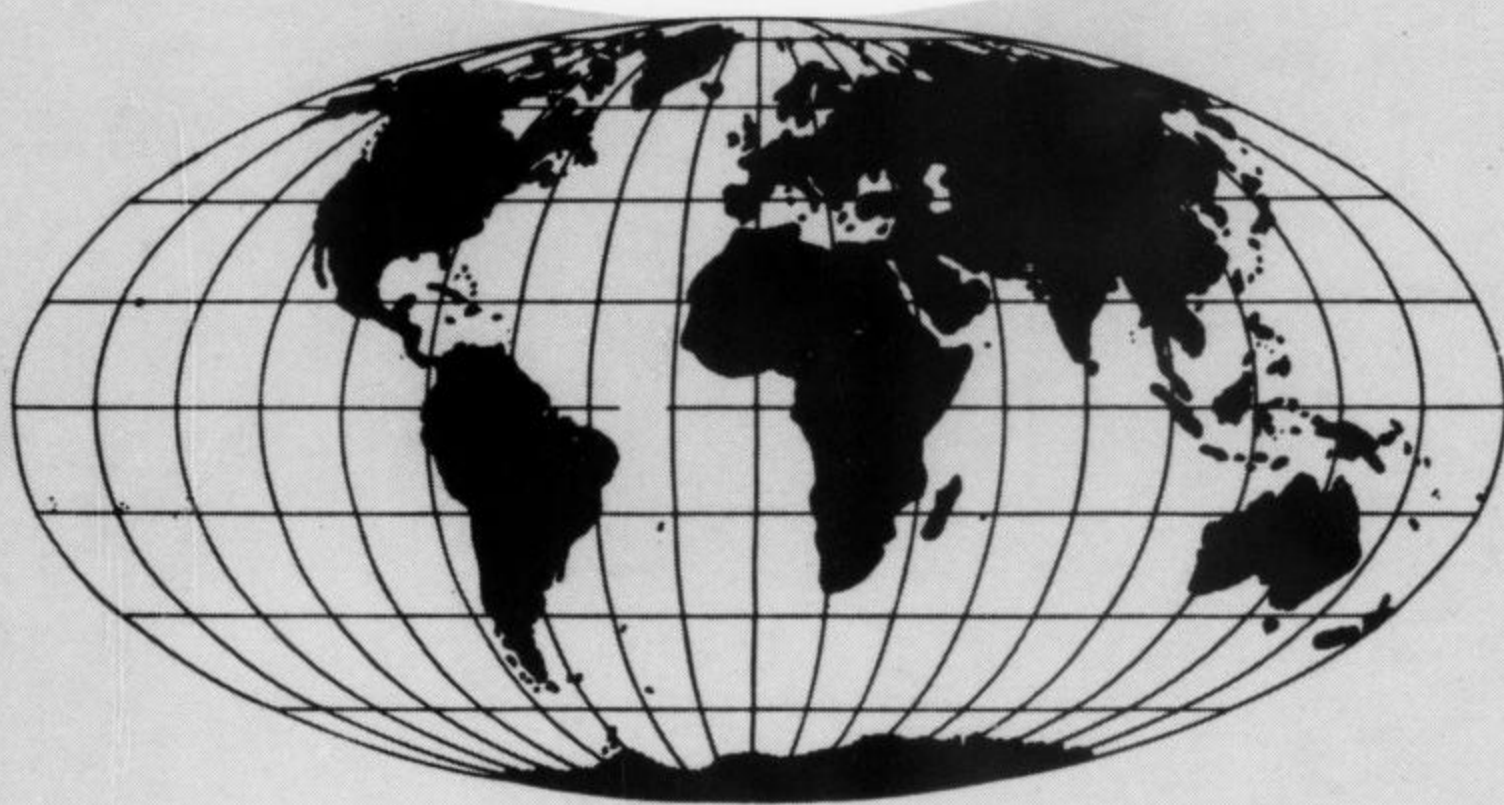


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

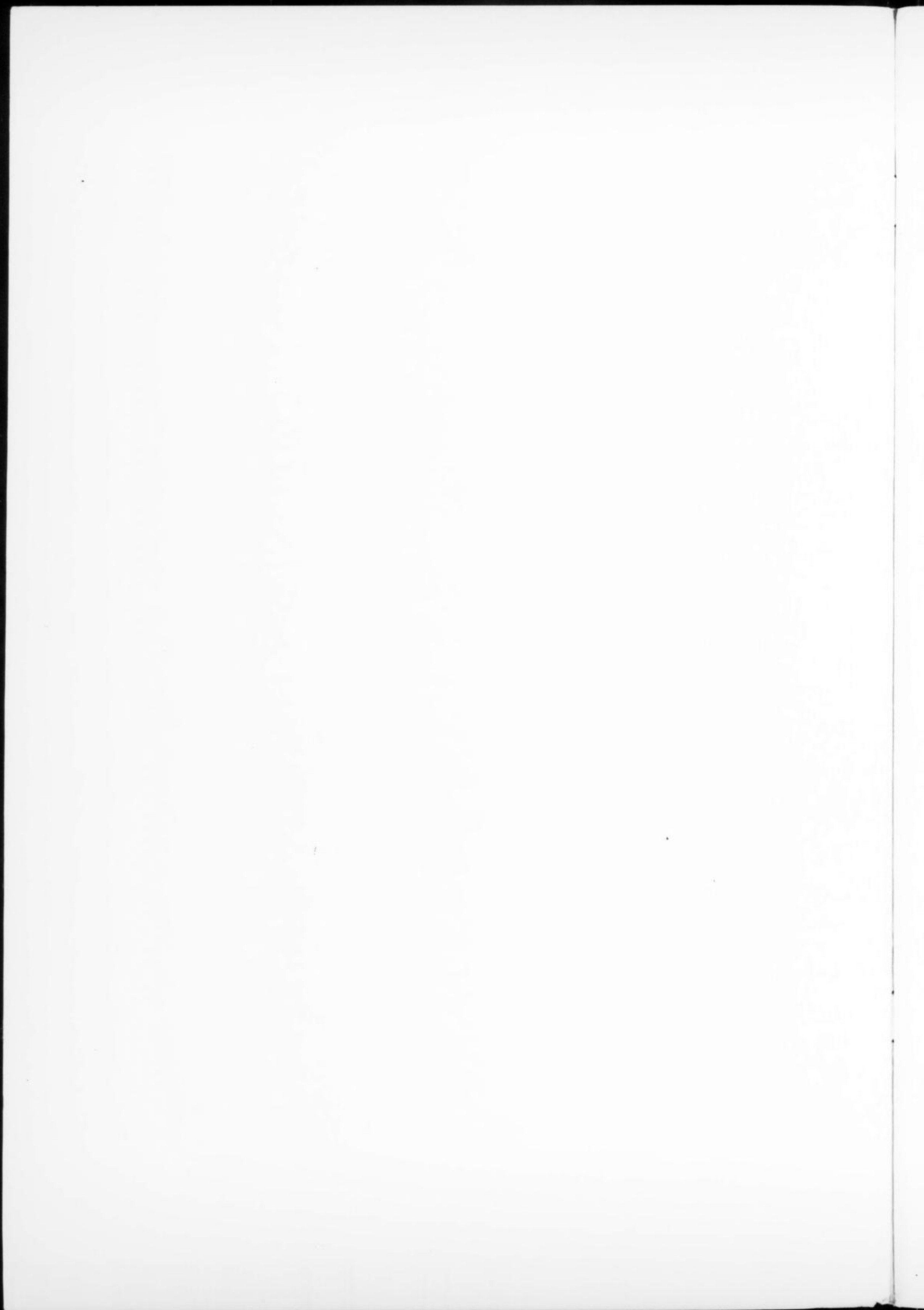


Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

The Non-Aligned Countries and World Politics

•
Some Thoughts on Propaganda



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers Parties

VOLUME 6

APRIL 1963

NUMBER 4

Contents

Party Policy and the Party Branch	G. Marchais	3
The Franco Dictatorship — a Threat to Peace in Europe	A. Cordon	11
Growth of Militarism in Colombia and the Line of the Communist Party	G. Vieira	15
Some Thoughts on Propaganda	N. Freed, K. Oesterling	22
The Non-Aligned Countries and World Politics	M. Kremnyev	29
In Memory of Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi (Salam Adil)		36

W.M.R. COMMENTARIES

The February Events in Iraq	I. Saadi	37
-----------------------------------	----------	----

W.M.R. INTERVIEWS

Role of Science in Modern Society

The Future Belongs to the Synthesis of Science and Labor, Academician S. G. Strumilin • Cybernetics in the Service of Social Progress, Academician V. A. Trapeznikov • Society Can Be Run along Scientific Lines, Academician V. S. Nemchinov		39
Disarmament and Social Progress	Interview with Josué de Castro	48

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

New Stage in the Struggle of South African Communists, J. Sheffers • Hungary: Work with Cadres, V.L. • The People's Party of Panama, R. Castellanos • Against Sectarianism, for Closer Contact with the Masses, D.O. • Publishing Activity of the Communist Party of Japan • Central Committee Meetings		50
---	--	----

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

The Communists and Democracy		61
------------------------------------	--	----

(Continued on next page)

Published by

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

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

28

Contents

(Continued from previous page)

REVIEWS

- Experience of the German Peasantry, A. ANWEILER • "Democratic Socialism" Is the Same Old Capitalism, J. Cohen 78

COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMENT

- For Real Independence for Haiti, J. Lebon • The Writer and his Audience, J. Todd • New Possibilities, B. Frei 82

AGAINST THE PERSECUTION OF DEMOCRATS

- Franco Falsifications • Confirm the Verdict of Not Guilty in the "Matsukawa Case", S. Tanaka • Save the Lives of Political Prisoners, L.G. • Guatemalan Democrats Will Win the Right to Live Freely in their Country, G. Tzul • Freedom for Father Pinto de Andrade 89

SUPPLEMENT

- Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist Parties of the Common Market Countries 95

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

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

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

Party Policy and the Party Branch

Georges Marchais

The Political Situation and the Growth of Unity

LAST December the Central Committee of the French Communist Party characterized the progress made by the democratic forces thanks to the unity achieved between the Communists, the Socialists and other republicans in the second round of the elections as the most significant development in recent times.

Events since then have confirmed this assessment. The unity trend manifested during the elections is not a transient thing occasioned by voting considerations, it is a continuing tendency and is steadily gaining momentum.

In Parliament the Communists, Socialists and other republicans have repeatedly voted together—both against the so-called State Security Court and against the Gaullist budget which sacrifices the interests of the working people and the nation to the profits of the capitalist monopolies.

In other elective bodies, in particular the municipal councils, the Communists, Socialists and other republicans often take a common stand in defense of the interests of the working people.

On trade union issues united action agreements have been concluded on a wide range of questions, such as joint demonstrations to commemorate the victims of the police terror killed on February 8, 1962, elections to the Social Security and Family Allowance Boards, the fight for wage increases, for four weeks' paid holidays, shorter working hours and other immediate demands, defense of civil rights and trade union rights and the fight against administrative orders to compel strikers to return to work. The urge towards unity found expression in the nationwide coal strike and the solidarity actions throughout the country in support of the miners.

Together with the desire for unity, the opportunities for joint actions among the Communists, Socialists and other republicans on the most diverse issues are also growing.

To consolidate and promote unity in the struggle against the pernicious policy of one-man rule is the paramount task of the

Party and all of its organizations and members.

Unflagging effort in this direction is all the more essential since the Gaullist government will use its "unconditional" majority in Parliament to pursue its reactionary policy all along the line. In order to foil this policy we are working for the greatest possible unity in the struggle for economic and social demands, in defense of freedom and peace, and against one-man rule. Our Central Committee has therefore recommended to the entire Party to work patiently for an alliance between the Socialists and the Communists since united action on the part of the masses throughout the country largely depends on this alliance.

In this context the Party launched—following the defeat at the Sixteenth Congress of the opportunist trends that had appeared in its ranks—a vigorous struggle against narrow, sectarian attitudes which hindered realization of our policy of broad alliances and therefore became the main danger. At the same time steps were taken to ensure more effective implementation of the united front policy.

We have declared time and again that, unaided, no one party, not even ours, can ensure the democratic and national regeneration of France. What is needed is a strong alliance, based on a common democratic program, between the Communist Party and the other democratic parties, in particular the Socialists. Moreover, in the light of the present situation and the democratic traditions of France, we believe that the Communist Party can and should cooperate with the other democratic parties not only in order to put an end to one-man rule and to establish genuine democracy, but also to ensure the subsequent transition to socialism on the basis of a broad alliance of the working class, the working peasants, the intellectuals and the urban middle strata,

This, however, does not mean that cooperation with the other democratic parties should be allowed in any way to diminish the role of the working class and its party in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The Communist Party is the party of the

people and above all of the working class, on which the responsibility for the country's future devolves and which alone is capable of carrying the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of society to consummation. Precisely because of this our main efforts are made in the enterprises, among the working class. A survey made in 1959 showed that more than 45 per cent of our membership consisted of factory workers and agricultural laborers; railwaymen and gas and electricity workers bring the percentage higher still. The efforts made since the Sixteenth Congress to improve our work in the enterprises have increased the percentage of workers in the Party.

Mass Work in the Branches

The Party maintains its contact with the masses and carries out its policy primarily through its branches and individual members. This area held the center of attention at the National Organizational Conference on February 2-3. Therefore, important though the other problems taken up at this Conference were, I shall dwell here mainly on the organizational questions.

The importance of the branch is underscored in Point 13 of our Rules: "It is the duty of the branch to conduct activity among the working population through propaganda and agitation, to recruit new members, circulate Party literature, distribute leaflets reflecting the demands of the working people, train the members of the Party and improve their general knowledge and the general knowledge of the workers in the enterprises; to take part in all political issues and take up all the demands of the working people in the area, and uphold these demands in the light of the class struggle and the goals of social emancipation pursued by the Communist Party." It is on the fulfilment of these stipulations by *all branches* that the rallying of the masses and proper guidance of their actions in defense of democracy and peace mainly depend.

Following the Sixteenth Congress steps were taken to re-invigorate the work of the branches and the committees at various levels. An important role in this was played by the fight to eradicate opportunist concepts which minimized the Party's role as the leader and organizer of the masses. As a result, progress was made by many branches both in mass work and in propaganda and educational activities. Young and energetic people were brought to the fore and there was an improvement in the activities of Communists holding

responsible positions in the mass organizations.

But much more effort will be required before it can be said that each branch is a living center of ideological education and political initiative, a true organizer of the masses, with each Communist pulling his weight, as the Fifteenth Party Congress recommended. Hence the attention devoted by the National Organization Conference to our shortcomings and to ways and means of eliminating them.

There still are many branches that have not come out of their shells and have very little contact with the people of their respective neighborhoods or villages. Some branches meet rarely, never sponsor discussions and, consequently, do not give serious consideration to Party policy or the problems uppermost in the minds of the people. Branches of this kind do nothing to help the people.

It also happens that while new branches are set up old ones are allowed to go out of existence. *The number of branches* (factory, territorial and rural) *increased* from 16,072 in 1961 to 17,297 in 1962, or by 1,225, although the total of new branches established in this period was 1,801. In other words, 576 disappeared. In some cases this was unavoidable, but certainly not in all.

Insufficient attention to the branches is tantamount to ignoring the interests of the people, whom the branches are called upon to organize, educate and lead. Indeed, the Party as a whole and the entire democratic movement suffer. The recent general election offered ample proof of this, for we lost votes mostly in localities where Party work was weak, and we gained ground where the Party was active and growing. In order to correct these shortcomings the National Conference stressed that *the branch is the indispensable link in Party work*, that carrying out Party policy depends above all on its activity.

One can hardly speak about generating mass action on the part of all those who suffer from the policy of the Gaullist regime without the primary Party organizations in the factories, in the towns and villages systematically championing the demands and aspirations of the masses and helping to organize them. The Party branch, then, should be alive to the needs of the workers of the given plant or the people of the given town, residential block or village; together with the people it should formulate their demands and work out the best ways and means of winning them. *It is the duty of the branch*

to voice the Party's views and to advance proposals on all the issues that arise in line with the decisions and directives of the Central Committee.

In this connection the National Conference stressed the importance of educational work in the branches. The Sixteenth Congress censured the tendency to underestimate this work on the pretext that we are a party of action. We are, indeed, a party of action; and no one denies that participation in actual struggle enriches the workers' experience and heightens their political consciousness. Yet how else can one or another action be prepared if not by explaining the need for such action to the masses, if not by popularizing our ideas and the solutions our Party offers for the problems confronting the people?

By elucidating the issues through the most diverse educational means, the branch can help the people better to understand the need to fight for their day-to-day demands as well as for democracy and peace and to put an end to the Gaullist rule. In criticizing Gaullist policy it should link this criticism with the issues that affect the people most. A very important role in this is played by the printed materials issued by the branches. Our aim is to have each branch publish its own bulletin giving a lively exposition of the Party's policy as applied to the conditions in the neighborhood.

Furthermore, the branches and the Party committees at all levels should pursue a *positive policy*, i.e., they should not confine themselves to criticism alone but should expound the policy of the Party, which corresponds to the needs and interests of the people. "A 'negative' slogan offering no definite positive solution," Lenin said, "does not stimulate thought but dulls the mind, for such a slogan is an empty phrase, a cry in the wilderness, meaningless declamation."

But this does not exhaust the responsibilities of the branch. It should also see to it that every member works in the mass organization to which he belongs and help him whenever he is in need of assistance.

Branches that live up to these standards achieve success. Suffice it to cite the example of the Douillot branch which functions in a community consisting of 750 families in Bondy, in the Northeast Seine Federation. This is what the local comrades have to say about their work: "Realizing that the circumstances had changed and that rapprochement with our Socialist comrades was possible, we felt it was necessary to redouble efforts to

achieve unity. Members of the branch contacted the Socialists in our area. Good relations were established with them. Many of the Socialists agreed to join us in celebrating the anniversary of the February 1962 events. Some of them are working with us to organize a local States General for Disarmament. . . . One of our members works in the local Peace Committee and two others in the Parent's Association. One member is engaged together with our Socialist comrades in organizing a tenants' association. One of our younger women members is working to set up a branch of the Young Women's League.

"We are arranging four public lectures—on democratic rights in the light of the events of February 1962, on the defense of culture and secular education, the fight for peace, and one on housing. We shall also speak about the program of the Party at those meetings.

"Three issues of our branch bulletin have appeared since the election, and the circulation of *l'Humanité* has increased from 75 to 120 copies weekly.

"At the end of last year we had 11 members; now we have 17. We hope to bring in four new members by the end of March."

This branch is displaying exemplary initiative and has established close contact with the people of the neighborhood.

If the branches are to cope with their tasks in the sphere of mass work they must be more active and, above all, meet regularly. For it is at the membership meeting that our policy should be discussed and elucidated. In doing so, due note should be taken of the problems that command the attention of the people of the given enterprise, community or village; hence it is imperative for the Party members to get together to weigh and assess the needs, grievances and sentiment of the people among whom they work. Only in this way can the branch effectively plan its explanatory work and practical activities on one or another issue and to assign a place in this work to each of its members.

Lastly, it is the duty of the branch to attend to the education of members. On this score the National Conference called for more emphasis on mass educational work in order to ensure every member the proper theoretical grounding. Our task is to help all branches to live up to the stipulations of Point 13 of our Rules concerning Party education. The number of classes for training local activists should be considerably increased. These classes should function in close contact with the

branches, and the class hours should be fixed and the premises chosen so as to give the comrades every opportunity to attend.

Another education measure recommended to the branches is to hold from time to time special meetings to study the basic documents of our Party and of the international Communist movement.

Some Problems Facing the Factory Branches

Our Party now has 17,297 branches. Of these 7,805 are in residential areas (215 more than at the beginning of 1962) and 4,691 factory branches (872 more than a year ago). The Sixteenth Congress made it incumbent on all Party organizations to concentrate *primarily* on increasing the number of branches in the enterprises and improving their activities. As a result, a large number of workers has been brought into the Party. For example, 69 per cent of the 708 new members in the Rhone Federation and 60 per cent of the 1,081 new members in the Northeast Seine Federation are workers; of the 852 new members in the Meurthe-et-Moselle Federation 53 per cent work in industry.

Many of the new members are young workers. In the Northeast Seine Federation, for example, 50 per cent of the new members are under 30 years of age. Substantial gains in membership have been registered in important industrial areas, particularly among the miners and steel workers, and also in the big enterprises.

More and more factory branches are printing their own bulletins. Of the 1,146 factory bulletins put out in 1962, 547 were mimeographed. In addition to these, 126 printed papers circulate in the big enterprises.

A good deal must be done to improve our factory work and to remove the obstacles we still have to contend with. Not everywhere have we been able to overcome the tendency to underestimate the importance of work in the factories. Not all federation and district organizations and activists realize that our main efforts should be concentrated where the working class is to be found, without, of course, neglecting work among other sections of the population. There are still many comrades who feel that it is not absolutely necessary to have a Party branch in each factory since we can work through the trade unions. Others would confine branch work to what they call "general policy." Still others feel that the branch should occupy itself only with economic questions.

A firm stand must be taken against this

viewpoint, and patiently and persistently we must prove to the comrades defending it that they are wrong.

Our orientation *primarily* on industry stems from the very nature of our Party, from the role which the working class is called upon to play in the struggle for social progress, democracy, peace and socialism. Our basic premise is that it is at the point of production, where the working class is subjected to capitalist exploitation, that it should be organized first and foremost.

Like the residential and rural branches, the factory branch conducts the type of mass work discussed above. It expresses its opinion and puts forward its proposals on all economic and social issues facing the workers, the youth, office employees, technicians and engineers. At present, for example, it is the task of all branches to support the Communist motions submitted to the National Assembly for four weeks' paid holidays, for a return to the 40-hour working week without reduction in wages, and for fixing the pension age for men at 60 and women at 55.

However, the factory branch cannot confine its activities only to the immediate economic and social issues for the simple reason that, necessary though it is to carry on the fight in this area, the concessions won from the capitalists are not lasting and do not free the working people from capitalist exploitation. Hence the struggle for economic demands must be waged together with *political* struggle all along the line against monopoly policy and monopoly rule in order to win genuine democracy, which is an essential stage on the way to socialism. Hence in all its explanatory work the factory branch should link the economic struggle with the struggle for democracy and peace.

Consequently, it is imperative steadily to improve our propaganda in order to clarify the issues for the working people and to answer their questions, in order to organize them for united action. Hence the need to put out more factory bulletins and to win readers for *l'Humanité* and the local papers. The factory branch should also acquaint the workers with the progress made by the socialist countries where the people have abolished exploitation, and in particular with life in the Soviet Union which is building communism.

In his report to the Sixteenth Congress Comrade Maurice Thorez stressed the need "to combine work in the factories with work in residential neighborhoods." Progress has been made in carrying out this line, in par-

ticular during the referendum campaign and during the general election, when the activists working in the factories gave valuable assistance to the residential branches. But much remains to be done.

Rural Party Organizations

In the countryside the Party works mainly among the agricultural laborers, small proprietors and tenant farmers who do not employ hired labor, defending the interests of the working peasantry as a whole against the monopolies.

Our Party wields considerable influence in the countryside. In a number of rural departments it is the strongest party. The Party paper *La Terre* is the most widely read of all agricultural papers.

Many examples of good work could be cited showing how the advance of the peasant movement has been accompanied by the growth of the Party, but there are also serious shortcomings. For instance, although we set up 317 new rural branches in 1962 the net increase was only 138; 179 branches fell apart.

One of the main reasons for this is underestimation of the importance of the rural branch and its role in building the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry. Some comrades feel that the loss of branches does not mean loss of influence. Not only are those who think so mistaken, their whole approach is wrong. Influence is not enough for the Party; it must also have strong *organizations* in the countryside. It is the duty of the Party to explain to the peasants the causes of their hardships and to show them the way out. This it does through the press and leaflets. But explanatory work alone is not enough. It should be supplemented with action around both immediate demands and the general political issues. This necessary and important work will be carried out far more effectively if a large number of primary Party organizations are engaged in it.

The lag in this work is due also to a certain lack of understanding of our policy on the peasant question. Some comrades fail to see why we should come out in defense of the small farm, for instance. To them it seems that since small peasant farming is doomed in any case, things should be allowed to drift on the assumption that it will be easier to win over the peasants when they have become proletarians.

Such reasoning runs counter to our theory; it is our conviction that we must work to win over the peasants and not wait for them

to become proletarians. What does socialism hold out for them? When they have become the masters of their land under socialism they will be able freely to unite and carry on with the help of the working class, which will provide them with machines and credits. We would be acting contrary to the logic of our own convictions if we were to allow the government of the monopolies and the land magnates to expropriate the small farmer.

To carry out the Party's policy on the peasant question the federations have appointed 50 people to take charge of work in the countryside. The initial results of this measure are encouraging. However, the idea is still prevalent that work among the peasants is the concern only of those put in charge of this activity. It goes without saying, of course, that the comrades entrusted with this work are obliged to concentrate on the issues involved, to see how the rural district committees and branches tackle these issues in order to help the federation committees to give the proper guidance. But the carrying out of decisions should be the concern of the *entire* federation leadership. There should be more teamwork, for teamwork produces better results.

The Party and the Working Women

The decisions of the Sixteenth Congress and the Central Committee meeting held in November 1961, and also the subsequent surveys of the activities of women members, have enabled us to improve our work among women.

The recent National Conference noted that in 31 federations new branches had been set up in a total of 100 enterprises employing mostly women. Besides, nearly two dozen branches came into being as offshoots of existing branches. New branches have been formed in textile mills, food industry factories, department stores, hospitals, post offices, etc. Scores of bulletins are published by branches in enterprises where the majority of the workers are women. Measures have been taken to improve work among women in the older factory branches, and progress has been made in training and promoting women members. Although the percentage of women among the new members admitted during the past year has remained practically unchanged, the percentage of factory workers among the new women members has risen. Our biggest shortcomings are in working among peasant women.

There is still a great deal of reluctance in

our ranks to place full confidence in women as a social force. This is manifested in various forms, but above all it is evident from the fact that the Central Committee has to keep on urging the federation and district committees to pay proper attention to this question. Indicative too is the way in which the work among women is approached. As a rule it is regarded in isolation from the big political tasks of the day. Yet such an important movement as the fight for higher wages, shorter hours and four weeks' paid holiday requires the participation of the working women for whom these demands are vital. Similarly, a broad, powerful movement for disarmament and peaceful coexistence is unthinkable without the participation of women and mothers.

The underestimation of work among women is also evident in the fact that it is left to the women members instead of being tackled by the *entire Party* from the Central Committee down. We have publicly criticized the top functionaries of some federations for shifting responsibility for this work to subcommittees or to the individual comrades in charge of it.

A new stimulus will no doubt be given to this work by a meeting which the Central Committee is sponsoring of women municipal councillors elected on lists put forward by our Party.

We have nearly 600 women councillors. But much remains to be done to bring them all—both members of the Party and the non-members elected on our lists—into the leadership of municipal affairs and active participation in the democratic struggle to uphold the rights of the municipalities.

The Party and the Mass Organizations

One of the most effective ways in which the Communists can strengthen their bonds with non-Communists is by working in the mass organizations and movements. The Communists see their task in building up these organizations, in helping them to give proper guidance without encroaching on their independence and specific character.

Tens of thousands of Communists have been elected to leading positions in many of these organizations.

Above all the Communists play an important part in the trade unions. Working side by side with non-Communists, they make a point of seeing to it that the unions' demands are formulated with the participation of the workers themselves, that the forms of struggle employed are those which best serve the

workers' interests and promote unity; and they uphold the democratic rights of the trade union members and workers generally. This is a must if unity of action is to be extended.

The Communists work together with non-Communists also in the peace movement, the Women's Union, organizations championing secular education, associations of war veterans and the disabled, tenants' associations, the France-USSR Society and other friendship societies, and in scores of other organizations pursuing definite limited aims.

Some progress has been made in this sphere since the Sixteenth Congress. *The development of independent Party activity, far from detracting from the activities of the mass organizations and movements, has given new impetus to them.* For example, the campaign for peace and disarmament and the French delegation to the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace held in Moscow last July, owed much of their success to the Communists. At present the Communists are playing an active part in the preparations for the forthcoming States General for Disarmament, which promises to provide a new stimulus to the fight for disarmament and to enlist thousands of people from all sections of society and of all views for work in the peace committees at all levels.

Activities of this kind presuppose combating sectarian attitudes, which can only weaken the link between the Communists and the masses and which the Sixteenth Congress censured in these words: "Too many of our comrades shun contacts, are afraid of contacts, are afraid to work among people who do not always think as they do."

New Members

The Party and its branches, district organizations and federations are faced with big tasks, with the job of cementing working-class unity and building the alliance of all democratic and peace forces.

To cope with these tasks we need more branches—moreover, active branches with a steadily growing membership. What is the situation in this respect?

Last year 48,100 new members joined the Party. (In 1959 the intake was 24,900, in 1960, 23,520, and in 1961, 23,000.) The growth in 1962 exceeded the previous high mark registered in 1956, when, after the huge Communist vote and the swing to the Left in the election of January 2, 1956, 42,000 new mem-

bers were admitted.

But not all federations have made an equally good showing. The discrepancies are quite considerable, the increase in admissions in 1962 as compared with the previous year ranging from 51 per cent in the Seine-et-Marne Federation, which topped the list, to five per cent in Haut-Rhin, which came last. Clearly, then, not all federations, districts and branches have paid sufficient attention to recruiting. The explanation, evidently, is that we still have organizations which underestimate the role of the branches and fail to see the full range of tasks confronting them. Only where the importance of the *mass work* is fully appreciated is unflagging attention paid to enlisting new forces capable of giving new vigor to the branches.

On the other hand, last year's gain of nearly 50,000 new members notwithstanding, we should not close our eyes to the fact that the total membership *increased only by 18,000*. The difference between the two figures is far too great, even if part of the loss was due to natural causes.

The National Conference paid special attention to this problem. Why did we lose 30,000 members? Did they drop out because they did not agree with the policy of the Party? Certainly not. The number dropping out for political reasons is negligible. The fluctuation is due to other reasons.

The *first reason* is insufficient attention to the branches, which, when left to their own devices, often flounder in difficulties. The district and federation committees should give priority to the work of the branches; indeed, they have no task more important than rendering constant political and practical aid to the branches.

It is also necessary to put an end to some incorrect methods of work. *The Party's policy of broad unity should be implemented creatively, taking into account the local situation on the scale of the branch, district or federation. The lower committees should always bear this in mind in carrying out the decisions of the higher committees.* Yet some federation committees often take decisions which leave little room for initiative from below. The same yardstick cannot be applied to all branches; the specific problems confronting the workers, peasants, women and young people in the localities should always be kept in mind. Nevertheless, federation or district committees often decide questions which should be left to the branches. Tasks

will be carried out more effectively if they have been discussed in the branch or the district, if the members understand them fully and have had a hand in formulating them.

The *second* and perhaps most important reason for the fluctuation of membership is connected with the inner life of the branches.

New members, and especially the youth, join our ranks full of enthusiasm, eager to learn and to do their bit. They look up to the Party, which they know has done so much for our people and our country and which charts the way to the radiant morrow of socialism and communism. But frequently our local organizations do not measure up to the newcomers' expectations. Many new members find themselves in branches that meet irregularly and whose meetings, when they do take place, are dull, often convened only to organize "practical work," as it is called. Needless to say, it is necessary to decide on concrete tasks and carry them out. But before deciding on the tasks they should be discussed in a way that will interest every member. If the newcomers to the Party do not find full-blooded, interesting activity in their branches they will be disappointed, and from disappointment it is only one step to a decision not to renew one's membership card for the next year. Consequently, *every effort must be made to invigorate the political and mass activities of all primary organizations.*

The *third reason* is a tendency to exclude comrades on the pretext that they are inactive.

True, the Party Rules call for active work by all members in their respective organizations. But we know that the inclusion of a point in the Rules does not automatically ensure its observance. It is the duty of the branch to see to it that each member pulls his weight. And this requires patience and persistence.

The *fourth reason* is closely connected with the foregoing. According to the Rules, every member pays monthly dues. This serves as a link between the members of the branch besides representing an important item in the Party budget. But what happens if the branch does not function properly? Months may pass before the dues collector comes around to collect the arrears, perhaps five or six months or more. Most of our members are workers who have a hard time making ends meet, and it is obvious that they will find it difficult to pay out 1,000 or 2,000 francs

at once. This, too, is a reason why we lose members. Consequently, it is essential to collect dues punctually every month.

Cadres, Leadership and Collective Work

How the policy of the Party is carried out depends in large measure on the training and proper allocation of cadres.

On the whole our leadership and our cadres have proved their worth and have many successes to their credit. We now distribute responsibilities among functionaries better than we used to and there are fewer cases of the same people filling several posts at once. Quite a large number of young Communists have been advanced to leading posts both in the Party and in the mass organizations. The same may be said about women.

Besides training and promoting cadres it is essential to see to it that their work is properly organized. Functions should be distributed so as to ensure team work. One can still hear complaints that in one or another federation committee all the work is done by a few individuals while 20-30 committee members have hardly anything to do.

In order to draw these capable forces into collective work, the federation committees as a whole and each of their members should be reminded that they are *responsible for the elaboration and implementation of the policy of the Party* in their respective spheres of activity.

The second prerequisite of collective work is proper allocation of functions and responsibility in accordance with the possibilities and ability of each Party worker. Certain comrades should be assigned to supervise work among women, peasants and the youth and to deal with questions pertaining to education, schools, cadres and the press. Others should help comrades working in the

mass organizations. A federation leadership with well-organized working committees in these fields will be able to influence all spheres of endeavor.

* * *

The National Conference made an objective assessment of the organizational work of the Party, of the successes achieved and in particular of the errors and shortcomings which must be corrected in order better to serve the interests of the people and the country. In this article I have highlighted a few of the important problems examined at the conference in order to stress that our main task in the sphere of organization is to direct the attention of the Party organizations and activists at all levels to work among the masses, and that to ensure the maximum results we must strengthen the Party ideologically as well as organizationally, i.e., by increasing its membership and the number of its branches.

It is essential to give free rein to the initiative of all Party organizations and all members and thus carry out Party policy in a creative way, and encourage inner-Party democracy and collective methods of leadership at all levels. With this in view, the Central Committee has decided to submit for discussion an amended draft of the Party Rules during the preparations for the next Congress.

There is no doubt that the National Conference laid the groundwork for new and bigger achievements in our organizational work. And these in turn will help to consolidate and promote unity of action between the Communists and Socialists, to build the unity of all republicans in the struggle for peace, social progress, democracy and, ultimately, socialism.

The Franco Dictatorship—a Threat to Peace in Europe

Antonio Cordon

ONE of the principal objectives of the fight for peace is the removal of the foreign military bases set up on the territories of a number of countries. For Spain, where the American imperialists have one of their major networks of naval and air bases, this is a matter of life and death. World developments in recent years, and especially in the past months, have made the struggle for the closing of these bases and the annulment of military pacts concluded between Franco and the United States a basic issue of the struggle for the liberation of our country from fascist tyranny, and of the fight for peace. In his report to the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party in October 1961, Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of our Party, said that effective action to secure these objectives was the substance of a *genuine anti-Franco policy of all forces, Right or Left*. "To liberate Spain from the Franco yoke," he said, "is just as important and urgent as to liberate it from the threat of annihilation contained in the American bases and military pacts with the United States."

* * *

The U.S. bases on Spanish territory are the result of three agreements between the U.S. and Spanish governments signed on September 26, 1953. By concluding these agreements the Franco regime openly confirmed the fact that our country had been handed over lock, stock and barrel to the Pentagon and U.S. monopolies, that Spanish sovereignty had been surrendered.

According to the articles of the agreements made public, the Americans secured the right to build four military bases: at Torrejon (20 km. from Madrid), at Saragossa, at Moron (Seville Province) and at Rota (Cadiz Province). Today these bases, connected by an 800-kilometer oil pipeline, comprise what one might call the *key system of bases*, and although officially designated as "*joint property*" are under the exclusive control of the Americans.

To these have now been added more military and naval bases and a large number of airfields and ports equipped with special military installations, most of which, incidentally, were built before the pacts were signed. Work on the expansion of these bases is still going on. In 1959, for example, the naval base at Cartagena, one of the three most important bases in Spain before the Americans came (the others are at El Ferrol and Cadiz) was placed at the disposal of the American Sixth Fleet and a submarine base was built there. A supplementary accord concluded at the end of 1960 authorized the construction (under American supervision) of a base in the Canary Islands. In short, it can be said that as a result of the 1953 pacts plus the supplementary accords, Spain has been turned into a vast U.S. naval and air base, the largest and most widely ramified system of bases America possesses outside its own territory.

Several months ago semi-official talks between the U.S. government and Franco were begun on the question of prolonging the 10-year term of the military agreements. On January 14, 1963, Foreign Minister Castiella informed the U.S. Ambassador in Madrid that it was the intention of the Spanish government to "follow the procedure for the renewal of the agreements stipulated therein." The Franco dictatorship did not announce its decision publicly until January 26, i.e., four days after the treaty between Paris and Bonn had been signed. Informing the press of this decision, the Minister of Information hastened to explain that this by no means implied a disruption of ties with the United States, that it was merely a question of "adapting them, in the spirit of true friendship and genuine cooperation, to the present realities which differ from those existing ten years ago."

Alluding to the "new situation" in the military sphere in a speech delivered at the end of October 1961, Franco asked for more modern weapons for his army, including atomic weapons. According to the press,

Franco wants, among other things, several destroyers equipped with Tartar missiles, a 10,000-ton helicopter-carrier, and other light vessels for the Navy, and for the Army, Honest John missiles, with conventional and atomic warheads, and nuclear shells for Spanish 8-inch howitzers.

The fact that the list is headed by various types of nuclear weapons and light vessels for the Navy as the point of departure for a program of naval construction is highly indicative.

But besides the purely military demands, Franco is advancing political points as well. He believes that the contradictions now rending the Atlantic community may help him to induce the United States to agree to replace the present pacts, founded almost exclusively on strategic considerations, by an agreement on a broad alliance which would imply full and open recognition of his dictatorship. As is evident from his speech on January 1, Franco is seeking "equal rights" for his regime in order to end the political isolation on the world arena from which he has long been vainly struggling to extricate himself. The dictatorship hopes in this way to restore its badly damaged prestige inside the country and overcome the sharp political crisis with which it is faced. The alliance as conceived by the Franco camarilla should be expressed in broader and more effective U.S. support for Spain's bid for NATO membership, which some member-countries of the Atlantic Community strongly oppose. The Franco press repeats in endless variations the words of the Spanish Ambassador to the United States: "It is absurd that an organization like NATO whose aim is to combat communism should exclude the most anti-communist country in Europe."

The alliance envisaged by Franco and his advisers would also ensure them U.S. support for Spain's plans to join the Common Market which have been unexpectedly complicated by de Gaulle's rejection of Britain's application for entry.

And finally, by prolonging the pacts, Franco and the Spanish monopolies are trying to raise the price for which they are bartering the country to the United States. There are complaints that U.S. *economic aid* to Spain has been *meagre* as compared with that given to Britain and France, and even, the commentators add, "to Italy and Germany, countries which fought against the United States in the last war." The inducement Franco holds out to the United States is a pledge

to preserve the system of U.S. bases in Spain and to extend them to meet the needs of America's *new strategy*. Franco and his advisers feel that with the loss of the bases in Morocco, and with the U.S. plan to close some of its strategic air bases and dismantle its missile sites in a number of countries, the bases in Spain will loom even larger in the "new strategy" of the Pentagon.

Press reports show that for months the U.S. government has been negotiating with the Spanish government for the establishment in Rota of a Mediterranean base for Polaris submarines. It can safely be said that Rota is not the only Mediterranean base the Americans want for Polaris submarines.

Spanish bases and ports in the Mediterranean occupy a very important place in U.S. military plans in which a major role is assigned to the Mediterranean as a strategic base of operations against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries generally, and for support to reactionary elements in the various countries of Europe, Africa and the Middle East. A commanding position in this area would give the United States a large measure of control over the economic and political development, not to mention the security, of many Mediterranean countries.

Addressing the recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party, Dolores Ibarruri, President of the Communist Party of Spain, described the situation in these words. "Our Mediterranean Sea . . . must be returned to the Roman and Arab peoples. It must belong to all the nations of the world. We must put an end to its usurpation by imperialist strategists who are creating tension in the Mediterranean and destroying the sovereignty of the countries situated on its shores, and rendering support to the reactionaries in their struggle against democrats and the national-liberation movement."

Another trump held by Franco in his talks with the Americans, and one which he is using to back up his demand for weapons and an "open door" to NATO, is the offer to increase the number of divisions which Spain could place at the disposal of the Pentagon. This is in line with the Pentagon's "new strategy" which calls for building up conventional forces and arms with a view to their use in "limited wars."

In October 1958, when former Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Barroso went to the United States, the Franco press gave much prominence to reports that one of the agreements he had signed with the Pentagon

provided for the formation of new Spanish divisions patterned after the U.S. Army, beginning with two divisions and then increasing the number to seven.

One such division consisting of five battle groups took part in the 1961 and 1962 army maneuvers. Military commentators suggested that the job of reorganizing, equipping and training these pentatomic divisions could be effected much more quickly if Spain were part of NATO. Franco believes that the moment is now opportune for offering the United States—and through it, the Atlantic bloc of which Spain would be partner—the new five-group units formed on the basis of the arms and equipment solicited from the United States.

