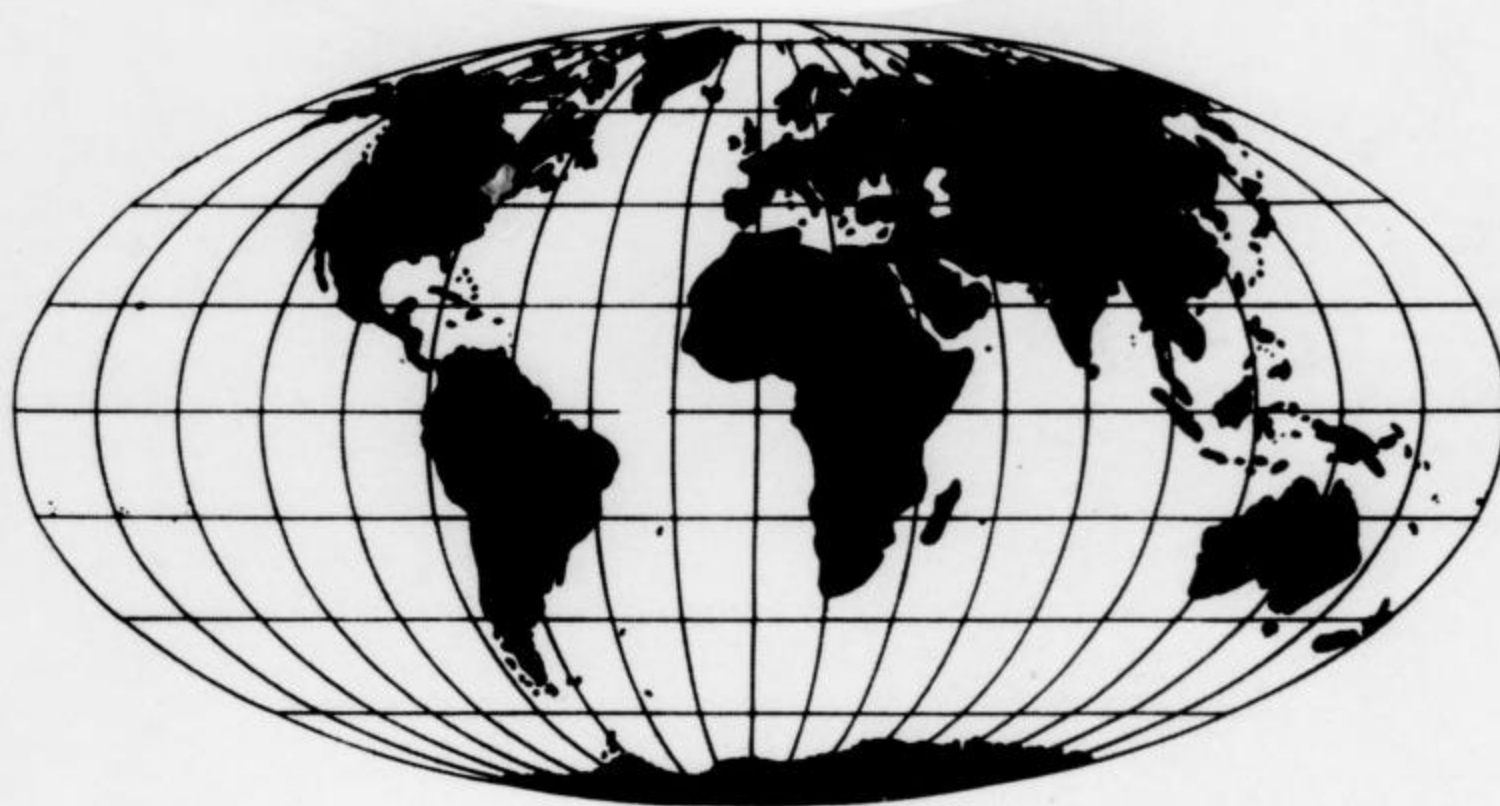


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

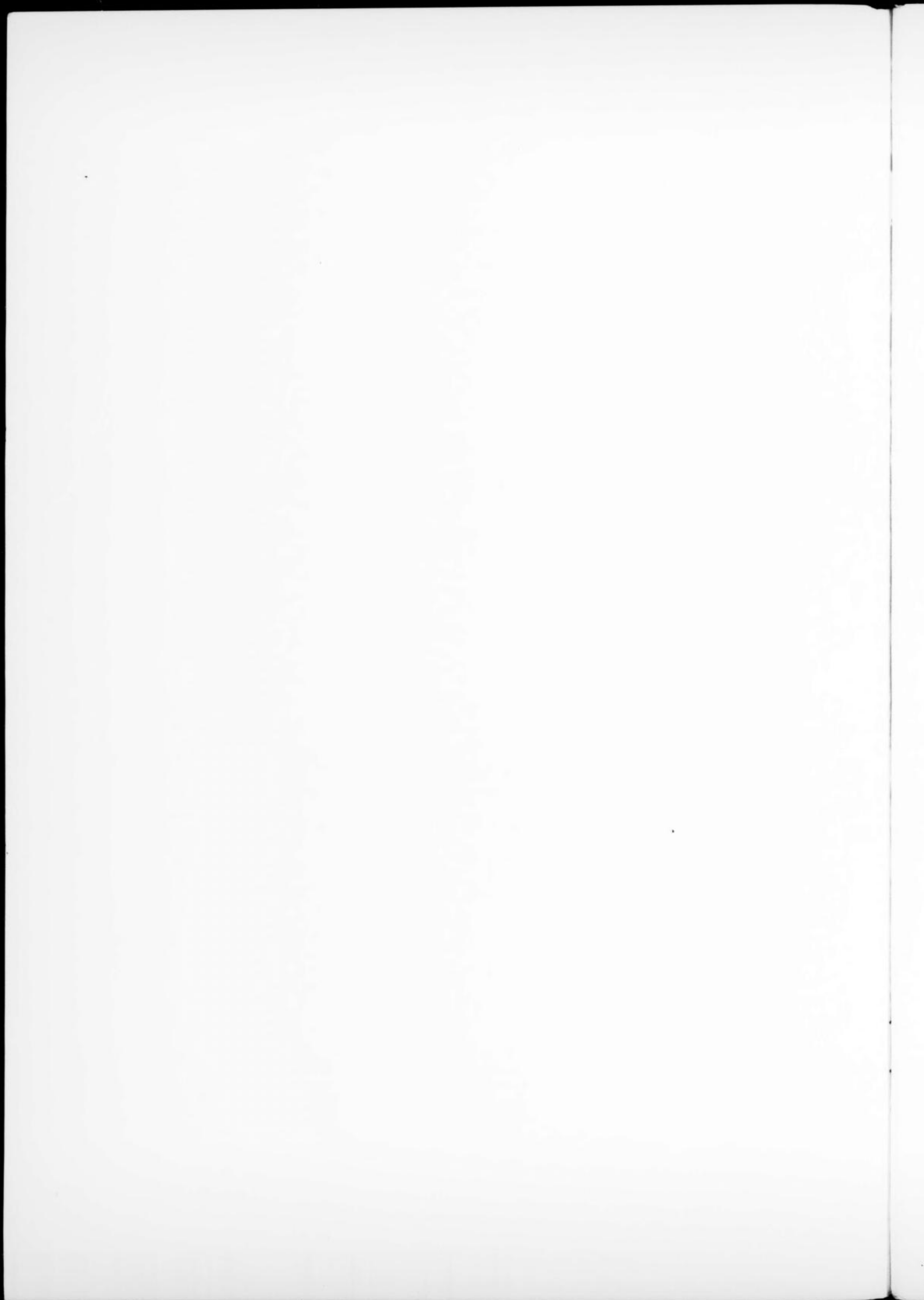


Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

Some International Problems of the Day

**Growth of the Strike Movement
in the Capitalist Countries**



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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LONG LIVE MAY DAY—

THE DAY DEDICATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, TO THE UNITY AND FRATERNITY OF THE WORKERS OF ALL LANDS!

MAY DAY this year—as in previous years—finds millions of working people throughout the capitalist world waging a struggle for a decent life, for freedom, national independence, peace and socialism, while the people of the socialist countries are going ahead with building socialism and communism.

Elsewhere in this issue the reader will find an impressive though necessarily incomplete picture of the mass movements and strikes in the capitalist countries, a struggle aimed at wresting better conditions from the monopolies.

Uniting in all corners of the world to celebrate May Day, working men are reviewing the struggles fought, the successes won and the opportunities lost; they are surveying the past in order jointly to define the next tasks and to chart the way to the future. And they are fortified in the knowledge that wherever they live, whatever their conditions, and however different their immediate demands and the forms and methods of their struggle, they all are united by one vital need—the need for peace among the nations—and that their strength derives from the same source—their unity and international solidarity against the common capitalist exploiter, the common imperialist oppressor.

The idea of peace and peaceful coexistence put forward by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Communist and Workers' parties, an idea that has found tangible embodiment in the actions and initiative of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, has gripped the minds of the people. The movement for peace and peaceful coexistence has acquired numerous forms and is winning the support of more and more people, galvanizing to action those who hitherto had remained aloof from the fight against war, for it is becoming increasingly clear that a thermonuclear holocaust would

reduce the vital centers of our planet to ruins.

But the imperialists are not disarming: de Gaulle continues testing atomic bombs in the Sahara, NATO is planning a multilateral nuclear force, obstructionist tactics are used at the Geneva disarmament conference to block reasonable agreement. The threat hanging over the world has not been dispelled. The working people are coming to realize more and more that in order to survive and to hasten abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the building of socialism throughout the world it is imperative to curb imperialism, to prevent the unleashing of nuclear war.

The working people have learned that the fight against capitalist exploitation and for a better life is closely linked with the fight for disarmament. Arms production and the maintenance of huge armies and military establishments swallow enormous sums of money. And it is the working people who have to foot the bill. If these funds were channeled to peaceful purposes, to promote economic development, the peoples of both the developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped countries could live immeasurably better. The arms drive places a burden on the socialist nations as well, for in order to protect themselves they must have the weapons to neutralize imperialist aggression wherever it is let loose, the wherewithal to uphold world peace.

The policy of the socialist countries is aimed at preventing war and consolidating peaceful coexistence, which facilitates the struggle waged by the working people for their vital interests.

The final triumph of the policy of disarmament and peaceful coexistence, by removing the danger of annihilation hanging over the peoples, would be a powerful stimulus to the revolutionary struggle of all working people for freedom from capitalist exploitation. The productive potential of the social-

ist countries would then unfold on a still grander scale and, thanks to the accelerated rate of development in the conditions of peaceful competition, the superiority of the socialist system would become obvious to all. The struggle of the oppressed peoples and the peoples still dependent on imperialism would gain added momentum. This would accelerate the final defeat of imperialism.

The struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence is, then, the consistently revolutionary policy of the working class. On the

basis of this policy the broadest unity and international solidarity can be built and consolidated—the unity and international solidarity which, as the working people of the world have time and again seen for themselves, is imperative for the success of the struggle for peace, national liberation and independence, economic and social progress, democracy and socialism.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Some International Problems of the Day

Santiago Carrillo

FEW WILL DISAGREE with the view that from the standpoint of its importance and repercussions the Caribbean crisis was the most momentous international event in 1962. It is becoming increasingly clear that the action taken by the Soviet comrades saved the Cuban revolution, which was threatened by U.S. invasion, and at the same time saved world peace. In saying this nobody claims that as a result the Cuban revolution and peace have been made secure *once and for all*, that the danger has been removed *for all time*. Peace depends not on a single act, no matter how significant that act may be, it depends on a consistent policy, on a whole number of acts which in each instance would foil the designs of the imperialist aggressors. Defense of the Cuban revolution will for years still be the daily concern of the Cuban people, of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of all the progressive forces. This is evident from the statements made by Comrade Khrushchov and Comrade Fidel Castro since the October crisis. However, the fact remains that last October the Soviet comrades saved peace, saved the Cuban revolution and even the very existence of Cuba, one might say. Kennedy was compelled to say in public that Cuba would not be invaded.

Of course, whether this promise, like any promise made by the imperialists, is lived up to depends on the firm resolve of the Cuban people, expressed in their watchword "*Patria o muerte!*", upon the vigilance and action taken by the peoples, upon the unity and consolidation of the socialist camp and of

the world Communist and working-class movement. I should like to quote here the statement of the Cuban counter-revolutionary Rosendo Canto, published by the Madrid newspaper ABC on January 9. "The opening of the year bodes nothing good for Cubans. Two months ago their hopes were dealt a heavy blow when strange negotiations between the Russians and the Yankees were held behind the backs of the Cuban people (i.e., the counter-revolutionary emigrés — S.C.).

"Cubans caught carrying on anti-Red activities on American territory land in jail. Others — those poor naive compatriots with illusions — who have donned the uniform of the American soldiers in order to 'liberate Cuba' will be sent, believe it or not, to the Congo to fight Tshombe! . . . It is clear that the Cuban people (meaning the emigrés—S.C.) cannot rely on the United States in their desire to secure liberation from Russia."

What a far cry this snivelling is from the arrogant statements published only a short while ago in the same paper and according to which the "firm stand" of Kennedy had compelled the Soviet Union "to capitulate." It is also interesting to note that some reactionary writers are urging Kennedy to use the "big stick" in respect to the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. Their thesis is that a tough policy yielded "results" during the Caribbean crisis. The facts show, however, that Kennedy's toughness, when it was used, was used in respect to his Atlantic allies.

Differences in Imperialist Circles Should Be Taken Account of

It is difficult, indeed, fully to appreciate the wisdom displayed by the Soviet comrades in the resolving of the crisis when clouds darkened the horizon, when people dreaded the outbreak of nuclear war and had little hope of averting the catastrophe that would have wiped out the people of Cuba first of all.

The Soviet comrades, headed by Khrushchov, acted with restraint and wisdom. They took into account the fact that although U.S. imperialism as a whole is the enemy of popular revolutions and liberation movements there are different groups within it: the reactionary ultras and those who realize that a nuclear war would be suicide for imperialism, and therefore prefer other methods.

In taking this approach the leaders of the CPSU remained true to the teaching of Lenin. When denouncing predatory German imperialism which at the time of the Brest Peace took advantage of the weakness of the young Soviet state to impose onerous terms on it, Lenin distinguished between what he called two parties in German imperialism: the party representing the predatory groups of the bourgeoisie, but anxious to secure a respite on the Eastern Front, and the blindly aggressive militarists who, oblivious to reality, sought to continue the war on this front. The revolution availed itself of this differentiation to secure the necessary respite.

In the United States too there are ultra-reactionary groups which in their blind hatred of socialism would like to provoke a nuclear conflict, and there are groups which prefer to attain their imperialist ends in other ways. Needless to say this difference does not affect the imperialist substance of their policy, it concerns merely the methods whereby this policy is realized. By agreeing to withdraw its missiles from Cuba the Soviet government made it possible for the less aggressive groups in the United States to gain the upper hand over the more aggressive groups and thereby averted the danger of a U.S. invasion of Cuba and a nuclear world war.

Was it right to take account of these differences and to make the most of them in the interests of the Cuban people and peace? Of course it was right, and no Marxist-Leninist will deny this. It was the only sensible course.

Does it follow from this that Kennedy is no longer an imperialist, that his object is no longer U.S. world supremacy and that he is now a "partisan of peace"? Of course not. Kennedy has not ceased to be an imperialist,

but he is beginning to realize that a nuclear world war would hardly benefit imperialism, and is therefore trying to find other ways of achieving his object. Kennedy wants to isolate and weaken the Soviet Union, split the socialist camp, break the ties linking the socialist countries with the countries of the so-called "third world" and in this way create favorable conditions for realizing his design of U.S. world supremacy.

But irrespective of Kennedy's designs, in this instance the agreement reached during the Caribbean crisis, the halting of invasion and the prevention of war benefited Cuba and all mankind. The Caribbean settlement revealed in full the complex conditions in which the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism is waged. We will be victorious in this struggle only if we pursue a constructive policy based on Marxism-Leninism, a policy that takes cognizance of the highly diverse and contradictory factors operating in the world today.

Some people ask: "Was it necessary to send the missiles to Cuba only to remove them later?"

Attempts are sometimes made to turn this reaction of well-intentioned but ill-informed people who are unaware of all the facts, into a concept by declaring that the Soviet Union first made "an adventuristic move" by sending its missiles to Cuba and then "capitulated" by withdrawing them.

Let us dwell on this concept in greater detail.

Did the Soviet Union need, for purposes of its own defense, missile bases on Cuban territory? Of course not. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has strategic missiles than can reach any point of the globe, missiles superior to any the Americans have. Moreover, Soviet global missiles can hit any target from any direction; it has nuclear submarines that can launch missiles in the desired direction and cover any target in the world. It is also common knowledge that the Soviet Union has no military bases in other countries; it will be recalled that after the war it relinquished, on its own initiative, military bases in Finland and China.

It is, therefore, clear that for its own defense purposes the Soviet Union did not need missiles in Cuba. And if Soviet missiles were nonetheless installed there, the reason for this should be sought in the fact that the military defense of the Cuban revolution is not a simple matter, in the fact that last year there was ample evidence that the Americans were preparing to invade Cuba.

The people of Cuba are a heroic people who are ready to fight to the last for their independence and for their social system, which has won the admiration of the world. But Cuba is a country with a population of only seven million, with a poorly developed industry and a one-sided agriculture. Cuba's power stations use oil, and the American embargo on oil supplies would in other circumstances have paralyzed the country. Geographically speaking, Cuba is so situated that the Americans can easily concentrate a powerful striking force against it. In view of this, the unity and resolve of the Cuban people, although paramount factors, are not sufficient to guarantee their independence. Hence the support of all people, of the socialist camp, and particularly of the Soviet Union, is decisive for the defense of the Cuban revolution.