On the political plane the Franco regime is offering the United States help in solving the problem of relations with the peoples of Africa and Latin America. The Franco press is playing up Spain's strong position in Africa which it describes as "exceptional compared with other European countries in their relations with the Arab countries," and stressing the "indestructible bond between Spain and the Latin American countries." Commentators hint broadly at the possibility of the propaganda, news and espionage services of the Franco regime being placed at the disposal of the State Department to assist in combating anti-American sentiment and the growing Latin American movements in defense of Cuba.

In order to ensure the "good-will" of the USA in connection with the "renewal" of the 1953 agreements and to make a show of independence and stability for the benefit both of its own people and the outside world, the Franco dictatorship, taking advantage of the friction in the Atlantic bloc, signed an agreement with the French government the implications of which it is as yet difficult to determine. Franco propaganda has been loud in its acclaim of the move.

"The time has come for Spain to take its place in continental Europe," the Francoists crowed. The dictatorship is encouraging the press to speculate on the possibility of the Paris-Bonn axis being extended to Madrid. This is the aim of the move to improve relations between the de Gaulle government and the Franco dictatorship, although the French government so far has denied this.

It is safe to assume that the conversations between the French and Spanish Ministers of the Interior ended in the conclusion of a police accord, with the French government

undertaking to launch an *offensive* against the Spanish anti-fascists residing in France (by deporting some, banning the newspapers and journals published in France by the Spanish Republicans, tightening border controls with a view to restricting or forbidding free movement by the opponents of the Franco dictatorship, etc.), making them the object of infamous deals involving OAS criminals who have been granted political asylum by Franco Spain.

In propaganda the first and tangible expression of the "common ideology" which, according to the Falangist newspaper *Arriba*, is shared by the governments of Paris, Bonn and Madrid, was the conclusion of an agreement on permanent cooperation between the Spanish and French radio and television.

In this "outburst" of friendship between the authoritarian regime of de Gaulle and the fascist dictatorship of Franco the principal elements are the military agreements. In the course of the talks between General Ailleret, the French Chief of Staff, and Captain-General Munoz Grandes, Vice-President of the Spanish government, Chief of the General Staff and former commander of the ill-starred Blue Division, the latter, presenting his French colleague with the Grand Military Cross, declared: "An unshakable alliance has been formed between our two armies."

There is reason to believe that the request of the French General Staff that the French fleet be allowed to use the naval bases in the Canary Islands has been granted. A few days after General Ailleret returned to Paris, de Gaulle announced his decision to shift the main forces of the French fleet from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. French strategists are of the opinion that with the proclamation of Algerian independence the Mediterranean has lost its significance for France as a short cut to the African continent, whereas the Atlantic, on the contrary, has acquired a greater importance for France's communications with French West Africa. From this standpoint, the Canary Islands could be valuable as a stopover base.

There can hardly be any doubt that Franco has permitted de Gaulle to use certain parts of the Sahara, still administered by Spain, for nuclear tests. The French government, as is stressed in official propaganda, *regards the Spanish Sahara as the most convenient place for testing nuclear weapons and for missile sites. Spain, with its uranium deposits and its advantageous position in the Sahara, acquires particular importance in the new*

strategy. Permission to use Spanish uranium with which to manufacture their own nuclear weapons is one of the offers made by Franco to West Germany and France in order to secure the admission of Spain as a "third partner" to the alliance recently established by these two countries.

West Germany, with its militarist and revanchist tendencies, is undoubtedly elated by Franco's proposals, although Bonn has not yet made any official statement on this score. So far comment has been confined to the reactionary section of the Bonn press. The *Deutsche Zeitung*, for example, in language savoring of Hitler, wrote: "The Paris Arc de Triomphe will be the gate through which Spain will enter the Common Market and NATO."

This is one of the principal objectives pursued by Franco in establishing a close alliance with the more bellicose and aggressive states of Europe. Backed by this alliance and taking advantage of the favorable international situation, Franco hopes to induce the United States, upon renewal of the 1953 agreements, to grant all or at least part of the demands.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the dictatorship will annul the agreements with the United States should the latter fail to accede to these demands, as indeed has been intimated much to the annoyance of Franco. The repeated statements of the Franco leaders and the press testify to the contrary. The Associated Press quoted a high-ranking Spanish official as saying (on January 29, 1963) that Spain deeply appreciates the assistance of the United States. The newspaper ABC wrote that "cooperation with the United States is the key issue of our diplomacy, one which in some measure determines our future position in the world." The truth is that the very existence of the Franco dictatorship hinges on this cooperation.

The struggle against the aggressive alliance between Spain and Bonn—the seedbed of aggression in Europe—and between de Gaulle's France, which is also striving for domination, must become and, indeed already has become, part of the struggle for the final annulment of the Spanish-U.S. pacts and against their renewal in any form whatever. The Communist Party of Spain has reaffirmed its determination to fight against the renewal of the 1953 pacts and has taken a firm stand against Spain's participation in the Paris-Bonn axis. The Party once again calls for a return to the policy of neutrality.

At the present time this struggle is gaining

momentum despite all the difficulties. At the time of the Caribbean crisis, when, were it not for the firmness, sanity and humanism displayed by the Soviet government, headed by N. S. Khrushchov, mankind might have been plunged into a thermonuclear catastrophe, the full extent of the danger to Spain represented by the U.S. military bases and armed forces on Spanish territory was brought home to the people. In those days anti-American feeling ran high and the popular resentment reached the point where demonstrations against the United States took place.

The struggle against nuclear war, for peace and peaceful coexistence is gaining momentum in our country. In February, for example, important steps on behalf of peace and international cooperation were taken by groups of intellectuals in Barcelona. Some 40 artists, including Picasso and Joan Miro, took part in an "Art and Peace" exhibition sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art in Barcelona. A series of lectures was held, outstanding among which was the lecture delivered by the Catholic philosopher Aranguren which attracted an audience of a thousand people and was followed by a lively debate. Aranguren expressed his views in these words: "We must not limit ourselves to affixing our signatures to documents of one kind or another such as I myself have signed . . . We must work to organize pressure groups for the establishment of permanent peace committees."

The Spanish people are coming to realize that the pacts concluded with the United States have nothing to do with Spain's defense, that, as Khrushchov pointed out in his replies to questions put by the *Espana Popular*, the Americans are building their bases in preparation for aggression against the socialist countries, and hence "by allowing Spanish territory to be used for American military bases, the ruling circles are exposing Spain to a terrible danger in the event of the outbreak of a nuclear war. Thus, the presence of bases under foreign control on Spanish territory imperils the very existence of the Spanish nation."

The Trade Union Opposition has made the struggle for dismantling the foreign bases in Spain one of the points in its program. The preparations for a general political strike will help to extend and deepen mass action for the elimination of the bases. The general political strike of the proletariat could be the prelude to a nationwide upheaval which could culminate in the overthrow of the dictatorship.

The actions of the caudillo and his supporters highlight the danger which the strengthening of Franco's armed might through the renewal of the 1953 agreements, additional U.S. military aid or new military pacts bodes for the peoples of Europe and Africa, and for world peace.

The best way to avoid this danger is for the people to fight for the dismantling of the military bases and against Franco. It is in the interest of the peoples of the world, of peace-loving men and women everywhere to render effective aid to the Spanish people in their difficult struggle for the annulment of the pacts and against extending the Paris-

Bonn axis to Madrid. By so doing they will be supporting the Spanish people's efforts to restore democracy in Spain. For that is the goal to which the Spanish people aspire.

We welcome the stand taken by the public in Europe on the talks between the spokesmen of de Gaulle and the Franco regime; we salute their actions in defense of the Spanish democrats.

"Restoration of democracy in Spain," said Khrushchov, "would, undoubtedly, be a big contribution to the common struggle of the peoples of Europe for a relaxation of tension, for universal disarmament, for peace and democracy."

Growth of Militarism in Colombia and the Line of the Communist Party

Gilberto Vieira

THE situation in our country today presents a complex and in many respects confusing picture. The bankruptcy of the policy pursued by the ruling classes is becoming increasingly obvious against the background of a deepgoing economic and social crisis that has affected literally every area of national life.

Both theoretical analysis and practical experience refute the theory of the oligarchy that national progress can be achieved by subordinating the country's interests to imperialism. The Alliance for Progress has made Colombia more dependent on the U.S. imperialists, and unless the people frustrate this policy of national betrayal in which the oligarchy has dragged the country to the accompaniment of hosannas to the Alliance for Progress Colombia will find itself bound hand and foot to the United States.

In this situation the Communist Party has advanced demands aimed at facilitating the solution of the vital problems confronting the country. Set forth in the manifestos of the National Executive of the Party, published last November and in January this year, these

demands include higher wages to keep pace with the rising cost of living; public control over prices; more trade with the socialist countries as a means of solving the problem of coffee markets; effective control over foreign trade with a view to promoting home industry; cuts in military expenditure; agrarian reform, and extension of civil and trade union rights.

The Party is working to rally the broad sections of the population in the struggle against reaction and imperialism.

The people are carrying on the fight in the new situation in Latin America ushered in by the victory of the Cuban revolution—the first revolution on the American continent to destroy the imperialist yoke and the feudal survivals and to lay the foundations of socialism. Solidarity with the Cuban revolution is now the common platform of all the revolutionary forces in Latin America.

To extend the solidarity and make it more effective is the urgent task of the Colombian revolutionary movement at the present time. The Party holds that in the present situation declarations to the effect that "the best form

of solidarity with Cuba is a revolution in Colombia" are merely empty phrases, of no practical value. A policy based solely on such phrases could lead only to passivity. The Party believes that greater solidarity with Cuba means carrying on more work among the people, organizing mass actions in defense of the Cuban revolution, rousing the masses to fight the reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists. Not the least valuable form of solidarity is propaganda of the truth about Cuba. We can further our own revolutionary struggle and arouse the enthusiasm of the people by explaining the significance of the Cuban revolution, pointing to its successes, especially the agrarian reform and housing, the nationalization of the U.S. enterprises, the winning of genuine national independence, the abolition of illiteracy and the development of industry, and comparing these achievements with our own position of dependence, our poverty and ignorance, contrasting the revolutionary democracy enjoyed by the Cuban people with the regime of tyranny and armed violence in Colombia.

The people are waging their struggle in a situation marked by the continued encroachment on the already truncated civil liberties, the increasing role of the army and the growing influence of the United States in both the political and economic spheres. The meeting of the Central Committee of our Party in February noted that all signs pointed to a new political situation with the chronic problem of violence looming larger than ever.

Increase of Armed Violence

For the past 15 years, the people of Colombia have been subjected to the most brutal forms of violence and terror, the favorite weapons used by the ultra-reactionaries to crush the popular movement.

This policy, actively supported by U.S. imperialism, dates back to the "undeclared civil war" waged with brief intervals until 1958 and responsible for the slaughter of 200,000 of our people.

The set-up is extremely complicated. At the time of the reactionary and military dictatorship (1947-1958), groups of Conservatives armed by the authorities and supported by the police and, subsequently, by the army, set out to crush the Liberal and Communist opposition by "fire and sword." Thousands of democrats, chiefly Liberals and Communists, were killed. Armed detachments of reactionaries, backed by the police and troops, raided

peasant areas considered to be the stronghold of the opposition.

This violence was started by the latifundists who to this day use it to seize land belonging to peasants labelled as "Reds," to persecute peasant organizations and murder their leaders. Violence is used also by the merchants to raise the prices of prime necessities, and by the capitalists, to create an army of cheap labor which is constantly being swelled by the thousands of peasants fleeing to the towns from areas under a state of siege.

This armed violence sparked off a popular resistance which assumed the character of a guerrilla movement. It was in this situation that in October 1949 the Communist Party put forward its call for mass self-defense against the terror. A meeting of the Central Committee of the Party urged the people to "meet the violence of the fascists with organized mass violence . . . through the medium of people's defense organizations in all the provinces threatened by the reactionaries."

The guerrilla movement spread rapidly, embracing large areas of the country. The rulers sought desperately for a way out of a situation that was rapidly developing into a crisis. In June 1953 a military coup was carried out. Its success was largely due to the popular image of the army as the "savior" of the nation, an image built up over a long period by the Liberals. The military clique promised "peace, justice and freedom for all," proclaimed an amnesty for the guerrillas and, using the political influence enjoyed by the liberal bourgeoisie, succeeded by dint of generous promises and minor concessions in inducing the bulk of the guerrillas to lay down arms.

One year later, when the Pinilla military dictatorship revealed itself in its true colors and the people realized they had been hoodwinked, the guerrilla movement flared up again. The Communist Party's warning that the dictatorship would betray the people proved correct.

A new stage of the guerrilla movement began, one marked by the predominance of Communist influence. But at this stage, too, the Party failed to unite the guerrilla movement and to coordinate it on the scale of the whole country around a concrete program.

On May 10, 1957 the military dictatorship was overthrown by the popular movement in the towns. The big bourgeoisie, however, succeeded in getting a compromise decision which resulted in a caricature of a bourgeois

democracy* that exists in Colombia to this day. After the dictatorship was overthrown all operations against the guerrillas ended. Some of the detachments ceased to exist, others became active peasant self-defense organizations.

But although the "undeclared civil war" has ended, clashes between various armed groups still occur, causing much distress to the population. Armed bands of Liberals engage armed bands of Conservatives in pitched battles which at times bear all the outward signs of guerrilla actions. In reality, however, there is nothing revolutionary about them. Some of these bands are made up of the remnants of former Liberal guerrilla units. All of them, whatever their denomination, plunder the population.

Banditry in Colombia is an *official institution*, supported by the authorities, by the army and the latifundists and used by them as an instrument of terror against the peasant movement, especially against the self-defense organizations. Many peasant Communist leaders and activists in the countryside have been killed by these gangs.

Although in some instances the army is forced to take action against individual bandits and some of the armed groups of Liberals and Conservatives, its main function is to crush the popular movement. In the middle of 1962, for example, troops were sent against the peasants in Marquetalia, a large area in the Cordillera Andes formerly controlled by the guerrillas, who have an effective self-defense organization there. The peasants held their own against the troops. A critical situation has developed in this area, and should it continue, the likelihood is that the aggression of the government troops will turn it into an arena of guerrilla war.

The patriots are insisting that the armed violence must cease, that it is time to put a stop to the operations of marauders in the pay of the authorities, and to terminate hostilities against the so-called "independent republics," the term applied by the authorities to the rural areas where the popular movement aims to end violence and safeguard freedom.

However, the government takes the opposite position: with the assistance of the United

States it is assiduously preparing the army for "internal war."

At present U.S. imperialism is working overtime to carry out its plan for the complete reorganization of the armies of the Latin American countries. The Pentagon has turned Fort Albrook Field (part of Panama unlawfully seized by the United States) into a center where Latin American officers are being trained in anti-guerrilla warfare.

The role of the army as protector of the state frontiers and guarantor of national sovereignty is being relegated to the background. The armed forces are being turned into another branch of the police for repressive operations aimed at halting the movement for national liberation.

The "modernization" of the Colombian army now under way is part of the overall plan of continental strategy by means of which Washington wants to turn the Latin American armies into contingents for crushing the revolutionary movement in the respective countries.

The U.S. military make no secret about the place allotted to Colombia in the Pentagon's plans. If Fort Albrook Field in Panama is the center for continental anti-guerrilla training, Colombia, as their spokesmen have declared, is the proving ground.

Movement for Mass Self-Defense

In this situation of legalized terror and violence, the Communist Party, while utilizing all forms of struggle, is focusing attention on organizing mass self-defense.

Mass self-defense is a feature of the popular movement in Colombia. It is an integral part of the revolutionary process, of the struggle of the masses against reaction and imperialism, for national liberation and social progress. In our conditions mass defense is a combination of the peaceful and non-peaceful way. It came into being in the course of the struggle against the terror, as a means of self-protection for the masses. It was practised in many parts of the country in retaliation for the naked violence of the reactionaries. Mass self-defense is profoundly democratic in essence, being organized and directed by the working people themselves.

The self-defense detachment is not a party organization, it unites people of all parties and political views, provided they champion the people's interests.

Mass self-defense is the practical embodiment of the policy of the broad democratic front, inasmuch as it brings together people

*In 1957 when the Pinilla dictatorship fell, the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties signed one of the most anti-democratic agreements in Colombian history: public and state posts were divided equally among the members of both parties for a period of 16 years, the post of President to be held for 4-year terms alternately by both parties.

whose vital interests coincide. In proclaiming effective mass self-defense in town and countryside the Communist Party believes that this will strengthen the alliance between the workers and peasants which could become the solid foundation for a powerful democratic front. The basis of this alliance is the struggle of the working class and the Communist Party in defense of the peasants, for a democratic agrarian reform, which would solve the problem of land for the peasants and better the lot of vast numbers of people.

The policy of mass self-defense under certain conditions, i.e., when the reactionary bands try to prevent the people from exercising their civil rights by breaking up mass actions, etc., is applied also in the towns and workers' districts.

Correctly understood and properly organized, self-defense can become the vehicle for the propagation of revolutionary ideas with the prospect of becoming in the future one of the most effective instruments for translating these ideas into life. In organizing mass self-defense, the Party devotes a great deal of attention to political work among the members of the self-defense organizations.

This policy provides also for steady propaganda and organizing work among the population. We attach much importance to work among the personnel of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the police, aimed at winning some of them over to the side of the people.

While advancing the slogan of self-defense the Party takes a Marxist attitude to it as one of the components of the general revolutionary movement in Colombia. It vigorously combats all extremist and adventurist elements who vociferously urge the need to speed up events by artificial means. The policy of self-defense, as has been repeatedly stressed in Party documents, does not mean that the moment is auspicious for waging guerrilla warfare as the basic form of struggle or that it is the sole way for the Colombian revolution.

At the same time, the Party has declared that whenever the enemy launches an offensive with the aim of smashing the peasant organizations, the peaceful self-defense movement will take militant action, the way of guerrilla warfare. But any switching from one method to the other will depend not merely on the wishes of the Communists, it will depend primarily on what forms of struggle the ruling classes resort to.

Our Central Committee was as generous

in its praise of and support for the popular struggle waged by the Marketalia peasants as it was severe in its denunciation of recklessness and over-emphasis on guerrilla tactics. The struggle of the Marketalia peasants against the armed forces is a just, patriotic and revolutionary struggle and deserves full support.

The experience accumulated by the self-defense movement in the course of the years was summarized at its First National Conference which arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The Conference endorsed the policy of rallying the revolutionary forces through struggle to extend democratic rights with the aim of strengthening the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and establishing a democratic front.

The people should use every peaceful means of struggle for democracy and on behalf of the workers of town and countryside, and at the same time be ready for more resolute struggle in the event of the ruling classes resorting to a coup to instal a terrorist dictatorship. One of the most effective ways of preparing for this eventuality is to develop the new organizational and political forms of mass self-defense.

2. The policy of self-defense should be widely popularized in all rural localities and in the towns. The banner of the movement should be the struggle against violence and terror. The violence in our country can be ended only by resolute and organized struggle on the part of the peasants and workers.

3. The immediate task of the self-defense movement is to establish mutual understanding with the different revolutionary groups, so as to give effect to the policy of alliances and to rally forces for the decisive battle, for the widest possible front of national democracy. In striving for these goals we should consistently combat sectarianism, Right-wing trends and passivity, as well as extremist adventurist trends.

4. The Conference urges the self-defense movement to display the utmost vigilance with regard to those who call themselves revolutionaries and promise to supply the movement with arms and equipment, but whose real aim is to impel it towards reckless and untimely armed clashes.

5. The policy of self-defense should be closely linked with the struggle for the vital economic and political demands of the working people. It is particularly important that the self-defense movement be based on a

broad struggle for a democratic agrarian reform.

6. The Conference regards as erroneous the assertion that armed struggle is the sole revolutionary way suited to Colombian conditions, because this would deprive the people of the possibility of using all other means of struggle. It would be equally incorrect, however, categorically to affirm that only the peaceful way is possible. The latter presupposes united action on a broad scale of all the revolutionary and democratic forces searching for a way out of the crisis and who want a peaceful, democratic solution of the crisis if possible. But at the same time the people must be fully prepared to switch over to other forms of struggle should the ruling classes compel them to take the non-peaceful way.

The Danger of a Military Coup . . .

The government and the ruling classes as a whole are reinforcing the army. The vast military police apparatus built up by the military dictatorship is being extended on the pretext of the need to combat the armed bands and the "Communist danger." "Militarism," states the political report to the Ninth Congress of the Party, "has again become the dominant factor in the life of the country, and the military leaders do not hesitate to issue orders to the government."

We must, however, make this reservation: our Party does not regard the army as a solid bloc. It is a part of Colombian society and as such it mirrors the basic contradictions of that society. The class struggle goes on in the army as in civilian life. There is no political unity among the armed forces, however "apolitical" they are purported to be. At the present time in connection with the problem of violence and the movement of mass self-defense various trends are making themselves felt in the army.

One trend — ultra-reactionary and pro-imperialist — equates the bandits with the popular self-defense movement. This trend calls for the eradication of all the revolutionary peasant organizations and the execution of their leaders.

Others favor the idea of waging a "psychological war" to isolate the leaders of the various armed groups from the peasants. This is the purpose of the "military-civilian days," a demagogic campaign held regularly throughout the country. On these occasions the army organizes free medical aid, and other services for the population, distributes gifts to the

children, etc. This largesse is accompanied by high pressure propaganda about the "peaceful mission" of the army. In this way the army leaders are seeking to win mass support with an eye to the future. All this, however, has done little to change the negative attitude of the population toward the army.

Then there are the patriotic elements, supporters of a somewhat confused nationalism who resent their role as an army of occupation against the people.

And, lastly, there are those in the army who are strongly opposed to the policy of terror and violence and who seek the support of the masses and respect their self-defense organizations. This trend, though still weak, is gaining strength and might well develop into an important political factor. These facts indicate that the process of differentiation is at work in the army.

The Communist Party holds that a coup staged by the armed forces would be a disaster for the people. But as things are, a military coup would not be a repetition of Pinilla's "simple walkover" from the War Office to the Presidential Palace. It is likely to encounter resistance within the armed forces and certainly on the part of the people, who now have gained experience in the struggle against military dictatorships.

. . . and the line of the Communist Party

The struggle has now entered a new phase. The general line of our policy in this phase is to "extend all forms of the mass struggle."

The Communist Party proceeds from the principle that the chief motive force of the revolution is the working class, *hence the level of maturity of the working-class movement* must be the criterion in outlining the perspectives of the revolutionary reconstruction of our country. What the working class needs above all at the present time is unity. And despite the obstacles caused by the split in the trade union movement and by the machinations of the enemies of unity, the Party is intensifying its efforts to unite the working class.

At the same time it calls for a broad democratic front which would rally the masses to fight for an anti-imperialist agrarian revolution.

The social crisis is deepening, and with it the crisis of the two-party parity system. More and more people are beginning to see that our country is in need of thoroughgoing social changes and not partial reforms. The program

of the Communist Party states that radical changes can be effected only by carrying out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, agrarian revolution. In this connection our Party has been examining the problems of the revolutionary situation which, as we know, is the cardinal condition for any successful revolution.

In assessing political developments in our country from this standpoint, we are guided by Lenin's counsel concerning the revolutionary situation, its features and its causes.

First, for a revolutionary situation the discontent and resentment of the masses is not enough. Besides this, it must be clear that the ruling classes can no longer rule in the old way. Hence the revolutionary party of the working class cannot base its tactics on the sentiment of the masses alone; it must take into account also the attitude of the ruling classes, the stability of their political position and the possibility of their receiving aid from reactionary forces outside the country and the effectiveness of the aid.

Second, among the objective factors impelling the masses toward revolution an important role is played by economic considerations: super-exploitation of the workers of town and country, a soaring cost of living, economic crises, etc.

Third, aggravation of the causes of discontent among the masses, who in "peaceful" periods allow themselves to be plundered but in times of stress are more inclined both by virtue of the general crisis situation and in obedience to their own natural strivings, to take independent action.

In Colombia at the moment the heightened danger of a military coup and an orgy of political reaction, the tightening of the U.S. imperialist grip and the threat of being drawn into a world conflict are factors making for a revolutionary situation.

Without these objective conditions, which do not depend on the will of groups or parties, nor even of one or another class, revolution, as a rule, is impossible.

We believe that in our country developments are moving towards a revolutionary situation, *but we consider that it would be premature to conclude that the revolutionary situation has already matured.*

We know, of course, that not every revolutionary situation results in a revolution; revolutions take place only when both the objective and the *subjective* preconditions exist.

Of great importance is the ability and resolve of the revolutionary class to take action

sufficiently effective to smash, or at any rate to undermine, the existing power. Lenin warned the revolutionary parties of one danger that is not excluded at times of swiftly developing events, namely, the danger of relying solely on one's own forces and mistaking the enthusiasm and resolve of the vanguard for the mood of the people as a whole. The vanguard alone cannot achieve victory. Lenin particularly emphasizes that the masses must acquire *their own political experience.*

Here in Colombia, while the objective conditions for revolution are rapidly maturing, the subjective factors are developing more slowly.

The maturing of the subjective factor depends in large measure on the daily political and organizational work conducted by the Party among the masses.

In all cases, however, this is a process which cannot be speeded up artificially through isolated mutinies in the army, the assassination even of the most unpopular police officials, etc. Experience shows that such actions, having no support in the masses, are doomed to failure and, objectively, tend to slow down the pace of revolutionary development.

Studying the experience of the revolutionary movement and the history of armed uprisings, both successful and unsuccessful, we have come to the conclusion that the revolution, peaceful or non-peaceful, can be won only by carrying on political and organizational work among the masses day in and day out, rallying them to the struggle to smash (or undermine) the old government, which even in a time of crisis will never fall unless it is pushed. But the masses cannot be roused to fight against the moribund regime merely by organizing isolated armed actions.

It is the unanimous opinion of all our members that whatever course the Colombia revolution may take, one of its features will be the combination and interlacing of *all forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, but based withal on rallying and organizing ever broader sections of the population.*

In this connection one cannot overlook tendencies such as those evinced primarily by the MOEK group (the movement of workers, students and peasants) to regard guerrilla warfare in the rural localities as the sole form of struggle and to consider that the moment for passing over to the revolutionary offensive has arrived. Such tendencies ignore the need to stimulate mass action and the broadest

forms of popular struggle, to build up one's forces in order to achieve the revolutionary objectives with the least possible losses for the people, and to avoid the setback that the democratic movement might suffer as a result of hasty, ill-considered actions.

The late Antonio Larrota,* founder of the MOEK, held that all that was needed for a revolution in Colombia was the militant spirit of a handful of courageous revolutionaries. He believed that the secret of success lay in launching guerrilla operations somewhere in the mountains. This group circulated leaflets advocating the "ultra-revolutionary" theory that the armed revolution was the principal objective and could be achieved by uniting all the armed groups, irrespective of their political views, in a guerrilla movement under MOEK command.

"This phrasemongering," states the political report of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party, "is a cover for petty-bourgeois opportunism. Seized with impatience and driven to desperation, some sections of the petty bourgeoisie drift into the camp of the revolution, but they refuse to see the revolution as a grand historical task which must be patiently prepared by persevering political work; instead they take a subjective view of the revolution as a matter for a few intrepid individuals moved by some inner compulsion."

The 25th meeting of the Central Committee

*Believing that it was possible "to unite all armed people whatever their views" under his command, Larrota contacted some bands posing as guerrillas and was killed by their ring-leaders.

of the Party held in February 1961 denounced the talk about an immediate armed uprising, pointing out that such tendencies, consciously or unconsciously, play into the hands of ultra-reactionaries among the ruling classes and U.S. imperialism.

Concerning the forms of struggle and the course of the revolution, the political report to the Ninth Congress of our Party put the question thus: "We Communists want the revolution to develop peacefully. But we realize that this does not depend solely on our good intentions and that the way taken by the revolution will depend in great measure on the policy of the ruling classes." The Communists hold that a powerful and united popular movement can prevent the ruling classes from resorting to violence and thus forcing the people to adopt non-peaceful methods. The possibility is not excluded that the revolution in our country will be a combination of all forms of struggle: elections and parliamentary struggle, strikes and demonstrations, the peasants' struggle for land, and guerrilla actions to resist the use of force by the authorities.

Today when the country is faced with the threat of a revival by one or another means of the openly reactionary and terrorist dictatorship, the Communists declare that in these circumstances they must join forces "with all democratic and revolutionary sections for the purpose of organizing the resistance of the masses and using all methods of struggle, including the most radical."

Some Thoughts on Propaganda

Norman Freed, K. Oesterling

"LET me have a few lines on these," said the sub-editor and left a few cables on the desk. One described a new advertising gadget which records the reactions of the viewer to TV programs and even to the words used in the show. Another told about an apparatus with which psychologists measure brain-reaction and the movement of the eyes when reading a certain text. Some public relations agency immediately bought it. Then there was stuff about the NAM (National Association of Manufacturers — the largest organization of U.S. monopoly capital) outlining a propaganda drive against the trade unions for the period 1963-1964, including a series of newspaper articles, "scientific" and popular films, lectures at universities, service clubs, church organizations and various study groups, radio and TV programs, etc.

So, the first thought that struck us was that the competition in commercial advertising engenders scientific methods of influencing peoples' minds, and the signs are that these methods will be used increasingly in political "advertising" too. Further, as the concept of peaceful coexistence gains more and more support, the ideological struggle inevitably becomes more acute. The more successful socialism is in winning the minds of people, the more intensive the efforts of its opponents to counteract this process.

That is why we think a discussion of the gimmicks used in propaganda nowadays and the search for new ways and means of acquainting the people with the truth about Marxism-Leninism is more than timely. (We should say in advance that our study is based on the experience of West European and North American countries only.)

New Instruments

Since the end of the war technological progress has made it possible not only to perfect the old propaganda media, but to create new and more powerful ones.

Take television, for example. In the big capitalist countries the majority of homes possess a TV-set. Walking along a street when one of the popular TV programs is on you will notice that most windows reflect

the ice-blue glow from the telly. TV, a personal entry to the home, is a tireless and active propagandist. It is a little uncanny when one knows that at times of political expediency this propagandist can have evil designs. For it can be used to whip up a war psychosis in a matter of hours, as was the case at the time of the Caribbean crisis. And not only such "extreme cases" indicate that television as a media of propaganda has been developed into what you might call an art. Day in and day out the viewers are subjected to a gentle pressure, influenced by a certain line of thought. The experience gained from selling soap, vacuum cleaners and cars is utilized for this purpose.

The same is true of radio. The principle of round-the-clock broadcasting with records has been adopted even by some of the more "serious" radio stations. Music is interrupted from time to time by brief news summaries and commentaries. The principle here is psychological: the repetition produces semi-automatic reflexes without too much thinking.

Despite the growing competition of television and radio, the newspapers and periodicals, largely because of their new commercialism, still play a big role in propaganda. The number of pictorials is growing. The big dailies, adapting themselves to the new situation, are enlarging their staffs, carry more pictures and contain more supplements which include something for every member of the family. Their bulky Sunday-morning editions have the weight of a brick.

The new techniques in publishing and circulating newspapers involve heavy expenditure, which can be met only by the giant dailies. Hence the inevitable concentration of the press, and the swallowing up of the independent and more "serious" papers by the giant tabloids. Not so very long ago a real sensation was caused in Britain when the sudden announcement was made that a popular morning paper had been "taken over" by a rival. Similar mergers take place in all capitalist countries.

These modernized instruments enable the monopolies to extend their propaganda to all sections of the population in the big

capitalist countries. Mention could be made here about the "coordinating" role of the big news agencies. Foreign policy and international commentaries are well to the fore, among them openly political items. The big dailies, although most of them have their own correspondents in foreign capitals, use the agency services, cutting and rearranging the news. About half a dozen agencies not only provide the hundreds of dailies with news but help to shape their tone and direction.

What They Say

It is perhaps not very new to say that there are two main tendencies in capitalist propaganda. One line is to divert attention from the basic social and political problems to trivialities.

How to dress; how to stretch the budget; how to keep young and attractive; how to buy a cottage in the country on the instalment plan. The slogan "Buy now and pay later" is all-pervasive. This includes holidays abroad, something you have always dreamed about—and soon you find the family busy with the preparations. Or the—"Do it yourself" slogan—have your own workshop in the basement, do all the things you've wanted to do in the house, it will take your mind off the bigger things.

So simple—and yet so complicated. The normal, everyday interests of ordinary people become interwoven with the hard, calculating commercial interests of Big Business. Man's aspirations are turned into fetters against progress.

The other line, dressing up the "old wolf in sheep's clothing," is reflected in preaching "peoples' capitalism," "the welfare state," "the affluent society," "the economic miracle," "equalization of income." All this is calculated to convince the reader and viewer that class struggle has either "disappeared," is "unnecessary," or that it is the workers themselves who suffer most from it. The purpose of this propaganda is to smear the Communists who "want to deprive us of our well-being and freedom." This is "documented" by the bogey of "Communist aggression," by the "crafty design" of the Communists to dislocate the economy, to create a crisis and weaken the defense of the country against "aggression."

While anti-communism may not be so crude everywhere, the ideas of the cold, war, of militarism, "balance of terror," racism, etc., are still part of the arsenal of capitalist propaganda along with the latest news of the latest divorce of a Hollywood star and why

you need to buy this new furniture here and now. In the final analysis this method makes it possible to obscure the real motive behind the social and political appearances, to make things so complicated that only the experts can understand, or, on the contrary, to simplify things to such an extent that hopes are disappointed.

To Whom Do They Speak?

It would be bad propaganda to talk so much about cars, fashions and good house-keeping if these were absolutely beyond the reach of the working population (in some underdeveloped areas where these things are scarce TV has stimulated the progressive forces in their demands). Certain sections of workers in some capitalist countries have increased their real wages and even where there has been no change or even a decrease in real wages, the pattern of consumption has changed somewhat, or at any rate there are new demands. And while not losing sight of the intensified exploitation, the heavier tax burden, housing shortage and unemployment, it would be wrong to overlook the changes.

Another thing which is often noted nowadays is the breaking up of the old community patterns of living, the appearance of what is sometimes described as a "more closed style of living." This is the new suburbia—communities far from the center of the city where people just come home to meals, watch TV and go to sleep, with hardly any contact with their neighbors. These are the new "sleeping suburbs."

There has also been a certain "social leveling" between factory workers, office employees and small shop-keepers. On the one hand this leads to a better understanding of common interests, but it also leads to an increase of a petty-bourgeois style of thinking and living.

Many workers complain nowadays that never before have they felt so tired. The intensification of labor, overtime, doing two jobs to make ends meet, the longer travel time to and from the place of work, the cold war pressures and the deep feeling of insecurity—all are felt in the muscles and the nerves. There is little time for reading, less energy for attending meetings. In some of the newer factories the speed-up is such that it is difficult to maintain contact with one's fellow workers except during breaks.

And capitalist propaganda takes all these things into account. The sensational headline, the flood of sounds and patterns, "light subjects"—the entire arsenal of ideological pro-

paganda is created by fatigue and causes fatigue.

Their Weakness

"Politics is the art of making people do what they do not understand" — the *New York Times* observed the other day in a fit of theorizing.

Although incomplete, this definition lays bare some of the characteristics of bourgeois propaganda — misinformation, misrepresentation of facts, cynicism and disdain for people. And the assertion that "capitalism as such does not go in for propaganda" is ridiculous when seen against the background of this confession. For how can people be made "to do what they do not understand"?

Bourgeois propaganda—an instrument for bringing bourgeois ideology to all spheres of life and by all means—aims at halting the march of history, diverting the attention of the people from social issues and sapping their creative energies.

Despite its dimensions and its modern instruments, bourgeois propaganda's case is hopeless. The theory and practice of socialism have dealt it telling blows. It has been forced to admit, even if only in words, the legitimacy of such demands as full employment, social security, equal opportunity in education, and, partly, the concept of planning. Actually, the emphasis on living standards and all the talk about the welfare state are the result of the advance of socialism. This propaganda boomerangs against capitalism itself.

The "fatigue," the outward appearance of capitalist exploitation; the growing contradiction between what the majority of the population get and what they could get at present production possibilities; the restricted democracy and the development of the individual; the frustration of culture; the threat of atomic annihilation—these are the realities which monopoly propaganda cannot change and which engender the growing anti-monopolist struggle embracing broad sections of the population.

Far be it from us to ignore the positive aspects of the modern instruments of propaganda. True, these instruments are used to blunt political awareness among the people. But it is equally true that there are matters which cannot be hushed up. Television, the radio, the cinema and pictorials acquaint the people with the things taking place in the world. Now and then the TV depicts the building of socialism; people in many capitalist countries were able to see the hero's wel-

come for Gagarin on Red Square; viewers get a glimpse of the Milan Opera House; they gain an insight into the arts and literature. The same is true of some of the glossy magazines, of the low-priced paperbacks, and of the growing numbers of films dealing with the real problems of life.

The new means of information help to break down the partition dividing people, bring men closer, extend their horizons and spread ideas and facts on a scale and at a rate unprecedented in history. They can serve both good and evil. In the initial stage of the Caribbean crisis they were used in some Western countries to whip up war psychosis, in the later stages they facilitated a swift détente.

Differentiated and Concrete

It is an established principle for the Communist parties not to await the spontaneous development of the struggle. In recent years the Communist parties have greatly improved their propaganda. They make wide use of all the instruments at their disposal, and their message is adapted to the needs and requirements of the different strata of the population.

Despite financial difficulties the Party press is making headway. Alongside national and local papers, the Communists in a number of countries publish illustrated periodicals. Records, tape recordings, films, and posters are important features of Communist propaganda. Some parties have found their answer to the new problems posed by TV. They fight against the discrimination and protest against one-sided information and the slanting of news.

In the countries where television and broadcasting are run by the state, the working class puts forward the demand for their democratic functioning, for an objective and comprehensive coverage of all aspects of the life in the particular country.

Of special importance is the trend towards differentiated propaganda. In the past the simple truth was often forgotten that we should not address all audiences in the same way. Each social group has its specific problems: if the speaker does not deal with the problems, if he does not offer a solution, he will hardly get a response. Each group has its own approach to the common problems: thought for the future of their children helps to bring women into the ranks of the peace champions, for the priest the reason is faith in Christ, the peace maker. (This is simplified in order to emphasize the necessity of taking everything into consideration—from social status to psychological motives.) Arguments and

even words which are clear to some are not so to others.

It is gratifying that Communist propaganda is becoming more concrete and pointed. The number of specialized periodicals—for women, the youth, peasants, professional workers—is increasing. Of course much still remains to be done, but the Communist parties pinpoint the shortcomings where they exist and stress the importance of taking their message to all strata of the working population.

Needless to say, the effectiveness of propaganda depends not only on its concreteness, but also on the ability to find arguments and words capable of influencing the particular audience. In the ultimate the concreteness of propaganda is determined by the elaboration of the urgent social problems. We should like to cite two examples to show the prospects for propaganda now that the ideological work of the parties, which are creatively elaborating Marxist-Leninist theory, has been revitalized.

The Link Between the Immediate Aims and the Final Goal

Hardly anyone will dispute that one of the weaknesses of our propaganda in the capitalist countries has been the obscurity of the link between the immediate tasks and the final goal of the struggle of the working class. Roughly speaking, when telling a worker about the advantages of socialism we used to say: "Fight for socialism." "All right," he would answer, "I am prepared to fight for socialism in good time. But at the moment I'm much more interested in fighting for a wage increase."

Now this idea of socialism as a remote ideal for which it is not yet time to fight is on the way out. The Communist parties have developed the Leninist idea of the link between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, as applied to the present conditions. They have drawn up demands which express the vital needs of the masses. These demands, which rally and unite the working people, include nationalization and curbing the monopolies; land reform; credit reform to benefit the small farmers; development plans for backward and distressed areas; plans to guarantee employment, to deal with the consequences of automation; plans for housing; educational and health reforms; democratic control of investments and foreign trade; solution of the acute problem of transportation; long-term plans for urban development; limiting or eliminating speculation in land by way of nationalization or municipal

control. It is characteristic of this propaganda that in addition to denouncing state-monopoly capitalism as such, it posits programs in the interest of the public generally.

A more dynamic perspective has been elaborated also for the trade union struggle. The trade unions, no longer confining themselves to the struggle for the immediate economic interests of the working people, are linking the latter with demands for extended trade union rights, for control, and "co-influence" on the management of industry.

In this way, Communist propaganda underlines that democracy is not a "tactical" slogan, that it is a practical question of material, cultural and political gains, *here and now*, that is, before the final destruction of the monopolies. This has given a new impetus to the fight to uphold and extend democratic rights, against reaction and fascism.

Elaboration of the transitional forms, slogans and demands has opened up new prospects for Communist propaganda, which, by its purposefulness, shows that the revolutionary parties of the working class not only criticize and expose capitalism and point to the grand Communist perspective, it shows also that they are taking part in the people's struggle, and working for democracy as an integral part of the battle for socialism.

"Over There"

The Communist parties have always explained to the people the superiority of socialism over capitalism. In this respect everyday life supplies us with weighty arguments. Socialism signifies lasting peace. Socialism, which has put an end to the exploitation of man by man and abolished unemployment, signifies rapid economic and social progress and all-round development of science and culture, manifested most strikingly in the exploration of the cosmos. Socialism has shown how to get rid of national antagonism, it has created the best system of social security and public education, favorable conditions for the development of both democracy and the individual. This example proves the workability of the future, it is winning more and more people for socialism, rallying the masses under its banner.