To counteract the American embargo the Soviet Union with its tankers operated a kind of "sea-lift" between the two countries and thus saved Cuba from a fuel famine. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries supplied its people with the things they needed, and are helping in every way to develop a diversified agriculture and a modern industry.

The Soviet Union also supplied Cuba with weapons and the necessary equipment for its army. But no matter how strong and valiant the Cuban people's army, no matter how modern its arms, the fact remains that militarily it cannot compare with the United States.

Hence, the fact that the Cuban people's army can rely also on the might of the Soviet Union is the decisive factor restraining the United States. To put it concretely, the main force acting as a deterrent on the aggressive designs of the United States is Soviet nuclear strength. Of course the political pressure exerted by all peace-loving countries, among whom the socialist states and the countries that have got rid of the imperialist yoke play a very big role, is also a highly important moral and political factor. Still, the resolve of the Soviet Union to guarantee the independence of Cuba with its nuclear strength is the main deterrent.

And that is the answer to the question why the Soviet missiles were sent to Cuba. With American imperialism preparing to invade Cuba, speculating with the idea—often voiced in the press—that at the last minute the Soviet Union would leave the Cuban revolution in the lurch, the shipping of the missiles to Cuba was the material, tangible proof that the USSR would not tolerate aggression, that

an attack on Cuba would signify the beginning of a war. The missiles were, therefore, a grim warning to the gamblers who reckoned on "swallowing Cuba" with impunity. At the time this, apparently, was the only way to convince Washington that Cuba would be defended in the event of an invasion.

Let us consider what would have happened if the Soviet Union had not sent its missiles. Were one to believe the version put out by the Pentagon, it was the presence of Soviet missiles that created the threat of invasion. In reality, however, the invasion of Cuba had been prepared long in advance and was to take place before the U.S. mid-term elections. Now if the Soviet Union had not, with the consent of the Cuban government, installed its missiles on Cuba—the *material proof* of its determination to strike back in the event of aggression—the American imperialists, misled by their calculations, could have taken it for granted that the Soviet Union would really abandon the Cuban revolution at the last minute. In that event they would have launched the invasion. And this would have triggered off a nuclear conflagration with all its fearful consequences both for Cuba and all mankind.

The sending of the missiles was, therefore, a bold step in international policy—at that particular moment an initiative necessary for the defense of the Cuban revolution.

The withdrawal of the missiles which the Soviet Union agreed to during the dramatic events of last October, was a necessary concession which permitted the less aggressive elements of U.S. imperialism to gain the upper hand over the wild men in the Pentagon, to prevent the invasion of Cuba which would have plunged the world into a nuclear holocaust.

In other words, if in the first stage the sending of the missiles was material proof of the Soviet Union's determination to defend Cuba, which in fact deterred invasion on the part of the U.S. imperialists and, consequently, the unleashing of a world war, in the second stage the withdrawal of the missiles served the same purpose, for without this concession it would have been hard to save both the revolution and the peace.

No "Export of Counter-Revolution"

The Caribbean crisis showed that the resolve of the world Communist and Workers' movement not to permit "*export of counter-revolution*" is an extremely complicated task, a task calling for united action by the revolutionary masses all over the world and also for wise and bold initiative on the part of

the socialist countries, particularly on the part of the state which by virtue of its economic and military might and its prestige shoulders the main burden and, in the final analysis, the main responsibility — the Soviet Union. The consistent internationalism of the Soviet state, the wise policy of its leaders, were seen once again at the time of the Caribbean crisis.

Without a strong Soviet Union capable of blocking the road to U.S. imperialism — despite the fact that the socialist camp includes large countries with big populations — how could Cuba have been saved from invasion, its revolutionary system from being overthrown and its people from being wiped out or enslaved? It is clear that nobody else could have done this.

We Marxists-Leninists must face reality. Undoubtedly, the idea of an armed clash between small revolutionary Cuba and the U.S. imperialist giant stirs the imagination. But this David and Goliath theme, while it may inspire the most poetic tales, usually ends as we know from experience in the victory of the giant.

And if Cuba has been able to resist the pressure and threats of the neighboring imperialist giant this is because it has at its side the mighty Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, the international working-class movement and all progressive and peace-loving mankind.

These factors, naturally, in no way detract from the staunchness of the Cuban people and their leaders, headed by Fidel Castro. If the Cuban people had not carried out a revolution, if they had not made their watchword "the homeland or death!", if they had not been prepared to defend their revolution to the last drop of blood, no help could have saved them.

Here it is pertinent to recall what took place at the time of the national revolutionary war of the Spanish people. The Spaniards too demonstrated miracles of heroism. For nearly three years they defended their land, inch by inch, from enemies who were armed with the most modern weapons then in existence. But despite their courage our people were defeated by the superior military and material might of the enemy. The Soviet Union helped us as best it could at the time. But it was not in a position to do it in the same decisive form as in the case of Cuba, for its economic and military power in those years was not what it is today. If our revolutionary war had taken place not

in 1936-39, but today, the Spanish people would, with the support of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, have smashed the fascist revolt in a matter of weeks. In this analogy we see the tremendous importance of the consolidation of the USSR and the entire socialist camp.

To be sure, even with the existence of nuclear weapons and missiles, the defense of the socialist camp and of the peoples battling for their freedom rests on the will and courage of the people, on their readiness to make sacrifices. But no matter how many millions the populations of these countries count, this factor in itself is not decisive in present-day conditions. Without the economic and military might of the Soviet Union, without its ability and preparedness to strike a crushing retaliatory blow at any imperialist aggressor the socialist camp would, in the event of aggression, be at a disadvantage vis-à-vis imperialism.

The Character of World War Has Changed

The resolve of the people to fight cannot be counterposed to nuclear weapons, nor can we say that the people, and not nuclear weapons, are decisive. To pose the question this way is to ignore the material growth of society, to approach the role of the masses from an idealistic and not a Marxist standpoint. To say this is to imply that the Communists in all countries have already won the masses for socialism. I believe there is no need to prove that we are still a long way from having the masses on the side of socialism in, say, the United States and in other big capitalist countries, that much still remains to be done before this is achieved.

From the standpoint of historical materialism, or, in other words, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the masses act as a social force *not abstractly*; their actions are *historically determined by the development of the mode of production*.

Slave society, for example, could not even envisage socialism, to say nothing of communism, for the simple reason that the level of productive forces did not permit this. In the 16th century a handful of conquistadors was able to subjugate entire peoples of America, numbering millions, because unlike these millions they had fire-arms, coats of mail and horses.

Here it is pertinent to recall what Engels wrote in *Anti-Duehring*: "So, then, the revolver triumphs over the sword; and this will probably make even the most childish axiomatician comprehend that force is no

mere act of the will, but requires the existence of very real preliminary conditions before it can come into operation, namely, *instruments*, the more perfect of which gets the better of the less perfect; moreover, that these instruments have to be produced, which implies that the producer of more perfect instruments of force, commonly called arms, gets the better of the producer of the less perfect instruments, and that, in a word, the triumph of force is based on the production of arms, and this in turn on production in general — therefore, on 'economic power,' on the 'economic situation,' on the *material* means which force has at its disposal."

In the 20th century, the century of the technological revolution, man discovered new means, including atomic energy, making for the powerful development of production. These discoveries have aggravated the contradictions in capitalist society, showing that the material conditions for socialist revolution have matured. But since atomic energy is not yet accessible to most countries, those who possess it have a tremendous superiority. A country possessing the secret of nuclear energy for military purposes could dictate its will to large and densely populated countries not possessing this secret. That is exactly what the United States tried to do during its shortlived monopoly of atomic weapons.

True, the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the people are the decisive force in social development is as valid as ever. But it would be idealistic to say, at the present level of technological and industrial development that people decide everything, that in the struggle against an enemy equipped with ultra-modern weapons and more powerful technically, it is enough to counterpose the people to be victorious; such a view overlooks the concept of historical materialism, of Marxism-Leninism.

Imperialism, armed with nuclear weapons, can be paralyzed in its action only by socialism, which is also armed with nuclear weapons. That is exactly what is happening today. What is the explanation for the fact that so many peoples have been able to liberate themselves from colonial slavery in recent years? Is it only because of the will of the people? In earlier times too some of these people waged a heroic struggle for liberation, but they did not win freedom. This was not their fault, of course. The reason was that in those days there was no powerful socialist camp able to support them politically and militarily, no powerful country such as the

Soviet Union is today, no powerful democratic and national-liberation movement.

Let us assume for a moment that the Soviet Union had not succeeded in making its nuclear weapons and missiles, and that the vast socialist camp had to compete with imperialism without possessing these weapons. Would the will of the people of the socialist countries to fight compensate for their military and technological weakness, to make them secure in the face of aggressive imperialism?

The socialist countries and the revolutionary people throughout the world are benefiting from the fact that in the Soviet Union socialism has a technical base that can hold its own with the technical base of the most developed capitalist countries, from the fact that this technical base is developing at a faster rate than is the case in the capitalist countries. The rapid advance of the economy, science and technology in the USSR and the other countries of the socialist camp is a factor determining socialism's ultimate victory over capitalism on a world scale.

Nuclear energy and the ballistic missiles pose many new problems before the working-class and the Communist movement, before all mankind. These discoveries and inventions can be used either to provoke a fearful catastrophe or to accelerate the march of history.

Our generation has experienced the two world wars generated by countries which sought to establish their world domination. War was good business for the capitalists; and even when they lost it, as German imperialism did twice, they still pocketed enormous profits. For the people, however, war meant untold suffering and sacrifices.

But, as a result of the revolutionary crisis caused by the First World War, the world's first state of workers and peasants came into being on the vast territory of former tsarist Russia. After the Second World War more states dropped out of the imperialist system and, together with the Soviet Union, formed the socialist world system.

A direct consequence of the emergence and consolidation of the socialist camp following the Second World War was the powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries; former colonies became sovereign states which are carrying on a struggle for complete independence.

A telling blow was dealt imperialism; it ceased to be the decisive force in world

politics. But its aggressive nature remains unchanged; it continues to oppress and exploit people. It has been preparing feverishly for a war against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, hoping to smash these countries and to reverse the course of history.

But the strength of the peace forces today is such that there is now a real possibility of averting a new war.

Another factor objectively acting against world war is the destructive force of nuclear weapons and the fact that the Soviet Union is on a par with, if not ahead of, the United States in this field.

If in pre-nuclear times war was, to use Clausewitz's expression, the continuation of politics by other means, can we say exactly the same thing today? I have in mind, of course, a world war.

There is no gainsaying that as long as imperialism exists the danger of a new world war exists. The ultra-aggressive imperialist circles, blinded by their hatred for socialism, have no intention of renouncing war as a means of winning world supremacy. The more sober-minded politicians in the imperialist camp, however, realize that as things are they cannot hope to establish their domination through a world war, that such a war might end in self-annihilation. Kennedy and some other imperialist leaders have admitted that war would be suicidal, that it would be a war without victors.

Hence, if war does not promise the imperialists their coveted world supremacy but only self-annihilation, the objective conditions exist for excluding the possibility of such a war serving the imperialists as an effective means of continuing their policy.

As for the socialist camp, war never has been and never can be a means of realizing its policy: the socialist countries do not seek to dominate other countries. Revolution is not an item of export; nor can it be brought in with bayonets; it is accomplished by the people of each country when the conditions for it are ripe.

The socialist camp may find itself obliged to wage a war if such is imposed on it by the imperialist aggressors. But by its very nature it will never, of its own accord, resort to war as a means of resolving differences with other states. The policy of peaceful coexistence stems from the very nature of the socialist system. Marxists - Leninists, therefore, do not doubt the correctness of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Although a nuclear war would spell dis-

aster for imperialism, it would also cause fearful destruction in the countries of the socialist camp. In general, a nuclear war means desolation for mankind — the annihilation of hundreds of millions of lives, the destruction of industry, of the achievements of science and technology. In short, it would be the greatest catastrophe in human history. Only the utterly reckless imperialists can regard the perspective of such a war lightly, or those who still do not realize the full significance of the weapons of wholesale annihilation and who still think of war as a direct clash between masses of soldiers where numerical strength rather than the weapons and equipment used decide the issue.

True enough, rifles and other types of conventional arms can, in certain circumstances and at a definite moment, be an important means of winning freedom in one or another country. But in the event of a world war the issue will be decided by nuclear missiles, and not rifles, and this is something we cannot afford to ignore. Hence, the question of how to end wars must be seen in an entirely different light today. Hence the main aim of the Communist and Workers' parties is to prevent world war and save peace.

At the same time we stress that the struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence does not at all imply renunciation of the mass armed struggle where the objective conditions favor this. The peaceful way or the way of armed struggle depends on the conditions in the given country, on the influence exerted by the socialist camp and the liberation movement. But in the present age we Communists should explore all peaceful avenues before resorting to armed struggle.

That is why our Party firmly supports the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union, reaffirms its adherence to the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings and why it considers that the defense of world peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence are the No. 1 goal of the world Communist and workers' movement today.

Talk has been heard of late about "rich socialist countries" and "poor socialist countries." Naturally, there are developed socialist countries and others that are less so. At the cost of enormous sacrifice and effort the working people of the Soviet Union, who have been in power for over 45 years, succeeded in creating the highly developed economy that now serves them as

the foundation for building communism. Some of the countries took to the socialist path later, and were more backward economically than prerevolutionary Russia had been; naturally, these countries are still at a lower level of economic development. This difference in economic levels will be made good in a relatively short space of time through mutual aid and cooperation, but it cannot disappear overnight, by the mere waving of a wand.

It would be a grave error to say that these countries are more "revolutionary" because they are "poorer" and that the Soviet Union is more "conservative" because it is richer. This view, a kind of rehash of the "theory" about the "affluent" society expounded by Rostow, the ideologist of American imperialism, has absolutely nothing to do with science. According to this "theory" the decisive factor is industrial development, and not the social order, and only poor peoples are revolutionary. By propounding this theory they want to perpetuate capitalism and to prove that as their countries advance economically the revolutionary peoples will cease to be revolutionary and revert to capitalism.

It would follow, then, that as the Soviet Union, and later the other socialist countries, advance towards communism, that is, towards a society of abundance where each *produces according to his ability and receives according to his needs*, they will become more and more "conservative." In other words, as the revolution advances and the people — and it is the people who should enjoy the fruits of the revolution — become more affluent, a reverse process takes place, in the course of which we become more and more "conservative," that is, retrograde.

This kind of "theory" and way of reasoning are inimical to Marxism-Leninism. In the present competition between socialism and capitalism an essential element of our victory is to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism. This superiority, already demonstrated in relative terms, has now to be proved in absolute terms. In other words, the socialist countries must produce more material and spiritual riches than capitalism, must provide their people with a higher standard of living than that in the more developed capitalist countries.

This is the most revolutionary task of the day. When the world sees for itself that the one-time backward countries have outstripped the more developed capitalist countries in the material and spiritual sphere and have given their peoples the highest standard of living, the ground will be completely cut from under the feet of the advocates of capitalism, even in those countries where it appears firmly established.

The revolutionary working people of the capitalist countries, therefore, hail every new achievement in science and technology, every improvement in the well-being of the people in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as a victory for themselves. This is the most effective support which we Communists battling in the capitalist countries can receive from the countries where the working class has already triumphed. This explains why the program of communist construction adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU was enthusiastically received by Communists and progressives throughout the world, why it has become the banner of their struggle.

Every Communist who knows the history of the Russian revolution rejoices to see how the life of the Soviet people, who in the near future will have a higher standard of living than the most developed capitalist country, is rising year by year. But we know the price the people of the Soviet Union have had to pay, in terms of sacrifice and effort, to build their socialist industry and economy unaided. They had nobody to turn to for economic aid. We know they defended their gains from the imperialist aggressors; how they shared their last crust with other fraternal peoples; we know of their lofty internationalism whenever it is a question of supporting a people battling for freedom. We know of the revolutionary valor of the Soviet people and their Communist Party. All peoples are entitled to happiness, and that is what we Communists are fighting for. But the Soviet people whom history has entrusted with the honorable but at the same time incredibly difficult task of pioneering the way for all peoples, a task entailing great sacrifices and hardship, deserves this happiness more than anybody else.

Growth of the Strike Movement in the Capitalist Countries

STRIKES are the clearest manifestations of the class antagonisms in capitalist society; they are, in addition, the answer to the illusions about the "class harmony" of capitalist propaganda. The recent French coal miners' strike which acquired a truly international significance, evoking a sweeping solidarity movement all over the world, dealt another blow at these illusions. Everyday experience shows that the class struggle is the product of capitalism, of its insoluble contradictions. Only through organization and struggle can the working people gain concessions from the capitalists, and they make sacrifices and endure privation in the strike struggles because the capitalist system of exploitation leaves them no other way out.