However, there is no need to argue that the success of our propaganda is determined not only by the concrete achievements of socialism but also in large measure by the methods of this propaganda.

Our propaganda had its shortcomings in the past. Often our response to the capitalist press, which painted life under socialism in

the blackest of colors, was to depict socialism in the rosiest hues. Every spot looked vicious against this artificial background.

Socialism is not in need of "embellishment," nor does it deny that the complex process of building a new society produces its problems. Hence the tendency of Communist propaganda to view socialism as a social process with its own contradictions and problems by no means detracts from its merits, but on the contrary, brings them into clearer relief and gives greater expression to them.

As we know, the unmasking of the personality cult caused transient difficulties in the world Communist movement. But experience has shown how right the CPSU and the other Communist parties were when they told the people about the personality cult and waged a consistent struggle against its consequences. These measures, in particular, provided the masses in the capitalist countries with an understanding of the democratic nature of socialism, they deprived bourgeois propaganda of its theses about the "dictatorial," "totalitarian" character of the socialist state.

The CPSU and the parties in the other socialist countries are doing much to provide guarantees against any repetition of the cult, against such hangovers of the cult as formalism; lack of a sense of reality; fear to criticize; dogmatism and sectarianism; underestimation of the application of science, especially the social sciences, etc. A big role in the further development of socialist democracy is the practical embodiment of the Leninist ideas of a powerful system of control exercised by the people. These developments make it possible for Communist propaganda clearly and convincingly to show the possibilities of socialist democracy.

It is impossible to enumerate in one article all the problems of propaganda. We should like only to underline that the new conditions have created new possibilities for improving our propaganda, firstly, from the point of view of the problems posed. This refers not only to the fight for democracy and socialism but also to peaceful coexistence, the struggle for national independence and many other problems of the day.

With or Without Polemics?

We have often heard the reproach that "your propaganda is always polemical." To this we reply: "yes, we often indulge in polemics against the old because we stand for the new, and we are proud of this. And if our viewpoint is sometimes argued with passion this is not necessarily a sign of nerves: how can one not be indignant when speaking,

for instance, of the sinister designs of the imperialists who threaten to plunge the world into a nuclear war!

It may be that sometimes we overdo it, and in such cases unnecessary polemics are, to our mind, a sign of weakness: either one does not have the facts at his fingertips, or one is not sufficiently convinced of the things preached to others.

With the development of the Communist movement into a worldwide mass movement, with the growth of experience and cadres, with the continued development of Marxism-Leninism, many of these weaknesses are being overcome. The formation of broad alliances, based to a certain extent on correct methods of discussing and arguing, leads in turn to more skilful debates on our side and on the side of our potential allies.

The same applies to the "black-and-rose" attitude. We have spoken above about the methods of popularizing socialist society. Socialism still has its problems, and as yet not everything is as we would like it to be, yet all the signs are that it will gain superiority even in those fields in which capitalism still leads. Nor is everything black in the capitalist world. After all, the working class and the democratic forces generally have fought many struggles through the generations for better conditions. How can we work for socialism, how can one think in terms of undertaking such a complex task as the building of communist society without having full faith in the creative powers of our workers and scientists?

We think that discussions have improved in recent years and that a more sober and realistic tone in the debates can only be helpful. After all, it is the monopolists who are interested in fomenting hysteria and who seek to influence people by way of automatic reflexes instead of argument. It is the sectarians who regard it expedient to substitute force of argument with force of voice. This does not mean, however, that appeals to reason or to human feelings will influence an Adenauer or a Franco. It means that the reasonable tone can influence people, and thus compel the reactionary politicians to reckon with the will of the people.

Many Communist parties, as we know, have developed in the struggle against reformism. A revolutionary working-class movement would be unthinkable without this struggle. But it is no secret that in the heat of this struggle we sometimes "bent the stick too much." This was reflected in sectarian attitudes towards people who supported the so-

cial-democrats. Have we learned the lessons of these struggles in the fight against the modern revisionists?

Now that the struggle is on against dogmatism and sectarian attitudes we should learn from the past, and should not go to extremes in polemics. Of course, this doesn't mean that we should agree with the so-called "practical" people, who say: "Why all this discussion, let's get to work." Yes, but the question is how to work, how to achieve unity and on what basis.

Are We Always Right?

Another argument we often hear is this: "You have all the answers, you are always right."

In point of fact if we look at things as they really are the percentage of misjudgments on the part of Communist parties is astonishingly small compared with those of our adversaries. This is because Communists are guided by a scientific theory. There is nothing wrong with having the answer to a problem when one really wants to do the people a service. (Incidentally, the Communists never hush up their mistakes, they hold that their strength lies in truth.)

But "two heads are better than one." That is why we think that it is essential to consult with the widest circles in determining the content and form of Communist propaganda. This may involve many aspects and features, from cooperation with specialists in the field of propaganda to public opinion tests (which some parties have in fact already been carrying out even under the difficult conditions of capitalism). In this regard both scientific sociology and the "common sense of the practical man" and the Party rank and file are helpful.

All this underlines the democratic, scientific character of our movement. On the other hand, the search for new means of propaganda ensures their more effective application, for this attracts new forces to creative work.

We have a scientific outlook and we have contact with the masses. This enables us to find correct solutions to social problems. However, the real problem is not only to give the correct answer, but to give it in such a way that it is accepted by the people—the only force capable of realizing it in practice.

Facts and Theory

Fatigue, linked with increased exploitation, the limited time for reading and discussion force Communist propagandists to think once more about the argument, often heard, "what you write is all right, but we simply do not

have the time to read it. Give us the facts and the main ideas, that will be enough."

We know that it is not easy briefly to express complex concepts, to argue and document the new points of view which often develop in polemics against out-worn attitudes and widespread prejudices. Without elaborating the more complicated problems our propaganda runs the risk of losing perspective and becoming merely fact-finding, leaving room for different and wrong interpretations.

And yet, if we want to make our propaganda more effective, we should constantly search for ways and means of combining profundity with brevity. Some Communist parties have already developed a style of propaganda which enables them to express complicated concepts in articles of not more than 2,000-3,000 words. Of course, we do not think that such articles can replace longer and more elaborate studies, but we hold that this experience could be studied and perhaps utilized on a wider scale. Often a reason for "long-windedness" is the author's concern not to omit anything. (This, it seems, also explains why this article can be called anything but brief.)

The knack of speaking briefly presupposes that you should know how to put your point across, to stress the main ideas in such a way that they will not be forgotten and will provide food for thought. Useful, too, is a sense of humor, the ability to present thoughts in striking metaphors.

We recall an occasion when we were preparing for a pre-election meeting where we were to oppose the arguments of the conservative candidate. After much argument the long and dull versions of a speech were thrown into the wastepaper basket. All that remained were some well-grounded arguments and the expressive conclusion: "So here you see a man who wants to ride two horses at the same time, each going in opposite directions."

Next morning these words were reproduced in the newspapers (including those supporting our opponent). This to a great extent facilitated the exposure of the candidate.

In Search of . . .

In the lexicon of words used by man there is one which more than any other expresses the meaning of the tireless work carried out by Communist propaganda. This word is "search."

Tens and hundreds of interesting initiatives, new forms and methods of propaganda appear everywhere. The Communist press acts as the

pioneer in this. By publishing short articles, letters, notes, lively reportage from trade unions, offices, factories, distressed areas, it acts as a public tribune.

Consideration is being given to the greater use of records and tapes for the purpose of recording brief speeches made by an actor with a trained voice. These recordings are combined with folk music, or take the form of an interview or a debate.

New forms of traditional methods of propaganda are being elaborated, such as the organization of public meetings. Lively discussions take place at these meetings. Symposiums, questions and answers combined with concert programs are being organized. The mounting of loudspeakers on cars with music and a speaker going up and down a street or at a factory gate at lunch time or at other places where people gather, such as shopping centers, etc., have proved useful.

An important method of conducting propaganda, which is fast becoming one of the main methods, is individual discussion carried on from mouth to mouth, so to speak. This method, in which every member of the Party and members in other organizations under our influence can participate, involves training the propagandist in the art of discussion, the ability to develop one's thoughts consistently, to speak clearly, to be tolerant and display a readiness to understand the point of view of your adversary, while convincing him of your rightness.

The experience accumulated in the recent years is our asset. In order to enrich it and apply it, the ranks of the propagandists must be replenished. This is of primary importance.

On Propagandists

Anyone who is convinced of the rightness of his cause can become a propagandist.

One conducts propaganda on a professional, scientific basis, another on an elementary basis. One can sell newspapers and talk, another can write. One is better at discussing topical subjects, another, more complicated and theoretical subjects.

It is obvious that propaganda is not and cannot be limited to a special apparatus. Propaganda is the job of the whole Party. It involves the relation of the Party to the masses and the masses to the Party. It is called upon to deal with all aspects of life. It is concerned with the past, present and future. To the extent that our propaganda becomes more realistic, reflecting the immediate and ultimate needs and aspirations of

the masses, to that extent we will further the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

We are confronted with numerous problems: how to enlarge the number of contributors to the communist press, how to develop more cadres for other forms of mass propaganda (including those capable of leading discussions), how to ensure rapid and correct information, etc. All this is connected with the development of inner-Party democracy and activity, a Party life with lively debates and discussions, with creative and collective elaborations of the problems.

We Possess What They Do Not Have

Bourgeois propaganda has at its command greater facilities than the Communist parties in the capitalist countries. Incidentally, bourgeois propaganda itself is part of Big Business, and a very profitable part at that. It commands the big papers, dominates radio, TV, the film industry, publishing, schools, etc.

In some capitalist countries we, too, have access to these media; we are fighting for and eventually will have greater opportunities in this field. But all things considered, even now we possess what capitalism will never have. We have the backing of the people, confidence in the morrow, staunch fighters for the truth inspired by our ultimate victory.

This constitutes the nature of communist propaganda and its basic difference in essence and aims from capitalist propaganda.

Communist propaganda is a purposeful activity to spread the truth among broad sections of the population, stressing that justice cannot be attained by fighting in isolation, that only collective effort by the people can pave the way to a better future, to communism. That is why communist propaganda is not propaganda in the sense most people understand the term—it is part and parcel of human progress.

Hence it is only natural that in face of the temporary financial and technical superiority of bourgeois propaganda, communist propaganda should use such methods as propaganda by "word of mouth," because this is a reliable source and by means of it we can discuss complex theoretical problems and principles.

If every Communist either individually or as part of the ideological activity of his branch, were to use all the opportunities for propaganda among his fellow-workers, relatives, friends and neighbors, in a word, among the people around him, the influence of bourgeois propaganda could be overcome.

The purpose of these notes is to make propaganda for propaganda. Lenin talked about propaganda as an art, as a creative activity based on the largest number of facts, the ability to select the most striking and typical facts, to combine scientific understanding with a simple, popular, convincing form, to avoid clichés and phrasemongering and to enrol the maximum number of Communists and progressives for the work.

The monopolies conceal their inventions and know-how from their competitors in order to gain an advantage on the market. We Communists have no reason to conceal or to keep to ourselves any valuable experiences or know-how, because we are all striving for the same goal—communism. It would, therefore, be useful to exchange experiences and know-how for the benefit of all the Communist parties.

The Non-Aligned Countries and World Politics

Mikhail Kremnyev

On the International Scene • The Changing Face of U.N. • The National-Liberation Struggle—Its Objective Basis • Imperialism Refuses to Lay Down Arms • "The Socialist Camp — the Most Reliable Guarantee" • Objectivism and the Perspectives.

OUR times are times of revolutionary changes in the life of humanity. Socialism, advancing triumphantly, is destroying the exploitation of man by man and the unequal relations among nations. The national-liberation revolutions are sweeping away the last remnants of the old colonial empires: new sovereign states are arising in place of the former colonies and semi-colonies.

The emergence on the world arena of these independent states, a significant feature of our times, is changing the world balance of forces, narrowing imperialism's sphere of domination and undermining its positions.

1.

True, the winning of political independence by the Afro-Asian peoples has not as yet brought them complete liberation from imperialist exploitation. The majority of the new countries remain in the orbit of the world capitalist economy, although they now occupy a different place in it. They are still faced with the task of smashing the colonial economic structure, of achieving economic independence, and of ensuring democracy in the socio-political life of their countries.

On the international arena, however, the majority of the new sovereign states of Asia and Africa pursue an independent foreign pol-

icy and act as an independent force in world politics. In other words, they follow what is commonly known as a *neutralist line*. The substance of this line is:

- a) support for peaceful coexistence, disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons;
- b) steadfast support for all movements for national independence;
- c) refusal to take part in military blocs;
- d) refusal to allow their territories to be used by foreign powers as military bases.

The neutralist line or, as it is sometimes called, the policy of non-alignment, is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence. The non-aligned countries, standing for friendly cooperation among all states on an equal footing, are making a contribution to the solution of the major international problems. Their stand on international issues objectively restricts the sphere of action of aggressive imperialist circles, narrows their chances of unleashing military conflicts.

This constructive role of the non-aligned states in working for peace and for peaceful coexistence was strikingly evident at the time of the Caribbean crisis, engendered by the aggressive designs of the United States against Cuba. When the world was on the brink of a thermonuclear world war the new Afro-Asian countries keenly realized that peace was in-

divisible, that they, together with the Great Powers, bore responsibility for it and that now they would have to be more active in the fight against the war danger. On the initiative of 45 countries supporting a neutralist policy, U Thant, the U.N. General Secretary, appealed to the heads of government of the USSR and the USA to settle the Cuban conflict in a peaceful way, to conduct talks in the spirit of mutual concessions and compromise. The positive role played by the neutral U.N. members was acclaimed by world public opinion.

The policy of non-alignment which bears a distinctly anti-imperialist character, is in substance one of the forms of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is spearheaded against colonial oppression, and against the imperialist policy of military blocs and of encroaching on the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The new sovereign states are coordinating their policy in order to render more effective assistance to the peoples still fighting for their liberation from the colonial yoke. They were, in particular, the initiators of the Bandung Conference which cemented the powerful anti-imperialist movement of Afro-Asian solidarity. The principles of Bandung are the bedrock of the non-alignment concept and to a large extent determine the foreign policy of the young national states of Asia and Africa.

The non-aligned countries are opposed to the imperialist military blocs which they consider as being inimical to their interests. And for a very good reason. On the one hand, the imperialists are still trying to inveigle them into these blocs and thereby prevent them from pursuing an independent policy. On the other, they are using the military blocs as an instrument to undermine the independence of the new countries and to crush the national-liberation struggle. One has only to recall the role played by NATO during the Suez crisis in 1956, or the aggressive action of SEATO against Indonesia, to see this. Many Asian and African leaders have voiced their sharp criticism of SEATO and CENTO, and of the other military blocs.

The non-aligned states are opposed to military bases on foreign territories. The Belgrade Conference of non-aligned states underscored this in its decisions. That conference, it will be remembered, supported Cuba's just demand for the closing of the American naval base at Guantanamo, retained by the United States against the will of the Cuban people. It is pertinent in this connection to recall that Tunisia's attempt in the summer of 1961 to abolish the French naval base at Bizerte led to an

armed clash between Tunisian patriots and the French colonialists.

Many of the non-aligned states pursue an active, dynamic policy. There is nothing passive about the neutralism of India or Indonesia, for example. Theirs is not a neutralism that is indifferent to the pressing problems of the day, that keeps aloof from contemporary issues.

"Non-alignment is not a policy of seeking a neutral position in case of war," said President Sukarno at the Belgrade conference. "Non-alignment is active devotion to the lofty cause of independence, abiding peace and social justice . . ."

Many of the neutral countries effectively aided the Algerian people in their struggle against the French colonialists. India resorted to arms to drive the Portuguese colonialists from its territory only after having exhausted all peaceful ways and means; Indonesia was prepared to wage an armed struggle for the liberation of West Irian.

In the light of these examples one can hardly agree with those who identify the neutralist policy of the new states with the "perpetual neutrality" pursued by some European countries. Non-alignment, the sequence to the long national-liberation struggle waged by the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries is an intrinsic part of this struggle, whereas the policy of "perpetual neutrality" is in most cases dictated by the geography of the country in question, or by its historical traditions. Such countries as a rule try to keep out of international affairs (Switzerland, for example, is not even a member of the United Nations), prefer not to wage an active struggle for peaceful coexistence, let alone against imperialism. In the final analysis what distinguishes the new neutralism from the older "perpetual neutrality" is the active, and not passive, stand taken by the former in support of peace. It is not without reason therefore that the leaders of the neutralist states when wishing to emphasize the difference refer to their foreign policy as a policy of *active, or dynamic neutrality*.

It does not follow from this, of course, that the neutrality of states like Austria or Sweden does not play a positive role in international life. Their neutrality serves the cause of peace, for it denotes a refusal to be involved in military blocs, or to allow their territory to be used for foreign military bases. It is a step forward compared with the policy of participation in imperialist military blocs. The growing sentiment in favor of neutrality observed of late in a number of capitalist states of Eur-

ope and America (Canada, Denmark, Norway, etc.) is proof of the vitality and growing popularity of the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-alignment, is a sign of the growing influence exerted by the people on foreign policy issues.

2.

An independent foreign policy, based on peaceful coexistence and active struggle against imperialism on the international arena enables the non-aligned states to play a bigger role in world affairs. The time when oppressed peoples were regarded merely as "objects of history" to quote Lenin, is now a thing of the past. Today most of them, having smashed the chains of colonial slavery, are taking an active part in shaping man's destiny, in the struggle for peace and the consolidation of international security.

Experience is teaching those who held that Asia, Africa and Latin America would never have a say in world affairs. How true Lenin's words ring today that "the period of awakening of the East in the contemporary revolution is being succeeded by a period in which all the peoples of the East will participate in deciding the destiny of the whole world, so as not to be simply an object of enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are becoming alive to the need for practical action, for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind."*

The changes that have taken place in contemporary life with the emergence of the neutralist states are reflected best of all in the United Nations Organization.

To date the countries of Asia and Africa occupy 55 out of the 110 seats in the General Assembly. Formerly, Africa was represented by only four states, today—by 33. The number of socialist countries represented has also increased, although the Chinese People's Republic has still not been seated in this organization.

The recent Seventeenth General Assembly was noteworthy. On most of the major questions debated the peace-loving forces were united on a common platform against the danger of a new world war, against colonialism, for disarmament and for economic cooperation among countries.

This unity was achieved largely because of the wise and flexible policy of the socialist countries.

At this session the colonialists felt the full impact of the anti-colonialist forces. The ma-

jority of the Assembly members took an anti-colonial stand on all questions affecting Asia and Africa. In particular, the Assembly charged the special committee on colonialism to take the necessary measures to accelerate implementation of the Declaration on Independence for the Colonial Countries.

True, the attitude of all the Afro-Asian countries, even of those who have declared their adherence to the principle of non-alignment, does not always coincide. One cannot therefore speak of a monolithic Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations. On several occasions some of these countries, and especially the so-called Brazzaville group of African states where neo-colonialism has taken deep root, supported the Western powers. This greatly weakened the effectiveness of the work of the General Assembly, and in some instances enabled the imperialists to exploit the U.N. for their own ends.

3.

Has the policy of non-alignment an objective basis, or is it to be explained by transient factors in the international situation, by the subjective desire of the leaders of the neutralist states to maneuver "between East and West" in their own interests and with an eye to making political capital, as is sometimes claimed?

To be sure, subjective factors play a role in determining the foreign policy of the new countries. At times this policy is contradictory and inconsistent. Some neutralist leaders, for example, are not averse to playing up their "independence" and "no-bloc" policy of non-alignment, as a bargaining counter to wrest political advantages for their country, or an extra million dollars in credit. But when all is said and done, this is not the objective basis of the policy of non-alignment. *Non-alignment is part of the general stream of development in contemporary international relations. Its peace-loving character and anti-imperialist trends are conditioned by the shift in the world balance in favor of peace and socialism, by the support of the socialist countries, and to a large degree also by the internal socio-economic processes taking place in the young sovereign states in the course of their struggle for complete national liberation.*

The peace-loving character of the policy of the non-aligned states is also explained by the knowledge that a thermonuclear war would not leave a single country untouched by devastation. Peace is essential to the new countries if they are to make good their eco-

*V. I. Lenin. Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East.

conomic and social backwardness, and overcome the legacy of colonialism. Only in conditions of a durable peace, of a healthy international climate, can they hope effectively to exploit their resources, develop the national economy and raise living standards.

The anti-imperialist character of the policy of the non-aligned countries is perfectly logical. Their people won independence in a bitter struggle against imperialism, often with arms in hand. For the people of Indonesia, Iraq, Algeria and many other states imperialism is not something abstract; it is a colonial marauder which continues to plunder the national resources of the new countries where it is trying to implant other forms of colonial exploitation.

The basic contradiction in most of the ex-colonial countries is the contradiction between the developing national forces on the one hand, and imperialism and feudalism on the other. As the class in power in these countries, the national bourgeoisie wants to do away with colonial relations in all spheres, to abolish feudalism which is a stumbling block on the road to the consolidation of their positions.

The foreign policy of the national bourgeoisie is largely shaped by their direct interest in the anti-imperialist struggle. They are also strongly influenced by the masses, especially where the latter are politically active. The patriotic fervor of the people leaves its imprint on the political program of the national bourgeoisie, stimulates its progressive anti-imperialist trend.

The greater the political awareness and activity of the masses in the new states, the stronger the influence they exert on the ruling national bourgeoisie, the more consistent is the policy of non-alignment pursued by these countries, and the more pronounced its anti-imperialist character.

Needless to say, inconsistency, fear or mistrust of the people, engenders vacillations in the sphere of foreign policy as well. These traits of the national bourgeoisie, combined with their self-interest, incline them to come to terms with imperialism behind the backs of the people, to pursue a zigzag policy, as we see in the case of some of the non-aligned states. As we know, not all these countries took a resolute anti-imperialist stand on the Congo, or on the question of a German peace treaty and of normalizing the West Berlin situation, not to mention other international issues.

In some of these countries social reforms are replaced by anti-democratic measures to

the point of outlawing the Communist parties. Tunisia and Algeria are a case in point. Another is the new regime in Iraq which has unleashed a reign of anti-Communist terror.

The anti-communism of the ruling circles in some of the neutralist states benefits the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction, although it is not always prompted solely by them. The Communists support an independent foreign policy, favor a united, anti-imperialist front of all patriotic forces of the nation. Hence, anti-communism can only serve the interests of reaction and weaken the unity of the nation in its struggle against imperialism.

A firm and consistent foreign policy, active implementation of the policy of non-alignment are characteristic of the new states of Asia and Africa which want to break away from the capitalist system of economy and take the path of non-capitalist development. In those countries the attraction of socialism, the force of example of the socialist countries, combined with the patriotism of the masses, determine the nature of many of the socio-economic changes that are preparing the ground for the non-capitalist path. These factors are having a decisive impact also on foreign policy. The non-capitalist path will make for a more dynamic neutralist policy, will help strengthen its anti-imperialist basis and bring this policy closer to that of the socialist camp.

4.

Several of the non-aligned countries have reactionary monarchist regimes to whom, one would think, the principles underlying neutralism would be alien. But the foreign policy of peace pursued by the reactionary rulers of these states is explained, first, by the growing support for and popularity of the non-alignment policy, particularly in Asia and Africa, second, by their desire to ride the crest of the national-liberation movement now sweeping their countries.

The reactionary monarchies in the East would like to weaken the anti-imperialist character of the non-alignment policy. At the Belgrade Conference, for example, the delegations from Yemen, Ethiopia and other monarchist states occupied a Right position and tried, not without a measure of success, to influence the decisions of the conference.

Reactionaries are trying to influence the policy of the new Afro-Asian states whose regimes, based on bourgeois democracy, are still in the process of becoming stabilized. The feudal and compradore groups, and in some countries also the local big bourgeoisie closely

associated with foreign monopoly capitalism, would like to abolish the revolutionary gains of the people, to turn their countries back to the pro-imperialist path, to worsen and even break off relations with the socialist states.

The colonialists have retained their economic positions in these new states, and in some of them retain even part of the former colonial administration, and use these levers to control the foreign policy of the new countries.

The imperialists rely on the domestic reactionaries and are doing their utmost to torpedo progressive reforms in the new states and to get back in the saddle there. Their neutralist policy is assailed as being untenable. John Foster Dulles in his time spoke about the "amorality" of the policy of neutrality, and called for economic and political sanctions against countries pursuing an independent policy. Attacks along these lines have been intensified of late, in connection with the growing role played by the non-aligned countries in the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence.

The imperialist powers, and primarily the United States, are trying to exploit the economic weakness of the young states to compel them to reject the path of independent development. American "aid" to these states often takes the form of political blackmail and gross pressure. As a rule this "aid" is given on the condition, made in direct or disguised form, that the country in question refrains from carrying out certain economic reforms, or pursuing an independent policy. Cases in point were the maneuvers of the imperialist powers around the plans to build the Aswan High Dam in the UAR, the initial refusal of the United States to grant Ghana a loan to build a dam and power station on the Upper Volta, and its refusal to render economic and financial assistance to Ceylon because the government had nationalized the property of American oil companies.

Imperialist diplomacy is endeavoring to foment dissension among some of the neutralist states, to provoke conflicts among them, to worsen their relations with the socialist countries, and to undermine the unity of the Afro-Asian countries. The reactionaries everywhere widely utilized the Indian-Chinese border conflict to attack this unity and the policy of non-alignment.

The policy of neutrality pursued by the Indian government in the early days of this conflict became one of the main targets of attack both on the part of the home reactionaries who demanded that the country reverse its foreign policy and align itself with

imperialist military blocs to "safeguard itself against aggression," and on the part of the Western powers who pressed India to "sacrifice" its policy of non-alignment. The maneuvers of the imperialists and actions of influential reactionary groups inside the country led to the unjustified arrest of hundreds of Indian Communists.

While the imperialists did not succeed in diverting India from the path of neutralism, the events in that country showed that the balance of political forces in a number of neutralist states has still not taken final shape, and that under certain circumstances it can shift in a direction unfavorable to peace and national liberation.

5.

One of the favorite arguments of the opponents of non-alignment is that the neutralist states are not neutral at all, that in most cases they support the socialist camp, particularly when it is a matter of the fight against colonialism and for disarmament and peace. There has been talk of late in the imperialist camp about the neutralist policy being in general "an instrument of international communism."

The disciples of John Foster Dulles refuse to recognize the fact that the joint actions of the socialist and neutralist states to settle outstanding international issues are not the result of a compact between them, but the logical development following from the community of interests of the socialist world system and the worldwide national-liberation movement. In international politics the socialist countries pursue the aim of friendship and cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting to achieve and consolidate their national independence.

The socialist camp guards the interests of the world liberation movement and bars the road to the imperialist aggressors every time they attempt to export counter-revolution. The events in the Caribbean demonstrated that the *Soviet Union and the other socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to support national-liberation movements.*

The political, economic and military might of the socialist camp is the guarantee of the independence of the young states. The policy of non-alignment became possible only when the socialist system began to be a decisive factor in world developments. The socialist countries support the neutralist policy of the young states because they consider that this policy corresponds to the interests of these

countries, that it is an important factor in ensuring world peace.

The Soviet Union and all the socialist countries render extensive economic, technical and financial aid to the non-aligned countries, thereby helping them to achieve economic independence. This aid also strengthens the position of the young national states on the international arena, and is a paramount factor making for their security.

6.

The policy of non-alignment took shape in the course of the struggle waged by the Afro-Asian countries against the imperialist military blocs established by the imperialists. Egypt's refusal to enter the so-called Middle East Command in 1951, the resolute rebuff administered by Indonesia to all attempts to inveigle it into SEATO, the reluctance of the majority of the Arab states to be ensnared in the Baghdad Pact (now CENTO)—these were the first shoots of the non-alignment policy which sprang from the soil of the struggle against imperialist intrigue.

Unfortunately, some statesmen in the non-aligned countries close their eyes to this fact. In their criticism of the policy of military blocs they do not in all cases proceed from a realistic estimation of the situation but from general objective premises, making a fetish of the "non-bloc policy." Saying they are opposed to blocs in general, they equate the aggressive military alignments of the imperialist states and their allies with the defensive association of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty.

But it is common knowledge that the establishment of the aggressive blocs was initiated by the imperialist powers. In the face of the threat to their security on the part of U.S. imperialism which began, immediately after the Second World War, to revive militarism and revenge sentiments, especially in West Germany and Japan, the socialist countries had no choice but to strengthen their military might and to form a defensive alliance. The Warsaw Treaty organization appeared after the aggressive NATO and SEATO blocs were established, and after the foundation was laid for the Baghdad Pact. These were military alignments against the socialist states, designed to suppress also the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia and Africa.

There is a fundamental difference between these aggressive pacts and the military organization of the socialist states.

"It will be pertinent to recall," said N. S. Khrushchov at the Sixth Congress of the

Socialist Unity Party of Germany, "that right after the Warsaw Treaty organization was founded the socialist countries declared that they stood as before for the dissolution of all military blocs and were prepared to abolish the Warsaw Treaty forthwith if the imperialist powers agreed to abolish their military alignments. We have repeated this many times since, and we adhere to the same viewpoint today."

Fetishism of the "non-bloc policy" has another aspect. Some advocates of this policy divide the present balance of strength into two military blocs—the imperialist and the socialist, placing the non-aligned states in a class of its own. They hold that the main trend in international relations will be an increase in the number of non-aligned states, primarily at the expense of the military bloc countries which, in their opinion, will gradually pass over to a "non-bloc policy." These theoreticians see non-alignment as a kind of remedy for all ills, as a lever for lessening international tensions and removing the danger of a new world war.

Non-alignment is the alternative to a pro-imperialist foreign policy, and is a gain *only* compared with the latter. A new type of international relations is being moulded by the socialist system, relations based on the principles of peace, equality, self-determination, respect for the independence of all countries, and on a fundamentally new type of diplomacy.

Failure to understand this can but lead away from the general path of contemporary international relations. It would be tantamount to disregarding the fact that the world is divided into two opposed social systems—the socialist and the capitalist; it would be tantamount to ignoring that in our age the socialist world system is a cardinal factor ensuring peace, and that the socialist countries will steadily increase in number, while the capitalist world will continue to shrink.

To be sure, the number of non-aligned countries has grown of late, and will continue to grow. This increase is primarily due to the appearance of new sovereign states. Independent Tanganyika, Uganda and Sierra Leone have declared that they will pursue an independent policy.

Although some countries in Asia and Africa still listen to the voice of their former masters, and have aligned themselves with the Western military blocs, it would be incorrect to assume that they have done so for all time, or that they have become reconciled to a subordinate role. Realization of the fact that

the peoples of these countries were able to win political independence has awakened powerful liberating forces which in the end will win for their countries a genuinely independent policy.

Neutralist trends are manifesting themselves in the foreign policy of some of the Latin American states too. In this connection it should be noted that the policy of non-alignment, which crystallized as a result of the long struggle waged by the peoples of Asia and Africa for national liberation, is *not at all* the monopoly of these countries. Non-participation in aggressive military alignments and active struggle for peace are the underlying principles of the foreign policy of all countries anxious to get rid of imperialist dependence and play an independent role on the international arena.

There is a growing sentiment for a neutralist policy in Brazil and Mexico, and, to some

extent, in Bolivia and Ecuador. On a number of questions connected with the struggle for peace, and, in particular, on the question of banning nuclear tests, some of the Latin American countries support the neutralist states.

* * *

The non-aligned states are playing an active role in world politics. Objectively, most of them act as a revolutionary and anti-imperialist force on the international arena. Together with the socialist states they form the vast peace zone which is steadily expanding and vigorously countering the policy of war preparation. When assessing the policy of the non-aligned states the decisive criterion for Communists in all countries should be the part taken by these states in the powerful front of fighters for peace which in our day can avert world war.

In Memory of Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi (Salam Adil)

THE international Communist movement has suffered a heavy loss. A grave crime has been committed in Iraq. Contrary to the policy of "freedom, unity and socialism" officially proclaimed by the Iraqi government, prominent members of the Iraqi and international Communist movement—Comrade Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi (Salam Adil), First Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party, and his associates Comrades Mohammed Hussein Abul Iss and Hassan Uwaini—were murdered on March 7, 1963.

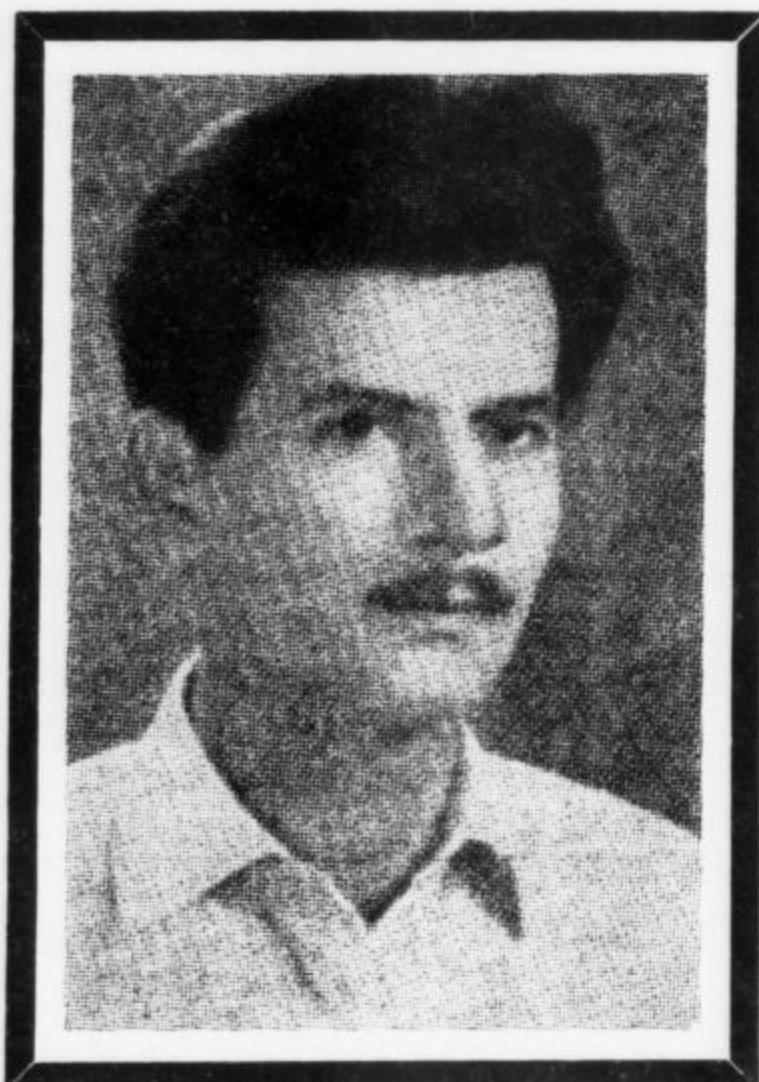
Comrade Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi was a man who had dedicated his life to the liberation of his country from imperialism, to his people, to socialism, peace and friendship among the nations.

A teacher by profession, he was born in January 1924 into the family of a worker in the town of An Najaf.

Since his youth he had taken an active part in the national-liberation movement, devoting all his energies to the struggle for the liberation of his people from the British colonial yoke.

Ever since 1943, when Comrade Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi joined the Communist Party, he spared no effort to build and strengthen it.

In 1945-1953 he was repeatedly arrested and imprisoned by the pro-imperialist authorities. Comrade Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi was closely associated with Fahed, former General Secretary of the Party, executed by the Nuri Said hangmen in 1949. After the death of Fahed he worked hard to strengthen the Party which



had suffered heavy losses as a result of the terror.

In 1954 Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi became a member of the Central Committee of the Party and in 1955 member of the Political Bureau. The Iraqi Communists held him in high esteem and in the same year, 1955, elected him First Secretary of the Central Committee. He remained in this post until his death.

In the conditions of the Kassem dictatorship in 1958-1963, Comrade Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi worked underground, directing the activities of the Party.

The international Communist movement knew him as a staunch Marxist-Leninist

who always fought for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, for the unity of the Communist and working-class movement, for proletarian internationalism.

The hands of the butchers who murdered Comrade Hussein Ahmed Al-Radhawi and his comrades are stained with the blood of Iraqi patriots.

Forward-looking people throughout the world have protested against this crime. They are confident that the Communists and democrats in Iraq will remain loyal to their ideals and that no reprisals will break their determination to carry on the fight for the national interests of their people.

Mourning the loss, the Communists and democrats in all countries will forever cherish the memory of this outstanding leader of the Iraqi and international Communist movement, and the memory of his comrades.

WMR COMMENTARIES

The February Events in Iraq

ON February 8 a coup d'état was staged in Iraq.

The counter-revolutionary putsch had been plotted long in advance by domestic reaction and imperialist agents. The Iraqi Communist Party had warned of the danger more than once. Thus, in a statement on July 8, 1962, it declared that the ground was being prepared for an imperialist plot to restore imperialist domination and that this would have disastrous consequences for national independence and for the gains of the revolution. The Communists referred to the danger of a Thermidor not as a theoretical possibility but as a real threat. Thus, for example, in its call of January 3, the Party drew attention to the activity of the conspirators in the 19th Brigade and in the army camps near Baghdad. The 19th Brigade, as we now know, was the first to join the putschists who were also supported by units stationed near Baghdad.

The reactionary officers had outside backing. At a press conference on February 1, for example, Prime Minister Kassem accused the United States of participating in an anti-government conspiracy, and of supplying its agents with arms and money. A few weeks before the coup, one of the staff of the U.S. Embassy who had supplied the conspirators with money and leaflets was detained. The *Ghana Evening News* wrote on February 28 that "the international forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, directed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency" bear the responsibility for what has happened in Iraq. The French journal *L'Express* wrote of the hand of the CIA. The *Beirut An Nidal* reported on March 4 that, according to reliable sources, two months before the coup a secret agreement had been reached between Fisher, a representative of the U.S. oil companies and Najib Robaioe, representative of the conspirators, and that it was Kassem's negotiations with representatives of Japanese and French oil companies that had decided Fisher to bring things to a head. The same paper reported that the preparations for the coup cost the United States \$35 million, which were used to bribe officers and to organize the assault groups of the so-called National Guard.

Kassem himself, by his attitude, furthered the putsch. His policy cleared the way for the terror now raging in the country.

The revolution of July 14, 1958, was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. It was carried out by the masses with the participation of the Communist Party, the National Democratic Party and other parties of the bourgeoisie, and the Kurd Democratic Party. Imperialism and the feudal reactionaries were swiftly defeated, and Kassem came to power on the crest of the revolutionary wave that swept the country.

But before long the ambitious Kassem lost sight of the fact that he had become famous because of the revolution. He seemed to think that the revolution had become famous because of him. The revolutionary gains were depicted as "gifts" from the "leaders." Instead of consolidating the unity of the patriotic forces and completing the revolution, Kassem began to consolidate his personal dictatorship which ended in his isolation and death. Kassem's evolution served the purposes of reaction. It reflected the process of cleavage in the forces which in the July days of 1958 had acted together.

Inside the country Kassem sought to pursue a policy of "balancing between the Rights and the Lefts." But in practice he sharply veered to the Rights, lost his balance and crashed to his death. Kassem's playing at Bonapartism, and his disregard of the will of the people led to the suppression of democracy and gave the reactionary forces the chance to regroup and prepare to seize power. Kassem's anti-democratic domestic policy split the national forces and hindered tackling the problems facing the country.

In the first year the revolution made headway. In the next three and a half years it was gradually reversed.

A law on agrarian reform was passed. But the reform was put into effect slowly and inconsistently. It was carried out by reactionary officials who had served under Nuri Said, and without the participation of the peasants.

Trade unions and other mass organizations were formed. But subsequently repressive measures were taken against them, they were honeycombed with police agents. Kassem feared the people. He preferred to rely on military tribunals rather than on the masses. The patriotic parties were driven underground.

The July revolution proclaimed Iraq a "Republic of Arabs and Kurds." But Kassem unleashed a fratricidal war against the Kurds, sent planes to bomb their villages.

The Communists were in the van of the July revolution. Kassem began to jail them. The logic of anti-communism led him to hounding other democrats. By destroying the forces that had put him in power Kassem paved the way to his own destruction. He was so busy hunting Communists and democrats that he did not see that the net was closing around him. He was mourned by none.

The conspirators, for their part, hastened to announce that their goal was "the achievement of the ideals of the revolution of July 14"—a demagogic maneuver to deceive the masses. They talked about their loyalty to the revolution while strangling the revolution.

The people had hailed the July 1958 revolution with rejoicing in the streets. In February 1963 the streets were taken over by fascist thugs.

The July revolution stood for national unity. But a Bartholomew's Night against democrats was not the way of achieving this unity.

The July revolution stood for Arab-Kurd brotherhood. But the ultra-nationalists in the Ba'ath Party are extreme chauvinists. It is hardly likely that they will grant all the just demands of the Kurds. On this question, as on all others, they are more to the Right than Kassem who had concentrated a third of the army against the Kurds. It is quite possible, of course, that for tactical reasons of gaining time they may, in words, recognize the national demands of the Kurds.

The July revolution stood for the struggle against imperialism. The jubilation with which the imperialists hailed the coup shows that they clearly see through the demagogy of the putschists. The new government hastened to assure the oil monopolies that they need have no fear for their profits, that it will review the measures adopted by Kassem against the foreign oil companies.

The new regime started with a reign of terror. The physical extermination of Communists and democrats is official policy. Thousands of patriots have been killed. On March 7, Husein Ahmed Al-Radhawi (known under the name of Salam Adil), the First Secretary of the C.C. of the Iraqi Communist Party, and Mohammed Husein Abul Iss and Hassan Uwaini, two prominent Party leaders, were executed secretly. On March 11, another 25 Communists were executed. These crimes were a challenge to world public opinion which protested against the terror.

New reprisals are being planned under Article 131 of the Criminal Code, which operated in the years of the Hashimite monarchy and which provides for severe punishment for membership in the Communist Party.

But terror cannot wipe out the Communists; they have their roots in the people and the people cannot be destroyed. Seven times Nuri Said beheaded the Iraqi Communist Party; Kassem held more than 2,000 Communists and democrats in jail (many of them have now been shot). Terror has been and always will be futile; the terror in Iraq demonstrates to the world the imperialist fangs of the new regime. It will lead this regime to isolation from the people.

Among the men who have seized power are direct agents of oil monopolies, Nasser supporters, and ultra-nationalists from the Ba'ath Party. They have united on the negative platform of anti-communism. But the country needs a positive patriotic program. If the new regime continues to follow a policy of blind anti-communism, wrote the Indian journal *Link*, it will weaken its position and isolate itself.

The fate of Kassem has shown that the policy of anti-communism is disastrous for national leaders and governments, that its end result is rejection of democracy and of the support of democratic forces, preservation of the seedbed of reaction in the machinery of state, isolation of leaders and governments as a consequence of which they fall easy prey to the forces of reaction. The fate of Kassem has shown also that a national leader cannot afford to hesitate half-way, let alone turn back. The intrigues of the imperialists and home reaction can be frustrated only by consolidating the victory of the democratic forces. Victory was not consolidated in Iraq. Kassem put the brakes on the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution and in a number of instances reversed it; his anti-democratic home policy prepared the soil for counter-revolution.

The events in Iraq show how anti-communism, persecution of democrats and the splitting of national unity injure the national-liberation movement. Only unity in the struggle to carry through the national-liberation and the democratic revolution can provide immunity against imperialist plotting.

The events in Iraq have shown that imperialism persists in its intrigues even after the national-liberation and democratic movement has won victory. Hence, vigilance is essential to the development of the national-liberation and democratic movement. The ex-

perience of history once again tells us: the people and their vanguard, the Communists, must be on their guard and repel the re-

actionaries in good time. Such is the lesson of the Iraqi Thermidor.

Ibrahim SAADI

W.M.R. INTERVIEWS

The Role of Science in Modern Society

THE greatest technological revolution man has ever known is taking place before our eyes. What its consequences will be is difficult to predict. One can only say that the future projected by science fiction is moving towards us much faster than the boldest flights of fancy could ever have foretold.

Science has reached the stage where it is now possible to tackle in earnest the task of providing an abundance of all the good things of life for everyone on Earth. And not merely because of the potentialities of the colossal store of knowledge modern science has accumulated and which it is augmenting with each new discovery, but because of the changed relationship between science and production, the emergence of an essentially new type of social organization and application of science. These changes are manifested differently—and in most cases, radically so—under socialism and under capitalism. True, science is always science, but in capitalist society its achievements are appropriated by the capitalists. Hence the tendencies engendered by the development of social production appear in distorted and misshapen forms in that society. Modern science by its very nature calls for socialist production relations.

What are these tendencies?

We are witnessing today the evolution and rapid affirmation of a new social process: the organic fusion of science with production in a single socially-governed complex. Formerly only the end results of science, which developed without any kind of planning or conscious direction by society, were used in production. Today scientific research is part, although a relatively independent part, of the production process and is beginning to play the predominant role. Today organized research has taken the place of the individual quest of the engineer and inventor, of the experience which he gained by trial and error. A similar process is taking place in the sphere of public management and accounting.

Mid-twentieth century science, thanks to the technological revolution, is opening the way

to entirely new branches of production. The nuclear industry, electronics, synthetic chemistry reached maturity in the laboratories before finding technological application.

With science having become an integral part of the production process two basic types of technological and industrial progress emerge. On the one hand, we find science rationalizing and perfecting existing techniques (this is done mainly by the "applied sciences"). On the other hand, it tends radically to reorganize production as a result of the new development, and furthers technological progress—within the framework of existing objective laws, of course—by revolutionizing production techniques. The discovery of synthetic fiber, for example, in addition to changing the textile industry introduced new methods of manufacturing clothing and industrial fabrics.

This tendency to turn production into the "technological sphere of science" was foreseen by Marx, who wrote that agriculture, for example, is becoming simply the application of the science of the material metabolism—how to regulate that metabolism in a way most beneficial to the whole social organism.

Science, on its part, is becoming an organized, large-scale socially directed institution with the whole of industry as its laboratory, and its application should be consciously regulated by the needs of society. Science, the base of any production process, is acquiring features of the socialized production process and is becoming a "productive force in the direct sense" (Marx).

Science today has unlimited possibilities. But this does not mean that it has become an omnipotent demiurge independent of production and the laws governing its development. On the contrary, the enhanced role of science as one of the decisive economic factors of social development is proof that it is more dependent on production than ever before, that production has indeed invaded the organization of science. The internal structure of science has changed, as have the motive forces of research, the methods and

practical realization of scientific ideas and the place of the scientist in the march of progress. Research has become a combined socially organized function, involving large numbers of people and an intricate division of labor; experimentation has acquired an industrial character, requiring complicated and expensive equipment.

The new social forms of the inter-penetration of science and production have to some extent altered the structure of society. The fusion of science and production, science and the technological organization of society is altering the general structure of labor in the sphere of material production and in the sphere of management and accounting. The result of this process is not merely an absolute and relative increase in the number of brain workers directly involved in material production, but the evolution of a new type of producer of material values. More and more people are today directly engaged in production, combining work in production with research. At the same time, automation in the spheres of management and accounting objectively turns the white-collar workers into machine-tenders, thus counteracting the tendency of the managerial personnel increasing in relation to society as a whole. The problem of erasing the distinction between mental and manual labor, and consequently the problem of the differences in the various strata of modern society based on division of labor, can no longer be considered apart from this process. The various manifestations of these changes in capitalist and socialist society are worth studying.

The number of scientists is growing. In the industrial countries the increase is at the rate of seven per cent a year, in other words, *doubling* every ten years. This means that the rate of increase in the number of scientists is higher than that of any other category of workers. It exceeds also the rate of population growth. But there is a limit to this growth, and, as time goes on, it eventually will stop at some permanent figure. In the opinion of Professor John Bernal, in the course of the century about 20 per cent of the population may be directly or indirectly engaged in scientific work of some kind. Academician Semyonov has expressed the view that in future one-half of mankind will participate in scientific work of one kind or another.

This is an important new social fact. In capitalist society it signifies a growth in the numbers of those who work for wages, inasmuch as the researchers who staff the vast research institutes and laboratories of the

private firms are simply mental workers exploited by the capitalists. This brings a large and rapidly growing section of the population in modern society closer to the working class.

But the whole problem of the changes in the structure of society brought about by the new relations between science and social production—as well as the relations themselves—should be examined primarily in the light of the antagonism between capitalism and socialism. In capitalist society the new relationship caused by the growth of the productive forces assumes forms which run counter to the meaning and mission of science. The fruits of scientific knowledge instead of being used for the benefit of man are seized largely by the military. Scientific energy on the scale of a single capitalist enterprise or monopoly corporation is dissipated in relation to society as a whole, scientific cooperation is disrupted and subordinated to utilitarian purposes and monopoly secrecy. The application of discoveries in the capitalist world plays havoc with the lives of millions and causes social upheavals. This is a far cry from the true mission of modern science.

The multifarious and complex uses (social, production and especially military) to which modern science is put poses the question of the moral responsibility of the scientists (and intellectuals generally). In capitalist society the unhealthy atmosphere fostered among public opinion with regard to science strongly influences the position of the scientists. On the one hand, the bourgeois ideologists cultivate a horror of science, depicting it as the "demon" of the age, bringing misery and destruction to men. On the other hand, there is the cult of the scientific elite, the technocrat theory which sees science as the domain of the select few as opposed to the public generally. Such theories and prejudices prevent scientists from being fully conscious of their moral responsibility to the people and from joining in active struggle for the rational utilization of science.

The way in which scientific progress is dependent on the particular type of social system is revealed in another dilemma which faces the scientist in the modern world, namely, the problem of the relation between the creative freedom of the scientist and his responsibility to collective research organizations and to state guidance. In capitalist society the development of the social forms of the guidance and division of labor in science counterposes freedom of research to

practical needs, the initiative of the scientist to the methods of collective research, the logic of scientific questing to utilitarianism, etc. These contradictions are expressed in suppressing the freedom of the scientist, in a system of rigid bureaucratic control, and in subordinating the scientist to the purely pragmatic requirements of production. Under capitalism the tendency is to turn the researcher into a cog in the military and bureaucratic machine of scientific organization run by the monopoly administrators. This state of affairs makes science and scientists the victims of the disproportion and bureaucratic organization in the capitalist economy. It is paradoxical that the very factors which have the most paralyzing effect on science—private profit and military interests—have been made by capitalism the pillars of scientific development. But science no longer fits into the Procrustean bed of capitalist relations, it has objectively outgrown them.

Under socialism the problem of planning research, of coordinating science with the needs of society as a whole is solved in a way that provides, on the one hand, the best

conditions for progress, and, on the other, enables science to become a productive force in the direct sense and to fuse with production in the interests of the public. Socialism creates conditions for collective research that, for one thing, enable the theoretical scientist to pursue his studies in his particular field, while his fellow researchers work on the practical application of his discoveries. In this way the continuity of science and production is ensured without excluding freedom of research and the initiative of the scientist.

The social and ideological problems of scientific development in modern society we have cited here are proof that the destiny of science is closely intertwined with the revolutionary struggle of the working class, with the struggle for the socialist and communist reconstruction of society.

In introducing this discussion we have focused attention primarily on the role of science in the building of communism. We have asked a number of Soviet scientists to answer a few questions which, we think, will throw light on some of the general aspects of the relationship between science and society.

Academician Strumilin:

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE AND LABOR

1. *What does turning science into an actual productive force of society mean? What are the conditions in which this occurs?*

The concept of science as a productive force presupposes first and foremost direct intervention by science in the process of material production, a synthesis of the potential of science and labor in this process. This synthesis is expressed in the increasing utilization of scientific achievements in the organization and technological reconstruction of all labor processes which cannot exist without being placed on a scientific footing, and in the cooperation between mental and manual workers at all levels. I believe that production begins with science, and that scientific work in general differs very little from work in production, in the conditions of modern coordination and socialization of production.

After all, the distinction we draw between material production and what is known as the "non-production sphere" of science is purely relative. *In the first place* scientific work too has its own material product: it is materialized in the scientist's notes, in his design, his project, his book, etc. Until I write them

down, my thoughts, the bare ideas I have in mind, are as yet the incomplete product. But materialized in a book or in a machine, they can be alienated just like any other product. You, for example, collect the ideas of different people and, in publishing your journal, you are selling their scientific product, as it were. *Secondly*, scientific production—whether it be physics, chemistry or any other science—presupposes the material, the equipment and not only mental labor but manual labor as well. Without experimentation, without the apparatus made by the scientists, no scientific results of any value in production could be obtained. The only difference as compared with other elements of production is that the scientific product, materialized in means of production or embodied in production as an element of the reproduction of labor power, i.e., when it is realized in the minds of the workers themselves, can be regarded in material production as a gift of nature.

What does this mean? We know that when science is introduced into production labor productivity rises, the volume (but not the cost) of production increases and the general

quality of the product improves, or perhaps some altogether new product of a higher quality is created. In this way an immediate economic advantage is gained. We know that the expenditure on research often yields higher returns than expenditure on other essential elements of production. Now, scientific knowledge, that economically advantageous element of production, has one highly interesting attribute: once it has been obtained, it becomes available to all and can be utilized without any expenditure of the effort and labor originally invested in its achievement. Everything that is created in production through the agency of science represents the sum of scientific knowledge obtained as a result of universal experience. Scientific achievement acquired at the cost of stupendous intellectual effort, knowledge obtained through the labors of the pioneer, subsequently becomes the common property of all. The work of the greatest scholars can be mastered by the simplest minds. The schoolboy, for example, grasps the law of Archimedes, the law of Newton or Mendeleyev's Periodic Table in a few lessons, yet mankind's best minds expended a vast amount of energy to provide us with these laws. The fruit of the creative labors of these and other great minds of the past has become part of the general store of human knowledge, it is taken as much for granted as the air we breathe or the sunlight that warms us. Moreover, knowledge, unlike the instruments of production, does not wear out with use, on the contrary, it becomes broader and richer.

And since this scientific product, so easily assimilated by production proper, becomes the basis of the technology of production and is embodied in living labor, science becomes an actual productive force. But, let me stress, there is one essential condition for this, namely, the harmonious union of men of science and labor. Utilization of the fruits of science in production and technology, or even the direct participation of the scientist in the management of production, is by no means new. But in an antagonistic class society this has not resulted in a synthesis of science and labor. Researchers, engineers and inventors working for the capitalists clash at every step with the interests of the masses. Only when the antagonism between mental and manual labor is removed, only under socialism and communism, is it possible to achieve that synthesis of science and labor in which the potential of science can become an operating productive force in the fullest sense, not only in theory but in practice.

2. *How does the fusing of science with pro-*

duction affect the nature of the scientist's work?

Incorporated into production, science and the daily work of the scientist, naturally, become more purposeful; they come closer to the problems, the hopes and questings of the collective of workers.

But, it may be said, surely the work of the scientist outside production is no less creative and absorbing. That is so, of course. But lacking the levers of realization, the ideas of the most brilliant scientist are likely to remain ideas, with little hope of their finding application. And this is something no creative intelligence can tolerate. And conversely, when science is linked with social production its ideas have every chance of being realized. The labor of the scientist in production thus becomes really productive. With the fusion of science and industry, the scientist takes his place alongside the engineer and the worker at the fountainhead of material wealth. And in the course of the building of communism this process will assume ever wider proportions.

The scientist need not participate directly in production, nor need he be involved in the work of the design institutes, laboratories; the important thing is that the results of his labor should provide the groundwork for launching new lines of output, should contribute to solving production tasks and be incorporated into the technology and organization of production, giving rise to new techniques, raising labor productivity, etc.

In this sense the work of the scientist acquires the features of collective effort in the full sense of the term, which presupposes division of labor and coordinated effort in solving a particular problem. In place of the individual scientist of the past, who was often isolated from society and its urgent needs, and who worked entirely on his own, a new type of collective scientist is emerging, a man closely associated with the needs of society and responsible to society.

On the other hand, the work of the scientist is acquiring the form not only of collective labor but also of mass activity. The number of persons engaged in research is growing rapidly, spreading to ever new sections of the population. And this is understandable, inasmuch as the scientific problems posed by modern industry necessitate the participation of large numbers of people. Speaking of the growing numbers likely to be engaged in science, Professor Bernal says that research on already foreseeable projects will require the participation of 20 per cent of the population. I personally would not

venture to guess at any actual figure, for this depends primarily on the criteria we apply in defining the term scientist. As for technicians with a higher education, their numbers will certainly grow until they embrace all workers engaged in production. The number of top scientists will increase proportionately.

3. *Does the transformation of science into a productive force change man's place in the production process and in the general structure of labor in the sphere of material production?*

Yes, of course it does. In our society the growth in the number of researchers, to which I have just referred, is accompanied by an increase in the role of science in production. And as more and more new lines of production are developed (including those with a big future) the work of the researcher will grow in importance until it becomes the dominant form of productive labor.

But that is not the only aspect of the matter. The very forms of labor are undergoing change. The invasion of production by science, which has become the decisive factor in the rapid growth of the productive forces, has brought with it automation and telemechanics, electronics and cybernetics, elements which alter the nature of production. The high demands placed on the ordinary worker by this type of production compel him to raise his skill to the level of the technician. It is in the interests of production that science should be made available to the greatest number of people. In modern production brain is needed more than brawn. Besides physical strength and skill the worker who tends a machine tool or supervises an automated line must have technical know-how, and this in itself is proof that science has become an actual productive force. Already today 40 per cent of all manual workers in Soviet industry have had a secondary or higher education, and for a number of branches and professions the percentage is as high as 50-60.

Even more indicative is the rapid increase in recent decades. In 1939, 29 per cent of all electricians, machine adjusters and maintenance men had had a higher or secondary education; by 1959 this figure had more than doubled—63 per cent. At this rate it will take less than 20 years to raise the percentage from 63 to 100. And yet the trades I have mentioned are precisely those which will provide the bulk of the manual workers for the automated technology of the communist epoch. As we see, the gap between the educational level of the mental and manual workers is disappearing. Abreast of scientific

know-how, manual and mental workers will be able to replace one another, if need be, not only in sectors where routine methods still predominate, but also where independent thinking and creative initiative are required. In the USSR, incidentally, millions of workers combine their regular work in the factories with voluntary work as inventors and rationalizers.

On the whole the application of science to the sphere of material production changes the former proportions of labor primarily by sharply reducing all arduous physical work and increasing the share of highly-skilled mental labor. But one cannot imagine that in the future, under communism, only mental labor will exist, and that physical labor will be reduced to pushing buttons. Manual labor will not disappear, although heavy labor will. The automated factories will have to be erected and kept in repair, adjusters and maintenance men will be needed. These are manual tasks requiring considerable knowledge, but manual nevertheless. There will remain a host of basic physical jobs which man will have to perform himself. In the same way as the physicist, for example, makes his own apparatus.

On the other hand, it is hardly possible to conceive of a time when all of production will be automated at once. After all, automation is economically justified only in the case of quantity production. But all the new lines of production, all the new inventions cannot be introduced on a mass scale simultaneously; this must be preceded by the period of launching, adjusting, expansion, etc., and mechanization, too, in the initial stages will proceed along lines worked out in other spheres of production. And until the new line is properly launched, until the demand for the given item warrants its mass production, there will always be a big demand for manual labor. True, the nature of this labor will be different, it will afford plenty of room for inventiveness and thinking. This in turn will signify fuller use of man's "intelligence potential"—which is still a largely untapped reservoir—will signify drawing greater numbers of manual and routine workers into the sphere of mental work.

Under the old class society with its social barriers, science even today has little prospect of being introduced on a broad scale or of reaching the mass of the population. Yet the effectiveness of science as a productive force is directly proportional to the volume of applied knowledge, multiplied by the depth of assimilation and the breadth of the dissemination of knowledge among the working peo-

ple. And with science greatly augmenting production, the production experience of millions

of people will, in its turn, generously enrich Communist science.

Academician V. A. Trapeznikov:

CYBERNETICS IN THE SERVICE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

1. *What does cybernetics as a science bring into production and into practical uses of the other sciences?*

Cybernetics, one of the younger branches of knowledge, is indicative of the trends typical of present-day science, which is becoming increasingly synthetic and inductive and which at the same time, paradoxical though it may seem, finds greater application in our practical life. Cybernetics affords, perhaps, the best illustration of the relationship between science and the production activity of the people, a relationship to which the future belongs.

Cybernetics can be described as the general science treating of control and communication in machines, living organisms and social life. To reach its present stage man's production activity had first to arrive at a high level. Cybernetics derived from practice, from the experience of technological processes; it had its origin in technological achievements. It had its source in automatons which were found not only to be useful but to be of very great scientific value; these automatic devices represented simple models of definite principles of control, models which could be thoroughly examined by reducing them to their components and constantly modifying them. This made it possible to comprehend the basic principles of control, which subsequently became the basis for general laws and theories. Only along these lines was it possible to examine the most complex structure of the control systems typical of both living organisms and social processes. Man could now study the primary components of the world of guided processes, knowledge of which was essential in order to evolve a general theory and formulate the laws of control and guidance. Cybernetics developed in step with the growing realization of the profound community of the processes of guidance taking place in technology, in living nature and in social life. In passing, it can be said that with the spread of cybernetics the problem of synthesis of various sciences, an abstract and speculative problem in the past, one that had always engaged scientists, acquired a practical, production-technical content and a real, tangible meaning.

But, as the German scientist Bunsen once

put it, there is nothing more practical than a good theory. Having developed into a theoretical science, cybernetics imparted something basically new to production. Generally speaking, all major revolutions in industry and technology in the past were, as often as not, associated with the discovery by theoretical science of the basic, underlying properties of matter and natural processes, and not with research of a strictly applied character. And so it was with cybernetics, which has uncovered the general structure and the main properties of the control and guidance processes; it is revolutionizing industry by enabling man to master the communication of information and on this basis to create automatic control and guidance devices. The matter of raising the efficiency of conscious human activity is thus placed on a firm scientific footing. The practical results of cybernetics find their expression in the creation of the diverse electronic machines improving or even replacing man's labor. It is difficult to foresee all the implications of this revolution for, unlike the industrial revolution of the 18th-19th centuries, it affects the most complex sphere of human endeavor, that of mental labor.

Study of the control and guidance processes combined with the development of electronics lay at the bedrock of such an outstanding achievement of our time as the automation of industry. This is the most advanced aspect of the practical application of cybernetics. The industry of the future will undoubtedly be a complex of production processes united by a single automatic control and guidance system with cybernated devices doing most of the work for man.

It is not only the fruits of *its own* development that cybernetics has brought into production. It has linked with it many other branches of science the objects of which embrace processes of control and communication, and has found ways for the practical application of these sciences (enriching at the same time their theoretical content and methods). Cybernated research into the control processes made it possible to apply in production such branches of science which were generally believed to have nothing in common with production (this refers, for example, to

the most abstract sections of mathematics, psychology, logic, biology, physiology of the higher nervous activity). Biology, for example, never found any practical use in technology. However, now that with the development of cybernetics technical ideas are being carried over to biological research, it has also become possible to transfer some of the principles of the operation of biological systems to the technical sphere. It is safe to say that technological cybernetics will become the center in which a whole number of sciences will converge and crystallize. Contiguous ideas, those arising at the junction of the various branches of science, will be verified and perfected in cybernated machines.

2. *How does cybernated automation affect the general character of labor in production?*

Automation tends to oust the specialized labor of the detail laborer associated with the preceding stage of the mechanization of production, and to unite science with the living labor of the worker generally. It substitutes a machine for the monotonous and nerve-racking labor connected with performing functions of supervision and control at the assembly line, and above all at the conveyor belt. In this process, automation makes bigger demands on intellectual capacity and on the know-how of the worker, on his ability to approach and perform a given production task in his own independent way. His labor acquires a definite scientific content. Automated production demands of the worker an active and creative approach to his job. Polytechnical education ceases to be merely a humanistic demand and becomes a need dictated by production. Thereby automation changes the general character of labor, bringing to life a new type of worker who combines the qualities of worker, engineer and scientist. This should not be understood to mean that if in the past the worker bent over a machine, he will now sit in an easy-chair in an office. The reality will be somewhere in between.

On the whole, with the spread of automation the emphasis in man's activity will be more and more on mental labor, for automation not merely changes the general character of the labor of the individual worker but also requires large numbers of people capable of undertaking independent research and designing. On the other hand, direct production will consume but a small share of man's energy; man's work will be performed by cybernated systems, whereas the released energies of people will be channelled above all into the realm of science and the arts. Given a

planned economy this is a law-governed process holding no catastrophic consequences.

3. *Will cybernated "thinking" machines increase or decrease the volume of mental labor needed to keep modern production going?*

Automation, itself being the application of science, results in a general and considerable extension of the volume of applied scientific and theoretical research needed to ensure the functioning of modern production. This alone excludes the assumption that the volume of mental labor performed by man in the process of production is likely to decrease.

As techniques become more complex, the amount of mental labor expended in production shows such a marked rise that even with the existence of "thinking" cybernated machines, there will still be plenty for man to do. It can be said that the cybernated machines, far from ousting man as a mental worker from the sphere of production, will, on the contrary, increase the quantity and enhance the quality of brain work performed by man (not by a machine) to keep modern production going. The world of the future will not be a world of mysterious robots but of active and thinking people who have fully developed their creative ability.

What is particularly important is that the quality of mental labor will be modified by the introduction of "thinking" cybernations. And the point is not only that the electronic computers add to the power of the intellect, enabling it to tackle tasks hitherto unsolvable, but also that they release man's vast potentialities. It has been calculated, for instance, that a scientist spends 90 per cent of his working time examining and selecting material, and only 3-4 per cent on creative work proper. Our chemists have complained that it is often easier to evolve a substance with the needed properties than to find the data bearing on it in the available literature. Electronic brains will undertake this aspect of research, selecting the required material and processing the data, the volume of which has grown immeasurably in view of the scope of research and the rate of scientific progress. Particularly broad vistas open up before the mechanization and automation of such stages of research as collecting, filing and processing the data, summing up the results of experiments and, the main thing, preliminary generalization and analysis of these results. The scientist will then be in a position to concentrate on the more general, basic problems, on comprehensive analytical research. This tendency, engendered by the creation of electronic devices, will offset the present ten-

dency towards narrow specialization and make for a broader approach to the solution of problems. Scientists will be able to pass over to the synthesis of knowledge obtained in the various branches of science. Thus, we

are returning, cyclically but on a new basis, to the initial stages of science when it had an encyclopaedical character and when one man, Aristotle for instance, could retain in his mind the sum-total of knowledge then available.

Academician V. S. Nemchinov:

SOCIETY CAN BE RUN ALONG SCIENTIFIC LINES

1. How do the social sciences affect the planning and guidance of the socio-economic process in socialist society?

Scientific achievements exert an influence not only on material production but on all other aspects of social development. As distinct from the preceding socio-economic formations, communism will be based on science in full measure. Communist production relations by their very nature cannot arise and develop blindly. Their rise and development will be based on conscious utilization of the laws of nature and society. Hence in the USSR the social sciences are drawing ever closer to the planning and guiding of the socio-economic processes. The CPSU Program says that Marxist-Leninist theory provides "the scientific basis for the guidance of society." It is no longer possible to run the national economy and to control the economic processes by relying merely on intuitive concepts regarding their content and trends or on narrow class interests the spontaneous intertwining of which yielded one or another social result under capitalism. Today, in the conditions of socialized production, the solution of a particular problem affects the destinies of large numbers of people, hence every step must be scientifically sound, and this presupposes scientific anticipation of the possible ultimate results of the planned decisions.

Planned management is now becoming a sphere of scientific activity in itself. It is of particularly great importance during the transition to communism when, on the one hand, the principle of centralized economic guidance remains in force, and, on the other, public initiative plays an increasing role in organizing and regulating economic life based on the association of producers and consumers in self-administered social units.

At the bedrock of Soviet planning are the basic concepts of Marxist political economy and sociology. These concepts make it possible correctly to assess and rationally utilize, in the process of planning, the motive forces of economic development, to concentrate on the decisive tasks at each given stage. How-

ever, in the process of planned management a number of difficult and specific problems arise both in theory and in practice.

In view of this the present stage in the development of the economy and culture of the socialist system makes greater demands on social science, and particularly on economic science. In order to make full use of the laws of social, particularly economic, development, qualitative definitions are not enough—knowledge of the quantitative proportions is essential. In a planned society economics must be an exact science—a science that makes it possible to utilize these laws in practical planned management. This makes it particularly important in the fields of accounting and planning to use mathematical methods in processing information on production and consumption, and especially in drawing up the long-range and current economic plans. Here a scientifically substantiated system of computation plays a decisive part.

2. What is the significance of the penetration of mathematical methods, cybernetic research, etc., into the social sciences?

Planned direction of economic and social development is a process embodying the unity of natural and social sciences, a unity which, unfortunately, is not infrequently forgotten. Characterizing this aspect of scientific knowledge, Lenin wrote: "The powerful impulse from the natural to the social sciences existed, as we know, not only in Petty's time but also in Marx's time. And this impulse is certainly not less, if not more, powerful also in the 20th century."

The main and general feature of the economic processes taking place in socialist society is that they can be guided. Hence the possibilities for fruitful application of the latest methods devised by such sciences as cybernetics, operational research, mathematical analysis of economic processes, etc. The significance of these sciences gains in the process of building communism. Actually socialist society alone makes it possible to transfer these methods from the sphere of abstract, theoretical "flights of fancy" into

the sphere of fulfilment of definite social tasks; this is further evidence that the possibilities for the practical application of science depend on the character of the social system.

An example of the fruitful application of mathematics in the socialist economy is price formation, which presupposes adequate information and complex quantitative calculation. The problem of planned price formation is part of the general problem of optimal planning, one of the problems involved in constructing models of a planned economy. Besides the model of planned price formation, planning also includes models of extended socialist reproduction and of the territorial distribution of social production. In these circumstances the system of economic and material balances is transformed into a special system of economic-mathematical models combining into one whole the various elements of the national economy.

Economic science becomes the basis for guiding the development of society only in the event of it creating a corresponding mechanism for regulating the social process. Our experience shows that it is not enough to draw up a well-balanced and optimal plan—its fulfilment must be provided for. In exercising control over the fulfilment of plans, the disproportions and contradictions of various kinds that are bound to arise should be promptly attended to. Lenin said that work according to plan is consciously maintained proportionality of social production. But it is not enough merely to know the economic proportions; the essential thing is to control them. Conscious management of social production, far from precluding, presupposes a mechanism which would ensure the processes of self-adjustment in the course of economic activity. It is impossible to visualize the management of social production as a rigid system providing for a centralized solution of all particular problems that arise. Economic regulation, on the other hand, does not mean that the plan should be amended all the time because disproportions and inconsistencies arise. Scientifically it would be correct to have a system of indicators and a structure of the plan which would leave room for measures ensuring adequate regulation in the course of economic activity. Planning is fully capable of providing for this.

Hence importance is attached to the so-called "feedback systems," the general theory of which is provided by cybernetics. In particular, a feedback relation in a planned economy can be organized on the basis of ade-

quate reserves, credits and the utilization of the price regulation fund.

The processes taking place in the national economy are strictly determined. It is essential to be able to utilize the casual connections on the basis of an adequate feedback system. An idea of what feedback is can best be explained by the following example.

A thermometer indicates the temperature in the room. Here we see the causal connection between the readings of the thermometer and the temperature inside the room. It is common knowledge that causal connection is not inversive—one cannot imagine a thermometer being the cause of the temperature of the room. In the event, however, of a feedback system being organized with the result that the temperature data exceeding some critical points were transmitted to the heating or air-conditioning system and regulated the supply of warm or cold air, this kind of feedback would make it possible to regulate the temperature of the room on the basis of the thermometer data.

Something of the kind should be created in the economic system. And that is where cybernetics come in.

3. *What will be the results of the introduction of electronic computers, complex mechanization and automation of the processes of the economic management into the scientific and technological system of the organization and management of the national economy?*

A system of feedback connections in the economy cannot be organized unless high-speed electronic computers and information-handling machines are introduced in production, planning, statistics and accounting and in the banking and finance system. In order to prove the soundness of the planned targets in the matter of raising living standards and to find the ways and means of solving the tasks set by society, a large amount of information must be processed, a task so big that not even an army of clerical workers would be able to cope with it without using the latest electronic techniques. On the other hand, changes or disproportions arising during the process should be detected and regulating measures taken quickly enough to ensure effective control and to prevent undesirable results. This is where the cybernated devices come in. These machines will assess the inputs and outputs of all production units and carry out a large amount of economic and planning calculation, making it possible not only to select the optimal variant of the plan but also to feed signals back to the primary producer-consumer units by utilizing, say, the banking and finance system as well

as the system of planned prices. Therefore, the role of science equipped with quantitative mathematical methods is growing not only in regard to the organization of labor in material production but also in the sphere of control and accounting.

Society will pass over from the manual (basically primitive) forms of control to automated systems based on scientific methods of research and electronic techniques. This will result in definite changes in the socio-economic structure of society.

With the development of the productive forces and the growth of production, the techniques of economic management become ever more complex and ramified, and the weight of the administrative apparatus in the struc-

ture of society is growing. But a mere increase of administrative personnel can ensure the management of a complex and growing economy only to a certain limit. It has been estimated that, should the old planning methods be preserved and given our present rates of growth, in 1980 practically the entire adult population of our country would have to be engaged in the administration and planning spheres. On the other hand, automation of accounting and administrative work, the introduction of electronic machines will make it possible to solve this problem without undue inflation of the administrative apparatus. For communism cannot be built without making full use of the achievements of technical progress, of the mathematical and economic sciences.

Disarmament and Social Progress

(*WMR Interviews Josue de Castro*)

THE United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the benefit of Less Developed Areas, held in Geneva February 4-20 and attended by nearly 1,800 scientists, technicians and official spokesmen from practically all countries of the world, revealed the acute need for economic and cultural advance in the less developed countries, on the one hand, and the boundless opportunities of modern science and technology, on the other. At the same time the conference reaffirmed that there is no problem of science and technology as such, that the economic advance of the less developed nations is inseparably bound up with the social reconstruction of society.

On the initiative of Professor Josué de Castro, President of the World Association for Struggle Against Hunger, a group of scientists attending the conference adopted an appeal to the 18-nation Conference on Disarmament, calling for speedy agreement on general and complete disarmament, and in particular to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. The attention of world public opinion is drawn once more to the fact that disarmament, in addition to removing the grave danger hanging over the world, will make it possible greatly to accelerate the wiping out of such social evils as hunger and malnutrition, disease and ignorance, from which two-thirds of the human race still suffer.

Our correspondent at the conference approached Professor de Castro for his views on the problems raised in the appeal. Al-

though we do not share some of the views expressed by Josué de Castro, we appreciate his concern for the progress of the less developed countries and we certainly share his opinion that general and complete disarmament will be instrumental in solving many of the problems affecting these countries.

* * *

In the first place Josué de Castro stressed that it is the duty of the present generation to save the world from war. Never before has humanity been burdened by such a weight of threats and dangers. The armaments race in which the Great Powers are engaged has built such a potential of destruction that it could, at one sweep, wipe the human race from the face of the globe.

But the evils of a blind armaments build-up reside not only in the terrible risks it poses to humanity, but also in the false sense of security it inspires in some unthinking spirits. Peace when based on a balance of fear has always been precarious. And all the more so is this the case now when nuclear arms cannot be an instrument of defense. In the event of a nuclear war no country will be immune. De Castro holds that Professor Bernal is right when he says that "an annihilating attack from one side is answered by an annihilating attack from the other, and the neutrals are also annihilated in the process."

But, de Castro went on to say, not only war but even war preparation inflicts terrible evils upon the human race. It diverts human and

material resources from other constructive activities. The astronomical expenses of this preparation are calculated at more than \$120,000 million annually.

And this is one of the fundamental reasons why two-thirds of humanity continues to go hungry, despite the fact that we have available technical and material means to increase present food production a dozen times over. This universal hunger is but one of the characteristics—one of the darkest and most tragic—of the general picture of economic underdevelopment in which two-thirds of the people in the world are imprisoned. And they could so easily liberate themselves from the vicious circle of unproductive misery if they were given reasonable economic aid, enough for them to equip themselves with the basic instruments of production.

U.N. technicians calculate that the minimum needs of the underdeveloped world, in new capital, amount to some \$20,000 million a year. This would produce a rate of economic expansion which, although moderate, would be an incentive to liberation from misery. According to the same technicians, the inflow of capital at present, counting all types of private investment and state aid, does not go beyond \$10,000 million, that is, 50 per cent of the essential minimum. Meanwhile the critical 20,000 million represent only 17 per cent of the total wasted every year on the most sterile and stupid investment ever made by man—financing the arms race.

If it were possible to develop an authentic program of economic aid to the underdeveloped world, this "third world" integrated into the global economy and providing a new market of great elasticity, would soon instil a new and vigorous life into the shaken and contradictory economy of our time. A policy of aid to poverty-stricken and underdeveloped

countries, therefore, is not merely an act of humanitarianism, of human solidarity, it is justified on the grounds of political economy.

What is necessary, de Castro pointed out, is that we should work to bring about, as quickly as possible, progressive disarmament—until general and total disarmament can be achieved—the reconversion of a war economy into an economy of peace. It is clear that without this preparation, the transition would lead to the economic chaos that some countries so greatly fear. This accounts for the celebrated paradox that terrible dangers might follow a sudden *declaration of peace*.

If disarmament were included in a broad international economic plan based on a real expansion of the underdeveloped portion of our planet—the portion including the backward and the famished—it would have the best chance of success. It is quite true that in tackling the problem of internal well-being, employment and income levels, involved in the process of economic readjustment for peace, implacable resistance may be expected from certain spheres of political influence, based in part on a supposed military supremacy. But this is a force in liquidation, a force that is breaking up in face of the decline of colonialism and the awakening of the peoples, who today are standing up to the most terrible threats of force, knowing that the irresistible current of history is flowing in their favor.

These peoples, the "third world," are a powerful lever in favor of peace, since war preparations that draw off a large part of their ill-paid efforts offer no attraction to them. Let us, therefore, link the struggle against war with the struggle against underdevelopment, so that the achievements of science and technology can lead us to a world of peace and abundance.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

New Stage in the Struggle of South African Communists

THE recent Sixth National Conference of the South African Communist Party was a landmark for the Communists and the people of South Africa. Like all previous conferences of the Party, it took place underground in South Africa. The conditions were exceptionally difficult, for the Verwoerd government has intensified its fascist repressive measures. Despite this, all districts of the Party were represented at the Conference. The delegates, mostly African workers, came from all parts of the country.

The main purpose of the Conference was to consider and adopt the new Program of the Party* and to define the tasks of the Communists in the light of the reactionary policy of the Verwoerd government and its drive towards a naked dictatorship.

The Central Committee's report analyzed the situation at home and abroad, formulated the next tasks of the Party, and defined its principal aim — struggle for the national-democratic revolution, the main content of which is the national liberation of the African people.

The Central Committee paid special attention to the fight for peace and universal disarmament and its significance for the liberation of the African people, to the importance of the international work of the Party, class solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

The report criticized shortcomings in the international work of the Party, arising out of excessive preoccupation with local and, to a lesser extent, with all-African affairs.

"It is clearly necessary," the report said, "that we find the means to make our influence felt in the struggle for world peace . . . It is our task to awaken the people to the danger of war, to enable them to reach the understanding that only the actions of the people can save peace, to lead them in the struggle against the imperialist enemies of peace, because it is in our interests to prevent any imperialist recourse to war."

A special resolution on the fight for peace and international solidarity was adopted, which calls for "strenuous efforts in the cause of

world peace and universal disarmament," "to organize and initiate campaigns of solidarity among the South African people for the victims of imperialist aggression and peoples who are fighting for freedom, national independence and peace."

The delegates paid close attention to the internal situation and the new forms of struggle. Developments in recent years show that the government is, increasingly, turning to violence and military force against the people.

The swing to terror and open dictatorship, however, is a sign not of the strength but of the weakness of the government which resorts to fascist methods in order to preserve its rule. The political opposition has not been broken by the police and military dictatorship. True, it has been weakened and, to a large measure, has been forced into silence, but this does not mean that the people have resigned themselves to the situation.

The trend towards dictatorship has impelled the democratic movement to improve its underground apparatus, to prepare itself for underground action, for new forms of struggle, to meet violence with violence. This has resulted in a reappraisal of the policy of non-violent struggle, which the Communist Party criticized at its previous National Conference in 1960.

The report points out that "the trend towards dictatorial methods has paved the way for a new offensive against the government, based on a combination of violent and non-violent methods." New opportunities for mass struggle, mass action, are arising. This is evident, in particular, in the recent anti-government actions, sporadic and unorganized though they were.

"The urgent need of the whole movement," the report emphasizes, "is to devise new methods of mass work and mass agitation to meet the situation . . . In the long run, the people's movement must find mass methods of struggle both violent and non-violent, into which the whole democratic movement and all its supporters can be drawn. Without this approach, we will not be able to break out of the co

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 10, 1962.

parative inaction which has characterized the people's movement over the past year."

In the conditions of today the question of the united front of national liberation, the building of which is a basic task of the Party, is most important.

The Congress Alliance has changed considerably in recent years. The African National Congress and later the Congress of Democrats were outlawed. To put the main stress on the Alliance could create the impression that the "Congress movement" — now consisting of the South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Trade Unions and South African Coloured People's Congress — had inherited the leadership of the national-liberation movement. But in fact the leader of this movement has always been the African National Congress.

New forms of the united front are also being developed. The main underground resistance movements — the African National Congress and the Communist Party — share a common immediate objective: the overthrow of White supremacy and the winning of the Freedom Charter. It would be utterly wrong, therefore, to present the legal Congress Alliance as the sole symbol of leadership of the popular struggles. It is, of course, imperative to fight to preserve the essence of the Alliance — constant consultation and unity between the various congresses.

The report pointed out that this would help other African peoples to understand "our policy of a multi-racial alliance in the struggle for national freedom," and also the character of

the South African freedom movement, "primarily a movement of the African people, of the African National Congress," which "has sought and has found loyal allies in organizations of the Indian and colored people, of the militant non-racial trade unions, of democratic whites."

Conference paid attention to problems of Party organization. It insisted that discipline, vital in underground work, be maintained at the highest level, that resolute struggle be waged against red tape and against the recklessness which is often substituted for real courage, and that a large-scale education and propaganda campaign be conducted both among the membership and among the people.

The new Program unanimously endorsed by the Conference will play an important part in popularizing the aims and tasks of the Party among the population.

Conference resolved to print the Program in as many languages as practicable, to ensure the widest circulation for it, particularly among workers, trade unionists and intellectuals, and to arrange discussion on the Program with people outside the Party with a view to winning them for membership.