Strike action, of course, is not the only form of the mass struggle. And it certainly cannot be regarded as the "absolute" weapon of the working people. There are times when conditions favor strike action, just as there are times when they do not; but in all circumstances the workers and their unions engage in a strike only as a last resort, only when all other means of settling the conflict have been exhausted. And for this reason the significance of strike actions as indicators of the growing class contradictions in capitalist society is all the greater. Here in summary are the official figures for the industrially developed countries for the years 1919-39 and 1946-60: in the first period the mean annual number of strikers was 3.55 million and the number of man-days lost in strikes,

53.32 million; for the second period the figures were 12.83 million (3.6 times as much) and 67.09 million (an increase of 26 per cent) respectively. During the same years the number of wage and salaried workers in these countries roughly doubled. This shows a growth of intensity in the strike movement, although accompanied by a relative fall in the number of man-days lost in strikes (in relation to the number of wage workers). The latter reflects the increased effectiveness of the strikes and the use of more flexible methods by the trade unions, on the one hand, and the impact of the anti-strike policies of the monopolies, on the other.

This powerful strike movement in the capitalist countries is clear proof of the profound dissatisfaction felt by the working people, of their desire to change things. Today the most varied categories of the working people are taking part in the strikes. The desire for change is becoming universal, while the discontent of the masses is spearheaded more and more against the reactionary alliances of the monopolies and the capitalist governments. The efforts of those who try to tell the workers that strikes are "obsolete" and "out-dated" have failed.

The Causes

The sharpening of the strike struggle in most capitalist countries in recent years can be seen from the table below (which does not claim to be absolutely exact):

The steady growth of the strike struggle in the early sixties reflects the rise of the democratic, anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist world generally. This is the result of the interaction of a number of different but closely linked socio-economic and politi-

This review mainly covers the period from January 1961 to March 1963 (for strike movement in 1960, see *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1961). It is based on materials prepared by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Number of Strikers in Groups of Countries
(in millions)*

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Imperialist countries	13.5	16.0	43.46	41.43	42.44
Latin America	9-10	18-20	9-10	7-8	13-17
Asia (excl. Japan)	about 2-0	over 1.0	1.5	over 1.0	about 1.0
Africa	0.4	0.3	0.4	about 1.0	0.3
Total number of strikers	25-27	35-37	54-58	50.53	56-62
Participants in political strikes	11-12	16-18	41-45	30-33	35-40

*From official statistics, trade union figures and the press.

cal processes: the changes in the world balance of class forces in favor of socialism, the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the spread of the national-liberation struggle in Latin America, Asia and Africa. The strike struggle, of course, has its specific causes, and the conditions in which it takes place vary from country to country.

In the imperialist countries it is directly linked with the socio-economic changes associated with the development of state-monopoly capitalism (especially in the form of "supra-national" associations like the Common Market) and the technological revolution. In the conditions of growing competition, technological advance inevitably hits the working people. The monopolies want them to bear the burden of the reconstruction of production while they themselves appropriate its benefits. New methods of exploitation leading to a greatly increased intensification of labor are being introduced. On the other hand, the socio-economic changes also lay bare the vulnerable spots of the monopolies, thus favoring the development and deepening of the struggle of the masses. The technological revolution is accompanied by a considerable growth of production, which enables many sections of the working class to take the offensive, to advance more demands, and to benefit from the technological progress.

In Latin America, where the strike movement reflects above all the growth of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement, the working class is fighting to improve its conditions and against oppression by the U.S. monopolies and local reactionaries. Its actions and its demands are, as a rule, of an openly political, anti-imperialist character. But the scale of the strike struggle and the degree of working-class leadership of the anti-imperialist movement are, naturally, not the same in all the countries of the continent.

In the newly-independent Afro-Asian countries, the working people are, as hitherto, in dire straits. The ruling classes are trying to saddle them with the burdens deriving from the domination of foreign imperialism, with the misfortunes caused by the semi-feudal relations, and, where industries are being established, with the cost of industrialization. The workers are fighting back against unemployment and soaring prices, for social legislation and decent conditions. This struggle is becoming intertwined with the struggle against imperialism, especially in the enterprises owned by foreign companies, and for elementary democratic rights.

The new international and domestic setting

in which the strike movement is taking place, greatly modifying its forms and tactics, is reflected in the character and content of the demands advanced, in the relationship between the economic and political struggle, between nationwide and local struggles—in short, it lays its imprint on all aspects of the movement.

The Aims and the Forms

Economic demands have always played an important part in the strike struggle. *Higher wages, better conditions and shorter working hours*—these remain one of the main tasks of the working-class movement. The range of economic demands, especially in the developed capitalist countries, is widening, and in recent years we have seen more attention to such demands as *better social insurance, longer paid holidays, reduction of overtime, etc.*

The economic and social problems arise directly in the enterprises, engendering thousands of local conflicts. The total number of strikes in the nine biggest capitalist countries was as follows:

1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
11,482	11,317	12,798	13,986	about 15,000

While giving due importance to the local conflicts, the leading place in the strike movement is held by *nationwide sections in various branches of industry.*

Two of the biggest nationwide actions of the recent period were the eight-months' strike of the Italian metalworkers and the resolute struggle waged by 200,000 French miners.

Long-term strikes have also been fought by Japanese seamen, French textile workers, U.S. seamen and dockers, Canadian construction workers, Danish metalworkers, stevedores and truck drivers, Finnish building workers and railwaymen, Icelandic fishermen, Saar miners, etc. Besides direct stoppages, more frequent use is made of such forms as the "go-slow," "work to rule," refusing to work overtime. For example, in January 1962, over 180,000 postal workers in Britain operated a "work to rule." In Austria, sugar-refinery workers engaged in a "go-slow" movement at the end of the summer of 1962 and after 25 days won wage increases.

The socio-economic demands of the workers, arising from the conditions of production, are changing as these conditions change. New demands are engendered by the spread of automation. In the United States trade unions are stressing *job security* when bargaining with the employers.

This demand has been decisive in the recent strikes of American dockers and printers. Recently the East Coast dockers went on strike against the threat of redundancy. The strike lasted 34 days and ended in victory in January 1963. The printers' strike in New York which commenced in December and continued 114 days, was centered around problems of automation. The printers—one of the most highly paid categories—insisted that the introduction of new machinery should not result in dismissals, and demanded higher wages and a 35-hour working week.

Modernization and capitalist rationalization give rise to new methods of exploitation, revision of the system of grading and work rating, and increased dependence of the workers on the management. In this way, the seeds of new conflicts are planted, and new slogans and demands are advanced. Particular importance is attached to the *demand to uphold and extend the rights of trade unions as well as workers' representation in the enterprises*. This demand, naturally, encounters bitter resistance on the part of the monopoly owners who regard it as an encroachment on the "sacred principle" of private ownership.

It is not only the content of the socio-economic demands that changes, but also the forms of the struggle for these demands. The intertwining of technological processes in allied branches of industry and of the phases of one and the same production cycle makes it easier to use new, flexible and effective forms of the strike struggle. These include the so-called "chessboard" strikes and other actions of this kind, work stoppages lasting several days or several hours a day, etc. These actions, distinguished for their high level of organization and militancy, deliver telling blows to the monopolies and force them to make concessions.

An example of this struggle was recently provided by over a million metalworkers in Italy who demanded that the trade unions should have more rights in the enterprises. From June 1962 to February 1963, 40 strikes, including 16 general strikes, took place. The attempts made by some of the employers to disrupt the unity of the strikers by offering substantial wage increases were unanimously declined. At the end of October the workers won an extension of trade union rights in the state-owned enterprises and a roughly 10-12 per cent wage increase in the state sector. In the same month of October similar agreements were concluded with dozens of private firms,

including such powerful concerns as FIAT and Olivetti. On the whole, however, the Confindustrie (confederation of industrialists) refused to meet the demands of the trade unions. At the end of November the struggle flared up again, reaching peak in the general solidarity strike in which six million took part (February 8, 1963). The Confindustrie had to retreat. For the first time the new national agreement signed on February 17 recognized the right of the union to discuss all aspects of work in the enterprise. Other clauses provided for higher wages, shorter hours and equal pay for equal work.

In order to incorporate urgent demands in the collective agreement, the unions are often forced to resort to the so-called "token" strikes—24- or 48-hour strikes fought on the scale of particular industries. At times, general strikes alternate with stoppages at individual enterprises, groups of enterprises, in particular towns and regions of the country. Widespread in recent years have been strikes based on the principle of growing pressure.

In September 1962, this method was used by the workers in the paper industry in Federal Germany. When the unions asked for a 12 per cent increase of the hourly wages and the employers offered only 3.2 per cent, the unions put the issue to the vote, and the overwhelming majority of the workers expressed themselves in favor of strike action. The employers refused to yield. Then, on September 3, 11 enterprises went on strike. This gradually spread to more and more factories. In a week's time 24 enterprises had been brought to a standstill, and the union was ready to extend the strike to the entire industry. The employers had second thoughts on the matter and agreed to raise the rates by 9.13 per cent.

In Japan, too, there are specific forms of the mass struggle against the monopolies such as the so-called "spring" and "autumn" offensives. Particularly militant action is taken during the spring when the collective agreements are renewed.

At the beginning of 1962 the Association of Japanese Manufacturers with the support of the government recommended to owners of enterprises not to grant wage increases in excess of four per cent. To this the trade union centers—the General Council of Trade Unions (SOHIO) and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions—retaliated by launching a "spring offensive." It started on February 20, when some five million

workers turned up at mass meetings, rallies and demonstrations. Another joint action took place on March 3, when 5.5 million took part in brief strikes, meetings and demonstrations. The struggle reached peak during the so-called "joint action days": on March 20 about one million workers went on strike; on March 28 — over two million; on April 5-6 — over 750,000; on April 10 — over one million and on April 17 nearly 700,000. The monopolies were forced to make some concessions — factory and office workers won wage increases ranging from eight to 14 per cent.

The 1963 "spring offensive" has acquired a still wider scale. For the first time all the Japanese trade unions, whose membership runs up to nine million, have come out simultaneously for a sharp increase in wages. The principal demand of the present struggle is "equal wages with Western Europe" — not just another minor raise that would be wiped out at once by the rising cost of living, but an increase over the next three to five years that would bring real wages in Japan to the level of the West European countries.

The working class of Asia, Africa and Latin America is fighting stubbornly for the satisfaction of its vital demands. The class awareness, organization and experience of the proletariat of the "awakened continents" are growing rapidly.

Workers in the big industrial centers are in the van of the strike struggle in India. Mention should be made of the strike of 225,000 jute workers in Calcutta (February 1961) and of metalworkers in Durgapur (May 1961). The strike movement spread in February-March 1962, when stoppages took place in the enterprises of the foreign-owned oil companies; 10,000 workers employed in the heavy electrical equipment plant in Bhopal stopped work, as well as over a thousand dockers in Bombay.

Militancy and good organization distinguished the 22-day general strike of 14,000 railwaymen in Malaya in December 1962-January 1963. The entire working class of the country came to the aid of the strikers, funds were raised everywhere. On December 29, some 300,000 workers in the rubber plantations stopped work in solidarity. As a result the railwaymen won higher wages and a system of social benefits.

For more than three weeks in May 1962, 35,000 African workers were on strike in the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia, and for the first time achieved unity with European workers who refused to act as strike-

breakers. In Kenya strike struggles reached a new high in 1962; during the first half of the year alone there were 112 strikes, the biggest of them involving 70,000 plantation workers.

Good organization in strike actions was displayed by the car and truck drivers in Ecuador, by Chilean and Bolivian miners, by Brazilian seamen, iron and steel workers in Morocco, dockers in Ceylon, dockers and metalworkers in Israel, and plantation workers, miners and dockers in Tanganyika.

The experience of the advanced industrial workers is widely utilized by other sections of the working people, including farm laborers and office employees.

In Italy strikes involving 3,700,000 agricultural laborers and sharecroppers swept the country from North to South in 1962. This struggle won the rural working people important gains, including wage increases ranging from 15 to 40 per cent. Early in November a one-day national strike of agricultural laborers and sharecroppers was held to demand a far-reaching agrarian reform which would give the land to those who till it. Strikes of agricultural laborers took place also in Spain, Greece and many other countries.

Recently there have been strikes of secondary and high school teachers in the United States, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Italy, Britain, France and other countries. In Italy, Japan, Britain and Greece doctors and nurses went on strike. In a number of countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa there have been strikes by civil servants. Vienna saw a general strike of hotel and restaurant workers and even a strike of policemen. The fact that members of the free professions resort to such a specifically working-class form of struggle as a strike is a sign of the changed outlook of these sections, whom the capitalists have always sought to isolate from, and counterpose to, manual workers.

One of the features of the strike movement is the steady growth in the actions *for peace and disarmament, in defense of democratic rights, against fascism and reaction, against the old and the new colonialism, for genuine national independence*. As a rule, these strikes merge with other forms of the mass democratic movement.

In some instances these are brief actions taken to express the will of the people or in the form of protest. For example, the 15 minutes' strike for peace held on May 8, 1962, in Belgium; one-hour strikes in

France against the OAS terrorists; a four-hour strike of 100,000 in Queensland (Australia) in defense of trade-union rights; the general strike in Aden in September 1962 against the colonialist schemes of the British authorities. In other instances, a series of separate actions, both local and general, merges into the single stream of nationwide struggle for specific demands. In Japan the struggle against the "prevention of political violence" bill assumed this form and resulted in the bill being thrown out.

The big strikes in Latin America are, as a rule, closely linked with the struggle against the military dictatorships.

In Ecuador two powerful actions in October and November 1961 resulted in the overthrow of the reactionary government of President Ibarra. A few months later a wave of political strikes against Fuentes, then dictator of Guatemala, swept that country. In the Dominican Republic the political strikes and demonstrations against the Trujillo dictatorship developed, in October 1961, into an uprising which was crushed by the military junta with the aid of the U.S. Navy.

International solidarity campaigns with the people fighting for freedom and against imperialist aggression have grown in recent years. Many countries have witnessed solidarity strikes with the Spanish workers (1962) and with the people of Algeria (1960-62). Universal indignation was caused by the provocative actions of U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean last autumn. Demonstrations, meetings and strikes in solidarity with the people of Cuba took place in dozens of countries.

In Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia and other Latin American countries the workers took to the streets to declare their solidarity with Cuba. Angry demonstrations took place outside U.S. embassies, many of which ended in clashes with the police. A wave of protests swept the world. In Japan and Syria, Indonesia and Ghana, Italy and France the working people marched under the slogans of peace and independence for Cuba. The workers made wide use of the political strike as a form of expressing their will. In Italy over 2,500,000 took part in the solidarity strikes on behalf of the people of Cuba.

Economic Struggle Develops into Political Action

In recent years the economic struggle has made a greater impact on the political situa-

tion in many countries, becoming one of the essential factors of socio-political development. This is manifested most strikingly in those countries which suffer from despotism and terror (many Latin American countries, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Iran, South Korea, South Vietnam, UAR, etc.). In these countries any significant action by the working people acquires the character of political demonstration against the regime.

The strike of the miners in Asturias and of the metalworkers in the Basconia in April-May 1962, the formal pretext of which was seen in economic demands, was regarded in Spain and throughout the world as a protest against the Franco dictatorship. The strike was joined by many other groups of workers—totalling 500,000. They provided an example of good organization and perseverance. But the main feature of this strike was the universal support given by broad sections of the population, which enabled the workers to hold out and prevented the government from using force against them.

The Franco government, not daring to use the army against the workers, was forced to make concessions. The result of these strikes, wrote S. Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, shows that *fascism can be defeated by peaceful forms of struggle*.*

The atmosphere of universal support for the strikers, the rapid development of local conflicts into broad political demonstrations, the intertwining of direct economic demands with the growing desire for radical social and political changes — all this is typical also of most of the Latin American countries.

The 42-day strike of the Argentine railwaymen in the autumn of 1961 against the government's "plan for reorganization" of the railroads, as a result of which 75,000 workers and office employees would have been dismissed, assumed the character of national and anti-imperialist struggle. Prior to this action there had been two general strikes of railwaymen — on May 16 and August 23. On those occasions the government used the police and troops against the strikers and blood was shed in the streets. To these reprisals the workers answered by declaring a strike without any definite term. A general solidarity strike took place on November 7-9 in which 4.5 million took part. A National Solidarity Committee was set up and included repre-

*See *World Marxist Review*, 1962, No. 8, page 3.

sentatives of political parties, trade unions, students' and women's organizations, etc. As a result the government had to release the arrested strikers, raise the wages of the railwaymen and agree to discuss the position of the railroads with the trade unions.

The capitalists in their anti-strike propaganda claim that the unions and the Left parties use strikes for political purposes. This bogey is used to intimidate the masses and is a preliminary thrust in the direction of curtailing trade union rights. But this merely shows that nowadays the economic struggle cannot but acquire political significance, and not because somebody is "intriguing" but because very often what is at stake is the struggle for the right to strike, and for democratic rights generally.

This change in the character of economic strikes is conditioned by the rapid development of *state-monopoly capitalism*. Nowadays the capitalist machinery of state determines not only the general economic policy but also decides concrete issues affecting wages, prices and social services. Therefore more and more frequently the working class comes into conflict with the capitalist state in the struggle for its socio-economic demands. This applies in particular (and especially) to workers employed in the nationalized sectors of the economy and to civil servants.

In France these categories became the first victims of the pro-monopoly socio-economic policy of the Gaullist government. Since 1959 their struggle has been growing steadily. In 1961 there were three 24-hour strikes in which nearly 500,000 took part: railwaymen, electricians, miners, workers in the gas industry, public utilities, city transport and Air France. The spring and summer of 1962 saw large-scale actions by railwaymen, miners, postal workers, electrical engineers and workers in the gas industry. March this year witnessed the beginning of a powerful strike of the miners who were followed by railwaymen, gas, electricity and postal workers, and workers in the nuclear industry, i.e., practically the entire personnel of the nationalized sector. Workers in the private sector — metal, textile and chemical workers — have not lagged behind.