The Conference expressed confidence that the coming year will be a year of advance for the Party, that its influence will extend to still wider sections of the population, and that it will play a bigger part in uniting and leading the people for the overthrow of the Verwoerd regime, for national democracy, peace and socialism.

J. SHEFFERS

Hungary: Work with Cadres

A COMMISSION set up by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to study problems of Party building has published a document on the experience gained in the work with cadres.

After the liberation our Party became a legal mass party, the leading force of the people's democratic revolution. In its practical work, the Party relied both on veteran Communists and on former Left-wing Social Democrats and organized workers who had drawn a lesson from the war and the experience of liberation and found their way to the Communist Party.

Urgently needed at this time were cadres—thousands of functionaries who could be appointed to responsible posts. Along with the veterans steeled during the years of oppression, the Party enlisted new forces: the best workers, peasants and intellectuals. It boldly

appointed to leading posts old and new fighters who, in most cases working in spheres new to them, had to learn the art of management and get the necessary know-how. At that time the main task was to organize political and special training for large numbers of people promoted to leading posts.

The cultural revolution, training people from among the workers and peasants, and the re-education of intellectuals produced Communist specialists loyal to the people. They and the non-Party specialists took their place in socialist construction.

Along with these achievements, however, the sectarian and revisionist blunders which were manifested in the policy of the Party laid their imprint on the selection, education and allocation of cadres.

The personality cult and the false thesis to the

effect that the class struggle would grow sharper with the advance to socialism resulted in grave violations of law and widespread mistrust. The thesis that the enemy had penetrated deeply into the Party and that the main task was to expose this enemy gained wide currency. This line and the smothering of inner-Party democracy resulted in unjustified hounding of good and sincere people. People were judged not by their basic qualities or their work but by unverified suppositions or often on the basis of biased personal views. The personnel departments largely developed into investigation agencies surrounded with undue secrecy. Mistrust was displayed particularly in regard to members who had previously worked underground and to comrades from the former Social Democratic Party.

As a result there arose wrong tendencies in the matter of selecting cadres. Many tried and tested comrades were ignored, important posts were entrusted to people politically and morally unfit and lacking the necessary training.

As a result of the cult, the cadres were not independent enough in the political and ideological work: all decisions were expected to be handed down "from the top."

The mistakes in the work with cadres became even more glaring at the time of the counter-revolution. Many who had been promoted by the old leadership remained passive, and some even deserted to the enemy. On the other hand, many who had been thrust into the shadows were now in the forefront of the fight against the counter-revolution. During this period people were judged by their actions, and this later helped to correct the mistakes made in the work with cadres.

In the difficult conditions that set in after November 4, 1956, more and more people responded to the call of the Party and joined the struggle to defend and consolidate the people's regime. In the front ranks were those who were distinguished by firm ideological convictions, adherence to principle and faith in the victory of socialism. These comrades fought consciously and purposefully for the implementation of the Party's general line.

Immediately after the defeat of the counter-revolution, our Party set about rectifying mistakes of the previous years, and adhered to the Leninist principles in the work with cadres. The Party developed work with cadres in the right direction. This helped it to effect political and economic consolidation, to continue the socialist construction, to reorganize agriculture more quickly than expected, and to achieve a further rise in living standards.

The Party pardoned those workers who had been misled, and punished the enemies of the people's democratic system.

The task then was to replenish the ranks of politically-tempered cadres with new people, including those who had erred before but were sincere and loyal to socialism. It was necessary to check on the attitude of thousands of leading functionaries during the counter-revolution, to leave in their posts those who had justified the trust reposed in them, and to replace those who had proved unfit.

The Party Conference in 1957 and later the Seventh Congress laid down the main principles of the work with cadres. The implementation of these principles was an important means of restoring and cementing unity in the Party, of shaping the national unity headed by the working class. From this point of view a highly important decision was adopted by the Party Conference which stressed that "in our country non-Party people can be appointed to all leading posts — public or governmental, high or low — with the exception of purely Party posts."

More and more people are becoming sincere supporters of socialism, growing numbers of non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals support the policy of the Party heart and soul, work honestly and fight for its realization. Without them, without enlisting honest and capable non-Party people into the leadership, it will be impossible to build socialism. Discrimination against non-Party people in the matter of appointments to leading posts is wrong also because it will inevitably bring into the Party all kinds of careerists and self-seekers, while appointing non-Party people to leading posts widens the mass base of the proletarian dictatorship. Implementation of this decision does not infringe the leading role of the working class and the Party because where the work is conducted in the Party spirit, on the basis of Party policy and decisions, the Party and the working class will retain the leading role.

The Party has opposed the wrong view which denies the leading role of the working class and which sees in the intelligentsia or, less frequently, in the peasants the leading social force. At the same time the Party rejects any mechanical interpretation of the leading role of the working class according to which only the appointment of Communist workers to leading posts guarantees the leading role of the Party. This understanding of the leading role of the working class hinders socialist construction, making it impossible for all other sections of the working people to develop their abilities, to apply their knowledge and display their

talents in a job where they can bring the greatest benefit to society. A decision adopted by the Secretariat of the Central Committee in 1960 and approved by the Eighth Congress of the Party says: "... The leading role of the working class is exercised not immediately and not mechanically but through the state of the proletarian dictatorship, through the leading role of the Party, by carrying out the policy of the Party."

In working with cadres the Party has always fought on two fronts: against liberalism and Rightism which stressed "know-how" to the detriment of the political fitness of cadres, and against sectarian views and methods, against mistrust of people, against insincerity, conceit, and against selecting cadres from a narrow group of people.

As a result of our Leninist policy the correct principles and a corresponding practice have been established. Today the Party judges people not by references, hearsay, and promises, but above all by their work, by their labor achievements.

The main principle in working with cadres is *trust, straightforwardness and frankness*. Secrecy is being overcome. People engaged in the civil service and in various offices are entitled by law to see the references issued them, to learn opinions others hold with regard to them, and to express their own views on the references. This has helped to overcome the shortcomings in our work with cadres.

An important principle applied by the Party in this work is *humanism*. The Party respects the good and faithful steward, but it does not damn those who err. It criticizes and educates them, and gives them work in keeping with their abilities. It would be utterly wrong to brand a man for the rest of his life for a mistake he once made. He should be given every opportunity to rectify this mistake. This, however, does not mean that the Party displays a liberal attitude to mistakes and misdemeanors.

The Party's aim is to ensure that appointments are given to comrades who know the local conditions and problems of the given region, district and enterprise, preferably from among local workers. Such comrades are known to the working people, whose own experience facilitates the solution of the tasks set. As a result of a more careful selection of cadres, we have fewer instances of unwarranted changing of people from post to post.

In recent years useful results have been obtained in promoting cadres from among local people. The success achieved in the rapid reorganization of agriculture and in consolidating

the rural cooperatives was due in large measure to the correct selection of local leaders.

In selecting cadres our Party strictly abides by the principle of *unity of the old and new generations*. The Party reveres those who took part in the movement before the liberation. It needs the experience of these people, their composure, loyalty to the Party and their educational work. At the same time it needs the initiative, enthusiasm and vigor of the young workers.

Along with useful experience, we still have bad practices. These include survivals of the old erroneous practices, on the one hand, and, on the other, mistakes engendered mainly by the fact that some functionaries do not work to improve their political and ideological qualifications; they lag behind developments and are unable to cope with the demands posed by life.

Confidence and sincerity are not always displayed in relation to cadres. Not everywhere are people told plainly about their mistakes. It still happens that an unsuitable functionary, instead of being removed from his post, is sent to study or even promoted to a higher post.

In the present stage of socialist construction, the demands made on cadres with regard to their qualities — political, professional and moral — have grown considerably.

The Party aims at ensuring that leading posts are assigned to people who have the qualifications for the job, people who have had adequate theoretical and specialized grounding, good organizers capable of giving full consideration to the issues raised by the people, in a word, cadres who are dedicated to the cause of socialism.

Selecting cadres is a job that calls for circumspection and responsibility. The Party insists that in selecting the leading personnel and in assessing their work account should be taken primarily of the results achieved by the branch for which they are responsible, of the way in which they have carried out the policy of the Party.

Only he who is closely linked with the masses can provide effective leadership, he who shares the sorrows and joys of the people, who loves the people and who has faith in them, who listens attentively to their criticisms and opinions, and works to rectify mistakes. Hence, close contact with the working people is essential in selecting cadres.

The Communist executive must be acquainted with Marxist-Leninist theory and be able to apply it creatively in the context of the changing conditions. At present, when priority

is given to the economic-organizational and cultural-educational tasks, it is essential that the leading functionaries should have adequate specialized training and an ample fund of general knowledge.

Another important demand is that our cadres should encourage initiative, that they work independently and boldly, in a creative way.

The example set by leaders is important in educating people. Even the specialist, the leader with excellent political training, will not be able to solve the tasks unless by his conduct he wins the respect of the people around

him. Hence greater moral demands are made on cadres.

Working with cadres is not a narrow departmental affair; it is organically linked with leadership. On correctly selecting, educating and allocating the cadres depends in large measure the successful realization of Party policy, of the tasks of socialist construction. That is why the Party demands from the leaders in all Party organizations, national and local, comprehensive day-to-day work with cadres, and especially that they supervise the training of cadres. V.L.

The People's Party of Panama

THE people of Panama are exploited by both U.S. imperialists and the local oligarchy. The latter, doing well out of turning the country into a hunting ground for the big U.S. monopolies, are themselves plundering the people by taking part in those branches of production in which they are allowed by their masters.

The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement is growing and the imperialists, conscious of this, are trying to hold it back. By means of the Alliance for Progress, the USA is trying to preserve its domination of our country.

Conscious that the arch-reactionary ruling oligarchy will be unable to stem the revolutionary flood, U.S. imperialism aims at bringing to power other forces which might deceive the masses by the pseudo-revolutionary policy of "social reforms" without encroaching in any way on its own interests or the interests of its ally — the oligarchy. And so we find imperialism donning the garb of a defender of "representative democracy" with a view to attaining its reactionary ends. When, however, this "democracy" is no longer able to safeguard its interests, imperialism scraps it and installs a fascist-type military government.

In Panama imperialism, deceiving the masses, diverts their attention by holding an election swindle once every four years. At present the imperialists hope to bring to power the Center forces which indulge in pseudo-anti-imperialist and pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering in order to check the growth of revolution.

The main enemy of our people is the local oligarchy in alliance with imperialism. Ending the power of this alliance is the sole way to attain the democratic aim of freedom and complete independence. However, in view of the objective conditions, the struggle to attain these aims cannot be spearheaded against this

alliance as a whole; it must be developed stage by stage and be aimed at dividing the forces of the enemy.

The present government relies on a coalition of the parties of the oligarchy. Reactionary though they are, these parties seek different means of avoiding the revolution. The ultra-reactionaries — the Republican Party, the National Patriotic Coalition and other pro-imperialist groupings — would like to take brutal reprisals against the people. Another group of parties hopes to prevent the revolution by making concessions to the masses. Lastly, there is the Center grouping headed by the President of the Republic whom the ultra-reactionaries charge with being a weakling. In this first stage the revolutionary movement is taking the form of struggle against the oligarchy, for ending the rule of this internal enemy and establishing a democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist government. The second stage should signify the final defeat of imperialism and the paving of the way for the transition to socialism.

At present the main blow must be struck at the oligarchy and all efforts should be directed towards its overthrow. The anti-imperialist struggle should be waged in a way that will expose the oligarchy as a gang of traitors wholly in the service of imperialism. In order to do this, the Party is working to build a broad anti-oligarchy front of all forces interested in ending the rule of the oligarchy.

The 9th meeting of the Central Committee of our Party held last October stressed the role of the Party as the vanguard leading the revolutionary actions of the people, as a guarantee of the steady development of the revolution, of its transition from the democratic to the socialist stage. Should the Party fail to establish contact with the masses, fail to awaken them to resolute struggle for their class inter-

ests, the revolution will be defeated. And conversely, the closer the contact between the Party and the masses and the more skilfully the Party leads the mass actions, the surer the success of the revolution. For this reason the Central Committee stressed the need to build the People's Party, to ensure its growth.

The C.C. meeting advanced the task of combating subjectivism, as well as the Right and Left deviations in the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

The Right deviation finds expression in a petty-bourgeois approach to our reality. Its adherents maintain that all the problems facing our people can be resolved through reforms achieved as a result of elections. They claim that this is the sole way to the victory of the revolution in Panama. The view of our Party is that elections should be utilized to the extent to which they make it possible to expose the oligarchy as a reactionary force and to secure satisfaction of the immediate democratic demands of the people.

The Left deviation is another form of petty-bourgeois opportunism. Of late, its representatives have stepped up their activities, which retard the growth of the mass struggle, lull the masses and tell them to sit back and await the arrival of the man of destiny.

The Lefts argue that the revolution in Panama should take the path of armed struggle, understanding by this only one of its aspects, namely, guerilla war. Subjectively assessing the readiness of the masses to fight, and failing to see the real trend in the country, they say that the conditions for this form of struggle have matured. At the same time, they do nothing whatever to bring home to the people the necessity to fight for the needs of the day.

The Lefts have a wrong attitude to the mass movement and to our Party. They call themselves Marxist-Leninists. But Lenin taught that people and parties should be assessed not by what they say about themselves, but by their deeds and actions, by their attitude to the class struggle.

We know full well that in these subjectivist groupings there are revolutionaries who are sincere despite their erroneous positions. We should, therefore, display tolerance with regard to these people, point out their mistakes in

the hope that the development of the anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist struggle will convince them of the error of their ways.

Our Party does not associate itself with any one form of the struggle. We use all forms which it is possible and expedient to use at the given moment. Although we know that the revolution in Panama can win only in a severe struggle against the oligarchy and its allies, that in the final analysis its outcome will be decided by the armed people, we nevertheless cannot turn our back on the other forms of the struggle. Our Party maintains that the only correct line is to develop the mass struggle, to fight actively for solution of the pressing problems. The correctness of this line has been proved by the numerous actions of the working class. The strikes on the banana plantations, for example, set in motion the whole region, impelling the peasants to take a more resolute stand in fighting for their demands. The successful strike in August 1962, the struggle waged by the students for a reform of the university charter and democracy in education, the trade union actions in defense of the minimum wage — all testify to the same effect.

In the course of these actions we educate the working people and prepare them for all forms of struggle likely to be imposed on us by the local reactionaries and imperialism. Our Party cannot choose the path of armed uprising in the way that a customer chooses a hat in a shop. We will choose this path in the event of it being imposed on us by the enemies of the people — the oligarchy and imperialism. But we should be ready to give guidance to the struggle of the working people under any circumstances. It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists not to despair because the revolution has not yet triumphed. Any action prompted by despair can help only the enemies of the revolution, and can postpone its victory. That is why our Party has entered the lists against subjectivism, against views which ignore the concrete conditions of the struggle, the state of our movement, against mechanically copying the experience of other countries. We are concentrating on building a strong mass Party based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

R. CASTELLANOS

Against Sectarianism, For Closer Unity with the Masses

THE Central Committee of the Dominican People's Socialist Party (PSPD) issued a statement on the results of the elections for the presidency and the Constituent Assembly. The statement says that the elections held on December 20, 1962, in anti-democratic conditions and without the participation of the Left parties, resulted in a victory for the Revolutionary Party (PRD) which won the overwhelming majority of the votes. The call to abstain from voting issued by the PSPD, the 14th of June Revolutionary Movement and other Left forces, was not supported by the people.

In the opinion of the People's Socialist Party this was due to:

- preponderance among the Left forces of sectarian views which led to an almost complete rejection of mass work, to loss of contact with the masses and, ultimately, left the masses to the parties contesting the elections;

- lack of understanding among the masses of the undemocratic character of the election campaign and the popular desire to take part in an election without being dictated to by the tyrant, a desire that had long been suppressed. The fact that people had a choice of candidates (although they did not realize that these candidates were in one way or other subordinate to imperialism) was seen by them as "free" elections;

- the striving of the people to express their disgust, through the elections, for the State Council and its party — the National Civic Union.

Although no revolutionaries were nominated, and although the elections were not genuinely free in the sense that the campaign was marked by persecution, violence and suppression of democratic freedoms, at the time of voting the people were able more or less freely to make their choice between the lists of candidates.

The people gave their preference to the Revolutionary Party since they were attracted by its actions against the oligarchy and by its democratic promises.

Whereas the National Civic Union — the ultra-reactionary and anti-national party—resorted to crude anti-communism, reprisals and McCarthy-like intolerance, the Revolutionary Party made skilful use of the demand for a fight against hunger and poverty, promised to distribute state-owned land among the peasants, and to ensure freedom for all.

The interference of the Catholic clergy in favor of the National Civic Union and against the Revolutionary Party boomeranged against the Union and helped the victory of the Revolutionary Party.

The latter is not a homogeneous party — both democrats and reactionaries belong to it. Its backbone is made up of the peasants, but it also includes many other working people — small-holders and office employees. Big land-owners, ranchers and rich traders are also represented. Many of the leaders in the middle levels take a democratic stand on the question of civil liberties.

The victory of the Revolutionary Party does not mean that the class character of the regime has changed or that "the bourgeoisie has lost political power." These claims merely add to the confusion and illusions among the people with regard to the new government, the creation of which was sanctioned by Washington and which even before its inauguration publicly stated its full agreement with the policy of U.S. imperialism.

The reactionary bourgeois-latifundist bloc which dominates the machinery of state and, in alliance with imperialism, controls the national resources, has not been affected in any way by the Revolutionary Party's victory.

The People's Socialist Party declared before the elections and repeats now that the leadership of the Revolutionary Party is neither democratic nor revolutionary. It is doing nothing to solve the national problems. Such problems as abolishing the latifundia, doing away with the imperialist domination or ensuring democracy in the armed forces find no place either in the Party's program or in the statements of its leaders, although these revolutionary measures are basic to overcoming poverty, oppression and ignorance. In other words, the country needs an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

We shall carry on the fight for this revolution, the statement says, and on the way to it we shall develop in every way the struggle for democratic liberties, for the economic demands of the workers and peasants, for all the urgent demands of the people.

One of the immediate tasks of the Left is to organize a mass struggle to make the revolutionary Party honor its election pledges, above all to repeal the fascist law proclaiming an

emergency situation. Mass struggle is the only guarantee that these pledges will not remain on paper.

The Left, the statement goes on, have not a single deputy in the Constituent Assembly. The workers, peasants, students, office employees and all patriots must bring pressure to bear on the Assembly in order to make sure that the new Constitution corresponds to the requirements of the country's democratic development.

We need a Constitution that will ensure extensive democratic rights and full social equality of all citizens, a Constitution that will ban the latifundia and recognize the right of the peasants to the land, the rights of the working people, autonomy of the university and secular and democratic education, and proclaim the principles guiding international relations, etc.

The elections completed the process which was begun by the execution of the dictator Trujillo on May 30, 1961. In this period the political and economic struggles of our people reached a high level, the anti-imperialist awareness of the masses grew, and growing numbers of people realized the need for far-reaching revolutionary changes in our country.

Despite this, however, it is obvious that U.S.

imperialism has secured the election of a docile body following its anti-national dictates and enjoying, at the same time, considerable popular support. The achievement of this imperialist design was facilitated both by the reactionary policy of the State Council and the Right parties and by the sectarian mistakes of the Lefts.

"We are confronted with difficult and important tasks, with new battles for freedom," the statement concludes. "In order to be able to cope with these tasks, it is necessary to put an end to sectarianism, Leftism, and all tendencies isolating us from the masses. The paramount duty of the revolutionaries is to cement their organization, enhance political consciousness, strengthen their contact with the masses, and prepare and organize mass actions.

"We have faith in our people, in their ability to win freedom. We believe in a free and bright future. We are confident of our ultimate victory. With this firm confidence, we call on all Party members, on all revolutionaries and on all patriots to step up united actions against foreign imperialism, against the unemployment and poverty which affect the working people, for the repeal of the repressive laws, for genuinely democratic rights."

Publishing Activity of the Communist Party of Japan

JAPAN is among the capitalist countries where the ruling classes, because of the specific conditions (the large percentage of the population covered by primary education, the high level of printing, etc.), attach special importance to propaganda among the people. According to U.N. figures, Japan is second in the world after the USA for total daily newspaper circulation, and second after the Soviet Union for total number of titles published. Considering that the bulk of these newspapers and books are permeated with bourgeois ideology it is obvious how important it is for the Communist Party to combat this ideology, to offset its influence through its own Marxist-Leninist publications.

It should be noted that until quite recently our Party did not pay sufficient attention to systematic, purposeful publishing activity. Still, from the standpoint of quantity, it cannot be said that our Party lagged behind the other fraternal parties. For example, since the end of the war we have translated most of the works of Marx and Engels, and to date

have put out the first ten volumes of their works. We also completed in 1962 the translation into Japanese of the fourth Soviet edition of Lenin's works. We can say that more works by leading figures of the international Communist movement, books on the history of the fraternal parties, and on a variety of subjects are translated in Japan than in any other capitalist country, and in bigger editions. The Japanese translation of the Soviet manual of political economy published by the USSR Academy of Sciences, for example, sold in nearly a million copies.

The Party's publishing activity is, of course, not confined to foreign literature. It also puts out in big editions books on economics, history, philosophy, aesthetics, pedagogics, etc., written by Japanese Marxist scholars.

But, as noted earlier, the Party's publishing activity was, owing to certain circumstances, anything but systematic and purposeful until recently.

For 23 years before the Second World War the Party had to work in illegal conditions.

That was a time when, to quote Lenin, "the entire illegal press was the Party press."

The situation changed after the war, when the Communist Party gained legal status. But we had to overcome many shortcomings. Our publishing work in the beginning was neither planned nor systematic; it had not become an integral part of Party activity. This, needless to say, had adverse effects. Thus, when some of the Party organizations manifested a Trotskyite and revisionist trend (1956-61) we were confronted with the dangerous situation of some publishing houses, led by Communists and people close to the Party, publishing books and pamphlets supporting the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist elements.

The Eighth Congress of the Party held in the summer of 1961, marked a turning point in our publishing work; thereafter it became an integral part of regular Party activity.

In the period since the Eighth Congress the Party's publishing activity, directed by the Central Committee, has made big headway. *World Marxist Review* has in the past published material telling readers what is being done to improve the publication and circulation of the Party's central organ *Akahata*. We shall, therefore, refer here to other publications. At present the Party puts out, in addition to several other monthlies and weeklies, the political and theoretical journal *Zenei* (Vanguard) in an edition of 40,000-50,000 copies, the journal *Gekkan gakushu* (Monthly Studies) in an edition of 70,000-80,000 copies, the literary journal *Bunka hyoron*, and a new economic journal *Kikan keizai* in cooperation with non-Party Marxist economists. All these journals are winning increasing popularity among the intelligentsia.

The Party is also acquainting the reading public with revolutionary literature. Beginning with 1962 the Central Committee inaugurated a new series *Selected Works of World Revolutionary Literature*. Put out in cheap editions these books acquaint readers with the outstanding works of the revolutionary writers of Japan and other countries. The working people warmly received this series whose circulation has broken all previous records in Japan.

A feature of our publishing activity in recent years is that while enlarging the publication of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, we are at the same time putting out books in which the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism are applied creatively to the specific situation in Japan.

We are publishing in book form articles by

Party leaders, among them Comrade Nosaka, Chairman of the Central Committee, and Comrade Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the Central Committee. In 1962 a three-volume collection of articles was put out under the heading *Revisionism, Trotskyism, and Right-wing Social Democracy*. The collection summarizes, so to speak, the results of the struggle waged by our Party on the theoretical front in the past few years.

In 1959 in connection with the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sen Katayama a number of collected works and articles by past leaders of our Party were put out: Sen Katayama, Masanosuke Watanabe, Shyoichi Ichikawa, Goichiro Kokunyo, Kenzo Yamamoto and others. These books are of great significance in promoting Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking in Japan, in raising the political level of Communists and progressively-minded non-Party working people.

Besides these works the Central Committee publishes books and pamphlets on subjects of direct topical interest, such as: *American War Bases in Japan*, *Torpedo the Japano-South Korean Talks*, *Why Prices Are Rising*, *Capitalist Rationalization*, etc. These publications, which appear in tens, and sometimes hundreds, of thousands of copies and are quickly sold out, play an important role in giving impetus to the mass struggle in our country.

In May 1962 a decision was taken on the importance of independent study; it explained how to study the literature published by the Party, and recommended literature to further the study. In order to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the decision stresses, all Party members should systematically study, in addition to the literature on the Communist Party of Japan and the documents of the international Communist movement, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The decision states:

"Of course, when studying the Marxist-Leninist classics we should not do this dogmatically, that is, simply learn certain propositions by rote and apply them mechanically regardless of time, place and conditions. Marx and Engels themselves ridiculed this practice. We should regard the theory of Marxism-Leninism as a guide to revolutionary action, as a creative science and combine it with practice.

"We should study this literature in its relation to the present time, master the Marxist-Leninist method of thinking, which like a red thread runs through this literature, should learn to apply its universal truths to Japanese reality, to the revolutionary struggle in Japan."

The decision also indicates that popularizing Marxism-Leninism in our country and its creative application should be the main trend in the Party's publishing activity.

Our Party is thus gradually beginning to

cope with the difficult task which Lenin spoke of in his article "The Party Organization and Party Literature," namely, that of organizing extensive and multiform publishing activity closely linked with the Communist movement.

D.O.

Meetings of Central Committees

PARTY OF THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD OF COSTA RICA

THE 2ND extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica, held in February, discussed the report of Oskar Vargas, Secretary of the Central Committee, on the recent congresses of the fraternal parties of Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In the resolution adopted on the report the meeting unanimously endorsed the Party's support of the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and in particular the way in which the Soviet government had resolved the Caribbean crisis when the United States by its blockade of Cuba had brought the world to the brink of a thermonuclear war.

It is the duty of the peoples of the Western hemisphere, led by the working class and the revolutionary parties, to uphold the sacred right of the fraternal people of Cuba to have the social system of their choice.

At the present stage the struggle in defense of the Cuban revolution should be aimed at compelling the U.S. government to give the United Nations the assurance that it will not attack Cuba and that it will accept the five points of the Cuban government.

President Kennedy is calling a meeting of the presidents of the Central American republics on the pretext of examining the "Cuban issue." There is the danger that this meeting will try, in the guise of "integration," to persuade Costa Rica to undertake new commitments that will involve it in the Central American Common Market and that aims at the military and political union of the whole isthmus.

The people of Costa Rica have repeatedly protested against the attempts to force a union of the Central American countries, against "political integration" with the despotic governments that have been foisted on some of the peoples of Central America. Our country realizes that it has nothing to gain from such a union, but has very much to lose. It realizes that its independence and national sovereignty which have been undermined by the growing penetration of North American imperialism in the guise of the Alliance for Progress, are in peril.

The Central Committee resolution denounced the policy of the Orlich government, a policy which runs counter to the interests of peace and serves the more aggressive circles of North American imperialism. Gonzalo Facio, the Costa Rican ambassador to Washington, has virtually become the country's foreign-policy maker and occupies a position that is wholly at variance with the peace-loving sentiment of our people.

The Party calls on all the opposition forces, on all democratic and peace-loving circles in Costa Rica to hold aloft the banner of national sovereignty, and in defense of peace.

The Central Committee supported the view that differences arising in the world Communist movement should be discussed and resolved in a friendly spirit and on the basis of common interests. The meeting was of the opinion that the proper situation should be prepared to hold a conference of the Communist parties.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

A MEETING of the Central Committee of Colombia, held in February, endorsed a resolution outlining a program of mass struggle against the policy of the ruling oligarchy, for higher wages, price controls, nationalization of the oil industry and a ban on the export

of profits, for a genuine land reform, the removal of all restrictions on democracy, and other urgent demands of the people.

Stressing that the ruling classes are bent on intensifying the repressions, the meeting called on the people to resist the policy of repressions

and advanced the slogan of active self-defense in which all forms and methods of struggle, including the most resolute, should be used.

The resolution speaks of the need to establish unity in the working-class movement and among all the democratic forces. "The points at issue are the rallying of the people in all possible forms and the renunciation of such methods as individual terror, for example, which can but detract from the aims and success of the people."

The meeting pointed out that the solution of the Caribbean crisis had demonstrated that global war can be averted by the efforts of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movements, the international working-class movement, all countries opposed to war and all peace champions. "The reasonable solution of the crisis which foiled the designs of U.S. imperialism against Cuba was made possible thanks to the unity and determination of the people to fight to the end, and thanks also to the firm, calm and wise stand of the Soviet government."

A report on the international situation was made by Gilberto Vieira, Political Secretary of the Party. The meeting unanimously approved

the position taken by the delegates of the Communist Party of Colombia at the congresses of the fraternal parties of Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. In a resolution on this question the meeting pointed out that a meeting of representatives of all the Communist parties can be useful for the unity of the world Communist movement only if it is thoroughly prepared. In this sense, the resolution emphasizes, it is essential that the Marxist-Leninist parties support the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which suggested that public discussion of inter-Party differences should be discontinued.

"The meeting of the Central Committee," the resolution says, "warmly greets the international journal *World Marxist Review* which is making an inestimable contribution to the ideological strengthening of our Party. This journal upholds in exemplary fashion the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which in our time are developed in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist parties, and other documents, as well as in the Program of the CPSU."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

A MEETING of the Central Committee of Chile, held in January, opened with a public meeting at which General Secretary Luis Corvalan reported on behalf of the Political Commission. The meeting was held in the biggest theatre in Santiago. The theatre was filled to capacity and television sets were used for the overflow meeting in the adjacent streets. Corvalan's speech was relayed over the radio in Santiago and in the provinces.

It is traditional for the Communist Party of Chile to acquaint the public with the reports of the Central Committee.

Comrade Corvalan announced the Central Committee's decision to nominate Dr. Salvador Allende, Socialist senator, for the Presidency. He called on the Popular Action Front coalition to make a joint statement in support of Dr. Allende and set forth the Party's views on the matter of a people's government. The meeting was addressed by Senator Allende who thanked the Communists for their support and stated that in the event of his being elected President his government would follow an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchy and democratic policy, a policy of revolutionary change.

The subsequent sessions of the Central Committee meeting were addressed by delegations from the central leadership of the Socialist,

National-Democratic, the Radical and National Vanguard parties which, jointly with the Communists, form the Popular Action Front.

The Central Committee members who took the floor endorsed the report and discussed questions connected with the development of the popular movement, the workers' and peasants' actions and the municipal elections on April 7. The outcome of these elections will give an idea of the likely alignment of forces in the presidential elections scheduled for September 4, 1964.

Jorge Montes, a candidate member of the Political Commission, summarizing the discussion, stressed that the Communists will fight for the consolidation of the Popular Action Front, carry on a broad municipal election campaign to rally all the anti-imperialist forces to defeat reaction at the 1964 presidential election.

Comrade Jose Gonzalez informed the meeting about the Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Comrade Manuel Cantero reported on the congresses of the fraternal parties of Hungary and Italy. The Central Committee hailed the successes of these fraternal parties and affirmed the determination of the Chilean Communists to wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against sectarianism, dogmatism and revisionism.

Exchange of Views

The Communists and Democracy

IN THIS ISSUE we begin publication of a summary of our latest exchange of views, on the subject "The Communists and Democracy," held in Prague over January 23-26 with 38 Marxist scholars and functionaries of the Communist and Workers' parties and other organizations from 22 countries participating in the discussion. We believe that readers will be as keenly interested in this seminar as in the previous exchanges sponsored by our journal, for the subject has a direct bearing on one of the fundamental points of Communist policy.

Needless to say, the object of the seminar was not to make an exhaustive study of the problem or to arrive at any final conclusions. The subject has too many aspects to allow of any such finality. Nor was it the purpose of the seminar mechanically to counterpose socialist democracy to bourgeois democracy, without due argumentation, as some propagandists are prone to do. The purpose was to facilitate, by examining certain aspects of the problem, the struggle for democracy which the Communists and their allies are waging at the present time.

The discussion fully measured up to this aim. The first item was a paper by V. Geratana (Italy), "The Struggle for Democracy Is Part of the Struggle for Socialism." The speakers dwelt on the relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism at the present time in the developed capitalist countries; the contemporary conditions of struggle and the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the issues raised in the struggle for structural reforms, which are now the subject of international debate, etc. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries formulate the aims and slogans of democratic struggle in a variety of ways, because of the different situations they are facing, and because of different approaches to situations. But, as the discussion revealed, all the parties agree on the basic premise that the struggle for democracy is inseparable from the struggle for socialism and hence an essential aspect of Communist activity.

Another group of problems was discussed

under the heading "Military Dictatorship and Authoritarian Regimes and the Democratic Perspective in the Economically Underdeveloped Countries;" a paper on this subject was submitted by H. Messouak (Morocco). The importance of this question is obvious, both because it represents largely unexplored ground and because of its complexity. It is related to the problems we have already discussed concerning the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples and their economic development, national democracy, and the fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism, a theme which stood out during the Algerian events and has again been brought to the fore by the recent events in Iraq. The speakers agreed that these problems required special study and that an exchange of views on them was desirable. But attention was nevertheless drawn to these issues and this, no doubt, will prompt Marxist scholars to go more deeply into them.

Two other groups of problems were taken up.

The first fell under the heading "Freedom—Genuine and Illusory." The importance of this theme is self-evident, for freedom of the individual, civil rights, and the relationship between the individual and the state are now in one form or another the subject of controversy on both the ideological and the political plane not only between the Marxists and their class adversaries, but also between the Marxists and their allies, sincere non-Marxist democrats. A paper on this subject was read by S. Ryerson (Canada).

The second group of problems was examined in the paper read by J. Paleckis (USSR) on the subject "Socialist Democracy: Its Achievements and Perspectives" and in many of the speeches from the floor. The speakers discussed the work now under way in all spheres of the socialist society to deepen democracy: greater participation of the people in public affairs, the role of public opinion under socialism, control by the people, the national problem and its solution in multinational states, popular initiative and local government, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the whole people, etc.

Valentino Gerratana (Italy)

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IS PART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

In the practical and theoretical labors of the Italian Communists the question of the relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism occupies a special place, and not only because of the specific national features of Italy. The statement of the 81-Party meeting in 1960 stressed that the entire international Communist movement regards the "struggle for democracy as part of the struggle for socialism." At the same time, however, the approach to the issue in each country is clearly determined by the conditions there as well as by the new balance of forces in the international arena.

Historically speaking this problem arose at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in those European countries where the bourgeois-democratic revolution was still a tangible prospect. But even in those conditions Marxist-Leninist theory never regarded the fight for democracy as a secondary, ancillary task of the revolutionary working-class movement. Although it was the bourgeois social forces which were primarily interested in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, these forces, especially where proletarian-type movements existed, were always inclined to seek compromise with the more reactionary groups and hindered the complete realization of the democratic demands. Hence even in a bourgeois-democratic revolution the role of leader in the struggle for democracy devolved, as Lenin showed, on the working class. Only the working class was capable of carrying this revolution to completion and thereby creating the preconditions for the socialist revolution.

But, when the *development of the one revolution into the other* was in the cards, the struggle for bourgeois-democratic goals, naturally, had to yield pride of place to the more advanced tasks of the struggle for socialism as such. Lenin drew a distinction between these two revolutions but at the same time he saw the link between them and most emphatically criticized those who sought artificially to raise a Chinese wall between the two revolutions. In our time the connection between these two stages of struggle is even more obvious in the case of countries lagging in economic development and which have not yet carried out the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The problem, however, presents itself in an

entirely different light in the developed capitalist countries, where, as in the case of Italy, the possibilities of the bourgeois-democratic revolution have been exhausted since capitalism here has reached its last stage of development—the monopoly-capitalist stage. In these countries economic conditions have matured which make the socialist revolution the only possible revolution, and when we now speak of the struggle for democracy being part of the struggle for socialism, this can no longer be understood as a matter of a simple connection between the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions. New elements of inter-dependence between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism have now to be considered; this is patent from an analysis of the present situation.

The perspectives of the struggle for democracy in Italy in the period preceding the establishment of the fascist regime, were not associated with the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. On the contrary, the working-class movement, proceeding from its critique of bourgeois democracy, placed the tasks of the socialist revolution on the order of the day. The defeat of the working-class movement and the rise of fascism did not abolish the objective need for the socialist revolution in Italy. What happened was that new tasks arose: an organic system of alliances had to be built which would enable the proletariat to become the leading class.

The fight to restore the democratic freedoms destroyed by fascism marked the beginning of this system of alliances; it laid the groundwork for a new bloc capable of enforcing, through struggle, the solution of those economic and social problems which the old ruling classes had proved unable to solve. Naturally, a return to the meagre bourgeois democracy which existed in Italy before fascism could not be the aim of this struggle. The goal set by the Communists was the winning of a democracy which would preclude the revival of fascism and consolidate, extend and guarantee democratic freedoms through reconstruction of the economic and social system.

The result of this policy was a popular democratic revolution which culminated in the Resistance movement and armed struggle, a war for national liberation and a republican constitution paving the way for far-reaching

social changes. The goal in this revolution was not yet socialism as such, but, neither was it simply to resuscitate the old bourgeois democracy; its purport was a *democratic advance towards socialism*.

In these circumstances the democratic and socialist perspectives became intertwined in a single revolutionary perspective. It was a matter not of two revolutions but of a single revolutionary process which, after emerging from the crucible of civil war, could now develop peacefully as a mass movement of diverse political forces based on the alliance of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and urban middle strata.

The Communists proved their ability to lead the democratic movement even after the reactionary turn in 1948 when the old ruling classes, reinforced and encouraged by the onset of the cold war in the international arena, succeeded in splitting the democratic and anti-fascist bloc born of the Resistance movement. This ushered in a new phase of sharp political and strike struggles and broad mass movements for peace and democracy. Neither the violent anti-Communist campaigns nor the gambles embarked upon by the reactionaries could change the conditions of political struggle. Democratic and anti-fascist sentiment and the popular struggle kept the reactionaries within certain bounds and confronted them with one crisis after another. The prospect of the democratic advance to socialism on the basis of the gains of the Resistance movement thus *remained open*.

Italy's economic progress during the past 15 years has accelerated the maturing of the objective conditions for the transition to socialism. This is manifest, on the one hand, in the cumulative growth of state-monopoly capitalism, and, on the other, in the sharpening of contradictions in all spheres of life. Despite the favorable economic situation the antagonism between monopoly rule and the interests of the working class and the broad sections of the people generally is deepening.

The community of interests of all sections of society ground down by monopoly policies provides a firm basis for the democratic movement, which tends to bring together ever new groups of working people on an increasing number of issues.

A number of *features* linking the struggle for democracy today with the struggle for socialism should be underscored.

First. In the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, as we know, class alliances inevitably change, depending on the aims of the two revolutions; in the course of the democratic

advance to socialism, however, the *basic alignments* shaped in common struggle for democratic demands *remain operative all the way to the building of socialist society*. Here is what the theses of the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party say: "In the course of the struggle against the big monopolies and for extending the democratically-controlled state sectors of the economy, co-operation may be established with new social groups—not only with the agricultural laborers and working peasants but also with a substantial part of the producers belonging to the middle strata, as well as with the engineers and technicians and intellectuals generally. Therefore, the working-class strategy of alliances tends to develop on a new, broader plane, and this cannot but leave its imprint on the future as well. Concretely, it may be envisaged that sections of society remote from the proletariat and the poor peasantry may find it possible and necessary to take part in building the new society. The existence of different political parties in socialist society would then become not a tactical strategem but a symptom of a new situation in which different social groups join to build the new society based on labor, on the abolition of capitalist exploitation, on social justice and peace, a situation in which all work together, each in accordance with its own ideological views, to achieve this goal."

This view of a working-class policy of alliances in the course of the democratic advance towards socialism differs fundamentally from the theoretical and political assertions of the reformist ideology of Social Democracy and revisionist opportunism.

It is common knowledge that so far the Social Democratic tactics of discrimination against the Communists and deliberate splitting of the working-class and democratic forces have bolstered up the old ruling bloc of monopoly groups. Communist policy, on the contrary, is aimed at isolating these groups in order to build a new ruling bloc based on the unity of the working class and all the democratic forces.

Under the influence of bourgeois ideology, the ideologists of Social Democracy have produced a paternalist concept of democracy which does not go beyond formally counterposing democracy to dictatorship, a concept that in the final analysis is nothing but sheer cant. The utter hypocrisy of this concept is clearly seen from the fact that it regards as democratic those political forces which, in the interests of the monopolies do not hesitate to curtail freedoms and to encroach on democratic institutions, while call-

ing the Communists undemocratic on the grounds that their theory affirms the principle of dictatorship. Moreover, the point is usually ignored that the scientific meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat is working-class leadership in building the new society, that this leadership presupposes greater democracy for the working masses than any bourgeois democratic system, and that its forms differ, depending on the conditions. In the course of the democratic advance towards socialism through popular anti-monopoly struggle and the establishment of a new ruling bloc, the working class can exercise political leadership in agreement with the other democratic forces and jointly with all its allies.

Another feature of the link between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism is that *democracy can no longer be upheld by defending the existing freedoms and democratic institutions*. In the process of the mass democratic movement the fight for democracy has become a fight for *extending it in all spheres of life*.