These strikes occupy a special place in the strike movement of recent years. They were caused by the refusal of the government to meet the miners' just demands: an 11-per cent wage increase to close the gap between their wage level and that in other industries, restoration of the 40-hour week,

and a four-week holiday. On the second day of the strike de Gaulle signed a decree ordering compulsory "mobilization" of the miners. But the latter ignored the *diktat* and declared that they would not only uphold their economic demands but would fight also against any encroachment on the right to strike. For the first time engineers and technicians joined the strikes. Solidarity meetings and demonstrations were held all over the country, and a campaign for funds was launched to help the strikers. The miners' strike, which dealt a telling blow to the one-man rule, aroused a broad movement of solidarity and support throughout the world. After 35 days of struggle the strikers wrested important concessions from the government.*

The imperialist "integration" policy is bound to sharpen the conflict between labor and capital. The Common Market of six West European countries has resulted in intensified capitalist competition which has adversely affected the conditions of the people. The governments of the USA, Britain, Federal Germany and other countries have officially proclaimed a policy which is known variously as "wage freeze," "pay pause," "non-inflationary growth of wages," etc. Another aspect of the pro-imperialist policy of the governments which runs counter to the interests of the working people is that of structural changes in the economy. Whole branches of industry are being curtailed, such as shipbuilding in Italy and France, and cotton and railroads in Britain; the coal industry is in hard straits practically in all capitalist countries without exception. The working class has replied to this policy with a number of resolute counter-actions.

In 1962 the British workers succeeded in winning a wage increase averaging 4.4 per cent (the maximum recommended by the government for that year was 2.5 per cent). In other countries, too, the workers are breaking the front of the wage freeze. They answer with strikes to the plans for closing enterprises or whole industries. At the end of 1961 and the beginning of 1962 miners in Decazeville (France) fought courageous struggles. In September 1962, the decision of the Italian government to close the shipyard in Livorno was countered by a shipbuilders' strike which was supported by the entire population of the city. In Britain 350,000 railwaymen held a 24-hour strike in October 1962 against the

*See commentary by P. Hentges elsewhere in this issue.

government's plan to curtail the rail network.

Last year saw a renewal of the struggle waged by Japanese miners for several years against mass dismissals carried out by the monopolies in the guise of "modernizing" the coal industry. The government openly sided with the monopolies and drew up a plan for further curtailment of the coal industry which would entail the laying off of 70,000 miners. The trade unions, on their part, advanced an alternative program on behalf of the interests of the miners. The government, however, submitted the bill on the coal industry to Parliament at the end of 1962. In reply, over 100,000 miners declared a strike on December 8. On December 14 there was a general strike of four million workers. The state of the coal industry became an important political issue. The "spring offensive" of 1963 has again advanced the slogan of defense of the coal industry and of the miners.

Growth of class consciousness and better organization are the essential factors determining the interweaving of the economic and political struggles, the transition from one to the other. In this sense the sweep of the economic struggle in many capitalist countries has transformed this struggle into an important factor of internal political life.

In Italy the organic link between economics and politics was demonstrated by the metalworkers who combined the struggle for direct economic demands with that of curbing the powers of the employers and of extending the rights of unions in the enterprises. This link was also manifested in the resolute support of the trade unions for nationalization of the power industry. In Japan the fusing of the economic and political struggles is clearly revealed during "united action days." The slogans of peace and disarmament, of abolishing the Japano-American military pact, defending democracy, a progressive socio-economic policy, etc., are given pride of place along with the specific economic demands advanced by the various sections of the working people.

By means of significant concessions and handouts the monopoly bourgeoisie is trying to weaken the militancy of the workers. Everywhere, however, the militant spirit of the masses proves stronger. The big strikes of recent years are proof of the reserve of revolutionary energy at the disposal of the working class, of how rapidly an economic conflict can develop into a political crisis. That

is why under certain circumstances the monopolies prefer not to let things develop into an open clash.

The conflict between the dockers and employers of Britain in the spring of 1962, and its results, are indicative. The demand of the workers for higher wages and better conditions of work was emphatically rejected by the employers who had the support of the government. The capitalist press raised a hue and cry against the decision of 70,000 dockers to go on strike. The Cabinet decided to use troops against the strikers. On May 13, however, a few hours before the strike, the main demands of the dockers were met. Having encountered the resolve and militancy of the workers, the government preferred not to risk what the *Economist* described as "political suicide." Somewhat earlier, the threat of a general strike by 120,000 electrical workers had the same result.

Similar situations arose in West Germany. At the beginning of 1962, the metalworkers' trade union in the Baden-Wuerttemberg land, after two months of fruitless talks with the employers, decided to declare a general strike. At that point the latter signed an agreement which largely satisfied the demands of the workers. In June 400,000 Ruhr miners were ready to go on strike. But again the monopolies and the government preferred not to accept the challenge.

The growing political significance of the economic struggles is linked also with the intertwining of the interests of the working class and the non-proletarian sections of the working people. The consequences of the imperialist policy of integration affect not only the factory and office workers but other sections as well. That is why the strike struggle directly fuses with the democratic movements for far-reaching socio-economic reforms in keeping with the interests of all sections of the people — *nationalization of the big monopolies, agrarian reforms, the extension of democracy, and curbing the power of big capital.*

The monopoly bourgeoisie, it is true, is still able to maneuver, but the logic of social development is such that the problem of a radical transformation of the socio-economic structure, and above all of abolishing the rule of the monopolies, is being advanced more and more to the political forestage, and this finds its reflection in the strike movement.

Unity Grows Stronger in Struggle

The upsurge of the mass movement, including the strike movement, reflects the desire

of the working people for united action. Experience shows that unity is forged in the crucible of struggle. The most striking manifestation of united mass action is the *general strike*; and its widespread nature is one of the features of the strike movement of recent years.

The year 1961, for example, opened with the big strike of the Belgian workers. The preceding two years witnessed general strikes or strike battles on a similar scale in France, Italy, Japan, Spain, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Uruguay, Algeria, Israel, the South-African Republic, Liberia and a number of other countries. In all, over 80 such strikes took place between 1958 and 1962, that is, more than in the first 12 years after the war (1946-57).

The general strike, no matter under what slogans it is carried out, is always an open clash between the overwhelming majority of the working people and the ruling class, between the interests of the people and the policy of the bourgeoisie. It brings the masses into direct conflict with the bourgeois government and lays bare its anti-democratic nature. In the course of the strike the working people as a rule put forward social and political as well as economic demands.

In Latin America general strikes are now a regular feature of the continent's political life. During 1961 and 1962, for example, there were three general strikes in Brazil and five in the Argentine.

Brazil was the scene of a political crisis in August 1961 when the military, after forcing President Quadros to resign, tried to take political power into their own hands. This attempt was foiled thanks to the intervention of the masses who countered the machinations of the reactionaries with hundreds of strikes, meetings and demonstrations, and by forming a people's guard to uphold democracy. Two other attempts by the reactionaries to seize power in July and September 1962 also led to general strikes. The working people not only repelled the reactionary onslaught, they forced the government to agree in principle to raise wages and remove the restrictions on the agricultural trade unions.

In the Argentine, besides the general strike called in solidarity with the railwaymen, there were two general strikes in 1961 on economic issues and two more in 1962 against the reactionary coup engineered by the military, and against the repressions and the drive to lower living standards. The unity achieved in the course of mass

actions is invariably the result of the extensive, many-sided and strenuous preparatory work carried out by the revolutionary proletarian vanguard, by Communists and other Left-wing forces, before any major action. At the same time big strikes stimulate the striving for unity and the militancy of the working people, make them aware of their strength. The development of the strike movement in France strikingly demonstrates this.

The April strike in 1961 (in reply to the OAS putsch in Algeria) was followed by the December 19 demonstration under the slogans "Peace in Algeria!", "Down with the OAS!", etc. Then came the impressive mass action of February 1962 in protest against the bloody police violence wreaked on the anti-fascists who had demonstrated in the streets of Paris, demanding peace in Algeria and decisive measures to stop the terror. Eight people were killed and 250 wounded. On February 13, the day of the funeral, the working people of France downed tools. The March actions of this year showed a similar degree of unity and solidarity. All the attempts of the government to set the population against the striking miners miscarried, as evidenced by the fact that on March 5 more than six million people took part in general solidarity strikes. Working people of all political trends and also Socialists and Radicals joined the Communists in support of the miners.

The experience of the past few years shows that the powerful mass movement in France, Belgium, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries has created a situation making for the further development of the working-class struggle and united action. The Communists and Socialists, the Catholics and non-believers who have fought jointly for common demands want to consolidate and extend united action. At the same time a cleavage is taking place in the Socialist parties and reformist unions where the Rights are trying to torpedo unity. But the overall political and economic situation, and especially the growing activity of the working people, is furthering the establishment of joint action.

The general strikes in France and Italy take place, as a rule, with the participation, and of late, close cooperation of the main trade union bodies in the country. The recent strikes in Japan were led by the United Council, which included representatives of the SOHIO and Federation of Independent Trade Unions. Belgium's two trade union centers, the General Federation of Working People and the

Confederation of Christian Trade Unions have for the first time in many years carried out joint strikes of miners and metal workers. In Israel the big general strikes of 1962 were led by joint action committees that had been set up in defiance of the reactionary majority in the trade union leadership.

The contrast between the reformist theory of class collaboration and the daily practice of the class struggle is becoming increasingly evident to working people in these parties and unions. In face of the upsurge in the mass movement the reformist unions are compelled to take a more active part in the strike struggle and agree to joint action with the Left unions, including those unions where the Communists play a leading role.

The situation in the labor movement in the capitalist countries today offers new opportunities for consolidating working-class unity. This is one of the major results of the recent strike struggles.

The Anti-Strike Policy of the Monopolies

The mass actions of the working people tie the hands of the monopolies, make it difficult for them to carry out economic changes necessitated by intensified capitalist competition. Hence they are resorting to every means in an attempt to sidetrack the workers' demands. Hence the growing tendency towards authoritarianism in the political life of a number of countries, the offensive against democratic rights and liberties, the attempts to curtail the workers' right to strike. The general sentiment of monopoly capital was recently expressed in so many words by West Germany's monopolists, who called for "an end to the democracy of concessions."

The monopolies are waging an anti-strike offensive along two lines: First, along the line of mustering forces and setting up common anti-labor fronts on a national scale. In 1962 the various associations of manufacturers (the Confindustria in Italy, the Association of Japanese Manufacturers, the Union of German industrialists, etc.) literally spelled out for their members the terms on which they were to conclude agreements with the trade unions. Second, along the line of demagoguery: paternalism, "sharing the profits," etc. This policy, however, has its objective limitations.

The FIAT and Olivetti plants in Italy were at one time considered to be models of "neo-capitalist paternalism" in Europe. For many years there were no strikes. And then on June 23, 1962, the workers downed tools. Their militancy was express-

ed in the phrase "We are men again!" which became the watchword of the strikers. Fearing a complete stoppage, the FIAT and Olivetti managements hastened to meet the demands of the workers, hoping in this way to restore "social peace."

The European Economic Market is assigned an important place in the fight against the working-class movement. The West European monopolies are making the most of the free movement of labor power within the Common Market to create a more favorable balance between demand and supply on the labor market and in this way weaken mass pressure. How the monopolies are utilizing the so-called common market of labor power to break strikes may be seen from the following: when the workers of the French Société métallurgique de Knutange went on strike, the management availed itself of the help of the West German Krupp concern which sent over 30 skilled workers as strikebreakers.

A feature of the situation is that *the state is beginning to take a direct part in the struggle against the strike movement* as is evident from the series of legislative and organizational measures carried out in a number of countries.

In the United States, for example, the Kennedy Administration has been enforcing the anti-strike laws. A labor relations committee has been set up representing employers and the unions. On repeated occasions the Administration acted as "peacemaker," and thus prevented a number of big strikes. Soon, however, this "peacemaking" was seen in its true light. Hence the refusal of the 80,000 East Coast longshoremen and the New York printers to have the Administration act as the mediator. The *Wall Street Journal*, commenting on the mounting labor conflicts, said there is talk in Congress and in the Administration about introducing a new anti-strike law.

In Britain the government has introduced a law prohibiting the so-called unofficial strikes. In Japan the Supreme Court has passed a decision to institute criminal proceedings against civil servants for any form of strike activity, including the holding of meetings at the place of work. In Federal Germany the government has since the spring of 1962 been carrying on a campaign against an "excessive wage increase" and is preparing a series of "emergency" laws restricting the right to strike. A similar law is being prepared also in Belgium.

A feature of the anti-labor policy of capitalist governments is *the tendency to use legis-*

lative levers in the first instance, that is, to act as "arbiters" between labor and capital. But in very many instances the ruling circles, relying on the machinery of state, also apply measures of compulsion to suppress the strike movement.

A case in point was the French government's requisition order requiring the striking miners to go back to work. This decree is based on an emergency law introduced in 1938. The government threatened the strikers with fines, imprisonment or dismissal if they did not comply with the requisition orders. Gendarmes were sent to the mines to intimidate the strikers. But the government's threats were powerless to break the solid front of unity maintained by the miners and working people. The requisition decree, as a result, fell through.

The threat of force was recently voiced also by Erhard, the Federal German Minister of Economy. "If," he said, "the government's economic measures and its appeal for moderation do not yield the desired results, more drastic measures will have to be taken." In Spain, Portugal, Greece, Pakistan, South Korea and other countries repressions continue to be the main weapon against the strike movement. In Spain, for example, the Franco authorities recently

forced Asturias miners to move to other areas of the country.

Another weapon used by the monopolies in their fight against the strike movement is their vast propaganda apparatus, especially the press, television and the cinema. Bourgeois propaganda would have the working people believe that the strike struggle is ineffective, untimely and detrimental to their own interests. There is no denying that some sections of the working people are influenced by this propaganda. But it is less effective than the monopolies would like it to be. The present upswing of the strike movement shows that capitalism's mounting economic and political difficulties are gradually undermining its anti-strike propaganda.

* * *

The working class is waging a steadfast struggle against capitalist exploitation. This struggle takes different forms, depending on the situation; it may be local or general, defensive or offensive, comparatively peaceful or an open clash with troops and police. But it is essentially a clash between hostile classes. The class antagonisms of capitalist society, far from waning, are growing sharper. The history of the international working-class movement, including the experience of the past few years, bears this out.

Monopoly Capital in Australia

E. W. Campbell

THE Menzies government has announced its intention to introduce in the next session of the Federal Parliament, commencing in May this year, a Bill to "curb monopoly and restrictive trade practices" throughout the Commonwealth. In announcing the Bill, it was officially declared that the government's aim was to defend the basis of the free competitive system of enterprise in Australia.

If this were really the government's motive, then the most that could be said for the legislation is that it is 60 years too late, because Australia, in common with all highly developed capitalist countries, has long since outgrown the period of free competition, which has been replaced by monopoly domination. It would be strange indeed if the Menzies government were to take action against monopoly. For this is a government which represents the interests of the

Australian finance oligarchy and, obediently following in the backwash of the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, aids and abets the foreign monopolists who are grabbing our national riches and plundering our people. The period since the Menzies government took over has been marked by an unprecedented growth and consolidation of monopoly capitalism. Therefore the real aim is to produce an impression that a concession is being made to public opinion and thus to weaken the anti-monopoly struggle which is growing in the country, embracing the most diverse sections of the people.

Monopoly Domination

The concentration and centralization of capital in finance and industry is on a high level in Australia. For example, there are only seven private banks, which work in

close harmony. The degree of concentration in Australian industry can be gauged from the fact that steel production is completely in the hands of one company, the Broken Hill Proprietary. Glassmaking and sugar refining, similarly, are controlled by single companies, while in many other important industries the total market is shared between two or three large firms. The high level of concentration in Australian manufacturing industry is revealed by official government figures on factory employment. These figures showed that in 1960 there were 56,657 factories in Australia employing a total of 1,139,394 workers. Of this total there were 587,832 workers employed in 1,788 big factories. This means that three per cent of the total number of factories employed more than 50 per cent of the total number of workers.

The correspondingly high level of centralization of capital is shown by analysis of information concerning the paid-up capital and profits of listed public companies contained in the *Sydney Stock Exchange Official Gazette*, 1962.

The 830 companies listed on the Stock Exchange had a total paid-up capital of £1,409,760,000. There were 193 big companies (23 per cent), which owned 74.4 per cent of the total capital of all companies. Analysis of the profit figures for 1961 shows that the total net profits of the 830 companies amounted to £169,019,000, of which the top 193 companies got a lion's share — 74.2 per cent.

Further analysis of the lists of shareholders destroys the myth of "people's capitalism" and shows that ownership of these large public companies is concentrated in the hands of a very few exceedingly rich people.

A study of the shareholdings in 102 of the largest public companies registered in Australia in 1953 shows that in round numbers there were 437 million voting shares held in approximately 490,000 individual holdings. Only 2,000 of these holdings (less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent) were large (£10,000 and over in nominal value) but they accounted for 37 per cent of all voting shares. This analysis shows that although the greater part of the shares was held by many thousands of small owners, more than one-fifth of all dividends going directly to persons went to 1,200 big shareholders. Further investigation into company ownership reveals that within this top group of 1,200 large shareholders, representing a microscopic one in nine thousand of

the population of Australia, there is a still smaller circle of about 50 wealthy families, who together constitute the financial oligarchy which owns and rules Australia.