"... The political vanguard of the proletariat," the above-mentioned theses of the Tenth Congress point out, "is working for greater political democracy . . . to extend democracy from the sphere of political relations to that of economic and social relations in order to ensure the real equality of citizens. The struggle for democracy may prove fruitless and illusory unless it is waged along these lines . . . The situation in Italy is such that democracy, in order to survive and develop, must embrace the economic structure and pave the way to a unitarian society which would do away with class divisions and place the right of the worker and citizen to be free on a new foundation."

To achieve this, it is essential to wage a struggle all along the line for consistent and gradual economic and political changes, a struggle always aimed at *cementing and building a strong mass democratic movement*. This guiding principle also determines the position of the vanguard of the working class in the event of the reactionary bourgeoisie resorting to violence to obstruct political and social progress. The democratic movement in Italy has successfully resisted on more than one occasion the attempts of the reactionaries to resort to violence. "In all situations," Palmiro Togliatti said at the Tenth Congress, "it has been our line to call the masses to action and to parry the gravest dangers by means of such action. We have always regarded constant close contact with the masses as essential for preparedness to

deal with the gambles attempted by the reactionaries."

In the case of a developed capitalist country like Italy it would be a mistake to harbor illusions that the aggressive capitalist forces can be dislodged from their positions without bitter struggle. But equally ineffectual is the sectarian stand of those who would have the revolutionary vanguard withdraw into its own shell, who would divorce it from the mass movement in the hope that the present conditions of struggle will be changed by some miracle. Lenin's counsel in his *What Is To Be Done?* should not be ignored: "... It is not enough to call ourselves the 'vanguard,' the advanced contingent; we must act in such a way that *all* the other contingents recognize and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard."

Democratic advance towards socialism in the developed capitalist countries makes peaceful coexistence possible; the only alternative to peaceful coexistence is a thermonuclear catastrophe, to prevent which the Communists are obliged to exert every effort. The indissoluble link which today unites the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism joins both of these with the struggle against imperialism and for peace. This is the position of the Italian Communists, a stand borne out by the experience of the Italian working-class movement as well as of the world Communist movement, the line set forth in the documents of the latest international meetings of the Communist parties.

The study we have undertaken in order to delve more deeply into the problem of linking the struggle for democracy more closely with the struggle for socialism (in view of its importance to our practical activity) was prompted by the need to work out solutions corresponding to the economic and political conditions in which we live.

We believe that the same task, with certain modifications as regards political tactics, confronts the Communist parties of the other capitalist countries of Europe. Hence a pooling of experience with them on this score might be useful to all. As Comrade Togliatti said in his report to the Tenth Congress, "the advance towards socialism is a task that arises today in the developed capitalist countries. It is not an easy task, since the advance will take place in conditions differing from those in countries with predominantly agrarian economies and political structures which in many cases had never known democratic institutions. Consequently, such studies should be made and such a line of action worked out as would provide not only for the appli-

cation but also for the enrichment of our theory. It is essential to examine the realities of social life as a whole more profoundly in order to create, in close contact with the working masses, the means for remaking them."

* * *

In the discussion of the first point of the agenda many of the theoretical and practical questions of the struggle for democracy and socialism encountered and solved by the Communist and Workers' parties were examined. Most of these questions were discussed in detail.

The speakers paid particular attention to assessing the crisis of bourgeois democracy which is part of the general crisis of capitalism. They stressed that

MONOPOLY CAPITAL HAS LAUNCHED AN OFFENSIVE ALL ALONG THE LINE AGAINST DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

This offensive takes diverse forms. There is a growing trend towards *curtailing and abolishing the vaunted bourgeois-democratic political and social rights*. Together with the gravitation of the imperialist bourgeoisie towards oligarchic forms of government, the democratic content of the traditional social and political institutions is being emasculated. Efforts are being made to minimize the role of national representative bodies in the life of capitalist society, while there is an inordinate growth in the powers of the executive branch which does the bidding of the monopolies. In many countries the tendency is towards one-man rule.

R. Ballanger

For a long time the French capitalist class confined its offensive against Parliament to curtailing workers' representation. Now it is doing the same to the peasantry and the middle sections. Yet the monopolies feel that even such a sham Parliament is an encumbrance. Therefore, since they are unable to abolish Parliament altogether, they are stripping it of its traditional powers and transferring these to the executive. The monopolies would like to run France much like a capitalist enterprise with its president, directors, administrators, technocrats, etc. With the aid of Gaullist demagoguery they packed Parliament with automatons who have no real influence in the country.

E. Tuominen

The monopoly offensive against democracy has been stepped up in Finland, too, despite the comparatively favorable conditions created for the development of democracy after the defeat of the fascists and their hangers-on in the war. The national issue is the demand that the government submit to the authority of Parliament. The point is that when it comes to upholding their interests the urban working people and the smallholders have every reason to rely more on Parliament than on the government, which turns a deaf ear to many parliamentary decisions that could benefit the working people.

The powers of municipal government have been steadily whittled down in recent years. True, the government has extended the functions of the municipal authorities, but at the same time it has restricted the rights of the councillors to take independent decisions. Recently a law was passed transferring some of the prerogatives of the representative local bodies to state officials. This has strengthened the position of the Rights.

E. Burns

Similar processes are taking place in Britain, the classic land of capitalism and also the classic land of bourgeois democracy, where the long struggle for democratic institutions and democratic rights has established a tradition of democracy which is deeply rooted in the outlook of the working class and progressive movement.

The traditional supremacy of Parliament is undermined by concentration of power in the hands of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, who take decisions without any reference to Parliament. Government intervention in the fixing of wages—the traditional sphere of negotiations between employers and trade unions—has become open since the introduction of the wage-freeze. Legislation against "unofficial" strikes—strikes not approved by trade union leaders—is proposed. The same aim of undermining working-class resistance is followed by the attack on Communists in government employment and on Communist officials of trade unions covering government employees; while under cover of an attack on Communist shop stewards the whole apparatus of shop stewards—the well-established trade union organization in the factories—is attacked by the government, by employers, and by Right-wing trade union leaders.

R. Haks

R. Haks (the Netherlands), pointed to the link between the anti-democratic policy of monopoly capital and the cold war, nuclear armament and anti-communism.

The degradation of bourgeois democracy resulting from the political and economic actions of United States and West European imperialism is now admitted by the very Social Democratic leaders who supported the idea of supra-national bodies, particularly NATO. Their argument was that NATO was needed "to save Western democracy." Now, however, they see that this step and the ensuing arms race have worsened the conditions of the working people and have resulted in the emasculation of democracy.

The so-called democratic character of "supra-national" bodies—the NATO Council and "European parliaments" of various descriptions: The European Coal and Steel Community, the EEC, the Benelux Inter-Parliamentary Consultative Council, etc.—is a fiction. Commenting on these bodies, Vondeling, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Dutch Labor Party, said during a debate: "Over there (in America) on the other side of the ocean they make decisions which we cannot influence in the slightest way, and yet we repeat hundreds of times that parliamentary democracy is firmly established in Holland. The NATO Council," Vondeling continued, "is a farce. Another important body—the EEC—because of U.S. resistance lacks even an 'appendage' of parliamentarians. . . ."

As a result of the action of world imperialism and U.S. imperialism above all, the powers of the national parliaments are being truncated. It is typical of the present situation in Holland, one of the first countries of parliamentary democracy, a country with deeply-rooted democratic traditions, that members of Parliament talk endlessly about the sale of frozen chickens, while the really vital issues are decided by capitalists outside Parliament. NATO, for example, determines the scale of the military budget, the European Economic Community resolves such issues as raising the prices and abolishing the food subsidies as well as production bonuses for the peasants, while the foreign aggressive circles, primarily in the USA and Federal Germany, determine the line of foreign policy.

An extreme expression of the anti-democratic policy of modern imperialism, speakers emphasized, is the tendency in the direction of fascism in the public and political life typical of many

*developed capitalist states, and widespread anti-communism.**

P. Rousos

In Greece one could almost say we have two constitutions—one juridical, designed mainly to deceive the people since its basic articles are trampled upon, and the real one consisting of anti-constitutional laws and acts. In this area of the "free world" Communists are still tried on the strength of Law 375 (espionage act) introduced during the fascist dictatorship of General Metaxas. For the past 15 years the Communist Party has been outlawed, thousands of freedom fighters—men and women who fought against fascism—are in jail, and some 60,000 who fought in the civil war are in exile. The rights and powers of Parliament are being curtailed all the time. Even such a law as the 1962 "Internal Security" Act, directed against Communists and democrats, was adopted not at a session of Parliament but at a meeting of a select committee during the long Parliamentary recess. Prime Minister Karamanlis called for "a revision of the parliamentary concepts of the 19th century," his pretext for this revision is the "new reality created by communism." From this it was but a step to the electoral swindle—"the ballot box putsch"—in October 1961, which prolonged his rule.

M. Schaefer

In order to be able to carry on their policy of preparing a nuclear war, the monopolies in West Germany are gnawing away at the Constitution. Promulgating emergency laws they want to abolish the democratic rights of citizens, replace Parliament with an extraordinary committee, conscript the workers, and use the police and the army against strikers. High treason legislation, abolished after the defeat of Hitler, has been reintroduced, and again includes provisions of the fascist law of 1934. Now as in Hitler's days, chambers for "political crimes" have been attached to the Laender courts, to the Laender supreme courts and to the federal court. The scale on which this machine of political terror operates can be gauged from the fact that as early as 1953, i.e., before the banning of the Communist Party, 1,336 citizens were convicted on charges of "aiding and abetting anti-constitutional associations." The federal prosecutor's office has admitted that by 1960 it had made 14,000 preliminary investigations

*See also materials of the exchange of views on "Anti-Communism—The Enemy of Mankind" in Nos. 8-11, 1962.

on "crimes against the security of the state" (not counting the large number of cases instituted by the chambers of the Laender courts). If the Adenauers were able for such a long time to maintain the impression that their reactionary measures were aimed solely against the Communists, then the action taken against *Der Spiegel* has demonstrated to the millions that the persecution of the Communists marked the beginning of the persecution of democrats generally—peace supporters, opponents of nuclear arming and of NATO, opponents of the Adenauer policy.

Speaking about the ways in which the anti-democratic nature of monopoly capitalism is manifested, speakers emphasized that underlying their variety and the variety of conditions taking shape in the different countries was a *general objective law* determined by the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, a feature of which, as pointed out in the 1960 statement of the Communist and Workers' parties, is growing fascization, the combining of autocratic methods and sham parliamentarianism.

An understanding of the objective link between anti-democracy and the present stage of capitalism is essential in assessing the significance, tasks and methods of the struggle for democracy waged by the working people and their parties. Speakers were unanimous that

FOR THE COMMUNISTS THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IS NOT A PROPAGANDA SLOGAN, NOT A CONVENIENT TACTICAL ARGUMENT IN THE DEBATE BETWEEN CLASSES, BUT A MATTER OF VITAL IMPORTANCE, PART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.

It goes without saying that the *tasks of the struggle for democracy vary from country to country*. For example, the Spanish Communists speak about re-establishing democracy in Spain by undermining the fascist dictatorship by peaceful means; the Greek Communists—about a program of national democratic changes; the Italian Communists—about extending democracy, etc. In the same way, the *relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism* differs in the various countries.

But in all cases, regardless of the variety of forms and meanings, it was emphasized, this struggle is inseparably linked with the struggle for socialism, and the *task is constantly to strengthen and extend this connection*.

R. Ballanger

We in France have always stressed the idea of the founders of Marxism that for the proletariat democracy is the best form of government under capitalism. And, on the other hand, does not socialism mean democracy brought to its consummation, abolition of the exploitation of man by man and an end to social injustice? Communists remember Lenin's words about the mistakes made by those who say that the struggle for democracy can deflect the attention of the proletariat from the socialist revolution or relegate it to the background. And the Communists have always repudiated the view that to advance democratic demands is tantamount to "sowing illusions among the masses."

R. Haks

For the Communist Party the fight for democracy is not something incidental. Since only socialism can ensure exercise of the basic rights and principles of democracy for the people as a whole, it follows that the fight for democracy and against monopoly capitalism is part of the fight for socialism. This fight unites and consolidates the forces which will carry through the socialist revolution, and creates both objective and subjective conditions for the victory of socialism.

P. Rousos

Underestimation of this struggle hinders the winning of both democracy and socialism. Dogmatism and sectarianism, including the claim that the democratic stage of the revolution had long been passed in Greece and that the working class was faced with socialist revolution, together with the Zahariadis personality cult in our Party, was one of the reasons for the defeat of the armed struggle of 1946-49 and also for the further delay in rebuilding the working-class and democratic movement. That is why our Party regards the fight for democracy as a paramount task.

The formation in 1951 of a United Democratic Left Party (EDA) by the Communists, Left Socialists and other democrats was an important factor in this struggle. Originally a coalition, the EDA later developed into a party of democratic forces. These forces established the highly popular newspaper *Avghi*, gained influence in the trade unions and other mass organizations, won seats in Parliament, carried forward the struggle of the working people and other anti-monopoly sections, and regained many of the lost positions.

With the support of the Communists, the EDA and its allies won a resounding victory in the general elections in May 1958 (25 per cent of the votes and 79 seats).

Today the democratic forces in Greece, headed by the working class, are fighting to uphold and extend their gains. They are combating governmental intervention in trade union affairs, fighting for trade union democracy, for the right to strike in those industries where strikes are forbidden. They are asserting their right to hold public demonstrations; the students are a case in point. Abolition of what is known as "domestic exile upon release," the closing of the prison camps, the mass campaign for an amnesty, the release of hundreds of political prisoners, the formal right to publish newspapers and books, and many other things are the gains of the powerful mass struggle.

The scale of the democratic struggle, the active part played in it by the masses and the vanguard role of the Communists were described by other participants in the exchange. Elaborating on the link between the struggle for democracy and that for socialism, they stressed that

TODAY THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY CAN NO LONGER BE LIMITED TO DEFENDING EXISTING FREEDOMS AND INSTITUTIONS. WHAT IS NEEDED IS THE FIGHT FOR THE EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY IN ALL SPHERES OF SOCIAL LIFE.

This question was dealt with at length. One of the points discussed was how to *achieve democracy in the capitalist enterprises*.

M. Azcarate

This point was made, for example, by M. Azcarate who said that the Communist Party of Spain attached special significance to the so-called "workers' commissions" elected by the workers in the factories. The commissions could be the basis for a united trade union center. They are, moreover, an embryonic form of the system of working-class democracy in the factories, a lever for workers' direct participation in solving problems in the enterprises. We maintain that this system, which exists today under the fascist regime, is rooted in the outlook of the workers, and that tomorrow in a democratic Spain it will develop and play an important part.

E. Tuominen

This question was also discussed by E. Tuominen who spoke about the pre-Congress discussion in the Communist Party of Finland on the subject of defending and extending democracy. The problem of democracy at the enterprises was discussed at length. Many examples were given showing that the workers upon entering the factory gates find themselves deprived of all rights; they can be arbitrarily dismissed by the employer; the activity of their representatives and factory committees is obstructed in every way, etc. In Finland a special law provides for workers' representatives and factory committees, there are other labor laws as well, but in practice the workers' rights and the curbs which these laws impose on the employers are valid only where the workers themselves, through their trade union or political organizations, act to uphold their interests.

From the discussion we have had, Tuominen went on, it can be affirmed that one of the most essential and most difficult tasks is to "smuggle" democracy into the enterprises. Needless to say, this bourgeois democracy and its concomitants — democratic rights and freedoms — are, of course, restricted things, yet their recognition in the factories would be a big step forward in the matter of laying the groundwork for further measures and for the fight for democracy and socialism. At the same time, the speaker pointed out, this by far does not exhaust the question of extending democracy under capitalism. The experience of the fraternal parties and pooling this experience will be of great help to us. The more democratic rights and freedoms we win, the better the conditions of the struggle for socialism.

Speakers discussed in detail the *boundaries and the path of the fight for extending democracy in modern capitalist society*. Attention was focused on the following problems:

WHAT IS THE MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR STRUCTURAL REFORMS? WHAT PLACE DO THEY OCCUPY IN THE GENERAL STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM WAGED BY THE WORKING-CLASS PARTIES?

We know that the demand for "structural reforms" appears in the programs of many Communist parties in the capitalist countries, although not all of them use the term suggested by the Italian comrades.

M. Azcarate

M. Azcarate spoke about the section in the Program of the Communist Party of Spain entitled "Structural Reforms." In Spain, he said, this means above all agrarian reform and democratic measures against the monopolies. The latter is of particular significance, since in Spain state-monopoly capitalism has developed mainly under the Franco dictatorship, while the state sector is in many respects in the service of the financial oligarchy. When Spain becomes a democratic country, this powerful state sector could be an instrument for upholding the interests of the people.

Azcarate cited a passage from the Appeal of the Rome meeting of the Communist parties of capitalist Europe, which contains a general assessment of the struggle for structural reforms: "The struggle for democracy demands today a fight to limit the power of the monopolies, and to restrict their domination over economic life and political institutions. Measures for achieving this aim include: nationalization of some monopolized sectors of industry, democratization of the agencies running the public sectors of the economy; development of the initiative and influence of the workers in every aspect of economic life; democratic control in industry and agriculture; implementation of agrarian reforms. . . . These are democratic measures. They do not abolish the exploitation of man by man. But they would limit the power of the monopolies; they would increase the prestige and the political weight of the working class in the life of the country; they would help to isolate the most reactionary social groups and facilitate the creation of an alliance of all progressive forces and strata which are the victims of the monopolies."

A lively exchange of views also took place around the question of the *place of structural reforms in the general struggle of the working-class parties*. The Finnish comrades raised the question of *combining the struggle for structural reforms with the struggle for the immediate demands of the masses*. According to E. Tuominen, the idea of nationalization found no big response among the working class of Finland, since the experience available in this respect, experience associated with the wages policy and the social policy at state-owned enterprises, has proved to be a failure. T. Lehen, another comrade from Finland, spoke about the difficulties involved in winning the middle sections over to the working class with the slogan of struggle for structural reforms. The middle sections care

little about these problems and slogans, they want to fight for their immediate interests and it is this they expect from the working class and its Party.

According to the Italian comrades, counterposing in this way the struggle for structural reforms, and in particular for nationalization, to the struggle for the immediate demands of the working class and the masses is not justified. True, of course, the struggle for the immediate demands directly affecting the masses at large — such, for example, as higher wages, better housing, etc. — is better understood by the people. This struggle, however, will not yield any appreciable results even in the sphere of immediate demands unless we manage basically to change the economic system of the state. Hence our task is to tie up the struggle for immediate demands with the struggle for more general political aims, for structural reforms.

E. Burns

Agreeing with the characterization of the content of the struggle for structural reforms, E. Burns expressed the view that the precise meaning of this term needs to be clarified. The term, he thought, was rather vague from the standpoint of the perspective of the struggle for socialism. Apparently, this term includes nationalization of industry. But can the working class win this through "reform," through democratic institutions? Our experience in Britain, he said, shows that the adoption by Parliament of measures of nationalization followed some 30 years of struggle by the miners and railwaymen. Nor is the word "structural" precise, since these measures of nationalization in Britain have not altered the relation of strength between the monopoly capitalists and the working class, still less the state power of the monopoly capitalists. The term "structural reforms," Burns said, can be misleading in the sense that it can give the impression of reforms that actually change the class structure or nature of monopoly capitalism without working-class power, it can breed the illusion that the accumulation of these structural reforms leads gradually to socialism. It is clear, however, that whatever structural reforms are won the monopoly capitalists are still in power. This view was also shared by T. Lehen.

On the other hand, Burns recalled Lenin's words about the need to find the forms of transition to the revolution, to win the masses for it through their own experience, their own struggle. This, to my mind, he said, is the

basic political significance of the struggle for reforms, whether described as "structural" or not. The struggle strengthens the class outlook of the workers. Of course, the demands for reforms for which the working class struggles will vary from country to country and from time to time. Certainly these demands are different in the situation in Italy from those we put forward in Britain. It is equally certain that the winning of each demand is a measure of the strength of the working class, and that the winning of new democratic rights can give new opportunities for struggle.

In their contributions, the Italian comrades explained the term "structural reforms." They objected to identifying this term with the concept of nationalization, since the latter does not cover all structural reforms (in Italy, Spain and some other countries they also include agrarian reform). On the other hand, the Italian comrades upheld the term "reform" (as distinguished, for example, from "transformations"). We prefer to speak about "reforms," they stressed, because this word conveys best of all the *transient, temporary, unfinished character of these transformations*. For like the British and all other Communists, the Italian Communists have always rejected the idea that socialism can be achieved through reforms. This is a reformist concept, and those who abide by it should be regarded as reformists. On the contrary, we have always criticized and rejected this concept. We do not think that socialism can be achieved by way of structural reforms, but we do believe that as a result of a successful struggle for structural reforms we shall gain important platforms for new struggles. The reformists claim that reforms can lead to socialism, and that upon gaining certain reforms the struggle should cease. Our strategy and tactics derive from the need to win definite reforms in order to make further advances. In this sense it can be said that structural reforms play the role of definite stages in the process of a far-reaching transformation of the entire social and economic system.

The significance of the struggle for radical democratic changes and their relation to the struggle to transform society along socialist lines were discussed by many comrades.

R. Ballanger

Abolition of the one-man rule imposed by the monopolies is the condition for any progress in France today. Consequently, the struggle for socialism, in which issue No. 1 is that

of the power of the working class and its allies, is closely linked with the struggle for democracy. It is in this light that we should regard all problems related to winning democracy, the role of the government and the representative institutions, the organization of the economy, mass control, the social and political direction of government policy.

Democracy should demonstrate that it can satisfy the vital interests of the nation. It must recognize the place of the working class in political life and guarantee its role in the representative bodies and in the government, a role to which it is entitled by right. With this aim in view it is necessary to combat the trusts and the monopolies. And nationalization can be one of the aspects of this struggle. While they do not share reformist illusions about the socialist character of nationalization, the Communists together with all working people insist on active participation in those institutions in which they would be able to uphold the interests of the working class and extend their influence.

A. Avanesyan

The struggle for structural reforms differs entirely from what we call social reformism, stressed A. Avanesyan (Iran). No Communist believes that the winning of structural reforms can of itself lead to socialism. On the contrary, in Italy, where the movement for structural reforms is greatest, we are witnessing an extremely sharp and tense class struggle waged by the working people headed by the Communist Party. For if monopoly capitalism is restricted in one sphere, it operates in others. Moreover, it has at its disposal the machinery of state—the army, police, prisons, etc.

At the same time we should not underestimate the struggle for structural reforms. Putting curbs on monopoly capitalism, this struggle weakens capitalism and creates more favorable conditions for the struggle of the working class for socialism.

M. Schaefer

The struggle to uphold and extend democracy, to repel and ultimately abolish the power of militarism and finance capital, the unity of the working class and an alliance of all the anti-monopoly sections of the people, can bring about a radical change in the composition and functioning of Parliament, can lead to the formation of a government

that will heed the will of the people and rely on the people.

For example, in September 1962, the metalworkers' union in West Germany advanced demands for trade union rights in the factories, for more rights for the production councils and trade union representatives, and for the right to have a say in solving all matters affecting investment and distribution of profits. We support these demands. Some comrades, however, have doubts and say that we share reformist views. But this is not so. We are fully aware that exploitation and capitalism will not be abolished by winning these demands. But we know also that this would extend the democratic rights of the people, curb the power of the monopolies and make the working class the real vanguard of the people.

R. Haks

The democratic demands advanced by the Communists and laid down in our program for extending democracy are not demands for which we must wait for socialism before they can be satisfied. All these points can be realized under capitalism. They do not affect capitalism as such and are aimed at curbing the power of monopoly capital by developing mass actions.

Speakers pointed out that the struggle to extend democracy, and in particular for structural reforms, the wide scope of the anti-monopoly movement under the leadership of the working class, enable the Communist parties to pose in a new way the question of

COMBINING THE PEACEFUL AND NON-PEACEFUL WAYS OF THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM, THE VICTORY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

R. Ballanger

Socialism can be established only by the millions who in their struggle are actuated by their own experience and by the desire to solve the basic problems facing the people. Hence for the Communists revolutionary violence is not an aim in itself. The choice depends not on the working people but on the degree and forms of the resistance offered by the exploiters to the will of the people. In a country with strong parliamentary traditions, like France, for example, there are possibilities for using representative bodies in order to achieve the tasks of the socialist revolution.

Many other comrades similarly assessed the possibility of peaceful development of the revolution. In the new conditions the very connection between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism contains the possibility of peaceful development, stressed the Italian comrades, and the broader the movement, the greater will be the possibility. It is not excluded, however, that the need may arise to choose the non-peaceful way. This can happen in the event of us being forced to meet violence with violence. But even then the development of the democratic movement remains the best way to prepare for the struggle.

M. Azcarate

In Spain, too, the peaceful way is not excluded. The scale of the movement against the Franco dictatorship may lead to the overthrow of the dictatorship in a peaceful way, i.e., without recourse to civil war. This, naturally, does not mean that mass actions will be indecisive, or that there will not be armed clashes wherever the need arises to put down centers of fascist resistance. The peaceful way is the way we want to follow. It may, however, be blocked in the event of an absence of the understanding indispensable for joint action by the democratic forces. In this case the problems and contradictions will sharpen, and the more radical circles in the anti-Franco camp will be compelled to take the path of armed struggle. Our Party, naturally, is not unmindful of this alternative. It is important to stress here that even if armed struggle is forced upon us, our efforts to take the peaceful way will not have been in vain: they help to win more allies to the working class, strengthen the democratic front and weaken the enemy—fascism.

E. Burns

The possibilities of a peaceful transition to socialism in Britain were also taken up by E. Burns. The British Communist Party, he said, as early as 1951 put forward its program "The British Road to Socialism" which expressed the view that the transition to socialism in Britain was possible without armed conflict, unless this was forced upon us by the class enemy. We saw as the essential condition for this development the strengthening of the alliance between a united working class and other sections of working people—an alliance strong enough to defeat the capitalist attempts to bar the way forward. This concep-

tion has been broadly confirmed by the 1957 declaration of the Communist parties and the 1960 statement of the 81 Communist parties.

How do the parties visualize the concrete mechanism of the peaceful development of the socialist revolution?

M. Azcarate

This question was answered by M. Azcarate: The key issue of the revolution, he said, is that of *power*. Consequently, of decisive significance for victory is the creation, in the course of the struggle, of the necessary political conditions for the transition to socialism, conditions that will enable the working class to win state power and use it in order both to overcome the resistance of the exploiting classes and to build the new, socialist economy. The essential thing here is for the working class to be united, to rally around itself the peasants and other sections of society affected by the monopolies and, in this way, become the leading class of society. It is necessary to do everything so that the majority of the population should be able to express themselves in favor of the socialist reconstruction of society and compel the monopoly bourgeoisie to surrender to the will of the people without armed struggle.

Speakers emphasized that the *peaceful way of the revolution by no means implied a simple winning of a majority in Parliament*. The parliamentary road is but part of the distance along the road to socialism, and that only on condition that the struggle inside Parliament is accompanied by a powerful mass movement led by the working class and its Party.

T. Lehen

T. Lehen spoke on the subject of combining parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of struggle for democracy and socialism; a broad mass movement, he said, was indispensable to the peaceful way to socialism. He noted that the program of the Communist Party of Finland calls for using Parliament as a platform in the struggle for socialism, and that it raises the question of having in Parliament the forces capable of introducing socialist changes. But the Party's program, he continued, also stresses that the parliamentary path will be ineffective without extra-parliamentary struggle. This stands to reason for, in order to combat the extra-parliamentary forms of struggle used by the monopoly bourgeoisie against democracy and its measures to intensify bureaucracy, curtail parlia-

mentary rights, etc., the people and the Communists must themselves carry on an extra-parliamentary struggle in defense of democracy and socialism.

L. Gruppi

The Italian Communist Party does not speak about the parliamentary way to socialism. We agree with the comrade from Finland that the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism is the mass struggle and the class alliance formed in the course of the struggle, which exert their influence on parliament. And we do not think that the peaceful way to socialism is simply a matter of the Communist Party or other working-class parties that are our allies winning a majority of votes. This would be a too simplified view of the matter, one stemming from the reformist outlook. It is a question of forming new alliances in the course of the mass struggle that will be able to split the ruling monopoly bloc and establish a new bloc of political forces, capable of shifting the balance in favor of the working class and the hegemony of the working class, and of leading the struggle to the victory of socialism.

P. Rousos

P. Rousos spoke of developing mass united front actions as the best way of bringing about a democratic revolution in Greece. The Communists hold that a democratic revolution can be achieved and consolidated only if it relies on the most consistent forces of democracy and primarily on the working class. The stronger the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the progressive sections of the bourgeoisie, the more widespread will be the struggle for democracy waged by this alliance, and the greater the possibility of carrying out a revolution in Greece without civil war, and of bringing the reactionary minority to its senses in the event of its venturing to unleash such a war. Those who say that the thesis about the peaceful way to socialism is not a revolutionary thesis simply do not understand that the new world balance favoring socialism has made for new conditions of struggle; in fact such people have no faith in the strength of the masses.

Speakers stressed that the decisive factor in getting the mass anti-monopoly movement under way should be

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF CLASS ALLIANCES, THE ABILITY OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS PARTIES TO UNITE THE VARIOUS SOCIAL SECTIONS SUFFERING FROM MONOPOLY OPPRESSION, ON A PLATFORM OF COMMON DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST DEMANDS.

It was noted that the growing concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the monopolies, their reactionary home and foreign policy are creating the *objective conditions for uniting the popular forces in a single democratic front.*

R. Ballanger

R. Ballanger illustrated this on the example of France which at present is a theatre of offensive operations by the big banks and industrial associations to strengthen the state-monopoly character of French capitalism. Operations are being stepped up in the political sphere to establish institutions that will further these aims. Gaullism is clearing the way.

Compared with other industrially developed capitalist countries France lagged far behind. French capitalism, consequently, set itself the task of making good this lag, especially in the sphere of concentration. International competition and the formation of the Common Market made this particularly necessary, and it advanced the watchword: "Cut production costs in order to compete on the world market." Considering that part of the surplus value is lost in the non-monopoly sectors, the monopolies are now concerned with how to rake in the maximum of the surplus value produced, that is, how to abolish in the next few years 800,000 farms, 200,000 small shops and workshops, how to curtail expenditure on public health and education, how to get the necessary labor power with the minimum expenditure, in other words, how to launch an offensive against the peasantry, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and the middle strata, and at the same time deprive them of the means of taking counter action.

This policy is narrowing the political basis which served the monopolies in their struggle against the working class. Matters are complicated for the monopolies by the fact that the idea of communism is gripping the minds of the French working class. The Communists are working to wrest political power from the monopolies, and they therefore regard it their paramount task to win political

allies against the monopolies. That is why the Communist Party supports the demands of the middle sections.

T. Lehen

It is clear to us that the objective conditions exist for forming broad class alliances. The problem is *how to turn the objective possibility into a subjective demand, into a conscious impulse towards unification of all democratic forces.* Matters are made difficult by the fact that bourgeois propaganda is doing everything possible to intimidate the middle sections, the small employers, the intelligentsia and, wherever possible, a section of the working class. It juggles with the definition of democracy, claiming that democracy is impossible without freedom of opposition, and it paints a distorted picture of socialism and communism.

To be sure, the majority of the working class follows us, and many other sections of the population are prepared to cooperate with us on concrete issues. But they are not prepared as yet to accept socialist slogans; they do not see as yet that their interests coincide with the interests of the proletariat. Much remains to be done to persuade our potential allies that the objective conditions for joint action exist, and that such action is imperative.

M. Azcarate

The task is, essentially, to draw up a program that reflects the immediate common interests of the broad sections of the population.

In Spain the dictatorship and the monopolies have put themselves in opposition not only to the working class but also to the peasantry, the small and middle bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, in a word, to practically the whole people. This objective contradiction makes it possible to broaden the sphere of activity of the democratic forces and to make a breach in the bloc which had grouped around Franco during the civil war of 1936-39.

In its fight against sectarian and dogmatic concepts, our Party elaborated the policy of national reconciliation.

Some tried to prove that there was a contradiction between this policy and the Marxist postulate of the class struggle. The reverse is the case: the objective necessity for this policy was prompted by the development of the class struggle in Spain. Our object was to

help the new forces groping towards the struggle against the dictatorship and often blundering in their quest, to align themselves with the struggle for democracy. And we know, on the one hand, how the policy of national reconciliation effectively helped to divide and undermine the ruling Franco bloc, to isolate Franco and his camarilla and, on the other, to bring into being opposition groups of liberals, Catholics, trade unionists, etc.

The Party's program lists the most vital demands of the peasantry, intelligentsia, students, small and middle tradesmen, etc. At the same time the Party is helping these sections to defend their rights, to become organized and to use flexible methods in the struggle against Franco and for their democratic rights.

R. Ballanger

R. Ballanger described how the objective conditions are being utilized to form a broad system of class alliances.

The growing antagonism between the monopolies and other social sections was clearly seen during the last elections in France. In many Departments the Socialist and Communist federations agreed to withdraw their candidates in favor of the particular Socialist or Communist who had the best chance of winning. Our Party took a bold stand in the interests of unity. It not only withdrew our candidates in favor of the Socialists, but also in favor of a Radical, a republican and a clergyman, who had better chances of winning over the candidate supporting one-man rule. The result was that a large number of opponents of one-man rule were elected.

The question of the alliances of the working class, of the latter's attitude towards its allies, the present and future relations between democratic parties which reflect the interests and aspirations of the non-monopoly social sections—all these issues are in the focus of the Party's attention as never before. In 1945 we showed that in conditions where different social categories exist whose interests do not always coincide, it is quite normal, and even necessary, that big, well-organized parties conscious of their responsibility to the entire people should represent, in particular, the economic and political interests of the different social sections and categories. We defined this proposition at our congresses. Thus, for example, the Fifteenth Congress noted that "the national and democratic regeneration of France, like the advance towards socialism, is not the affair of one

party; it necessitates a durable and loyal alliance of the working class, the peasantry, intelligentsia and urban middle class; it presupposes an alliance between the Communist Party and other democratic parties."

We hold that cooperation between the Communist Party and other democratic parties is possible and necessary not only in order to establish a new democratic regime, but in order to achieve socialism ultimately. We believe that in the new conditions, and considering the democratic traditions of our country, close cooperation between the Communist and other democratic parties can accelerate the advance towards socialism.

R. Haks

It does not require any great imagination to understand that the task of curbing the monopolies is not an easy one, especially in our country where the working class is divided. Unity between the Socialists and Communists is absolutely essential before this task can be tackled. Those who raise obstacles of a doctrinaire nature in the way of this unity at a time when the issue is survival and democratic rights for all, are preventing the timely enlistment of all forces in the struggle against the common enemy. Our Party took the initiative several years ago to unite all the workers in the Social Democratic trade union movement. The past years have shown that as a result the relations between Social Democratic workers and Communist workers in the enterprises have greatly improved.

The question of the system of class alliances, which affords the possibility of a peaceful advance to socialism, is intrinsically linked with the question of *organizing the force capable of ensuring this advance*. As other speakers have stressed, the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be the only power in the transition from capitalism to socialism, fully holds true today.

There was a lively discussion on the question:

HAS THE PRESENT SITUATION AND ABOVE ALL THE TREND TOWARDS A BROAD ANTI-MONOPOLY MOVEMENT INTRODUCED ANY NEW FEATURES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT?

Clarifying their idea that under the impact of modern conditions the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat had, perhaps,

changed, the Italian comrades pointed out that what they had in mind was *broadening the social base of the proletarian dictatorship*.

L. Gruppi

At the time of the October Revolution the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the alliance of the working class with the poor and, later, with the middle peasantry. Today in the anti-monopoly struggle for democracy, which is closely linked with the struggle for socialism, a broader system of class alliances is possible. This is what we mean when we speak of a possible change in the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat, bearing in mind our perspective of the transition to socialism.

What does not and cannot change is the leading role of the working class, its hegemony, without which there can be no talk of building socialism.

M. Azcarate

I agree, M. Azcarate said, that at the present time the social base of the working-class leadership of society is becoming broader. But this factor is implicit in Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To illustrate how broad and flexible this concept is one can cite Lenin's words: "The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same: in one way or another, in the final analysis, all these states are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*." The emphasis here is on the variety of forms of bourgeois states, depending in the given instance on the breadth of the social base. And further: "The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms. . . ." Lenin stresses not only the variety but the *abundance* of political forms. Yet their essence is inevitably the same—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently, the idea that the leadership of the working class can be founded on the broadest possible coalition of social forces dovetails precisely with this definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While I can see what the Italian comrades have in mind, I am dubious about the form in which the idea is expressed. And clarity of terminology is rather important in these matters. For us Spaniards "changing the content" does not mean quite the same as "changing the social base." Hence it seems preferable to us to speak of the possibility of

broadening the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to avoid any doubts as to the leading role of the working class in a society building socialism.

A. Avanesyan

Has the content, the substance of the dictatorship of the proletariat changed? Certainly not. It is only the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat that have changed, and may change still more, its social base has broadened and may become broader still.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," Lenin wrote, "is a class struggle waged by the victorious proletariat which has taken the political power into its own hands, against the bourgeoisie which has been defeated but has not been destroyed, has not disappeared, has not ceased to resist and continues to offer mounting resistance. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, peasants, intellectuals, etc.) or their majority, an alliance against capitalism, an alliance for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism, crushing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and its attempts at revival, an alliance aimed at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism."

This means that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the emphasis is laid not on violence, but on democracy. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a higher form of democracy than bourgeois democracy. Its chief purpose is to draw the millions of people into the building of a new society, to carry out fundamental social reforms and to promote the productive forces and cultural progress. As for the element of coercion in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is of a *temporary, compulsive* nature conditioned by violence on the part of the capitalist camp.

At the very beginning of the revolution the Bolsheviks raised the question of broadening the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in particular the question of establishing a multi-party government. The first Council of People's Commissars, it will be remembered, included besides Bolsheviks, Left Social Revolutionaries, who subsequently took the way of counter-revolutionary conspiracy and were rejected by the people. The experience of the USSR can serve as an example of the logical development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We know that today

the USSR is moving toward a state of the whole people; this means that the proletarian dictatorship has ceased to be indispensable in that country. The state of the whole people is one that prepares the ground for the withering away of the state altogether.

Today the balance of forces in the world is changing in favor of socialism, democracy and the national revolution. And there is no doubt that in the present circumstances the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be much broader than before.

It has been asked here why the Marxists rarely use the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" nowadays. The answer is that although the "dictatorship of the proletariat" remains valid as a scientific and political concept, the term calls for explanation. The sanguinary dictatorships of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Salazar and of many Asian despots have aroused the deep hatred of millions everywhere. Terms like democracy are understandable and appeal to many among the peasantry, artisans, tradesmen, and middle sections.

Add to this that our enemies have for years distorted the meaning of the term "proletarian dictatorship." Moreover, the evils of the personality cult played into the hands of our enemies. We Communists stand and always have stood for the fullest democracy; our mission in life is freedom, national independence, and socialism, ideas which rally to the ranks of the champions of peace and progress hundreds of millions of working people from the most diverse sections of society.

S. Dernberg

The experience of the GDR was cited by S. Dernberg as a practical example of broadening the social base of a proletarian state. Of course, he said, our revolutionary development has its specific features. It began, as you know, with the military defeat of fascism, and today we are examining the question of the movement toward socialism in peaceful conditions. Nevertheless despite all these features, our experience is, I think, of interest.

During the period of democratic reconstruction and the building of socialism the alliance of the working class with the whole peasantry was carried out in practice. Farmers who previously had exploited farm laborers were given the opportunity to join producers' cooperatives. The middle strata in the towns were drawn into the building of

socialism — this was especially important in German conditions where, according to the 1945 figures, these strata outnumbered the peasantry. Incidentally, today in West Germany and in some other capitalist countries the proportion of these sections to the total population is higher still.

Does this, however, give grounds for saying that the content of the proletarian dictatorship has changed? It would perhaps be more correct to say that the social base of the proletarian dictatorship has broadened.

In Lenin's writings we find many references to the fact that basic to the dictatorship of the proletariat is a close alliance of the working class with the petty bourgeois sections of the population, the enlistment of their cooperation in building socialism. In Russian conditions the petty bourgeoisie was chiefly confined to the peasantry, and in view of the bitter class struggle the working class was able at first to ally itself only with the poorest section of the peasants and later, with the middle peasants. This was conditioned by the situation in which the October Revolution of 1917 took place. Today the conditions are shaping which make it possible to extend the social base of the dictatorship. But this does not mean changing its content.

Is the dictatorship of the proletariat a timely slogan today? In this connection I should like to describe briefly what happened in the GDR. Up to 1953 no mention was made of the dictatorship of the proletariat in any of our official documents. Subsequently too the term figured rarely because we use it mainly as a theoretical concept. At the same time we put forward the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government as a synonym for the theoretical concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Incidentally, Lenin himself posed the question precisely in that way on more than one occasion.

In formulating the functions of the socialist state (for example at the Second Conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in 1952) we deliberately laid the accent on organizing the building of socialism and educating all strata of the population in the spirit of socialism. This, too, is not new; Lenin stressed time and again that the dictatorship of the proletariat was not only and not so much an instrument of coercion as an expression, as he put it, of a new labor discipline.

The problem of the proletarian dictatorship as applied to the developed capitalist countries (like France and Italy) was discussed also by J. Arnault (France).

J. Arnault

This question, he said, is frequently posed by our allies, who expect us to give them some sort of guarantee for the future. After all, the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" is violently attacked by the reactionaries, and their propaganda is not altogether ineffective inasmuch as the word "dictatorship," in the French language at any rate, has a derogatory flavor. Some attempts have been made to use a different term. For example, in reference to the writings of Gramsci, it has been asked whether it would not be better to substitute the term "hegemony" for "dictatorship."

In our view, however, these two terms do not mean the same thing. Hegemony applies primarily to the question of leadership, whereas the dictatorship of the proletariat—in an aspect of it that assumes a particular significance in the given instance — poses the problem of coercion, coercion with regard to those who resist the social reconstruction. Indeed, any social development which implies the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and exchange necessarily implies resistance on the part of the capitalist owners. This is what always happens, and we do not think that at the present time this element can be questioned. The capitalists are bound to resist. But coercion can be either violent or non-violent. As an example of non-violent coercion one could take, say, electoral laws. An electoral law is one of the instruments used by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to combat the forces rising against it. The proletariat can also promulgate an electoral law which would narrow the political base of the monopolies—such a law would be a component of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I shall cite an example to make my point clear: On February 8, 1962, during the anti-fascist demonstrations in Paris, eight people were killed — seven members of the Communist Party and one member of the General Confederation of Labor. Five days later one million Parisians attended the national funeral. On that day the people, without using violence of any kind, calmly and quietly took over the streets of Paris. There was not a single policeman in sight. The people of Paris on that day exercised coercion, but because it was exercised by force of numbers it was peaceful. Incidentally it was on that day that the monopoly government decided to put an end as quickly as possible to the war in Algeria.

On the other hand, there is such a thing

as coercion through the force of arms. And it is clear that the use of violence depends on the resistance offered by those who stand to lose by progress towards socialism. Force used against such resistance has a democratic content—democracy is not necessarily the antithesis of coercion.

Whether coercion under the dictatorship of the proletariat is peaceful or non-peaceful, in our opinion, depends mainly on the extent of the popular participation in the social reconstruction or, in other words, on the popular consent to these changes. Hence insofar as the policy of the monopolies makes it possible to assume that the base of the popular consent to the anti-monopoly socialist transformation will expand, it can be assumed that the dictatorship of the proletariat established in the struggle against the monopolies will take different forms from that which it took in the first socialist countries.

We have other grounds for believing that the form of dictatorship may differ from previous periods, as the Italian comrades have suggested: this is linked with external conditions as well. There can be no doubt that the policy of peaceful coexistence creates new possibilities in this sphere as well. In France, for example, the division between Socialists and Communists, which signifies a retreat for democracy and for socialism, is always associated with international problems—in 1938 it was Munich, in 1948, the "Marshall plan." The Communist Party is attacked far more often for its stand on foreign-policy issues than for its demands in the economic or social spheres. To "isolate" the Communists, currency is given to catch phrases of the type of "The Communists are not on the Left, they are in the East." And it is clear that rapprochement with the Socialists in France is facilitated by the policy of peaceful coexistence, that peaceful coexistence helps the struggle for socialism.

The concept "dictatorship of the proletariat" is directly linked with the Marxist-Leninist principle that the working class is the only truly revolutionary class. To abandon the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" would be tantamount to abandoning that principle. The Communists cannot do this. The problem of the proletarian dictatorship as it stands for us in the capitalist countries is a problem of the prestige of the working-class party, a problem of the recognition by our allies of the correctness of the working-class party's standpoint, its ability to solve the vital problems of social development.

The question of linking the struggle for democracy and for socialism with the strug-

gle for peace was discussed by P. Rousos, J. Arnault, M. Schaefer and other speakers.

* * *

The participants in the exchange then heard a report by Hadi Messouak (Morocco) on

military dictatorship, authoritarian regimes and the outlook for democracy in the economically underdeveloped countries.

The discussion will be continued in our next issue.

Reviews

Experience of the German Peasantry

AGRICULTURAL problems occupy a prominent place in the theory and practice of the Marxist-Leninist parties. These are problems of vital interest to the peasantry, the chief ally of the working class.

Party policy on the agrarian question is called upon to find, in the course of the building of socialism, a solution for the complex problem of the voluntary transition of the peasantry from small-scale farming based on private ownership to large-scale socialist agricultural cooperatives.

Lenin, as we know, regarded the cooperative as the surest means of ridding the peasant of exploitation and winning him for socialism. For Lenin the voluntary principle was the guarantee of success, and he counselled that the transition should be carried out by stages.

The success of agricultural cooperation in the German Democratic Republic, carried out under the adverse conditions of a divided Germany and an open frontier with the imperialist camp, is further confirmation of the soundness of Lenin's counsel. The Socialist Unity Party worked out forms of land tenure which enabled all sections of the rural population, including the well-to-do peasants, to participate in building socialism.

The Party's agricultural policy since 1945 is reflected in speeches and articles by Walter Ulbricht, and published recently in Berlin by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in two volumes under the title *The Emancipation of the Peasants in the GDR*.*

A turning point in the life of the peasants on the territory of what is now the GDR was reached in 1945 when the Soviet Army liberated the German people from Hitler fascism.

At this time the Communist Party was the only Party in Germany which pointed the way

out of the catastrophe brought upon the country by fascism. The way out lay in the extirpation of fascism and militarism. The appeal issued by the Central Committee of the Party on June 11, 1945, called upon the masses to carry through the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end and to establish an anti-fascist democratic system. One of the main tasks at this stage was the implementation of a democratic land reform.

On September 3, 1945, the administration of Saxony, with the participation of Walter Ulbricht, decided to carry out a land reform based on a law drafted by the Political Bureau of the Party. This law provided for the expropriation, without compensation, of land belonging to war criminals, to those men responsible for the war, to active Nazis, and of all estates and holdings in excess of 100 hectares.

This, then, was the pattern set for the land reform which was carried out rapidly and democratically throughout what was then the Soviet zone of occupation. Some three million hectares were distributed among the land-hungry peasants and agricultural laborers. The reform changed the social structure of the countryside. Junkers and big landowners disappeared, and the small and medium-sized peasant cultivators became the main groups in the countryside, cultivating the bulk of the land. Thus freed from exploitation and oppression, the peasants, with the help of the industrial workers and their own mutual aid organizations, set to work to develop their farms. Matters were greatly helped by the establishment of machine-and-tractor stations, equipped with new agricultural machinery.

The land reform provided a solid foundation for the worker-peasant alliance which was now the cornerstone of the anti-fascist democratic system. However, with the evolution towards socialism, the consolidation of the worker-

*Walter Ulbricht, *Die Bauernbefreiung in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, Vol. I. (February 1945-June 1958), 1961, Vol. II (July 1958-December 1960), 1962, 1,619 pp.

peasant government and with the greater influence exerted by the socialist sector in industry, the time was ripe to lay the foundations for socialism in the countryside too. Contradictions had emerged which could not be solved on the basis of individual farming.

The Party pointed the way to the elimination of these contradictions. At its Second Conference in July 1952, the Party advanced the thesis that now that worker-peasant power had been firmly established, the task was to go ahead with the building of socialism. For agriculture this meant guiding the individual peasants along the road of producer cooperatives—the road already taken by the more advanced farm laborers and peasants. This signified the first steps toward removing the barriers to the use of modern machinery and scientific methods in agriculture, signified the beginning of the final stage in liberating the peasantry from the shackles imposed by capitalism.

In many speeches and articles (more than half of the first volume deals with problems associated with the establishment of the producer cooperatives), Ulbricht shows how the peasant cooperators succeeded by their selfless labor in laying the foundations for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

This was a complex process and its course was far from smooth. Erroneous and even hostile views had to be overcome, including the view that expanded production for the market necessitated the individual cultivator, the capitalist-type "family" farm.

The Fifth Congress of the Party in July 1958 called for a big increase in agricultural production; members were urged to explain the targets for each village and, by way of example and persuasion, to win over more and more peasants for socialist farming. That same year (1958) gross production in the producer cooperatives increased by 31.8 per cent, while that of the individual farms rose by only 2.2 per cent. It became obvious that cooperation was the sure way to increase marketable output, that the key to a solution of the agricultural problem lay in complete cooperation.

The 7th meeting of the Central Committee in December 1959 critically assessed the state of agriculture and set the sights on freeing the productive forces of the survivals of individual farming. The Party showed that there was a direct connection between the efforts to safeguard peace, which had become the paramount issue in the German question, and the consolidation of socialism in the GDR, of which the

socialist reconstruction of agriculture was an important element.

At the beginning of 1960 more than 250,000 peasant families opted for cooperative farming. Socialist farming now accounted for an area of 2.5 million hectares.

In his report to the 8th meeting of the Central Committee (March 30-April 2, 1960), Walter Ulbricht was able to announce that "in the German Democratic Republic the peasantry has now been entirely freed from exploitation. With the establishment of cooperatives throughout the countryside, the sources nurturing capitalist relationships and the exploitation of man by man no longer exist. There are no longer antagonistic classes in the German Democratic Republic. The state rests on the solid foundation of the alliance of the working class and peasantry, the intellectuals and other sections of the working population. We have workers and peasants — two friendly classes. The peasantry, an exploited class in capitalist Germany, has evolved into a class of peasant cooperators. And these peasant cooperators take part in running their worker-peasant state on terms of complete equality."

The full development of socialist production relations and the elimination of rural backwardness through smooth and efficient cooperative farming now became the main tasks in agriculture. Much of Ulbricht's writing is devoted to these problems and to the general line of the republic's policy in agriculture.

He stresses the need for greater assistance to the new cooperatives and for cementing the worker-peasant alliance with a view to the cooperatives being run scientifically with the use of the latest techniques. He also emphasizes the importance of mutual aid.

Ulbricht's work shows that the creative application of Lenin's Cooperative Plan enabled the Party to take the peasantry onto the highway of social progress. The Party has steered the peasants toward the goals which, led by the working class, they were capable of achieving at the given stage and which served the needs of society. At the same time, it has drawn on the rich experience of the international working-class movement, and primarily the Soviet Union. It has accumulated the knowledge and experience which enable it to carry out its tasks. This experience, which is recorded and generalized in Ulbricht's writing, will, unquestionably, be of interest to other Communist and Workers' parties. It is of considerable value also from the standpoint of political theory.

Anne ANWEILER

“Democratic Socialism” Is the Same Old Capitalism

THIS book* by Douglas Jay, a Right-wing Labor theoretician, is yet another attempt to “refute” Marxism for the ten-thousandth time.

Jay sets out to deal with contemporary world problems—the question of peace or war, of the equitable distribution of wealth both within and between nations, and the problems facing the British people—from the standpoint of “democratic socialism.” Fundamental to Jay’s approach, therefore, are the latest “discoveries” of twentieth century “democratic socialism.” These are that capitalism has changed out of all recognition and that the evils of capitalism can be eradicated gradually, bit by bit, within the framework of capitalism itself.

Thus, all the problems are seen as purely technical ones, all of them soluble by rational adjustment alone and totally outside the framework of the interests of different classes and of class contradictions. “Intelligent planning”—a phrase that occurs constantly throughout the book—is the answer, planning in a class vacuum.

In order to make his reformist theses more creditable Jay has first of all to attempt to discredit Marxism as a scientific theory on which the practice of the Labor movement should be based. He charges Marxism with having confused the Labor movement with a whole series of “far-reaching and long enduring errors” (p. 34). Among these are “the iron law of wages” which Jay fathers on Marx as if the famous controversy with Lassalle had never taken place, and also the theory “of increasing misery” and, of course, the labor theory of value.

Having presented a false and distorted picture of various aspects of Marxist theory and declared (equally falsely) that “time and criticism have riddled them with holes” (p. 58) Jay’s dislike of Marxism finds expression in the biggest falsehood of the book: “Marxism has been one of the greatest enemies of socialism” (p. 58).

What, after all, is socialism and where does it exist? Active fighters in the Labor movement have always understood by socialism the ending of the political and economic power of the capitalists, the replacing of capitalism

by a system whose main economic feature would be—in the words of Clause Four of the Labor Party Constitution—“the common ownership of the means of production.” Socialism has been established only in those countries where the working class and its allies, the working people, follow the leadership of the Marxists, the Communists. In those countries where the Labor movement has been, and is, dominated by Right-wing leaders like Jay, the advance of socialism has been delayed, there capitalism has been given a new lease of life.

Jay’s next task is to try to confuse his readers about capitalism, above all to try to eradicate the idea that the fundamental basis of capitalism is private ownership of the means of production. He attacks the validity of the word “capitalism.” “The word ‘capitalism,’” he writes, “begets endless confusion of thought, precisely because it is never clear whether it means private ownership, free exchange or both” . . . (p. 21).

Confusion of thought in whom? That most respectable authority on the meaning of words —“The Concise Oxford Dictionary” defines the word “capitalism” as “. . . dominance of private capitalists (opp. *socialism*).”

And this is precisely the point. The dominance of private capitalists is ensured both in the “private” and in the “public” forms of ownership in capitalist countries which Jay wants to counterpose to one another, the latter form serving the interests of the monopoly capitalists above all, as the experience of capitalist nationalization in Britain proves.

Again and again Jay keeps repeating that ownership of the means of production is not important. “. . . it is the process of free exchange, and the institution of private inheritance, not the ownership of the productive assets” which is the main source of social inequality (p. 21). But what Jay calls “free exchange” derives from the private ownership of the means of production and it is precisely the fact that a tiny minority owns the bulk of the means of production and appropriates the surplus value produced when the workers operate them, which is the cause of social inequality.

Having thus “dealt” with Marxism and “capitalism,” Jay proceeds to the problem of war

*Douglas Jay, *Socialism in the New Society*, London, Longmans, 1962, pp. 414.

and peace. Here he emerges as a cold-war propagandist.

Not a word about the growing menace to peace from the Bonn revanchists; not a word in criticism of the aggressive war policy of the Western Alliance led by the USA. On the contrary, NATO and the H-Bomb are lauded as factors helping to preserve peace, and Jay is emphatic that they must be maintained.

Peace and disarmament, according to the Jay recipe, can be secured not by business-like negotiations and by working genuinely for peaceful coexistence, but by world government. As a step to this end the power of the veto in the U.N. should be relinquished by the great powers. It does not require much imagination to see that in the existing circumstances, this proposal amounts to asking the socialist countries to place themselves at the mercy of an international authority which would be dominated by the capitalist countries.

In the second half of his book Jay turns to full employment and economic growth, social justice, types of social ownership and political problems in Britain. Here the reformist case against socialism is presented with arguments borrowed 100 per cent from Keynes.

Slumps and unemployment, it appears, can be overcome by the application of the Keynesian technique—the “redistribution of income,” which, he asserts, can not only assist in economic expansion but eliminate social inequality—all this without ending capitalism itself.

Jay grows lyrical about the results which will accrue from the application of these “fiscal means—mainly progressive taxation.” “The whole basis of society and social relationships can be transformed. . . .” (p. 273).

Before dealing with this deception about what is really involved in changing the whole basis of society, it is pertinent to ask the following question: even if Jay's recipes are workable, where is the Social Democratic Party which is today proposing to find the money for reforms in health, education, social insurance, etc., by soaking the rich, by imposing heavy taxation on inherited wealth, really severe taxation of profits and capital gains? Certainly not the Labor Party, which in its policy statement—*Signposts for the Sixties* says that an all-in system of social insurance cannot be obtained “merely by soaking the rich and imposing fresh taxes on the employer.” It can only be secured “if those of us still at work are ready to make sacrifices to this end.”*

But even if it were, how can it be imagined that the taxation of wealth and the kind of

“redistribution of income” that Jay proposes will be sufficient to maintain full employment and consistent effective “money demand,” especially within the framework of an “economy” in which, as Jay emphasizes repeatedly, private enterprise must continue to play a big part? Taxation of the kind he outlines will not eliminate capitalism, for a taxed capitalist remains a capitalist, and—as life has shown—it is the capitalist system of production for profit which is the cause of slumps.

How does Jay reconcile his thesis that “the old cycle” had nothing to do with ownership of the means of production, with the fact that there have been four recessions in the USA since 1945 and with the equally well-known fact that unemployment has been unknown to the Soviet Union?

The essential reformism of Jay's outlook is emphasized in the last part of the book. Here he is discussing types of social ownership and the political situation in Britain. He is very much against wholesale nationalization of the key sectors of the economy. He is all for “variety” of approach. Profit is not immoral. “Absence of private property is also a denial of freedom” (p. 290). The way to secure all the blessings of Jay's Utopia is the mixed economy and the shareholder state with private ownership of the means of production and profit as the aim of production, remaining intact.

The proposal dearest to Jay's heart is the advance to the shareholder state. The state buys shares, especially equity shares, in private industry and the “community” gaily and steadily shares in the acquisition of capital gains. This is a “practical form of socialism” (p. 277). The state is not to control the firms in which it buys shares. It is only to invest in them and draw the profits and dividends.

But this is a scheme to strengthen capitalism, not to weaken it. It will perpetuate private ownership of the means of production—the source of slumps, unemployment, social inequality. In the final section Jay tries to explain why the Labor Party has lost three general elections in a row and what must be done to improve the situation. He repeats Labor's official “estimate” of the 1959 election results as being due to the fact that big sections of the working class in the Midlands, London and the South turned away from Labor to the Tories because they were “prosperous” and that white collar workers and young voters turned away from Labor because of its “class image” as a party of the worker in the “cloth cap.”

He asserts that workers no longer wish to be regarded as “working class.”

**Signposts for the Sixties*, p. 27.

All this is aimed at trying to cover up the fact that the Right-wing leaders of the Labor Party, by abandoning a working-class policy especially on the issue of peace, have alienated big sections of their supporters.

Jay sees the way forward as he did after the 1959 election. This is the abandonment of a specifically working-class policy by the Labor Party and its transformation into something like a Liberal Party. "The Labor Party . . . must be a national party . . . and not tied to any section, group, 'class,' action or anything else. Even the notion of 'all the workers by hand or brain' is too narrow . . . the party must be up-to-date and recognize society to be what it is today and not what it used to be 30 years

ago" (p. 389).

All this adds up to transforming the Labor Party into an instrument of support for capitalism "as it is today."

This outlook is the basis for the Labor Party election disasters over the past ten years. It is the theoretical foundation of the policy of the Right-wing leaders, a policy more and more indistinguishable from that of the Tories. It is the outlook and practice which can destroy the Labor movement.

The way forward is to intensify the struggle against the whole of this reformist ideology expressed so clearly by Jay and the practice of class collaboration to which it gives rise.

Jack COHEN

Communications and Comment

For Real Independence for Haiti

(Letter from Port-au-Prince)

THE People's Unity Party of Haiti is waging a struggle for liberation from feudalism and imperialism.

The people of Haiti have a long history of struggle. At the beginning of the 19th century they were one of the first in Latin America to throw off the colonial yoke and proclaim their independence. But they did not win complete independence. There began the intensified penetration of foreign capital, especially North American, which regarded Haiti as an important strategic point. Between 1847 and 1915 U.S. warships entered Port-au-Prince on numerous occasions on the pretext of "maintaining order." In 1915 the USA occupied Haiti and established its military, political and economic control there. During the occupation U.S. marines brutally suppressed the actions of the people against foreign domination. In 1934 the United States was compelled, under the pressure of the national liberation struggle, to relinquish its occupation of the country; it retained, however, its economic and political foothold.

Shortly after our country obtained its independence in 1804, some of the people who led the struggle for liberation, together with some of the slaves who had been emancipated before the abolition of slavery began to occupy the land abandoned by the French colonialists.

An end was put to the colonial and slave-owning system, but a new one took its place in the shape of feudalism. Before long the tillers of the soil, the former slaves who had shed their blood for the independence of their country, were in bondage to this feudal minority. And as is inevitable in every feudal society, rival groups began a bitter struggle for power. The peasants became involved in a fratricidal war. It should be noted that since the end of the 19th century the feudal lords have repeatedly appealed to the colonial powers for support.

At the beginning of the 20th century, with the penetration of foreign capital into Haiti, the economic structure of the country began to change. Industrial enterprises appeared and with them a young working class. In the countryside, however, the picture remained the same: the feudal lords continued to hold sway over the vast mass of land hungry peasants.

Then in 1917 came the October Revolution in Russia the reverberations of which reached Latin America. In 1934 at the time of the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle Jacques Roumain, the famous Haitian writer, founded the Communist Party of Haiti. But at that time the comrades had not adequately assimilated the fundamentals of Marxism-Len-

inism. This prevented them from coping with the problems which faced the Communist Party at the time. As a result the Party soon disintegrated. The beginnings, however, had been made.

Among the political parties formed in the country in 1944-45 were the Communist and People's Socialist parties. Both declared their adherence to Marxism. Later, the leaders of the Communist Party, influenced by "Browderism," declared that there was no need for a Communist Party in Haiti, and to facilitate things for the government, they dissolved the Party.

The People's Socialist Party for its part began to incline towards the bourgeoisie, to serve its interests, thereby betraying the interests of the proletariat. It took a Rightist stand, and as a result many of its activists and rank-and-file members resigned from it. Thus the People's Socialist Party suffered the fate of the many other parties that failed to pursue a correct policy: it fell to pieces.

Meanwhile, the dictatorships that succeeded one another continued to pursue a reactionary pro-American policy.

In September 1957, when Duvalier, the present President came to power, the dictatorial regime was intensified. All left publications were suppressed and all political parties banned.

In 1959 the People's Unity Party was secretly founded by Jacques Stephen Alexis, who is at present in prison, together with other comrades, trade union leaders and workers.

Our Party analyzed the failures and shortcomings of the previous parties and drew the necessary lessons. This enabled it to draw up and publish its first document, the *Manifesto of New Independence*.

In effect, Haiti had to win a new independence. Although the country secured political independence at the beginning of the 19th century, it had not achieved economic independence. The Manifesto proclaimed that the Unity Party is fighting against the domination of the latifundists and North American imperialism in our country, and for a society completely free from exploitation; it pledged to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism in Haiti.

The Manifesto outlined the perspectives of the struggle; the Party, it said, is the Party of the working class and the working people generally. It stated that precisely because "they have no private interests running counter to the interests of the nation," the working people must take the leadership of the anti-

imperialist and anti-feudal struggle into their own hands.

The U.S. imperialists and the Duvalier dictatorship, naturally, saw the Party as enemy No. 1, and repressive measures were taken against it.

The Church, for its part, is also sparing no effort to invoke censure upon our Party. The Catholic journal *La Phalange*, writes about the "Communist danger" in the country. In the drive to counter the influence of the Party, several Catholic organizations were formed, which mobilized young Catholics to work among the peasants.

In face of the growing influence of Marxism-Leninism, especially among the youth, a group of Catholic priests have formed a special organization known as the Young Man's Library. This organization is more than just a library. It arranges lectures on Marxism and personalism. The priests put out a journal in which they uphold personalism and diffuse its ideas. The journal's line is that there is something to be said for Marxism, but it is "outdated," it "ignores" the individual. Some of the young people who attend these lectures take issue with the priests, but since the latter enjoy all the facilities they are able to continue their propaganda.

At present our Party is explaining to the people the meaning of the policy of the Duvalier government and of American imperialism, denouncing the anti-national and reactionary nature of this government, its anti-democratic methods of rule.

In order to understand the conditions in which the Party has to carry on its struggle a few words should be said about the situation in the country. The real government is the apparatus of coercion. Nearly two-thirds of the budget is spent on the upkeep of the army and the secret police. The President rules through his secret police which consists mostly of criminal elements, people without honor whom he calls "public security volunteers." Known among the people as the Ton Ton Macoutes (the evil spirit in Haitian folklore), these police are a veritable legion of spies and cutthroats who have created an atmosphere of terror. They break into the homes of "enemies of the regime," seize people on the street and sometimes kill them on the spot. Hardly a month passes without the government announcing the discovery of a "conspiracy" and, on this pretext, throwing innocent people into prison. People who do not agree with the regime disappear overnight, without a trace.

In April 1961 Duvalier dissolved the two chambers of parliament and ordered that they

be replaced by a one-chamber assembly of 58 deputies.

The general election held in April 1961 was a swindle. Fifty-eight candidates, all supporters of the President, were nominated, and the people were instructed to vote for them. At the same time, by the simple expedient of printing "François Duvalier—President" on the ballot papers, the dictator announced that he had been "elected by the will of the people" for another six-year term, although the Constitution does not permit a second term of office. That is how the new Parliament and President—another champion of the "free world" in the Western hemisphere—were "elected." Even the *New York Times*, commenting on the election, made the rueful admission that the history of Latin America knew of many falsified elections, but never had witnessed the shocking machinations that took place in Haiti.

After Duvalier had "re-elected" himself for another six years, the United States began, chiefly through its press, to express "dissatisfaction" with Duvalier's policy, for the latter not only freely disposed of human lives but also of private property (this refers to the "donations" which some industrialists are compelled to make to promote Duvalier's plans), which in the eyes of the North Americans was much more serious and interfered with "normal business activity." The United States took a number of economic sanctions against the Duvalier government with the object of compelling it, as they put it, to carry out certain "liberalization" measures.

The People's Unity Party vigorously denounced this policy of the North Americans which it described as a "policy of duplicity." The Party explained to the people that the United States supplies Duvalier's army and police with weapons and trains them, that Washington acted as Duvalier's big brother. In the past five years the United States has given the government \$30 million in aid, not counting loans. In 1961 U.S. aid totalled \$13,500,000, that is, more than half the sum (\$22,500,000) the government collected in taxes. But this American "aid" was not used to improve the conditions of the people; it was spent on the regime of terror, which is ruthlessly oppressing the people. American dollars and the big U.S. military mission are the major props of the Duvalier government.

The Party explained to the people that the "differences" between the government and the

United States were but a verbal duel, for essentially nothing divides U.S. imperialism and the dictatorial regime. Recent events have fully borne this out. Duvalier, who paid lip service to self-determination, backed Washington in its action to suppress the Cuban revolution.

Thanks to our Party this policy was exposed in time. The people of Haiti are beginning to see through the game played by U.S. imperialism and the Duvalier government.

Duvalier's anti-national policy has brought the country to the brink of ruin; its economy is on the downgrade. The key positions are held by foreign, principally North American, capital which accounts for 70 per cent of all investments (national capital accounts for only 15 per cent of total investments). The country's natural resources are almost entirely in the hands of North American companies. For example, Reynolds Metals controls the mining of bauxite; another U.S. company, the Atlantic Refining Company, has been granted an oil concession. Agriculture, the basis of the economy, presents the same picture of North American financial domination. The Haitian-American Sugar Company owns vast sugarcane plantations. Foreign capital also exploits the sisal plantations. The stranglehold of Wall Street capital is retarding the country's economic development and this in turn is adversely affecting the conditions of the working people. Annual income per capita is one of the lowest in Latin America—a little over \$50. Unemployment is widespread, and part of the population is compelled to seek a livelihood in the neighboring Dominican Republic where there is brutal exploitation and much discrimination. Full employment in Port-au-Prince means that only three out of every 10 people have work, unemployment—that nine out of every 10 people have no work.

Duvalier's disastrous economic policy is awakening the masses to action. The political situation is becoming more acute, anti-American actions are mounting, the working people are intensifying the struggle for social progress and national independence. In this situation the People's Unity Party has set as its task the struggle for the liberation of the people from the yoke of feudalism and imperialism which have a docile servant in the Duvalier dictatorship. Only by removing this yoke will the people be able to win complete independence for their country.

Jean LEBON

The Writer and His Audience

(Some Problems in Britain)

IN the West, in spite of the vast amount of printed matter that pours from the presses, the possible audiences for a creative writer are limited. We know that there are problems for writers in socialist society, because they are openly discussed by writers and by their audiences, but they spring from quite a different basis. In capitalist society, one of the writer's great problems is his feeling of isolation.

It is due, among other things, to the fact that for nearly a century and a half the audience for a novel, a poem or a play has been restricted to the middle and upper classes of society. For them are written the "middle-brow" novels, the detective stories, the "drawing-room" comedies of the London theatre. In writing for this market, a writer does not so much exercise his conscience as ignore its existence. He works within a strict convention, in which the problems are not social or even personal, but problems of manners and customs in which the social framework is not questioned.

That it is possible to write honestly even for this restricted audience is shown by the distinguished craftsmen who have successfully written in the direct tradition of the realist giants of the 19th century, from Arnold Bennett with his stories of the *Five Towns* of the industrial midlands, and Galsworthy with his *Forsyte Saga* as a monument to the Philistines themselves, to our own times, when C. P. Snow's studies of the "corridors of power," and Joyce Cary's pictures of the twilight of empire have presented a world which we know to be true.

Side by side with this comparatively broad public, there exists a "literary" public which despises the authors who write for a wider readership, and reserves its admiration for whatever is new, fashionable and esoteric. The authors who cater for it descend in varying degrees of consanguinity from the "art for art's sake," "ivory-tower" schools of last century, in the sense that they prefer to cultivate a private world, to ignore social relationships, and to disregard the need to communicate except to the select few who are capable of understanding them.

For a short period in the thirties, it was permissible even in these circles to have a social conscience, and to write about the problems of unemployment and fascism in novels and poems. But this deviation is now looked back

upon with distaste and embarrassment, in spite of a further period in the fifties when social involvement came once more into fashion. This was the period of the "Angry Young Men," whose novels and plays contained notes of social protest against the established order. They spoke a great deal about "commitment," and the duty of the artist to society, but though their literary work was probably better, they were less willing than their predecessors of the thirties to commit themselves politically: they had become disillusioned with social democracy, and the disclosures of the personality cult at the Twentieth Congress provided them with a *rationale* for refusing to accept the Marxist view. Their work was concerned more with the protest of the individual against society, the fight of the working-class boy against middle class values and obstacles to his progress, the fight of the student from a provincial university to compete with the polished products of Oxford and Cambridge. Hailed on their first appearance as an important new development in English literature, they have now been abandoned by the literary smart set in favor of the French "anti-novel" and the American writers on nymphs and perversion.

The *Times Literary Supplement* wrote recently that television and the cinema are squeezing out the book.

Yet it is precisely television and the radio which have enabled many young realist writers to reach the British public as a whole. This has occurred because their novels or plays have been the basis of successful films, or because they have written plays specially for television, so that they have been translated into a new medium of mass communication which reaches out to the working class. The significance of this extension is considerable, because until it was achieved the working class has not existed as an "audience" for nearly a century. The development of cheap newspapers and novelettes as objects to be sold for profit rather than to communicate ideas, divorced the creative writer from this audience, to whom the printed word came largely to mean only sensational newspapers and magazines, with an occasional cheap book about cowboys, murders or war. Theatre-going, except for the music-hall, died out as a working-class relaxation, and its place was taken by the cinema, which, up to recent years, gave

little opportunity for the exercise of the creative writer's gifts, however much it might represent achievements by directors, actors or technicians.

There is one remarkable exception to this alienation of the British working class from the art of the writer. Robert Tressell's novel *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*, written between 1906 and 1910, and first published in 1914, describes the working life of a group of builders, and has been circulated in factories and workshops for 50 years. In the reasons for its success may possibly be seen the reasons why other creative writing was submerged by the flood of printed trivialities and was unable to reach out to a working class audience. It deals with workers on the job, with their collective experiences in the labor process and their class position in the productive relationship in such a way as to make it comprehensible and acceptable to later generations, whose conditions of work have vastly improved and have become far more sophisticated than those of a group of building workers in a small English town many years ago. They can still read in it an accurate description of the employer-worker conflict which they meet every day, and for this reason the book has a working-class appeal absent from more polished and better constructed works like the well-intentioned "novels of proletarian life" of the thirties.

While the current films about working class life, based on novels or plays, have none of Tressell's specific analysis of the class conflict, they attract a working class audience because they are in a mass medium, the cinema, which is still, in spite of declining attendance figures, a mode of expression enjoyed by and familiar to the working class. Films like *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, *Room At the Top*, *A Taste of Honey*, *A Kind of Loving*, contain none of Tressell's outspoken socialism. They attain their effect by the attitude to society expressed by their characters almost incidentally in the course of the story, and yet fundamentally at the base of those characters. It may be claimed that they are not specific enough in their characterization of society—not as specific as, for instance, some of the younger novelists' books, like Alan Sillitoe's *Key to the Door* and Dave Wallis's *Paved With Gold*, which have not reached the screen. But it is interesting to note that, translated into the different medium of the cinema, the originals have often been improved and tautened. In *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, for example, the relationship of the chief character, Arthur Seaton, to his work in the factory is clarified to a point which

almost approaches Tressell's explicit analysis of how capitalism alienates man from his labor.

However much he may wish to write for the working class the writer is dependent on the owners of the means of communication—the publisher, the theatre owner, the film distributor, the television mogul. Ownership of the means of communication is becoming increasingly concentrated, and high costs make it difficult for newcomers to break in.

In the writer's conventional world of the written word, the possibilities of expression are tending to narrow because of the rising cost of book production, and the tendency, especially with paper-back books, for publishers to keep down their unit cost of production by publishing larger editions of fewer books. With novels, this bears particularly hard on new authors whose reputations are not yet established and whose early books are unlikely to sell many copies. "All publishers with interests in fiction are worried about the fate of the first novel," says the President of the Publishers Association, and his anxiety is shared, not only by new authors, but also by established authors. In book-publishing, there is beginning the same trend towards concentration of ownership, and a further hazard is the attitude of some publishers who are dominated by the thought that costs can be offset by cultivating the large American market, and whose acceptance of manuscripts is affected by considering whether the book would sell in the USA.

The economic position of the writer is therefore precarious. It would be crude economic determinism to say that what he writes is governed solely by the need to produce saleable work, particularly as many writers find it impossible to make a living from their writing alone, and earn their daily bread in other occupations. But many writers, as the price of reaching an audience, are faced with the problem of how far to compromise in their work. Novelists may be asked to re-draw their characters as a condition of publication. Film writers may be asked to amend their scripts so that the story line will conform to what the big cinema exhibitors consider the public will pay to see, and writers of television plays are subject to the same pressures. Some writers who earn their living by their pen have obviously given up the attempt to withstand these pressures, and turn out whatever is required by their market in the way of television serials, or other forms of hack work.

In any individual case, it is difficult to say whether a writer is consciously betraying his conscience, or rationalizing a betrayal by say-

ing to himself that if he does not undertake a certain commission, someone else will, or that to earn money for unworthy work gives him the opportunity to do good work.

For us, the judgment as to whether a writer is following the dictates of his conscience can only be an objective one. We can make negative demands, asking that he should not present a distorted picture, should not, for example, aid the cold war with works like *When the Kissing Had to Stop*, the anti-Soviet, anti-nuclear-disarmament novel whose screening on television called forth many protests from the Screen and Television Writers' Guild. We can refrain from demanding that in his work we and our friends should be idealized and appear as unfailingly noble characters, which would be an-

other form of distorting reality. We can ask him to put his professional skill at our disposal for direct political writing or to associate with us in political demands for safeguarding the freedom of Cuba or in protest against *apartheid*. But we cannot and should not demand that his work as a writer should be a blueprint for the struggle for socialism. We can only ask that he should make an attempt to understand society and then portray it honestly, because he will then, through the exercise of his special skill as a writer, be expressing the truth, and the truth is our best ally. In asking this, we are in fact asking him to follow his conscience as a writer.

Judith TODD

New Possibilities

SIGNS are not wanting that, contrary to the anticipations of the cold-war tycoons, the intelligentsia in Austria is on the whole a forward-looking intelligentsia, and that reactionary influence among the people in the realm of the arts and sciences is lessening. In this respect the example of Austria is highly indicative, for as distinct from Italy and France where there are powerful Communist parties, in our country the U.S. propaganda machine encounters less ideological resistance.

Promising Changes

A glance at the attitude taken on three major issues enables us to see how imperialist influence among the intellectuals has declined. The first is the stand taken on the question of nuclear war; the second is the attitude to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and, third, the attitude to the attempts to revive fascism.

In Austria, it is true, it is as yet impossible to have discussions like that held in Royau-mont (France) on the subject "Man and His Future"* which was attended by some 60 scholars from both East and West. The ideological pressure exerted by the Right Socialist and the ruling Catholic apparatus is still strong. But the resistance to the anti-Soviet and anti-socialist ideological offensive of the reactionaries is increasing.

Although this process has not yet assumed mature forms, it is important to follow its development in order correctly to formulate

the tasks facing the forward-looking intellectuals and to discern the new possibilities for extending the struggle for peace and progress.

It is, of course, only the Left intellectuals who can be expected to understand the class character of the crisis of bourgeois culture. Nevertheless, many intellectuals (while still unable to grasp the connection between the crisis of the capitalist economy and the decline of bourgeois culture) are ready to renounce the tutelage of the reactionaries on important matters, and to accept the new assessment of the balance of forces between the camp of peace and the camp of war.

In the final analysis, everything boils down to weakening the positions of imperialism in culture and art, to lessening its influence on people of mental labor in Austria and in other West European countries.

People interested in problems of culture are all for a more extensive cultural exchange. The achievements of Soviet scientists and technicians show that the USSR is in the lead in many fields of research. And those who still try to prevent mutual understanding between the intellectuals in the East and West make themselves a laughing-stock in the eyes of most people in the professional community. A good example of the evolution of views is afforded by scientists who discussed the danger of nuclear war at the Sixth Pugwash Conference. After this conference the Union of Austrian Scientists denounced the war psychosis whipped up by some people in the United States, and urged that serious thought

*See *World Marxist Review*, Nos. 10 and 12, 1961.

be given to the Soviet disarmament proposals, to see whether, given effective international control, an end could be put to the insane arms race.

Other signs of the weakening of the diehard anti-communist front are evident in the views expressed in the magazine *Tagebuch*, by scientists and artists calling for better conditions for professional workers.

The forces who have a stake in exacerbating the tensions are still strong. Still, the grip on these intellectuals who even when things were particularly difficult never lowered the banner of peace and progress, is weakening. And there is no doubt that this is a reflection of the changed balance of forces between capitalism and socialism.

Mutual Understanding Is Not an Ideological Compromise

The efforts made by intellectuals to establish contacts, to awaken an understanding of the need for "discussion," will sooner or later lead to the question: is it possible during the discussion to evade or ignore the ideological differences between capitalism and socialism in the interests of mutual understanding? In other words: should a debate, say, peaceful coexistence, end in some kind of ideological coexistence? Our view is that this would be wrong, that such agreement would lead not to mutual understanding but to still greater mistrust.

A considerable section of those working in the realm of the arts (things are different with the scientists) are experiencing a moral crisis. The more far-seeing are conscious of the contradictions of capitalism, although they are unable to explain them. The humanistic content of art comes into conflict with the inhumanity of capitalism in social life. The result is that the artist often loses faith in himself and in his possibilities. An example of this is afforded by numerous plays presently showing in theaters, by poems and the fine arts. Maxim Gorky neatly expressed the nub of this situation: "Caught in the 'vicious circle,' these intellectual consolers gradually lose the art of consoling and themselves feel the need of consolation."

Current writing often reflects an ideology of despair, helplessness, and frustration, at times camouflaged by philosophical or theological arguments. What should be the attitude of the Marxist-inclined artists and art critics to this kind of thing and, what is more important, to those who produce work of this kind?

Here we could refer to the experience of the Vienna magazine *Tagebuch*, which shows

that neither an all-knowing arrogance nor unscrupulous flattery hit the target. The more sincere the artist is even in his mistakes, the more readily will he listen to the points made by the Marxist critic. It is necessary with the help of Marxism to bring out the good in the works criticized, to point to the questing which can be found in any work, even that created under the influence of a false ideology. But bringing out the general, the positive, does not imply passing over in silence the misleading and the negative. A careful approach to works of literature and art, understanding the difference between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions—these are conditions for a frank and principled policy in the complex sphere of culture.

This, of course, is easier said than done. Basic to this policy is that Left intellectuals should not be left alone, isolated from the movement as a whole. Their work should be seen as a part of the work of the Party, and a far from insignificant part. The greater the role played by the Communist Party in its day-to-day activities as the heir to and continuator of the national culture, the vehicle of the progressive ideas of our time, the greater will be the trust reposed in it by the intellectuals.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the significance of culture in the matter of extending our influence. Speaking about the regeneration of democracy, Comrade Koplenig said at the Eighteenth Party Congress: "The program which we have advanced for bold democratic changes corresponds not only to the needs of the working class and the peasantry, it harmonizes also with the aspirations of the middle sections, the intellectuals and all whose interests and needs are at variance with big business. This regeneration program can be brought about only by the joint efforts and the common struggle of all the progressive and democratic forces." Culture, then, offers broad vistas for this bold perspective of uniting the democratic and progressive forces.

By culture, naturally, we understand not merely works of literature and art but also the use of cultural values, the schools, public education and aesthetic upbringing. A mechanical separation of cultural policy from politics generally narrows down the available possibilities. A democratic cultural policy derives from democracy in the political sense. Therefore, the interests of culture provide an effective base for winning those large numbers of intellectuals who are interested in democratic culture. Even if they are unable to comprehend the socio-economic and revolutionary aims of

the working class, they, nevertheless, are profoundly interested in peace and mutual understanding between the nations, in giving a rebuff to militarism and fascism, in regenerating

democracy. Whether or not a political alliance with the intelligentsia will arise on this soil, will depend in no small measure on the activities of the Communists. *Bruno FREI*

Against the Persecution of Democrats

FRANCO FALSIFICATIONS

(Letter from the Central Prison in Burgos)

MORE news comes from Spain about the hounding of patriots. The courts are in constant session, churning out sentences on the victims of the Franco regime. In the last week of February, three trials were held and 45 democrats were convicted.