These 50 families are grouped into three main cores of monopoly power. Two of these monopoly groups — the Collins House group, headed by the Baillieu family, and the BHP Group, headed by the Darling family — are centered in Melbourne, while the third — the Bank of New South Wales-Colonial Sugar Refining group — is centered in Sydney. A fourth group, not so powerful as these three and maintaining close links with Melbourne capital, is based on South Australia.

The BHP monopoly, which had its origins in the fabulously rich silver-lead mines at Broken Hill in north-west New South Wales in 1855, is the most powerful and leading group of Australian monopoly capitalists today.

Members of the four chief families in the BHP group hold directorships in 16 companies with a total paid-up capital of £166 million. Three members of the Darling family, the leading family in the group, hold directorships in 11 companies with a total paid-up capital of £131 million. Members of the eight chief families in the Collins House group hold directorships in 56 companies with a total paid-up capital of £208 million. Seven members of the Baillieu family, the leading family in the group, hold directorships in 24 companies with a total paid-up capital of £122 million.

The third group of the financial oligarchy — the New South Wales Group — presents a similar picture.

These monopoly families and their associates are tied together by mutual investments, intermarriage and their exclusive social intercourse. Within monopoly capital there are different groups, with special interests which lead to rivalries and contradictions. But these differences are secondary; in general they present a common front to the working class, farmers and middle sections.

Monopoly dominates all spheres of the economy. Alongside industry, trade and credit, it controls such an important branch as agriculture. Its tentacles spread from the land to the factories manufacturing agricultural machinery, fertilizer, chemicals, fuel and everything needed for the production, processing, packing and marketing of agricultural produce. Controlling all links of farm production, the monopolies obtain huge profits without any risk for themselves.

Their agents have entangled the farmers in a dense cobweb. The low net price the farmer receives, the high price of monopoly products and the huge taxes result in many farmers being unable to make both ends meet and going bankrupt. Between 1950 and 1960 the number of farm holdings in New South Wales declined by 15 per cent. Thus, the workers in town and countryside, the small and middle farmers, i.e., the bulk of the people, are subjected to monstrous monopoly exploitation both directly (in production) and indirectly (through the circulation sphere).

The urban middle sections also feel the pressure of monopoly. The small shopkeepers and businessmen are forced out of business, gobbled up or bankrupted. The number of small owners in industry and trade is steadily dwindling. The higher-paid technician and many professional people are more and more reduced to cogs in the soulless monopoly machine. Even the middle capitalists feel the threat to their position, as they are bound more tightly as appendages to big business which deprives them of part of their profits. An example of this can be seen in the dependence of small firms on car-building monopolies. In our propaganda, we should trace out the main groups and families which control Australia, show their great and rapidly growing wealth, and contrast this with the conditions of life of the majority.

"The centralization of economic and financial power in the hands of the 50 families and their associates," says the resolution of the Nineteenth National Congress of our Party, "intensifies the process of monopoly domination over governments and the state machine." All the decisions of the Federal government and state governments, Liberal or Labor, are increasingly dictated by the monopolists. Their trusted men are put into positions of power and influence. As regards the present, Menzies government, the most reactionary one in Australian history, it is openly the government of the dominant BHP-Collins House-National Bank group of monopolies. Its economic and fiscal policies are planned to help monopoly; taxation is used to pump wealth out of the pockets of the people into the monopolists' bank accounts. The economic measures of the government are direct aid to the monopolies and at the expense of the petty-bourgeois and middle capitalists as well as the working class. They increase unemployment and wor-

sen the position of farmers and other sections of the population.

The Menzies government in 1950 and 1951 tried to gain dictatorial powers to suppress the opponents of monopoly by the Communist Party Dissolution Act and the anti-Communist referendum. It has pushed further reactionary legislation into the statute books. This has been directed first at the labor movement, and also generally at freedom of speech, writing and assembly. And if today this government proposes "anti-monopoly" legislation, this cannot be anything else but a political maneuver, an attempt to silence public criticism, which has grown in recent years, and to sidetrack the labor movement's demand for nationalization of monopolies.

Positions of Foreign Capital

Foreign capital investments in our country have been growing rapidly since the end of the Second World War, a practice encouraged and abetted by the ruling circles who advance the false argument that the penetration of foreign, primarily U.S., capital is assisting the industrial development of this country and providing the working class with jobs. Today, however, unemployment has reached the record high since the war, amounting, according to conservative official estimates, to 100,000 - 120,000 jobless. And small wonder. If the U.S. imperialists are powerless to provide jobs for millions of their own people who are workless, they are still less in a position to do so in Australia where their main concern is exploitation and obtaining high monopoly profits. Today the spokesmen of the ruling circles tell the workers that unemployment has its positive features since it helps to build an industrial reserve army for future development. Their attitude to foreign capital was clearly expressed by the Consultative Council for the manufacturing industry at the Ministry of Trade, which is composed of industrialists. Despite the need to pay interest and dividends, and other difficulties, the Federal government should, according to the council, in every way encourage the influx of capital. Australia should enlist as much foreign investment as possible, according to big business.

More than three-fifths of the total foreign capital invested in Australia since the end of the war has been directed to the fast-growing manufacturing industry, primarily to automobiles, oil, chemicals, the food and drink industries.

Great Britain, because of its long-standing traditional ties, continues to be the main source of foreign capital investment in Australia. British capital is largely centered in banking, shipping, insurance and the wool industry, although it also embraces important branches of both heavy and light industry. British capital controls two of Australia's seven private banks, including the second largest bank in Australia. The British shipping combine has a virtual monopoly of the carriage of all Australia's exports. The big British pastoral company, Dalgety and N.Z. Loan Company, handles about 24 per cent of Australia's total wool clip. Two big British beef companies control a large part of Australia's meat industry.

In the metal industry the Australian subsidiary of the Guest, Keen and Nettleford British steel combine is among the largest manufacturers of steel products, but is dependent on the Australian steel monopoly for raw materials. The Rio Tinto-Consolidated Zinc company plays a major role in Australian non-ferrous metal and aluminum production. In the automobile industry the British Motor Corporation shares control with the two major American car manufacturers, General Motors and Ford, to whom it plays a subordinate role.

In oil refining and distribution two British companies, Shell and British Petroleum, also share control with three American companies. Shell owns one of the two existing petro-chemical complexes in Australia. The Australian subsidiary of British Imperial Chemicals has a near monopoly of the Australian chemical industry and is now a major force in fertilizers, on which Australian farms are so vitally dependent. British capital has a monopoly of the Australian paint industry. It has a big share, together with Australian and American companies, in Australian tire production, controls the output of synthetic fibers and plays a part in the cotton textile industry. The huge Anglo-Dutch international soap and margarine monopoly, Unilever, controls a major share of the Australian production of household and toilet soap and detergents. In light industry British capital controls the tobacco and cigarette industry.

In the postwar period U.S. capital investment in Australia has grown at a far more rapid rate than British. In 1947-48 the amount of overseas capital invested in Australia for the year amounted to £37.3 million, of which Britain supplied 77 per cent and

the USA and Canada 17 per cent. In 1960-61 the amount of foreign capital invested for the year had grown to £231 million, of which Britain's share had decreased to 50 per cent, while the share from the USA and Canada had increased to 37 per cent. American industries in Australia are on the whole twice as profitable as British, and American companies, out of their higher profit yield, reinvest a greater proportion than British companies, which enables them to grow at a much faster rate.

By far the most important fields of American capital investment in Australia are the automobile and oil industries. Australia has the highest ratio of car ownership per head of population of any country outside the United States and consequently a high per capita consumption of petrol and other oil products. There has been a very large capital investment in the oil industry since the end of the war, totalling in the vicinity of £500 million, more than half of which came from American oil companies.

The oil industry in Australia is dominated by five foreign oil companies, two of them British and three American. American capital has a near monopoly of oil exploration in Australia, which is heavily subsidized by the Menzies government. It has an 80 per cent interest in Australia's first commercial oil strike at Moonie in the Northern State of Queensland.

An example of imperialist plunder of our country is afforded by the activities of the U.S. car-manufacturing giant — the General Motors Corporation. Its subsidiary in Australia — General Motors Holdens (GMH) — accounts for about 44 per cent of the total number of cars sold in Australia each year and 68 per cent of the station waggons. GMH, the establishment of which was financed by the Australian government, rakes in fabulous profits, part of which it remits to the USA. It is followed by the Ford Motor Company. The two American companies, General Motors and Fords, together control about two-thirds of the Australian car industry. The British Motor Corporation accounts for most of the remaining one-third.

Other spheres of American capital investment in Australia include mining and the food and drink industry. The American Smelting and Refining Company owns a controlling interest in Australia's biggest silver, lead and copper mine, Mount Isa in Queensland, which in 1960 returned a net profit of more than £5 million. The American Peabody Coal Company has big investments in

Queensland open-cast coal mines, whose output is exported to Japan. Among the big American companies engaged in light industry are Colgate-Palmolive, which is Unilever's chief competitor in the soap and detergents field; and Kraft Dairy Products. In soft drinks, the ubiquitous Coco-Cola has a large share of the Australian market.

Australian monopoly capital is still stronger than U.S. and British capital and maintains control of most of our industries and banks.* But the worst aspect of the policy of encouraging foreign investment is that the foreign, mainly U.S., monopolies are gaining control of the basic branches of the country's economy, and for this purpose they use the profits they get from the exploitation of Australian workers. Already today Wall Street is conducting an offensive against BHP — the stronghold of the Australian monopolies.

Now U.S. imperialism presents a real threat to Australia's independence which has been won from British capitalism. U.S. penetration is growing not only in the economy but also in politics, military affairs and culture. The aim of this penetration is to subordinate our country completely to the USA, to turn it into a military base and a source of raw materials and profits for U.S. imperialism. The Nineteenth National Congress of our Party stressed that our country was in danger of becoming a second Canada, where basic industry is controlled by Wall Street. Even circles of the big bourgeoisie are becoming worried about this, as they are being shut off from the most profitable industries.

Against Monopoly Domination

The Communist Party has warned the people of the dangers of imperialist penetration of Australia and leads the struggle against both local and foreign monopoly capital. The anti-monopoly struggles of the people, in which the Communist Party has played the leading role, have compelled the government at least to pretend that it is going to combat monopoly domination.

The Menzies government's so-called "anti-monopoly" legislation does nothing to safeguard the Australian economy from the threat of foreign monopoly domination, nor does it attempt anything that would really clip the wings of Australian monopolists.

The legislation completely ignores the primary question of monopoly in production and purports to deal only with some aspects of the secondary question of monopoly in trade. The proposed Bill lists several practices which are deemed to be "restrictive," and requires only that they be registered with a government agency. The filing of a document describing any practice thought to be restrictive or proving that a particular practice is inimical to the public interest leaves open a whole number of "gateways" to the monopolists to justify a continuation of their ways.

The real purport of the legislation is clear to us. But we strive to utilize the debate aroused by it in order to expose all aspects of the monopoly grip on the Australian economy and to invigorate the struggle for nationalization, the demand for which is common to the programs of the Communist Party and the Australian Labor Party. The Communist Party will seek to unite with the Labor Party in a campaign around the Bill, which should be amended to make it as effective as possible. The Communist Party takes advantage of the public interest aroused by the legislation to explain how nationalization is the only effective means to combat monopoly.

Of the manifold tasks our Party faces, the main blow must be dealt at monopoly. This is dictated by the conditions which have taken shape in our country. The working class cannot fight for the right to work nor gain even its most elementary demands unless it combats monopoly, the entire system of state-monopoly capitalism. The small and middle farmers cannot solve their problems without coming into collision with the monopolies which control their needs, with the banking-hire purchase ring, and the middlemen monopolies which exploit them. The monopolies infringe the interests of the urban middle sections, of the small and even middle capitalists. The struggle for a change in the reactionary home policy of the government and for a truly Australian foreign policy is basically a struggle against monopoly capitalism. Thus, simultaneously with the urgent need to develop an anti-monopoly struggle, there is an objective basis for building a broad anti-monopoly people's movement, the main force of which is the working class in alliance with the farmers, the middle sections and, to a certain extent, with all those who fight against monopoly oppression.

*Foreign capital accounts for some 25 per cent of the total joint-stock capital in the manufacturing industry of Australia.

The Nineteenth National Congress of our Party, held in June 1961, endorsed a special resolution entitled "The People against Monopoly: For Peace, Higher Living Standards and Democracy," which contains an immediate program and advances the following as essential basic points:

1. Strict government control of prices and prevention of monopoly price fixing. Smashing of price-fixing rings and restrictive trade practices.

2. Reduction of taxes which are paid by the working people and raising taxes on monopoly.

3. Legislation to prohibit takeovers by overseas concerns and by the big monopoly concerns or companies in which they have an interest.

4. Protect farmers from monopoly attacks — prohibit overseas and Australian monopolies from owning land, reduce costs of farm needs such as fertilizer, machinery and other goods controlled by monopoly.

5. Nationalization of the monopolies which exert the greatest control over the economy — firstly, the BHP, the oil monopolies, the banks and hire purchase firms, ICI, the breweries, CSR, GMH, etc.

6. Legislation to prohibit monopoly control of TV, radio and press.

7. Support for constitutional reform to put beyond doubt Federal Parliament's power to curb monopoly.

Upholding the immediate demands of the working people, the Party combines them with this anti-monopoly program. Limited though it is, this program can only be realized by a determined struggle against monopoly. The Communist Party believes, the resolution points out, that the "experience of workers, farmers and middle class in all struggles against monopoly will convince the overwhelming majority of the Australian people that further steps are necessary, which can only be carried through by a people's government which sets out to

make the people the owners of all the productive forces now appropriated by the monopolies."

It is clear that the success of the struggle depends on working-class unity. This unity is based on trade union unity to which our Party invariably pays close attention. Last year significant progress was made in this respect. In 1962 the workers' action reached its highest level for years and won a number of gains. Although the issues were varied, an important feature of the industrial scene was the growth of militancy and union organization in the industries dominated by the biggest monopolies. A notable feature was the cooperation between industrial and "white-collar" workers. The struggles which developed against the American giants of the auto industry, General Motors and Fords, resulted in victories on the immediate issues, but their significance was greater. They showed that these callous exploiters can be beaten by united action. These actions also showed that workers who have migrated from other countries can be a powerful force in the union movement. The industrial upsurge has brought to the fore the need to force the repeal of the anti-union penal laws which are used by the courts to prevent strikes. In 1963 these positive tendencies continue to develop.

Despite the Right-wing trade union leaders who are doing their utmost to prevent the split in the trade union movement from being overcome and are opposing any unity initiative on the part of the rank and file, there is a growing understanding among the working class that unity is strength, and that action is the key to success in the struggle for its vital interests. And the firmer the unity of the Communists, Labor Party followers and non-Party trade unionists, the more successful their efforts to realize the demands of the working-class movement and to solve the tasks of the anti-monopoly struggle.

Prospective Structural Changes in the Hungarian Economy

Lazlo Hay

NO TWO socialist countries are at exactly the same level of economic development. Their productive forces are not equal, in some the economic relationships are more advanced than in others, and their cultural standards vary. These disparities are the legacy of capitalism, leftovers from the time when many of these countries were semi-colonies or dependencies of imperialist powers.

With the construction of socialism and communism, as modern industry and agriculture are built and the national wealth and the people's well-being enhanced, the discrepancies between the economic and cultural levels of the various countries decrease and will eventually completely disappear. In other words, in the course of the building of communism the socialist countries' *economic levels tend to become equalized* in the sense of their achieving roughly the same per capita national income, social productivity of labor and average real income.

Equalization of the economies of the socialist countries is not an end in itself; it is an aspect, although an important one, of the building of communism, of the gradual creation of the material and technological basis of an integral socialist world economy. Essentially, it is a manifestation of the operation of the law, inherent in socialism, of the even development of all the equal members of the commonwealth of free socialist nations.

What will the end result of equalization be? Will the structure of the economy, the proportions and levels of the various branches, eventually be identical in all countries? Of course not.

The diminishing of disparities between the economies of the socialist countries will lead to the achievement of a *high overall level* of economic and cultural development in the socialist community as a whole, the creation of a *common economic base*. But this cannot be done except through the most extensive international specialization and coordination of production. Consequently the ratios be-

tween the various branches are bound to differ from country to country and each national economy will retain its specific features. And even more so will this be the case in spheres such as consumer traditions, national culture, etc.

The share of industry as compared with agriculture will undoubtedly grow in all the countries as time goes on. But here too the relative proportions will differ depending on the specific natural and other conditions.

Similarly, equalization does not presuppose any identity of proportions between the extractive and manufacturing industries or between their diverse branches. The proportions within the extractive industry will depend on the natural conditions, while those in manufacturing will be determined by the raw material supply, the available manpower, traditional skills, consumption habits and the deepening international division of labor.

Any striving towards identical economic structures would mean giving up the advantages accruing from the division of labor, less efficient utilization of internal reserves, encouraging autarchic tendencies and national exclusiveness, in a word, retarding progress. And conversely, the creation of soundly conceived structures conforming to the national conditions as well as the requirements of the international socialist division of labor will accelerate the economic advance of the socialist community as a whole. Moreover, *scientifically conceived structures will hasten also the ironing out of discrepancies between the economic levels of the various members of this community.*

The elimination of disparities should be effected not by slowing down the rate of advance in the economically more advanced countries but by developing the less advanced at a more rapid rate than the former. As stipulated in "The Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labor" adopted by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, the less developed countries are building up their industries at an accelerated rate, making maximum use of their internal potential as well as the advantages deriving from

This article is based on data compiled by a research team sponsored by the Economic Theory Committee of the C.C., Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

membership in the socialist world system. And as they forge ahead with industrialization, these countries will play an increasingly weighty role in the socialist world economy generally.

The main factor making for rapid economic advance and, consequently, the main-spring of the equalization process is the labor effort of the people of each country. Indeed, it is the pressing task of all the socialist nations to tap their internal resources to the full. This has an important bearing on the socialist international division of labor, which in turn facilitates the efforts of each nation and makes them more fruitful.

The elimination of disparities between the economic levels of the socialist countries is, then, a vital matter for them all; every nation building socialism and communism stands to gain much from such approximation. For the fact remains that so long as the unevenness of economic development inherited from capitalism has not been overcome it is hard to extend the international socialist division of labor, whereas the closer the various national economic levels are brought to one another the more effectively can the laws of socialism operate on the scale of the entire system and the greater the momentum gained by the socialist world economy as a whole. And we know that the rate of growth plays a particularly important role in the present situation.

High rates of development of the socialist economy are an essential prerequisite for the creation in all the socialist countries of conditions making for their *more or less simultaneous arrival at communism*. Moreover, a rapid rate of advance is a cardinal factor ensuring the *speediest victory of socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism*, a victory that will usher in a new epoch in history. When first the USSR and a number of other socialist countries and then the rest of our community have surpassed the leading capitalist countries for production per capita and living standards, the working masses throughout the capitalist world will be able to see for themselves how much more the socialist system can give the peoples than capitalism. And this will give a powerful impetus to the world revolutionary process.

The socialist countries have already made substantial headway in building the common economic base of world socialism. The share of the socialist sector in their economies is steadily growing with the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. So is the share of industry in the overall economy.

Countries that once were purely agrarian have built substantial industries, in others agriculture has yielded first place to industry, while those which started out as predominantly industrial countries have achieved a technological level second to none. The growth of the share of the heavy industry branches producing means of production also tends to bring national economic levels closer together.

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The approximation of economic levels is possible only on the basis of increasing production and a rising productivity of labor. In the case of Hungary, increasing production means importing more raw materials and certain capital goods, and the growing imports call for corresponding exports. In order to raise the productivity of labor and to meet the requirements of export trade, our production structure has to be readjusted with utmost speed, the range of output re-examined and technology brought into line with the new requirements. This is the *basic precondition for raising the level of our economy* to that of the more advanced socialist countries. All the unutilized reserves must be harnessed to this end.

The shaping of a new production structure, technological progress and greater productivity of labor depend primarily on investments in production, effective use and proper distribution of these investments among the various branches. But investment in turn depends on accumulation, and accumulation on the productivity of labor and the volume of the national income. By no means of least importance are the questions of utilizing the existing production capacities and the supply of raw material to industry.

All this is tied up with the utilization of reserves, above all the harnessing of idle capacities, readjusting the production structure, further exploration and tapping of the natural wealth, optimum utilization of our soil and climatic conditions, and full use of all labor power reserves, i.e., increasing the active labor force, raising the productivity of labor and rationally distributing the skilled workers.

The factors making for the equalization of economic levels vary by stages of development. Consequently, it is essential to tackle the key link in each given situation. *Today that key link is improving the structure of production, advancing technology and increasing the productivity of labor.*

The present structure of our economy is still to no small extent a leftover from the

past, although considerable changes have been effected in it in recent years. Once a backward agrarian producer, Hungary has become an advanced industrial-agrarian country. The structural changes are continuing and will acquire still greater scope with the implementation of the 20-year plan now being drawn up.

The long-range prospect is that the extractive branches which at the present time, owing to the comparatively unfavorable natural conditions and relatively low efficiency, take up a considerable part of both our means of production and our manpower, will in 1980 too account for roughly the same share in the overall industrial output and employ proportionately just about as many workers. But for all that the structural changes in these industries promise to be quite far-reaching. We shall considerably curtail the share of mining and iron and steel and substantially increase the share of the chemical industry. This will be more in line with our natural conditions and raise general efficiency, besides conforming to one of the principal trends of technological progress.

Under the 20-year plan the engineering industry will account for a considerably greater proportion of the total industrial output and the number of workers employed, while the share of light industry will decrease. This will increase the national average productivity of labor. The projected changes in the structure of the engineering industry itself are particularly promising; here a substantial expansion is envisaged in precision instruments, electrical equipment, machine tool and telecommunications equipment industries, i.e., industries which make for economy of materials and are fully in line with modern technological trends.

The food industry, which played a major role in capitalist Hungary and still turns out 18 per cent of our output, is projected to grow at a slower rate than industry as a whole and to account for a smaller share of the overall production than hitherto.

The structural changes projected under the 20-year plan should make for better utilization of the national conditions of our country and thereby heighten the overall efficiency of our economic endeavor. A similarly beneficial effect will be achieved by the technological advance and higher productivity of labor provided for in the plan.

The planned structural changes, however, are not enough to ensure the approximation of economic levels for which we are striving.

It is also necessary to change the assortment of output and, together with it, the technology of production. In the course of the coming 20 years the traditional types of raw materials will be increasingly replaced by up-to-date substitutes better adapted to their particular purposes. In the manufacturing industry the replacement of old lines of output by new will steadily gain pace until, 20 years hence, probably only a few of the manufactures put out today will remain in production. Indeed, it can already be foreseen that even of the new lines scheduled to go into production in the course of the next two decades many will outlive their time before these 20 years are up. The constantly accelerating process of substitution of output items by more up-to-date ones accentuates the importance of changes in the production structure for the general advance of our economy.

The following are the salient factors involved in the metamorphosis of the production structure.

The present structure, which has to be taken as the point of departure in determining the most expedient production proportions. The degree to which existing capacities are utilized in the various branches of industry varies greatly. In some (paper, cotton goods and iron and steel) they are used very nearly to the full, whereas in others (for example, the engineering industry) there still are considerable unutilized reserves).

Accumulations. Changing the ratio between branches is mainly a matter of investments, which are limited primarily by the national income (our per capita income is less than in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic) and also by the share of this income channeled to accumulation (which is also less in Hungary than in the three above-mentioned countries). We shall be able to increase investments and thereby accelerate the radical reconstruction of the production structure only to the extent to which we are able to raise the productivity of labor, increase the national income per capita, and enlarge the portion of the national income channeled to accumulation. The higher the returns on investments, the faster is the rate of growth of both the national income and accumulation. Therefore we must see to it that as much of our accumulation fund as possible is used for productive purposes and in the most efficient ways; irrational investments must be ruled

out and the existing capacities used more efficiently than hitherto.

Replacement of obsolete capacities. In the initial period of industrialization the paramount need in all the socialist countries was to increase the quantity of output. To do this it was necessary to preserve and exploit plant which in the moral and sometimes also physical sense, could be regarded as obsolete. Now changes in the production structure can be accelerated by writing off such obsolete plant, though the rate at which this is to be done depends on the higher considerations of economic policy.

Raw material supply. A limiting factor in the quantitative planning of production is the shortage of raw materials we are experiencing. Hence it can be foreseen that aid from the other socialist countries in this sphere will be of decisive importance for us for a long time to come. In our case, the problem of raw material supply has a most direct bearing on the question of equalizing economic levels. We can, of course, expand our own raw material base, primarily by laying more emphasis on prospecting and maximum utilization of domestic raw material deposits, for example, of bauxites. At the same time, the structure of our industry should be changed so as to speed up the development in which it is possible to economize on materials in short supply. Estimates made for the 20-year plan indicate that despite the considerable increase in raw material production in the country we shall nevertheless have to import substantial quantities. In other words, our raw material difficulties can be solved only through cooperation with the other socialist countries. But it must be borne in mind that with the European socialist countries continuing to build up their industries, raw materials will account for a diminishing share of their exports. Therefore expansion of the extractive industries through joint capital investments will play a signal part in solving the raw material problem facing the socialist countries, our country included.

Another possible way of improving our raw material situation is to increase imports from the non-socialist countries. But buying from the developed capitalist countries is limited by the foreign exchange reserves. More raw materials may of course be imported from the economically less developed non-socialist countries, although in this respect, too, many problems still have to be solved.

The rate of growth can be stepped up and the structure of our industry improved also

by starting domestic production of synthetic materials and advancing our manufacturing industry in general to a higher qualitative plane. Besides promoting the extractive industries and the production of synthetic materials, it will be expedient in the manufacturing industry to work for economy in materials and a corresponding rational increase in the expenditure of living labor—largely mental but also manual—while raising the productivity of labor through the employment of the latest achievements in technology.

The manpower situation also has a direct bearing on the structure of the economy. We have done away with unemployment; practically the entire able-bodied male population works, but there still are able-bodied women who do not. People are moving from agriculture to other branches of the economy, especially industry, and the 20-year plan foresees a considerable further reduction in the numbers engaged in farming as well as in their share in the total population. For branches requiring higher skills and contributing most to increasing the national income, additional manpower may be found by mechanizing the production processes which now consume a great deal of labor power or involve arduous work. Our reserves of labor power for material production in general and industry in particular are quite considerable, and a similar situation prevails in most of the socialist countries. But these reserves must be rationally utilized so as to ensure the maximum productivity of labor, for this is a decisive factor in bringing the economic levels of the various socialist countries closer together. Particularly important is the flow of labor power from agriculture to industry, where the productivity of labor is far higher and will probably remain higher than in agriculture through the coming 20 years, though the difference will most likely diminish. An idea of our manpower reserves may be gained from the fact that in 1960 35.2 per cent of the total labor force was engaged in agriculture. The flow from the countryside to industry depends of course on the growth of the material wherewithal of farm production, especially its technological advance.

Skills are likewise an important factor. Indeed, the training of workers is an indispensable precondition for the qualitative improvement of production.

An essential condition for rapid development is *active participation in international division of labor*, which makes it possible

to develop branches that our country could not get going by its own efforts alone and to expand quantity production and thereby increase efficiency. Our experience has already shown that division of labor facilitates the shaping of a production structure that ensures a high rate of economic development.

Indeed, the better the production structure is geared to the requirements of the country and harmonized with the overall economy of the socialist community, the higher the rate of growth.

As the Moscow meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the countries affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Aid pointed out, the principal means of expanding the socialist international division of labor is the coordination of national economic plans. This voluntary joint planning makes it possible to maintain the objectively necessary proportions in the economies of the various socialist countries as well as on the scale of the entire socialist world system, to ensure a high level of economic activity and to combine all-round development of the different countries with international specialization of production.

Agriculture is in a position to produce a bigger percentage of the national income in Hungary than in, say, Czechoslovakia or the GDR. Consequently the development of farming is especially important from the standpoint of raising our general economic level, not to speak of the role it can play in improving the living standard. In the period between 1949 and 1959 farm production increased in our country by 3.7 per cent annually. Although this is by no means a low rate, it nevertheless lags far behind the requirements and the potential of our agriculture. Our average yields are much lower than in either Czechoslovakia or the GDR, although our soil and climatic conditions are far more favorable. The fact that the average yield in Czechoslovakia and the GDR is higher than in the other socialist countries is above all due to better technical equipment. It should be noted, however, that owing to the better soil and climatic conditions we enjoy, the gap between our average yields and those of Czechoslovakia is less than our lag as regards technological standards of agriculture.

From the foregoing it follows that the quickest way to raise Hungary's economy to a level with the most advanced socialist countries is through a production structure which corresponds both to the local condi-

tions and the requirements of the balanced development of the entire socialist community. Hence our production structure need not follow the pattern of any other socialist country. The key to the correct solution of the problem is extended international division of labor and coordination of the long-range plans of the socialist countries.

Since Hungary is poor in fuel and industrial raw materials, the rate of growth in manufacturing should exceed the rate in the extractive industries considerably more than in the other socialist countries. This of course does not mean slowing down the extractive industries; it is only a matter of changing the ratio between the two subdivisions.

* * *

Such, then, are some of the aspects of the problem of equalizing the economic levels of the socialist countries in the light of Hungary's perspectives. All levers accelerating our economic development also promote such equalization, for, as pointed out above, the ironing out of disparities is essentially a matter of the less advanced countries drawing primarily on their own resources, forging ahead faster than the more developed countries. Other pertinent questions which have not been discussed here are economic management and the organization of production, mobilization of the masses and combating ideological influences that obstruct progress.

The overall equalization process is a matter of time. How long it will take in Hungary depends primarily on our own efforts, although an important role is played also by the rate of development of the socialist community as a whole. Nor can we disregard the international situation. As we know, stable peace is an essential condition for building socialism. The socialist countries, therefore, attach the greatest importance to defending peace and safeguarding their gains against encroachments by the aggressive forces. The activities of the socialist states in defense of peace and international security correspond to the interest of people everywhere.

The Communist parties and the governments of the socialist countries, cognizant of the law of equalization (the law of the even development of socialism), are steadfastly working to bring this historical process to consummation both within the framework of their respective countries and on the scale of the socialist commonwealth. Hence the need thoroughly to examine this problem

in the course of the drafting of our 20-year plan and the coordination of our plans with

the overall perspectives of the entire socialist world system of economy.

Anti-Communism and the Two Sides of Dostoyevsky

Yuri Karyakin

"Will there ever be a time when strife will cease and men will come together?"
Fyodor Dostoyevsky

Communism is "the solution to the riddle of history, and it knows that it is that solution".
Karl Marx

IN the debates now raging between the spokesmen of different countries, between opposing world outlooks — on the goals and the means of the struggle; on the personality cult, on what the future will be like and whether there will be a future; on the crisis of Christianity — the name of Dostoyevsky is repeatedly cropping up.

Sometimes the process is reversed — arguments about Dostoyevsky resolve into debates on general issues.

Of all the writers of the past this most Russian of Russian writers is perhaps the most universal and topical. His influence has been felt by men of such widely differing background and outlook as Einstein and Berdyaev, Thomas Mann and Ortega-y-Gasset, Boell and Leonov, Fellini and Aragon, Sartre and Steinbeck. Bibliographers know how difficult it is to estimate exactly how many editions of Dostoyevsky's works and how many books about him have been published in the different countries of the world. Yet this fact is of no little significance for ideologists and politicians, since it means that in one way or another Dostoyevsky has helped shape the outlook of many of our contemporaries.

The anti-Communists lay claim to a monopoly of Dostoyevsky.* His humanism, they say, (and humanism generally) is incompatible with communism. They seek to mislead people whose interest in Dostoyevsky is prompted by their search for social truth and who have already begun to discard the bourgeois outlook, but who still hold back from communism (chiefly because they know

so little about it). Shocked by the revelations of the Stalin cult, these people wrongly assume that the cult is rooted in the nature of communism. This, of course, is a grave, indeed tragic mistake on their part, but many of them can be, and eventually no doubt will be, on our side. But only if the matter is thoroughly thrashed out in debate.

Our opponents are fond of delivering broadsides by citing what they believe to be Dostoyevsky's irrefutable arguments against the revolutionaries, and then triumphantly exclaiming: "Has this not been borne out?" In my view, the debate should begin from a different angle.

1. The Bourgeois as the Main "Devil"

Dostoyevsky was never a champion of the bourgeoisie, but at times he supported socialist (utopian) ideas. On more than one occasion he pointed out that the youth had turned to socialism "selflessly," "with sincere love for humanity," "in the name of honor and truth and genuine well-being," that their convictions sprang from a "passionate striving for good" and "a purity of heart." But why are Dostoyevsky's youthful characters so lacking in this selfless devotion, in pure-hearted enthusiasm for bourgeois ideals?

However much Dostoyevsky's views changed, however vicious his attacks against the socialism he so completely failed to comprehend, he never chose the bourgeois system as an alternative. He never extolled the bourgeois; on the contrary, he never ceased to anathematize him, and to strip him of his many masks. "What is *liberté*?" he asks. "Freedom. What kind of freedom? Freedom

*Apropos "monopoly": Dostoyevsky's works have been published in editions totalling approximately 11 million copies in the USSR.

for all to do as they please, within the bounds of the law. When can one do as one pleases? When one has a million. Does freedom give everyone a million? No. What is a man without a million? A man without a million is not the man who does what he pleases but a man with whom others do as they please."

Dostoyevsky has an impressive charge-sheet of crimes to present to the bourgeoisie. The most heinous of these crimes is the striving to humiliate and debase man, to make of him a "dish rag," an "insect," a "worm," a victim or a villain. He shatters the smug complacency of the philistine, probes to the depths of his mean little soul, turning it inside out and dragging out impulses too base, too shameful to be admitted even to oneself.

Shakespeare, too, was not without his fears for man. But Dostoyevsky's doubts and fears were infinitely more nightmarish. He descended into the world of the "underground man," a world peopled with men of "retrograde physiognomy," who "befouled their own lives" and would befoul the lives of others, a world of people with "wolfish appetites." Dostoyevsky sought through his art to study some of the extreme forms of that phenomenon which is often termed the "alienation" of man (and for which Marx supplied a scientific materialist explanation).

The world can go to hell for all I care, exclaims one of Dostoyevsky's characters. Another, a raw youth, toys with the idea of "secretly preparing and then some day suddenly blowing everything sky-high, destroying everything, everybody, the guilty and the innocent." Another declares that when he gets rich it will be his greatest pleasure to feed bread and meat to the dogs before the eyes of the starving children of the poor. There are hundreds of such confessions.

Here we indeed see the uttermost depths of "alienation," when all human qualities are turned into their opposites, when man, a social being by nature, finds himself in complete spiritual isolation, when he has "nowhere to go," when one man dreams of humiliating and destroying another, indeed the whole of mankind. Dostoyevsky's writings, on the testimony of a leading psychiatrist, have revealed to psychology, and especially to psycho-pathology, knowledge far more valuable than anything that could be expected from an artist. The chief thing, however, is that all the murderers, all the mentally deranged characters with whom Dostoyevsky's writings teem, are depicted

(often contrary to his own personal views) as definite social types, whose malady cannot be separated from their outlook.