Painfully aware, however, that they are skating on thin ice, Franco's hatchet men are now forced to invoke false arguments with which to justify their repressions. Men like Minister of Information Fraga Iribarne and Minister of Justice Iturmendi endeavor to conceal from world public opinion the true facts of the persecution and the conditions of the political prisoners. They even deny the very existence of political prisoners in Spain. But truth will out, and it can be read in the letter from the political prisoners held in the Central prison in Burgos, which we publish below.

We Spanish political prisoners detained in the Central prison of Burgos have learned of the report issued by a commission of lawyers assembled in Geneva. The text of the report is not known to us, for in our case the absence of freedom of the press in Spain is aggravated by the fact that even official press organs are forbidden in the jails. The only reading matter allowed us is the weekly *Redencion* published for the prisoners. But we are confident that the report contains detailed proof of the lawlessness of the dictatorship of Franco and Munoz Grandes.

Redencion (December 15, 1962) published a carefully edited summary of the statements made by Senor Iturmendi. All the foul insinuations addressed to us by the Minister of Justice had been deleted. Evidently, fearing a natural reaction, it was not considered wise to bring to our knowledge the downright slander. We, however, found other, grapevine, ways of acquainting ourselves with the unabridged texts of the statements made by senors Fraga and Iturmendi at consecutive press conferences. Distorting things in the grand manner, these gentlemen attempt, vainly, to misrepresent the report as another variation of the "anti-Spanish maneuvers."

Without the slightest twinge of conscience, Senor Iturmendi simply denied our existence, claiming that there were no political prisoners in Spain. For him we, who have been held in

jail for years because of our democratic ideals and the desire to see a lawful government in Spain, are "terrorists," "bandits" and "criminals." The Spanish workers, peasants and intellectuals suffering in prison for their opposition to the dictatorship are, for Senor Iturmendi, not political prisoners.

But it is common knowledge that those like us who sacrifice personal interests and even life for the sake of the rights of the people, for democratic rights and national accord, for culture and peace, can hardly be classified as robbers and bandits.

We are patriots, democrats, people who cannot be humiliated by an Iturmendi; we believe that all Spaniards, and men and women all over the world will answer this cynical statement by stepping up the campaign for an amnesty, for the triumph of law in our country.

Senor Iturmendi spoke at length about Spanish law, but he conveniently forgot to say anything about the decree of September 21, 1960 — a compendium of purely military law, and the basis of the Franco dictatorship. He also forgot to mention the special tribunal for political repressions headed by Colonel Enrique Eimar Fernandez who has jailed tens of thousands of Spaniards. Nor did he say a word about the military tribunals which charge democrats with inciting to mutiny, deny the accused any guarantee of defense, and pass sentences of 10, 15, 20 and more years impris-

onment. With a persistence worthy of a better application, Senor Iturmendi denied that the opposition — women as well as men — are horribly tortured by the secret police. We political prisoners are well acquainted with the savagery of Reguengo, Conez, Creix, Saez, Cano, Herrero, Carlitos and many others. These creatures are of the same caliber as the Nazi butchers. The crime perpetrated by these scoundrels who threw Julian Grimau out of the window high up in the Central Security Board in Madrid is typical proof of their methods.

No warrant is needed to arrest us. For weeks and months we are kept in cells, interrogated and tortured instead of being handed over to the legal authorities within 72 hours as stipulated in the criminal code and reaffirmed by the notorious Fuero — the so-called code of rights and duties. Colonel Eimar, of the political police, and his subordinates lieutenant-colonels Balbas and Arroyo accompany the prisoners to police headquarters for interrogation. If the answers fail to please them, the prisoners are taken again and again for further interrogation. This was the case with most of us.

The figures reported by Senor Iturmendi concerning the number of prisoners are also remote from the truth.

Despite the efforts made by the government to conceal the real figures for political prisoners there is no doubt that there are about a thousand of us. The prison authorities deride our convictions and violate our rights, refusing to extend to us the status of political prisoners on which we emphatically insist.

And the fact that many of us are still alive is not because of any "solicitude" on the part of the Franco government which allocates 12 pesetas a day per prisoner, but thanks solely to the sacrifice made by our relatives and to the solidarity of friends at home and abroad. This is not to the liking of the authorities who try hard to block this help. They intercept and confiscate money, clothing, letters and the things sent to us, especially from abroad.

Reduction of the terms of imprisonment, lauded by Senor Iturmendi, is sheer hypocrisy: they simply use a decree to the effect that a prisoner can be released after 20 years of uninterrupted detention if he has not violated the prison regime. This incredible "generosity"

has restored to life some of our comrades—for instance, the poet Marcos Ana — after they had spent the whole of their early manhood in dungeons! (And, let it be said, Comrade Marcos Ana was released not because of the "generosity" of Franco but because of the efforts of the Spanish people and the international solidarity of the people on his behalf.) Hundreds of those sentenced to death or convicted on two counts for one and the same "crime" enjoy none of these "blessings," nor are they pardoned.

At the time when false "amnesties" were proclaimed one after another, the following people died in jail: Eustasio Leocadio Mondrono after 17 years' imprisonment, Benito Perez Garcia also after 17 years, and Rafael Abad San-Francisco after 20 years. We mention but three, but hundreds more of our countrymen have ended their days behind these hateful walls.

We political prisoners advance the fact of our tragic plight and as an indictment against these Fragas and Iturmendis. We challenge the Franco government to allow Spanish and foreign lawyers to visit the central prison in Burgos and also the other prisons in which political prisoners are held (in El Dueso, in Caseres, in Soria, in Cordoba, in Alcala de Henares and the Provincial prison in Madrid), give them facilities to talk with us, examine our records, and see our *real* conditions. We challenge the Franco government to allow the commission of Spanish and foreign lawyers to examine our cases and sentences and confirm their unlawful character. We challenge the Franco government to publish in the national newspapers the lists of men and women condemned by the military tribunals, indicating the reasons for indictment. We challenge the Franco government to allow political prisoners freely to appeal to the Spanish and international press, to legal bodies and to speak for themselves.

No matter how hard the ministers of the dictator try to deny our existence, we do exist, we are in prison, we are political prisoners. The whole of Spain and the whole world know this, and have not forgotten us. We are confident that we shall see our own liberation and the liberation of our people.

*Spanish Political Prisoners,
Central prison in Burgos*

December 1962.

CONFIRM THE VERDICT OF NOT GUILTY IN THE "MATSUKAWA CASE"*

THE September, 1961, issue of *World Marxist Review* reported that the Sendai City Court, where the "Matsukawa case" was sent for retrial, acquitted the 17 defendants. The acquittal, the outcome of the powerful protest movement against the frame-up, was a resounding victory for the democratic forces of Japan.

Later, however, the public prosecutor's office lodged an appeal to the Supreme Court. As a result a new trial of the "Matsukawa case" began in the Supreme Court in Tokyo in February.

It is now clearer than ever that the "Matsukawa case," initiated shortly before the U.S. imperialists launched their war of aggression in Korea, was the biggest of the many frame-ups fabricated by the reactionary forces of the USA and Japan. The frame-ups were invented with a view to suppressing the Communist Party and the democratic forces and isolating them from the masses, which the reactionaries considered essential in order to turn Japan into a base of aggression against Korea. The "Matsukawa case" and the other frame-ups were followed by heavy blows against the working class of Japan: over 700,000 workers were fired, and 25,000 expelled from the enterprises and trade unions as "reds" on the orders of the occupation army.

The protest movement against the decision of the court on the "Matsukawa case" reached a scale unprecedented in the history of the country, embracing people from all walks of life — workers, peasants, office employees, writers, scientists, clergymen and hundreds of lawyers. Despite differences in political views they all acted jointly in defense of truth, against the frame-up manufactured by the reactionaries. This movement, which started as a struggle in defense of the rights of the

accused, became part of the struggle against the reactionary forces of the USA and Japan, in defense of peace and national independence.

The struggle at home was warmly supported by the movement of international solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces of the world.

It was this sustained, vigorous and broad mass action that helped ultimately, 12 years later, to secure the acquittal of all the accused. The significance of this event lies in the fact that the verdict of Not Guilty not only proclaimed the innocence of all the accused but also exposed — in a concrete and objective way — the vileness and the ignominy of those who had concocted the "case."

For the people this was not only a resounding victory, it was a useful lesson. The acquittal marked the beginning of a new advance of the struggle for democracy in Japan. Protests against other unjust sentences and unlawful persecution were intensified throughout the country.

The acquittal, naturally, could not but upset the reactionaries. Although the public prosecutor's office had not the slightest shred of evidence against the accused, it has reopened the case in the Supreme Court. In doing this the reactionaries clearly aim at lessening the impact made on the people by the recognition of the innocence of the accused and, if possible, at reversing the verdict.

The reactionary militarists in Japan, who with the support of U.S. imperialism are plotting a new aggression against the Asian people, are bent on repressing the verdict by hook or by crook, on intensifying the repression against the people.

But the renewed protest movement on behalf of all the innocent victims in this case is gaining momentum: mass meetings, demonstrations and marches are being organized throughout the country. Trade unions and democratic organizations abroad are raising their voices in defense of the "Matsukawa case" victims.

S. TANAKA

*The case trumped up on the orders from the Japanese rulers and the U.S. occupation authorities against 20 active members of the railwaymen's and machine-builders' unions on the pretext of a passenger train accident at the Matsukawa station. Some of the innocent men were condemned to death, others sentenced to hard labor for life or given long prison sentences; only three were acquitted.

SAVE THE LIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS!

(Letter from Jordan)

INDIGNATION caused by the inhuman treatment of political prisoners is widespread in Jordan, the popular demand for the immediate release of the prisoners is growing. Deputa-

tions are visiting Parliament and the government, and hundreds of petitions are being sent. Relatives of the prisoners have appealed to the Supreme Court protesting the violation

of the elementary norms of the prison regime, and insisting that prisoners be accorded humane treatment, that they should be allowed visitors, and that torture be ended.

The Supreme Court has been forced to admit the justice of these demands and that the authorities acted unlawfully.

Early in January a demonstration was held outside the Parliament building in Amman under the slogan "Down with terror and tyranny, dictatorship and imperialism!" A deputation elected by the marchers visited Parliament and submitted a petition containing hundreds of signatures.

The petition stated that although many patriots, charged with membership of the Communist Party, had served their sentences, they were still being detained. A West German "expert" from among the former Hitler hangmen has been invited to Jordan where he is practising refined forms of torture. "We, mothers, fathers, brothers and children of the prisoners," the petition said, "cannot resign ourselves to a situation when the corpses of our beloved ones are thrown to us from the dungeons, as was the case with Abdul Fattah Tulstan. Tulstan was subjected to inhuman torture; the West German 'expert' burned out his eyes with a lighted cigarette." The petition called for general political amnesty and insisted they be transferred to cells with at least some

daylight, ensured decent food and clothes and allowed to see their relatives. It demanded that the Hitler torture expert be expelled from the country. Copies of the petition were forwarded to the Jordanian authorities, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and to the press. The demonstration was dispersed, but at the session of Parliament 14 deputies denounced the brutality and crimes of the secret police and demanded the release of political prisoners.

At the end of January *Al Mukawama al Sha-Biya*, organ of the Communist Party, wrote about new criminal designs to exterminate the political prisoners. On orders from the Hitler "expert" 40 prisoners in the Amman prison and 20 in the Al-Zarqa jail were placed in solitary confinement and denied normal food, clothing and medical care. Gravely ill, they are becoming worse as the days go by, so much so that many of them are now nearing death. Their relatives are not allowed to see them or send food, clothing and medicine or even simply enquire about them.

Stressing the high morale of the prisoners, the newspaper wrote: "Defying the torture, hunger, cold and disease, these men display a steadfastness that infuriates the Hitler torture 'expert'. They afford a fine example of strength, self-denial and courage."

I.G.

GUATEMALAN DEMOCRATS WILL WIN THE RIGHT TO LIVE FREELY IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

THE police of the dictator Ydigoras Fuentes arrested Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, leader of the working people of Guatemala, and several other comrades. Gutiérrez, who had been in exile, returned to the country illegally, since the government refused to give him a Guatemalan passport. The Constitution requires that passports be issued to anyone wishing to travel. Hence, in denying a passport to Gutiérrez, the authorities violated the Constitution, forcing him to return to the country without a passport.

The reactionaries have special reasons to hate Gutiérrez. His career as a revolutionary has won for him the admiration of the working people. He was a founder of the teachers' trade union and one of its first general secretaries; it was he, too, who acted as founder of the General Confederation of Guatemalan Working People (CGTG). In 1952 he was elected to Parliament. He is one of the founders of the Communist Party of Guatemala (now the Party of Labor) and a member of its Central

Committee; he is a member of the Secretariat of the Confederation of Working People of Latin America and of the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Gutiérrez is author of several works on political economy: *Short Course of Political Economy*, *Conclusions from Marx's Capital* and *Basic Data on the Monetary System and Banks in Guatemala*; other books by him are *History of the Labor Movement in Guatemala*, and *Against Ydigoras*.

The Ydigoras government is framing a trial against Gutiérrez and his comrades — trade union leaders. The arrest of Gutiérrez and the other comrades coincided with the wave of repressions launched by the government against the trade union movement, repressions which are a consequence of the growing struggle of the working people, especially those employed in Government enterprises and offices.

José Alberto Cardoza, founder and general secretary of the printers' union, a co-founder of the Confederation of Working People and

the General Confederation of Working People of Guatemala and member of their executive committees was arrested with Gutiérrez. Like the latter, Cordoza was elected to Parliament in 1952, he is a member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor. Cardoza is gravely ill. Recently he had a heart attack, so that the arrest endangers his life.

Among others arrested are Enrique Cruz, general secretary of the Autonomous Trade Union Federation, Manuel F. Contreras, secretary of the Grievances Commission of this federation, the trade unionists Miguel Valdes Giron and Francisco Corado Ramirez and the veteran working-class fighter Antonio Ovando Sanchez.

International solidarity is needed to prevent the crime against Gutiérrez and his comrades. The trade union and students organizations

have already protested against the arbitrary actions of the government and are demanding the release of the prisoners. Similar organizations in Latin America have expressed solidarity with them. On February 20, the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions sent a telegram to President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes urging the immediate release of the arrested men and that Victor Manuel Gutiérrez be accorded the right to live in his native country.

The protests and petitions insist that like all Guatemalan patriots Gutiérrez has the right to live freely in his homeland. The working people of Guatemala with the support and solidarity of the working people of other countries will wrest Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, José Alberto Cardoza and their comrades from the Ydigoras jailers.

C. TZUL

FREEDOM FOR FATHER PINTO DE ANDRADE

LAST February marked the second anniversary of the armed struggle waged by the people of Angola for the liberation of their country from colonial oppression. People all over the world are following the struggle waged by the people of Angola for freedom. In these two years the Angolan patriots, who have suffered much, have become tempered in the battle and have inscribed a glorious chapter into the history of their people. They have gained experience which will enable the people to intensify their just struggle for freedom from the colonial yoke.

Trying to prolong their rule in Angola, the Portuguese colonialists bring into play all the brutalities associated with the Salazar dictatorship during the 36 years of its rule in Portugal in its struggle against the patriots at home. The whole world knows about the crimes perpetrated by Salazar against the patriots of Angola. Materials exposing how his soldiers and police massacre patriots appeared in newspapers and magazines of many countries. The press photographs of the beheaded victims of this Christian gentleman horrified people all over the world. There is, perhaps, no other place in the world where the colonialists are suppressing freedom with the brutality that the Portuguese fascists are using in Angola.

Punitive measures, however, have not broken the will of the people. New forces are joining the struggle. Closing their ranks in a united national movement, they are preparing to deliver decisive blows against the colonialists. Knowledge of this has alarmed the latter, and

now the reprisals are extended not only against those engaged in the armed struggle but also against all who refuse to support the colonialists.

News of these reprisals became known to world opinion from the appeal issued by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. This appeal speaks about Father Pinto de Andrade who has been harassed by Salazar's police since June 1960. He was held in prison both in Angola and Portugal. When released temporarily, he was taken to a cell in a monastery. He is not allowed to consult a lawyer and has no contact with the outside world. His spectacles, watch and books have been taken away from him and he is subjected to all kinds of indignities.

Why was Father Pinto de Andrade arrested?

The sole reason was the letter he wrote to his brother and which was intercepted by the police. In this letter the priest had written about the imprisonment of mutual friends, about the projected trials of Angolan leaders and about attempts to put him in prison. After his arrest he told the PIDE (secret police) agents: "Although formally I do not belong to any movement or to any political party, I have never ceased to show interest, to the extent permitted by my character and my work as a clergyman, in the aspirations and problems commanding the attention of Angolan political organizations."

Neither the pretext of his arrest nor his own statement provide any legal grounds for depriving this patriot of liberty and keeping him in exile for years. Only Salazar's fear that his

regime may crumble compels him to resort to brutal reprisals with regard to people like Father Pinto de Andrade.

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has appealed to all friends of the Angolan people, to all people of good will to express their solidarity with Father Pinto de Andrade and to demand that the Portuguese government release him immediately.

"... The hand of the Portuguese fascists who want to deprive Father Pinto de Andrade of his life must be stayed," so reads the appeal.

The call of the Angola patriots is warmly supported by all people of good will. They are expressing their solidarity with them and insisting that dictator Salazar immediately release Father Pinto de Andrade and all the freedom fighters.

I. SUMAR

Among Our Contributors

GILBERTO VIEIRA: Political Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Colombia.

GEORGES MARCHAIS: member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, French Communist Party.

ANTONIO CORDON: member of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Spain.

S. G. STRUMILIN, V. A. TRAPEZNIKOV, V. S. NEMCHINOV: Soviet scientists.

JOSUE DE CASTRO: Brazilian scientist and public figure.

JUDITH TODD: English writer.

NORMAN FREED: Canadian journalist.

KJELD OESTERLING: Danish journalist.

MIKHAIL KREMNYEV: Soviet journalist.

SUPPLEMENT

Documents of the Fraternal Parties

Meeting of Representatives of the Communist Parties of the Common Market Countries

DELEGATIONS from the Communist parties of the six Common Market countries met in Brussels over March 4-6, 1963. The delegations were headed by Josef Ledewohn (Communist Party of Germany), Jean Blume (Communist Party of Belgium), Raymond Guyot (French Communist Party), Giuliano Pajetta (Italian Communist Party), Jean Kill (Communist Party of Luxembourg) and T. Yager (Communist Party of the Netherlands).

J. R. Campbell, British Communist Party, was present as an observer.

Following an introductory report made by Pierre Joye, Communist Party of Belgium, the delegates discussed the situation in the respective countries and in the Common Market generally, and the problems arising for the democratic and peace forces from the Bonn-Paris axis.

The delegates were unanimous in their as-

essment of the situation and decided to extend their contacts with a view to stepping up the common struggle against the policy of the monopolies seeking to turn Western Europe into a bastion of cold war and reaction, the struggle to make their countries a force for progress and peace.

The delegations were unanimous in saying that the times were favorable for the struggle of the forces opposed to the Bonn-Paris axis, for an international détente and for the perspective of democracy and peace. They agreed to develop every possible initiative — contacts, discussions, joint actions, etc. — with a view to furthering joint action by workers and democrats in capitalist Europe in the political, trade-union, economic and cultural spheres.

The six delegations approved the declaration printed below.

DECLARATION

Millions of men and women are asking the question: what will be the destiny of Europe? The Common Market has created a situation fraught with danger. The Bonn-Paris axis intensifies the danger of war; it encourages all the imperialist circles opposed to international détente. It gives the more aggressive circles in West Germany another weapon for carrying out their policy of expansion. Nuclear arms are being piled up in NATO. Their proliferation multiplies the danger of a nuclear catastrophe: the de Gaulle-Adenauer alliance is yet another detonator in a world transformed by the armaments drive into a powder magazine.

The Bonn-Paris axis dramatically increases the danger which already in 1959 our six Communist parties exposed in our joint statement: the Common Market, we said four years ago, *aggravates the international tension and in particular restores to German militarism all its aggressive strength. The militarist and revenge-seeking forces of the Atlantic bloc*

rely in Europe on the Common Market; German militarism is insisting on the right to have atomic weapons, and it is being offered these weapons.

"A Europe of the trusts is being created before our eyes," we said in 1959. Today the broad democratic and popular sections realize that the capitalist monopolies are increasing their domination in the Common Market.

Dangerous steps have been made towards establishing authoritarian rule acting for the international finance oligarchy and the big trusts. National parliaments, which should be the expression of the sovereignty of the nations, are steadily being deprived of their rights.

The plans to include the fascist Spain of Franco into the military Atlantic alliance and the Common Market emphasize the militarist and authoritarian trends threatening the peoples of Europe.

In a number of Common Market countries

a concerted offensive is being waged against the rights of the workers' organizations, particularly in the enterprises. The right to strike is under fire. In Belgium anti-strike legislation is proposed. In West Germany emergency laws are being considered. In France the head of state issued a decree ordering conscription of strikers.

To cope with the demands of technological progress and the development of the productive forces, which require expansion of markets and which objectively are directed towards the internationalization of economic life, monopoly capitalism is endeavoring to establish a combined front against the working class, to design an instrument of the cold war. By establishing the Common Market, as the theses of the Institute of World Economy of the USSR Academy of Sciences emphasized, the monopolies aim at overcoming the deep-going contradictions of modern capitalism at the expense of the working people.

To a much greater degree than in the past, the capitalist monopolies are utilizing the results of the development of production, a development, incidentally, which is sporadic and uneven, be it said. Even where the workers have won wage increases and other gains, improvements always lag behind the intensification of labor and its greater productivity. It often happens that the rise in wages is more than swallowed up by the rising cost of living. The trusts are stepping up their pressure on the workers in all spheres. Millions of peasants in Western Europe are threatened with expropriation. The peasants—the natural allies of the working class—bear the full burden of the agrarian crisis, which has been aggravated by the Common Market.

As heretofore, the ruin and squeezing out of handicraftsmen continues. In the six countries the small and medium-sized enterprises are being more and more subordinated to the monopolies even in those sectors where they have expanded.

All the living forces of our nations are faced with the task of fighting for the conditions of their life, for their rights, for their culture and their future.

The Common Market has not justified the promises of its sponsors. It has not brought the peoples either security or a solution of the conflicts. On the contrary, the antagonistic contradictions in the Market have sharpened; it has engendered new contradictions: tension in the relations with the socialist countries is maintained; pressure is exerted on neutral and newly-liberated countries through a far-reaching neo-colonialist policy; new dif-

ferences have flared up between the Atlantic powers.

A greater responsibility devolves on the democratic forces in our countries. Eyes are now turned to the working class whose national and international role has grown. To solve the burning issues of the day joint actions are both necessary and possible.

* * *

The working class, the democratic and all the popular forces can impose a way out other than the stockpiling of weapons of wholesale destruction—whether in the form of a unilateral striking force or in the form of a multilateral striking force thus adding to the Atlantic nuclear weapons already placed by U.S. imperialism both in and around Europe. This way out is the way of disarmament, of peace and security for the peoples of Europe and the world.

The peoples of our six countries can contribute to the victory of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social and political systems; they can force the cessation of nuclear testing and an agreement on general and controlled disarmament. The signing of a non-aggression treaty between the member-countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact member-countries would enormously facilitate an easing of the tensions in Europe. It could ensure highly favorable conditions for setting up nuclear-free and neutral zones.

A German settlement, achieved by an agreement on West Berlin and on the recognition by all of the existence of the two Germanys within their present frontiers, would abolish one of the most dangerous seedbeds of conflict. The proposals submitted by the German Democratic Republic with a view to securing a rational settlement of the conflict, proposals which provide that the two states renounce atomic weapons, restrict and then reduce their armaments, are a contribution of first-rate importance to peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The Communists will work to strengthen the peace movement, support the initiative of the peace supporters and help unite all the peace-loving forces of our countries.

* * *

Extension of economic relations between all countries without discrimination and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, in addition to furthering peace, corresponds also to the needs of the economic development of our countries. By diverting the flow of international exchange the Common Market adds to the economic instability.

Trade relations between the Common Mar-

ket countries and the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid would help ease the tension in Europe.

Concrete measures aimed at developing exchange and economic cooperation between all the countries of Europe would be useful preparation for the world conference on trade which the U.N. General Assembly, acting on a proposal of the Soviet Union, has decided to convene.

* * *

The policy of the Common Market presages restricting and abolishing the democratic rights of the working people, and also the rights of the national representative institutions.

Defense of democracy and national sovereignty is a pressing task.

In each of our six countries the working class is insisting on extension and effective guarantees of its rights. With every justification it attaches the utmost importance to the need to extend the opportunities for action by wage workers and their organizations in the enterprises; utilization of trade union rights and extension of these rights are the common goal of the working people in all capitalist countries.

The struggle of the working people and of all other democrats is decisive in the matter of upholding and enlarging the role played by elective bodies at all levels in their countries.

Through the Common Market, the capitalist monopolies are trying to strangle national life. The working class and the other democratic forces can, on the contrary, rally all opponents of the power of the banks and trusts in order to extend the rights of the people and impose nationalization and other curbs on the monopolies in keeping with the democratic solutions answering the needs of each nation.

The supra-national bodies are in the hands of the monopolies. These centralized and bureaucratic bodies depend on the executive powers of the Six and preclude, by virtue of their present structure, any real intervention and any effective control on the part of the representative bodies of the member-countries.

These bodies are plainly anti-democratic. At present numerous voices are heard, insisting that the national assemblies should have the right of control and initiative. This is the common demand of all democratic trends.

Moreover, it is essential that in the bodies of the present Common Market there should not be any discrimination with regard to parliamentary and trade union representation.

With the creation of the Market more sections of the working people feel impelled to fight for the conditions of their existence.

The struggle of the workers, which is gaining in intensity, shows that there are many demands common to all, such as wages, holidays, working hours, pension age, job security, recognition of the right to strike, guarantees of trade union rights in the factories, equal pay for equal work, youth rights and the conditions of immigrant workers.

This struggle confirms that the working people in the Common Market countries are encountering great difficulty in their efforts to uphold their standards of living and to improve their conditions.

Considerable success has been recorded in this struggle — the results are a splendid example. In Italy, for example, after an eight-month struggle metalworkers won a substantial wage increase, extension of trade union rights and the right of the trade union committee to discuss all aspects of work in each enterprise.

In France, the workers in the Renault plant have won a four-week paid holiday. Following their example, hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country won similar victories in the space of a few months.

Ruhr miners, metalworkers in Belgium and Italy, Dutch dockers and builders have fought courageous actions. French miners are now united in a great battle for their demands.

The importance of national and international solidarity with this struggle should not be underestimated.

Hence, we welcome every advance made in the matter of reaching national and international agreement and joint action by all trade unions.

At the same time, together with the working class the various social sections are in motion. Each of the six countries has witnessed numerous peasant actions. Workers' and peasants' organizations are fighting vigorously side by side supporting each other. The struggle is being joined by engineers, teachers, students, groups of professional workers and other sections of the population.

And irrespective of whether the struggle is waged by the working class or by other social sections, its feature is broader and firmer unity. With growing frequency the immediate economic demands of this struggle merge with democratic, national and social aims.

Hence, the Common Market adds to the understandable alarm felt by our people, be it disquiet about peace, the striving for democracy, the destiny of each worker and his

family or the destiny of the nation. At the same time the growing struggle and the accompanying success show that in our countries there are forces capable of repelling the onslaught of the monopolies and of thwarting the designs of the warmakers.

In order to maintain peace, security and democracy, joint action by all workers and democrats is essential. New opportunities are opening up for the struggle of the forces ready to counterpose to the Bon-Paris axis and to the international tension the prospect of democracy and peace. Reinforcing and extending Communist-Socialist joint action acquires a decisive significance. United, the Communists and Socialists can head the broad sections of the working class. New opportunities are opening up also for broad unity of the people, for contacts and agreements with the Catholic forces. Significant success has already been achieved in the matter of organizing united action by the big trade unions.

The Communists, welcoming the growing alliance which they see as basic to the advance of the democratic forces, pledge themselves to do all in their power to strengthen and extend this alliance.

The Communist parties of the Six Common Market countries will work patiently and perseveringly, display initiative, and utilize the most diverse means — contacts, discussions, joint actions — in order to develop broad unity of action by all workers and democrats in Western Europe. For the point at issue is peace and democracy, the point at issue is the future of our countries!

Communist Party of Germany

Communist Party of Belgium

French Communist Party

Italian Communist Party

Communist Party of Luxembourg

Communist Party of the Netherlands

Brussels, March 6, 1963.

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication;
the titles are given in English)

- Anuarul statistic al RPR 1962.* (Statistical Year-Book of the Rumanian People's Republic for 1962.) Bucharest, Directia centrala de statistica, 1962. 535 pp.
- G. Dimitrov. *Pysma (1905-49) Letters (1905-49).* Sofia, 1962. 586 pp.
- Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej. *Articole si cuvintari.* (Articles and Speeches.) June 1961-December 1962. Bucharest, Editura politica, 1962. 472 pp.
- A. Ilyin, V. Ilyin. *Rozhdeniye partii.* (The Birth of the Party.) 1883-1904. Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1963. 280 pp.
- Imperialistische "Integration" in Westeuropa.* (Imperialist "Integration" in Western Europe.) Berlin, Sonderheft der "Deutschen Aussenpolitick," 1962, 285 pp.
- Iz istorii sozdaniya partii novogo tipa. Doklad bolshevikov Mezhdunarodnomy sotsialisticheskomu kongressu v 1904 godu.* (From the History of the Formation of the Party of a New Type. Report of the Bolsheviks to the International Socialist Congress, 1904.) Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1963.
- W. Jaworski. *Systemy kredytowe europejskich krajow socjalistycznych.* (The Credit Systems of the European Socialist Countries.) Warsaw, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1962. 423 pp.
- A. Kettle. *Karl Marx. Founder of Modern Communism.* London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963, 120 pp.
- Die KPD lebt und kaempft.* (The Communist Party of Germany Lives and Fights.) Documents of the Communist Party of Germany issued 1956-62. Preface by Max Reimann. Dietz Verlag, 1963. 744 pp.
- A. Kirillov. *Predotvrashcheniye voyny—vazhneyshaya problema sovremennosti.* (Averting War—the Task of Our Times.) Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1963. 115 pp.
- S. Kuzinski. *O czynnikach wzrostu gospodarczego Polski Ludowej.* (Factors of Economic Growth in Poland.) Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1962. 286 pp.
- V. I. Lenin. *O mezhdunarodnom znachenii opyta KPSS.* (The International Significance of the Experience of the CPSU.) Symposium. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1963.
- R. Luxemburg. *Cuvintari si articole alese.* (Selected Articles and Speeches.) Bucharest, Editura politica, 1962. 301 pp.
- K. Marx and F. Engels. *Works.* Second Edition. Vol. 29. Letters (1856-1859). Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1962, 730 pp.
- Obshchiye zakonomernosti i osobennosti perekhoda k sotsializmu v razlichnykh stranakh.* (The General Laws and Features of the Transition to Socialism in Different Countries.) Moscow, Sotsekgiz, 1962. 482 pp.
- E. Olgeirsson. *Vort land er i doegun.* (Our Country at Dawn.) Reykjavik, Heimskringla, 1962. 286 pp.
- Partiya bolshevikov v gody mirovoi imperialisticheskoi voyny. Vtoraya revoliutsiaya v Rossii.* (The Bolshevik Party during the World Imperialist War. The Second Revolution in Russia. 1914-February 1917.) Documents and materials. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1963. 454 pp.
- V. Perlo. *Militarism and Industry. Arms Profiteering in the Missile Age.* With a Preface by Professor J. D. Bernal. New York, International Publishers, 1963. 208 pp.
- J. Vanek. *Afrika na prahu samostatneho politickeho a ekonomickeho rozvoje.* (Africa on the Threshold of Independent Political and Economic Development.) Prague, Nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1963. 214 pp.
- T. Zhivkov. *The Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.* Sofia, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963. 226 pp.

For Spring Release. New Revised Second Edition

The Founding of Canada

Beginnings to 1815

By Stanley B. Ryerson

Illustrations, maps, 366 pp. Cloth: \$5. Paper \$3.

•

An absorbing study offering a new insight into the main driving forces which shaped Canadian history. The book explores the roots of Canada's present-day capitalist social structure and how labor and democratic struggles played a crucial role in the founding and building of Canada.

•

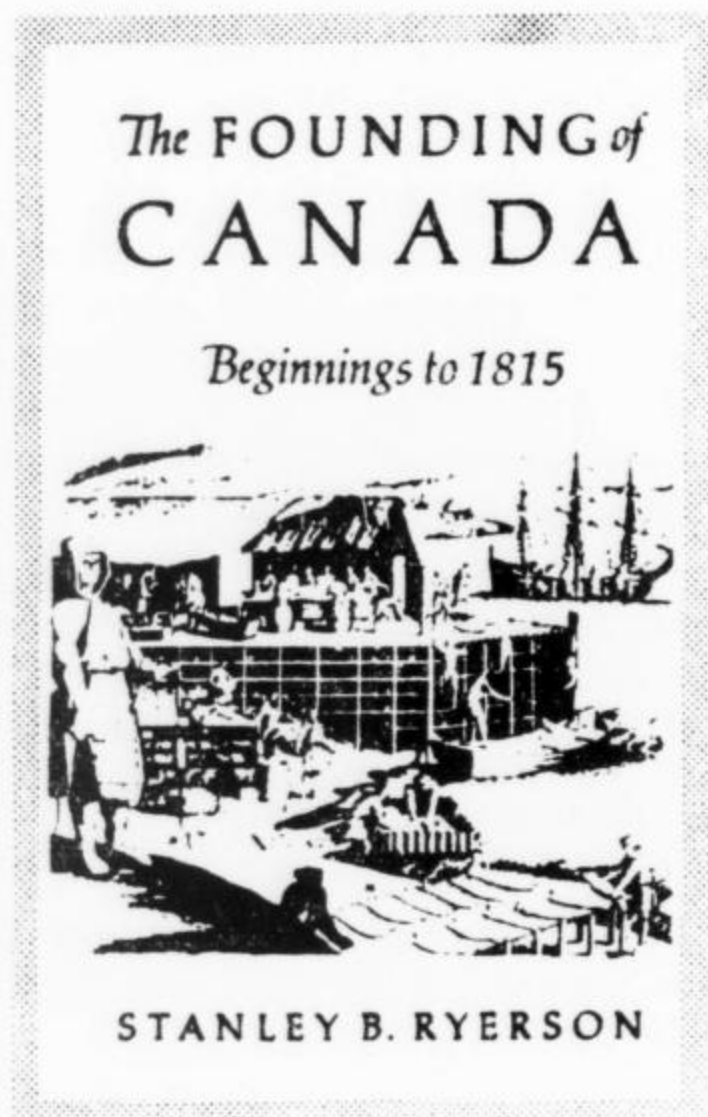
WHAT THE REVIEWERS SAID ABOUT THE BOOK:

"Conscientious, honest and scholarly."

—DALHOUSIE REVIEW

"This scholarly book is an important contribution to Marxist historical analysis with a lively and human approach making it very readable."

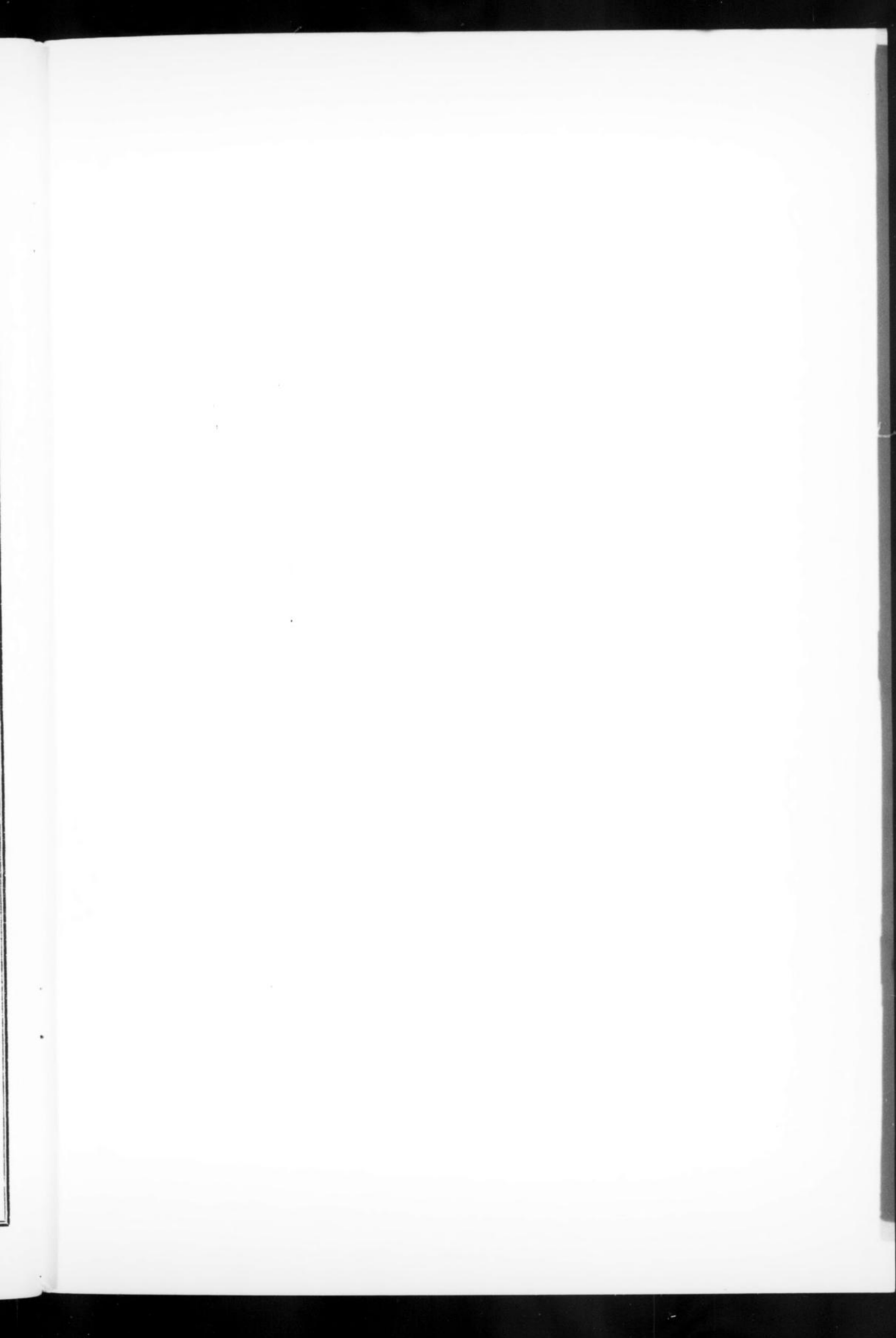
—LABOUR MONTHLY
(Britain)



Order from

Progress Books

44 Stafford, Toronto 3, Ontario



Editions of the Journal

"PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"



EDITIONS IN ENGLISH
(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd.,
37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England

Progress Books,
42-48 Stafford St.
Toronto 3, Ontario,
Canada

FRENCH EDITION:
(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale)
Société d'Édition et
d'Information 9, Boulevard des Italiens
Paris (2e) France

Librairie Du Monde Entier,
5, Place St-Jean,
Bruxelles

Librairie Rousseau,
36, rue J.-J. Rousseau,
Geneve

RUSSIAN EDITION:
Stredisko pro rozširovani tisku,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3
Czechoslovakia

BRAZILIAN EDITION
(in Portuguese):
Rua da Assembléia, 34
3.º andar, sala 304,
Rio de Janeiro, Estado da Guanabara
Brazil

BULGARIAN EDITION:
Raznoiznos,
1, Rue Tzar Assen
Sofia

CYPRUS EDITION
(in Greek):
Laikon Praktorion,
Tricoupi Street, 53 Γ, Nicosia

CZECH EDITION:
Artia, Praha 2,
Nove Mesto, Ve smeckach 30

DUTCH EDITION:
Progressief Algemeen Vertaalebureau,
Chr. Snouck Hurgronjehof 22",
Amsterdam W

GERMAN EDITION:
Deutscher Buch-Export und -Import
GmbH,
Leipzig C 1, Leninstrasse 16

HUNGARIAN EDITION:
Kossuth Kiado, Budapest, V,
Arpad-U.6

ITALIAN EDITION:
Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe
Oscure 2, Roma

JAPANESE EDITION:
Nauka Ltd.,
2, Kanda-Zinbocho
2-chome, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo

KOREAN EDITION:
Chulpanmul
Korea Publications Export
and Import Corporation, Pyongyang

MONGOLIAN EDITION:
Mongolgosknigotorg,
ul. Lenina 41, Ulan-Bator

POLISH EDITION:
P. K. W. Z. "RUCH", Warszawa,
Wilcza 46

RUMANIAN EDITION:
Directia Difuzarii Presei,
Palatul administrativ C.F.R.,
Bd. Dinicu Golescu, Intrarea G,
Bucuresti

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
Praha 6, Thakurova 3

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Nacional 1253,
Bogota, Colombia

Ediciones Pueblos Unidos,
Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo,
Uruguay

SWEDISH EDITION:
Arbetarkultur, Söderarmsvägen 36,
Johanneshov 6, Stockholm

VIETNAMESE EDITION:
So'o' xuất nhập khẩu sách bao 32,
Hai Ba tru'ng, Hà-nôi