What is the meaning of their pathological confessions? What is all this "odious screeching" (Gorky) about? The fruit of a diseased imagination perhaps? Or the ravings of a madman, unworthy of the novelist's art? Many indeed thought so for a long time. Who could have believed a century ago that, far from being isolated, the "anthropophagi" would attempt to turn the whole world into a madhouse and a torture chamber?

Is *Mein Kampf* not a variant of the notes written by a "man from the underground"? Was Oswiecim not the realization of his ideals? And are we not today witnessing the hatching of new schemes to "blow everything sky-high?" The resemblance (but not the identity) between Dostoyevsky's "anthropophagi" and those of today is explained by a socio-psychological continuity, a historical kinship. The deadly microbe which the artist observed in his laboratory escaped from the test-tube, spreading far and wide the virulent diseases of envy and malice, baseness and cruelty. But Dostoyevsky not only warned men of that mortal danger, he linked it directly with his concept of the bourgeois (true, understood in his own peculiar way).

Has that not been confirmed?

Dostoyevsky's unalterable conviction that nothing can be more inhuman than a society in which the "chief prince is a Rothschild" and money, "minted freedom," provides the key to his extraordinarily complicated attitude to socialism, to the revolution and to atheism.

2. Dostoyevsky Accuses the Socialists, too, of Being . . . "Bourgeois"

Wherein His Confusion Lay Ask any of those who de-light in Dostoyevsky's anti-socialist pronouncements, why he criticized socialism, and nine times out of ten the answer will be: "for its negation of freedom, for its standardization of the individual," and so on. But the crux of the matter lies in Dostoyevsky's understanding (or misunderstanding) of the whole problem, as is evident from the paradoxical meaning he attached to the word "bourgeois."

Dostoyevsky quarrelled with socialism not as a champion of the bourgeois outlook but as its bitter enemy. This is a fact which bourgeois literature deliberately conceals. Moreover, it has been overlooked by those who make a hobby of collecting anti-revolu-

tionary quotations from Dostoyevsky's writings, who can recite them by heart, who revel in them, but who do not understand their meaning. Dostoyevsky charges the socialist with the same offences as the bourgeois. The socialist for him is not the antipode but a variety of the bourgeois. He confuses the one with the other. Here is how he describes capitalism: "One-tenth (of mankind) is given the highest development while the remaining nine-tenths merely serve as the means to this end." And, a picture of "socialism": "One-tenth is to enjoy absolute freedom and unbounded power over the other nine-tenths."

Let us compare two other speculations. First: "... Great intellects are not wanted... They will be banished or put to death. Cicero will have his tongue cut out, Copernicus will have his eyes put out, Shakespeare will be stoned..." Second: "I used to take delight in imagining just such a creature, commonplace and mediocre, facing the world and saying to it with a smile: 'You are Galileos, and Copernicuses, Charlemagnes and Napoleons, you are Pushkins and Shakespeares, you are field marshals and generals, and I am a mediocrity and a nonentity, and yet I am higher than all of you...'" The similarity of the sentiments is self-evident. But the first is expressed by a "Socialist" (*The Devils*) and the second by a character who dreams of becoming a Rothschild (*The Raw Youth*).

Literally every accusation leveled at the socialists is matched by a similar accusation against a bourgeois. The explanation for this confusing of social addresses, so to speak, which has been commented upon in Marxist literature, lies not only in the angle from which Dostoyevsky examined them but *what* he examined.

Suspecting the tremendous force of inertia, the force of the property instinct inherent in philistinism, Dostoyevsky believed that this was an evil that could not be cured here on earth: "He who has the greatest contempt for everything will be a lawgiver among them, and he who is the most brazen will be most in the right. So it has always been and so it will always be." Dostoyevsky writes that for the bourgeois Baal the chief thing is "a million in the shape of Fate, as a law of Nature." And being unable actively to counteract that "law," the artist succumbs to it: his hatred for the bourgeois turns to horror. Weighed down by these emotions, Dostoyevsky begins to see the stamp of the

devil Avarice upon everything. He equates socialism with capitalism also because in his eyes they are equally godless, and for him the question of God is fundamental. That is why he fears for man under socialism, as he conceives it.

But Dostoyevsky knew only the petty-bourgeois forms of socialism (and he nearly always chose only the worst of them). His views on revolution were derived chiefly from the activities of the anarchists. He knew that working men were infected in one way or another with bourgeois ailments, but he did not realize that these ailments were curable, though only through struggle. "... Working men are all proprietors at heart... such is human nature," he averred. In his day the working people were yet to win their fight for socialism (especially in backward Russia). In Dostoyevsky's eyes that which did not succeed was perforce doomed; that which was not, would never be. The bourgeois outlook was the original sin. He saw this not as an historically transient category but as something eternal.

From this standpoint his struggle against the "socialists" as the heirs to the capitalist law of man-eat-man and the morality of "licentiousness," against those who believed that "cutting off heads was the easiest way" to achieve universal happiness can be both explained and justified. What can be explained but not justified, however, is that he should have depicted such socialists as the prototype of socialists generally.

"*The Devils*" and the "Grand Inquisitor" This confusion of concepts was most strikingly manifested in *The Devils*, a novel written close on the heels of the notorious Nechaev affair. Nechaev, who appeared on the Russian scene in the late sixties, claimed that to be a good socialist one must renounce "the gentle and enfeebling sentiment of kinship, love, gratitude and even honor. To stimulate the energy the essence of things should be explained in a perverted form." He who "feels compassion for anything in this world" is not a revolutionary. "The revolutionary knows one science only: the science of death and destruction. He lives in this world exclusively for this purpose." As many ruins as possible, the death of the majority of the revolutionaries — such is the prospect. "Poison, the dagger, the noose — the Revolution sanctifies them all." The cult of one's own personality, the system of all spying on all among the socialists organized in

groups of five, proscriptive lists — these, according to Nechaev, are the conditions for the triumph of socialism. Nechaev murders a student, charging his victim with "treachery" . . . (the student had voiced opposition to Nechaev's arbitrary methods).

No wonder Herzen warned that Nechaev would "do plenty of mischief" in Russia. The reactionaries reaped the fruit of the seeds sown by Nechaev. The tsarist secret police made his name a synonym for the revolutionary, the socialist. The fact that most revolutionaries both in Russia and the West condemned Nechaev was of little concern to Dostoyevsky. He had already conceived the idea for his novel. "I feel compelled to speak my mind, even if my art should perish in doing so," he wrote. His prejudiced approach, "fortified" by the documents fabricated by the secret police, produced *The Devils*.

The main character in the novel, the "socialist" Verkhovensky proclaims his credo: "Nothing is more powerful than a uniform. I deliberately devise ranks and titles. . . . The second driving force is sentimentality. . . . And, lastly, the main motive force — the cement that binds all together — is the shame of having an opinion of one's own. Every member of society spies on the others, and it is his duty to inform against them. . . . All are slaves and equal in their slavery. In extreme cases, slander and murder. . . . Genius of any kind we shall nip in the bud. We shall reduce everything to a common denominator; complete equality, complete obedience, complete loss of individuality."

To depict in such a fantastic light the ideals of the Paris Commune, the socialism of Chernyshevsky and Herzen (not to speak of Marxist communism) is, of course, to repeat the vilest slander. If Nechaev was a caricature of socialism, Verkhovensky was a caricature of Nechaev.* And Dostoyevsky himself confirms this. Respecting (and even slightly fearing) the real revolutionaries and socialists in spite of himself, and knowing that not one of them would ever vouch for Nechaev and still less for a Verkhovensky, he makes the latter confess: "To tell the truth I am a swindler and not a socialist."** But this knocks the bottom out of Dostoyevsky's own "critique" of socialism: it turns

out that in reality he was exposing not simply a blundering, misguided socialist but a cold-blooded calculating rogue, a monster drawn from the very dregs of society.

No less monstrous is the confusion Dostoyevsky introduces into his *Poem of the Grand Inquisitor*. He portrays here an inquisitor who acts in the name of Christ but who holds that Christ was a romantic and not a realist, inasmuch as he had judged too highly of human beings: "We have corrected Thy work and founded it on *miracle, mystery and authority*. And men rejoiced that they were again led like sheep." In the end it transpires that the Inquisitor, though he prays to God, does not believe in Him — "that's the whole secret!" He identifies himself with God.

Through his religious symbolism, Dostoyevsky objectively poses very real and earthly problems: the emancipation of the people, and the relationship between the people and their leaders. But having authentically depicted the ideals of Catholicism, of the Jesuits, he again ascribes these ideals to communism (again, basing himself exclusively on facts of the Nechaev variety).

It is easy to see why of all Dostoyevsky's writings the anti-Communists extol *The Devils* and *The Poem of the Grand Inquisitor*. Citing almost exclusively from these works and exaggerating to the nth degree the author's blunderings, they declare that Nechaev and the *Grand Inquisitor* are the personification of communism generally, as was allegedly confirmed by the personality cult.

That there is a certain similarity between the cult and Nechaevism can hardly be denied. Leaving aside the mystical elements and bearing in mind that the language of images cannot be translated literally into the language of reality, it is true that on reading the *Poem* one is reminded of certain aspects of Stalin's activity as manifested during the period of the cult of his personality. Curiously enough, Stalin himself once expressed his (and not only his) secret veneration for the god-like leader; ". . . I had pictured Lenin as a giant, stately and imposing," he said. "What, then, was my disappointment on seeing a most ordinary-looking man. . . . It is accepted as the usual thing . . . that just before the 'great man' enters the warning whisper goes up: 'Hush! . . . Silence! . . . He's coming.' This ritual did not seem to me superfluous, because it creates an impression, inspires respect. What, then was my disappointment to learn that

*It follows that Verkhovensky cannot be identified even with Nechaev who, incidentally, sincerely regarded himself as a socialist.

**According to the French writer Andre Stil, during the liberation war in Algeria, the fascists in a stage version of *The Devils* hailed the "right to be dishonorable" proclaimed by the characters in the novel.

Lenin had arrived at the conference before the delegates, had settled himself somewhere in a corner, and was unassumingly carrying on a conversation, a most ordinary conversation with the most ordinary delegates at the conference. I must confess that at the time this seemed to me to be something of a violation of certain essential rules." When Stalin said this in 1924, he was expressing admiration for Lenin's modesty. Later, however, he established these "essential rules" with regard to himself. He believed that Lenin judged too highly of people. He wanted to "correct Lenin's work. . . ."

Yes, in a certain sense Nechaevism and the story of the Grand Inquisitor have something in common with the personality cult (although the similarity is only one of the countless facets of this highly complex phenomenon), but true communism has not and never could have anything in common with it.

The Marxist Tradition of Struggle Against Regimented Communism Long before Dostoyevsky, Marx repudiated that crude "communism" which negates personality and is merely the consummate expression of the envy of the bourgeois and his desire to reduce everything to his own level, which is "only a form of the odiousness of private property" (Marx and Engels, *Philosophical-Economic MSS*, 1844).

"What a fine example of regimented communism!" is Marx's comment on Nechaev's "foundations of the future social system" in which the people are to "produce for society as much as possible and consume as little as possible," and where all personal relationships are strictly regulated. Marx and Engels described Nechaevism as an apology for political murder, as bourgeois immorality carried to the extreme. (See Marx and Engels, *Alliance of Social Democracy and the International Workingmen's Association*, 1873).

Both Marx and Lenin sharply criticized personality cults, dictatorial tendencies of any kind, such as those of Lasalle, for example, or Trotsky, who regarded military methods as the only methods of leadership.

The advocates of regimented communism appear ridiculous when propounding their ideas, but let them seize so much as a scrap of power, not to speak of the whole power, and they become a menace — their farce is fraught with tragedy for the people.

True communism rejects the Jesuitic principle — "the end justifies the means." No, the revolution does not "sanctify everything"!

Marxists recognize class violence, but *only* against *those* who resort to violence. This is a truly humane approach, inasmuch as it stands for the liberation of the overwhelming majority from the yoke of a tiny minority. Without struggle for this liberation there can be no individual freedom, no self-perfecting of the personality, only its degeneration. The sacrifices which are inevitable in this struggle are not manure for the soil of the future, they are themselves the seeds of that future; this is not "lambs for the slaughter," but the passionate upsurge of the multitudes whose eyes have been opened to their slavish condition and who have become conscious of their strength and their ideals; it is the greater freedom of choice for Man who has risen to his full stature. Heroism and self-sacrifice in such a struggle are not self-abnegation, but self-assertion of the individual. The humanism of the communist ends determines the humanism of the means, while Jesuitism which acts "in the name of the revolution" is a distortion of both means and ends. The finest ideals cannot but turn into their opposites if they are upheld by Jesuitic methods. Such methods strike at what is most precious in the relations between human beings — mutual trust. Advocacy of Jesuitic methods "in the name of communism" reveals on closer scrutiny a distorted understanding of the communist ideals.

Marx, long before Dostoyevsky, exposed the reactionary nature of the attempts to build a society founded on miracle, mystery and worship of authority. "Bureaucracy," he wrote, "regards itself as the be-all and end-all of the state. . . . The hierarchy relies on the lower ranks for all that concerns the particular; the lower, on the other hand, have implicit faith in the hierarchy in all that concerns the general, and in this way they lead each other astray. . . . The all-pervading universal spirit of bureaucracy is *mystery, secrecy*." For bureaucracy the cult of a single individual—and the depersonalization of all others — is a substitute for religion: ". . . Worship of authority is its way of thinking" (Marx and Engels, *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*.) Marx, and afterwards Lenin, emphasized, that things like bureaucracy are liable to appear in the initial stages of the new system, but, being alien to the system, they can but retard, not prevent, its affirmation.

The struggle against regimented communism and bureaucracy — two closely inter-linked tendencies — is a vital (though little

studied) Marxist tradition.

Marx offers a materialist explanation for the *appearance* of these dangerous trends: communist society in its first phase does not develop on its own base. On the contrary, it emerges as a result of a long and painful process from capitalism and hence it still bears all the birthmarks of capitalism — economic, moral and intellectual. But this is a link with the old which is being severed, though it cannot be severed easily and at once. The old traditions cling to the new all the more tenaciously (all other conditions being equal) the lower the level of socio-economic and cultural development of the given country, and the more petty-bourgeois influences prevail therein.

But regimented communism (especially in our time) is by no means inevitable, even temporarily. The difficulties of the transitional period need not necessarily take the form of a personality cult, for example. The cult can be explained (but not justified) by the concrete historical conditions, by the sum of many external and internal factors, objective and subjective, requiring special analysis. Failure to take all these factors into account is apt to lead to a voluntarist explanation of history; whereas seen in their proper perspective they can help one correctly to understand the role of a single individual. (It was Lenin's analysis of the sum of concrete conditions that prompted him to recommend "considering some way of replacing Stalin" as General Secretary, because for one occupying this post rudeness, inconsiderateness and ambition "are not trifles, or if they are, then they are trifles which could be of decisive importance" — (Lenin, *Letter to the Congress*, 1922).

Marxism-Leninism long ago pointed to the dangers of regimented communism and bureaucracy; it showed, moreover, how these trends could be checked, namely, by releasing the initiative of the people through public control over all administrative bodies, through publicity, and socialist democracy generally — and not as a substitute for but in conjunction with the development of democratic centralism which presupposes both strict discipline and authoritative leadership.

"There is only one remedy for all these intrigues," wrote Marx and Engels, alluding to Nechaevism, "but it is a very radical remedy, namely, full publicity." To pass them over in silence would be naïveté, cowardice and treachery toward those who have exposed the "revolutionary" Jesuits. (See Marx and Engels, *Alliance of Social-Democracy*

and the International Workingmen's Association.)

"More confidence in the independent judgment of the whole body of Party workers! . . . the whole Party must constantly, steadily and systematically *train* suitable persons for the central bodies, must see clearly, as in the palm of its hand, *all the activities* of every candidate for these high posts, must come to know even their personal characteristics, their strong and weak points, their victories and 'defeats' . . . Light, more light!" (V. I. Lenin, *Letter to Iskra*, 1903). This was written when the Bolsheviks were still functioning illegally. How much more imperative is it to apply this principle today with regard to legal parties and parties in government! And how utterly remote from this truly Marxist approach was the cult of the individual! Khrushchov was right when he said at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU: "People who usurp power cease to be accountable to the Party, to be controlled by the Party. Therein lies the main danger of the personality cult."

Light, more light! is the demand of true communism. In the light everything can be seen. . . . Darkness, more darkness! is the ideal of regimented communism and bureaucracy. Under cover of darkness anything can be done. . . .

The personality cult is associated with the trend towards a crude, regimented communism and bureaucracy. But unlike the anti-Communists and revisionists, we believe that this cult is a *violation* of all the Marxist-Leninist precepts and traditions, that it is not the embodiment, but a flagrant distortion of communism, that the rich, full-blooded, multiform life of Soviet society, for example, at any period of its existence (and even for a single year or a single day) cannot be reduced to the cult. And, we repeat, it is because the personality cult is inimical to the new society that this society found in itself the strength to eradicate the cult and its consequences.

Pondering over these things one cannot but marvel at the energy and vitality of communism if even under the most adverse external and extraordinarily difficult internal conditions, if notwithstanding (and even in spite of) the personality cult, if even suffering the most grievous losses, it was able not only to survive, not only to emerge victorious from a terrible war and save the world from fascism, but, what is most important, to acquire tremendous positive experience in building the new relationships and

develop into a mighty force! What potential for development it reveals! And perhaps the most significant manifestation of this potential is the enlistment of hundreds of thousands of people in the nationwide system of public control now being built in the Soviet Union. But to return to our subject.

True Communism: The Development of Man as the End in Itself Dostoyevsky was absolutely correct when he denounced regiment-

ed communism. But he was completely wrong when he said that for communism man is a "cog," a "tiny screw" in a vast machine, that it ignores human nature, that essentially it boils down to nothing more than "feeding people."

Here is his dialogue with communism: "I shall know all about the discoveries of the exact sciences and through them I shall acquire a host of comforts; now I sit on homespun, then we shall all sit on velvet. Well, what of it? The question will remain: what shall we do then? With all this comfort and velvet what, after all, will one live for, what will be the purpose of life? Humanity will aspire to lofty ideals. I agree that at the given moment to feed humanity and give everyone the right to food is also a lofty ideal . . . but it is a secondary and subordinate ideal, because after he has been fed man will surely ask: what am I living for?"

Communism does not deny that this problem exists, it provides the solution for it. Of course, communism proposes to satisfy man's need for food, clothing and housing, just as Nature satisfies his need of air. True, the composition of that "air," so to speak, will constantly grow richer. But that is not the chief thing. Communism creates the conditions for each human being to develop his or her individual abilities and inclinations, for the continuous mutual enrichment of people, for the cultivation of their talents as well as the means for their spiritual and physical enjoyment. Communism alone can restore man's faith in the human race. It alone stands for the negation of that philistinism so abhorred by Dostoyevsky.

"The realm of freedom actually begins only where labor which is determined by necessity and mundane considerations ceases; thus, in the very nature of things, it lies beyond the sphere of actual material production." There, too, "begins that development of human energy which is an end in itself. . ." This is the note on which Marx's *Capital* ends. This noble ideal, the cherished goal of

humanists of all ages, Marxism does not cast aside; on the contrary, Marxism is the heir to that ideal, it has purified and enriched it, and what is more, it is changing the social nature of humanism, imparting a dynamic quality to it, linking the dream with the reality, with the class struggle of the proletariat and of all working people. These ideals do not derive from our good intentions. The objective development of society and its productive forces is unthinkable unless each member of that society contributes his share as an individual. The social character of communist production itself, the collectivity of all forms of labor make it imperative that the creative spark in each individual shall not be extinguished, but on the contrary shall burn like a bright flame, that the principle proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto*—the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all—should be realized. And again, communism alone provides the answer to the age-old problem that tormented Dostoyevsky: "That cabbie there may be a Shakespeare, that man in the smithy, a Raphael perhaps, and that one ploughing the field, an actor. Can it be that only a small top layer of people shall prove themselves, while the rest must perish . . ."

3. Religion. "A Sceptic to the Grave"

Dostoyevsky repudiates any real struggle against real evil. What, then, is the solution? He maintains "that evil is more deeply rooted in humanity than the socialist healers think, that in no social order will you be able to avoid evil, that the human soul will remain the same, abnormality and sin spring from the soul itself, and the laws of the human spirit are so little known, so unfamiliar to science, so unfathomable and so mysterious that there are not, nor can there be any healers, nor even any final judges, but only him who says: 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay.'" True, the "laws of the spirit" have not yet been profoundly studied. This is a deficiency that should be remedied. But Dostoyevsky, himself assuming the role of healer, believes man's only hope lies in religion. "Man is not born for happiness," he writes. "There is no injustice here. Suffering is the law of our planet." And since man suffers, "hence he has need of Christ, and hence there will be a Christ." The argument is hardly convincing. . . . Dostoyevsky seems to be aware of this, for he says: "As for myself, I would rather remain with Christ than with the Truth."

Dostoyevsky is convinced that reason

devoid of love for humanity is cold and heartless; indeed dangerous, for it kills life. That is true. But what is the conclusion? Clearly, there can be but one: reason must be illumined by the light of humanism. No, replies Dostoyevsky, reason by its very nature is anti-human, it comes from the devil. Man should not taste the fruit of the tree of knowledge. All he needs is faith. . . . Here the writer's hatred for the narrow, bourgeois rationality, for learning that is subordinated to hard cash, turns into hatred for reason, for learning in general.

Why, the writer asks himself further, do Raskolnikov or Ivan Karamazov suffer such torments? Why do they realize that to kill another human being is to kill oneself? But, one could ask in turn, why is it that neither Pyotr Verkhovensky nor other cold-blooded murderers, can discuss the fate of hundreds of millions of people with as little emotion as the proprietor of a slaughterhouse? Why do they not suffer the slightest pangs of conscience? This is an important question. But what is the answer? Devotion to a false idea, Dostoyevsky replies, can cause the conscience to become atrophied, can justify any crime whatsoever. That is also true. But what is this false idea? Atheism, it turns out. (It is all a matter of belief in God. If you have faith, even the slightest, you have a conscience. Where there is no faith, then "everything is permissible," "one can kill and destroy," and "troglodytism" thrives). But, the writer reflected, what of maternal love? This, one of the noblest of human emotions, requires no supernatural sanction of any kind. Dostoyevsky knew that high moral standards existed also among atheists. And he could not but see that the "troglodyte" morality prevailed among those who recognized God. And he exclaimed: "What is the word of Christ worth without the example?"

Moreover, Dostoyevsky's reasoning brought him to the idea that religion itself is anti-human and that this anti-humanism is demonstrated in nothing so vividly as in the attempts to justify evil. The writer puts the question very poignantly. "Listen!" says Ivan Karamazov to Alyosha, "I took the case of children only to make my point clearer. Of the other tears of humanity with which the earth is soaked from its crust to its core I will say nothing. . . . If all must suffer to pay for the eternal harmony, what have children to do with it, tell me, please?" Ivan rejects paradise, "eternal harmony": "It's not worth the tears of one tortured

child. . . . I do not want the mother to embrace the oppressor who threw her son to the dogs! She has no right to forgive him!" And when asked what such a murderer deserves, Alyosha (the acolyte) whispers: "To be shot!" And this whisper rings louder than all the exhortations to save the world by non-violent resistance to evil.*

Atheism breaks through the religious shroud of Dostoyevsky's works like an inextinguishable flame in which the shoddy garments of religion are burned to cinders. All his life the writer sought fruitlessly to extinguish the flame. "I am a child of this age," he confessed in one of his letters, "a child of unfaith and scepticism and probably (indeed I know it) shall remain so to the end of my life. How dreadfully has it tormented me (and torments me even now)—this longing for faith, which is all the stronger for the proofs I have against it."

It is not by chance that, fearing himself powerless to renounce atheism, he remarked: "I fear, I tremble." No wonder churchmen complain that Dostoyevsky "diluted Christianity."

Lenin wrote that with the words "socialism is my religion" some people go from religion to socialism while others, on the contrary, go from socialism to religion. (Lenin, *The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion*, 1909.) In Dostoyevsky the two tendencies conflict and intertwine, but the struggle between them failed to find consummation in him.

Today the "proofs against" religion are many. The inability of Christianity to grasp the world and change it leads logically to the idea that Doomsday is inevitable. But surely the pronouncement of sentence of death on the world spells suicide for religion. In our time it is clearer than ever before that the choice today is between accepting Church dogma and awaiting the inevitable end of the world, or renouncing the apocalypse and fighting for a better life on earth. Millions of believers are turning to the latter.

Dostoyevsky himself, in spite of everything, could not reconcile himself to the idea of the apocalypse. Examining the thesis: it is of no avail to wish the world good, for it is written that it will perish, he remarked: "There is something unreasonable and profane in that idea. Moreover, it is an extremely convenient idea for domestic purposes: once all are doomed, then what need is there to

*Dostoyevsky's comment on Holbein's painting of the dead Christ—"Such a picture can cause one to lose one's faith"—might with greater justification be applied to his own writings.

strive, to love one's neighbor, to do good? Let each live for his own gratification."

And truth is on the side not of the Dostoyevsky who maintained that the "crystal palace" was impossible, that communism is a tower of Babel, but the Dostoyevsky who sometimes reflected that "perhaps one need not be afraid of factories, perhaps the factory will nestle amid gardens. . . . I do not know how it will all be, but it will come to pass. There will be a garden." At times his gloomiest reflections are suddenly illumined by the thought that "people can be beautiful and happy without losing the ability to live on earth. I do not want to believe, and I cannot believe, that evil should be the normal condition of man."

4. "Pro and Contra"

Battle of Ideas "Pro and Contra," the heart of *The Brothers Karamazov*, is the symbol of the whole of Dostoyevsky's work, of all his questing.

His novels are seen as a great contest of ideas, with the soul (including his own) as the battleground.

He consciously dedicated himself to the search for the "Word of the future, still to be uttered," believing that art was the medium through which man could gain an insight into the future. This bold social concept predetermined his literary method. Dostoyevsky set himself the task, at once simple and complex, of discovering through his art how human beings would behave if all external compulsions were absent. He was convinced that what was exceptional today might be commonplace tomorrow, and he concentrated on the exceptional, hoping thus to pierce the veil of the future. He wanted to know what would come of it if man's spiritual potential were given free rein. He delved into the innermost recesses of the soul, into the profound dialectics of ideas. In his writings, taken as a whole, realism did not disappear but acquired a deeper quality; what disappeared were the boundaries to man's self-knowledge. "I am only a realist in the highest sense, i.e., I reveal the uttermost depths of the human soul. . . . I have a totally different conception of truth and realism from that of our realists and critics. With their realism one couldn't show so much as the hundredth part of the actual facts, whereas we have predicted the facts themselves: it has happened."

Of course one can by no means subscribe to all of his ideas. Dostoyevsky himself wished to be a "prophet" in the literal, i.e., the

religious sense of the word, and many of his admirers have indeed proclaimed him such. That, however, is empty talk. But those of his predictions that have been borne out can be explained not mystically but rationally. True, Dostoyevsky sought consciously to anticipate the future through the medium of his art, but the fact remains that his time witnessed the beginning of that battle of ideas which preceded the open clash of the opposed social forces, a clash which has reached its peak in our time. Nowadays, when the things he perceived in embryo have matured, we have arrived at a deeper and more critical understanding of the man himself.

He never ceases to argue. His characters are either his opponents or his supporters, and he himself intervenes in their debate, imperceptibly inserting his own ideas in their reasoning. That is how he achieves what literary criticism has described as the polyphonic effect of his writing. His extremely lyrical novels were at the same time "magnificently staged dialogues" (Lunacharsky), dramas, or rather tragedies, constructed according to all the rules of the stage, and at the same time they were confessions, sermons and exhortations.

He takes ideas and plants them like seeds in the minds and hearts of people and watches to see what harvest they will bring forth.

He throws out a thought and compels his characters (though not always with success) to express their attitude to it, pro and con. This is a device which can impart movement and life to ideas, but it can also caricature them. It was a device that could lead to amazing discoveries, and Dostoyevsky made them. But at the same time he was guilty of "frightful exaggerations" (Gorky). His realistic art is corroded by subjectivism.

Both his flashes of insight and his delusions have a special significance today when science, art and everyday life impel man to ponder the question: if ordinary "lifeless" matter contains vast stores of nuclear energy what must be the forces latent in man? Dostoyevsky built his own device to study those forces and experiment with them. His writings, despite their outward conformity to the literary vogues of the 19th century, make one think of some powerful accelerator where human passions collide at terrific tension, revealing their nature in an endless succession of facets. Dostoyevsky himself is like a man who discovers nuclear energy and is convinced that there can be no other

use for it but destruction and who for this reason is burdened with an overwhelming sense of guilt.

The Man of Honor Versus the Denunciator In one of Dostoyevsky's rough drafts we find this note: "Literature (in our time) must hold aloft the banner of honor." What would happen, he asks, if men like Tolstoi should turn out to be dishonorable? "What temptation, what cynicism and how many there would be who would be tempted to say: 'if such as he can, then . . . etc.' That teaches a lesson."

Of course Dostoyevsky believed what he wrote, but he could never with a clear conscience have proclaimed the official banner of reaction, which he helped to uphold, to be a "banner of honor."

He feared to be thought a Judas, yet he could not but be aware that his hounding of the revolutionaries, whose devotion to the interests of the people he could not doubt, was an act of betrayal, of spiritual betrayal, in other words, a dishonorable deed. Not long ago, Jean-Paul Sartre declared that Flaubert was directly responsible for the massacre of the Communards in 1871 because, being Flaubert, he did not write a single line in protest against these repressions. This applies in even greater measure to Dostoyevsky. And this preoccupation with religion was, apart from everything else, a salve for his guilty conscience: he consoled himself with the thought that he stood for the *absolute* deliverance of the people from the forces of evil — and what were the paltry ideals of the socialists compared to that? Yet he could not find solace. It was not for nothing that he once remarked: "I am not a great consoler, though I have sometimes tried to be."

How many people are there in the modern world today whom capitalism has burdened with a guilty conscience? But the cure for this age-old malady can no longer be postponed. In the struggle for life on earth, honor and integrity are decisive. Formerly, when scientific experiments were confined to the four walls of the laboratory, an accident, an unsuccessful experiment could at worst cause the death of the scientist and the destruction of the laboratory. Today the whole world can be likened to such a laboratory. Here "accidents" or evil designs can be prevented not so much by purely technical means, as by the creation of social guarantees, the efforts of all the forces of peace. And again we are forced to the conclusion:

in order to control the new productive forces, to prevent them from becoming forces of destruction, society objectively needs a mass of intelligent, farsighted, sincere and warm-hearted human beings, in other words, every opportunity must be provided for the fullest development of every member of society. Their "greatest gain" will lie not in the malicious wilfulness of the "underground man," but in establishing "genuinely human relationships" (Marx). All the more necessary, then, is communism — not merely for radically improving life, but also for human survival.

Men must soberly assess the dangers threatening them and be firmly confident of their own strength. This era of grave peril for the human race is also an era of exploits, both on a mass scale and individually, a time of the unprecedented flowering of the best in man. Today, too, Dostoyevsky helps to awaken man's conscience, but he also evokes hysteria and treachery; there is something in him that blunts the social edge of his works, something that degrades rather than elevates man, and this something is a graver danger today than ever before — this is the other side of Dostoyevsky.

The Two Sides of Dostoyevsky In all the photographs and portraits of Dostoyevsky, and especially in the arresting sculptural portrait of him by Sergei Konenkov, the great writer appears as the prisoner of his own contradictions, as a man whom it is impossible to imagine laughing (although occasionally a bitter or sardonic smile might flicker across his features). All the more unexpected, then, is this confession: ". . . notwithstanding all I have lost, I love life fervently, I love life for its own sake, and, seriously, I still intend to begin my life over again . . . That is the chief trait of my character and perhaps of my work as well." (What a crude distortion of Dostoyevsky is the credo of existentialists like Camus or Berdaev, who regard him as their spiritual father!) Through the lips of Ivan Karamazov we find Dostoyevsky exclaiming: "The sticky leaves in spring, the blue sky — that is what I love! It's not a matter of intellect or logic, it's loving with every fibre of one's being, loving the first strength of one's youth . . ." Yet how tortured was the mind of this man with his passionate, Whitman-like lust for life!

It would be hard to find an artist more contradictory in character than Dostoyevsky. A victim of the autocracy, he became its

apologist, the apologist of the executioner. He himself in his reasoning often switched from boundless freedom to boundless despotism: at the time of the most savage tyranny he exclaimed: "Humble thyself, proud man!" An avowed enemy of the bourgeoisie, he sought salvation in religion which objectively upholds the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The sufferings of humanity were his sufferings. His was a "universal compassion." He would have happiness for all men on earth or nothing at all. He felt a kinship with all men, a sense of responsibility for them, and he wanted to transmit that feeling to everyone. But this idea, profoundly humane though it was, remained barren, unfructified by the idea of struggle. How sadly lacking it was in courage! That courage with which the work of other writers inspires us—Whitman and Gorky, for example, Rolland and Mayakovsky, Sholokhov and Hemingway.

Dostoyevsky alerted man to many of the dangers lying in wait for him, he could not show how to deal with a single one of those dangers. He posed many problems, but solved none. In a word, he sounded the alarm only to frighten and confuse. His talent has been described, and justly so, as brutal, his genius, as evil. Faith in man and utter degradation of man; rebellion and abasement; the desire to help people somehow, at once, without a moment's delay, and instead, the postponement of any succor until the second coming of Christ; borrowing the truths of socialism (i.e., above all its criticism of the capitalist system) and at the same time, the repetition of bourgeois and tsarist lies about socialism as "universal plunder"; noble appeals for a brotherhood of nations and a revolting chauvinism, counterposing Russia, the East, to the West, plus religious intolerance; Christianity, now was the antithesis of socialism, now as its realization (a sort of Christian socialism); the dream of the kingdom of heaven on earth and apocalyptic visions; a churchman and an atheist; a man "of saintly and criminal visage" (Thomas Mann); "a personality torn between two abysses" — such is the true Dostoyevsky. This is not a mechanical coexistence of the truth and the lie but a co-mingling, a confusion, a coalescence of the two.

Dostoyevsky's reactionary side does not consist only in preoccupation with the "dual personality," the "underground man," "the scoundrel." It is not the subject of study that matters here, but *how* it is understood and assessed. This Dostoyevsky is the cult of

suffering, it is the twisted idea that all men are "from the underground," that under the surface all men are "rotten," a predilection for all that is base and contemptible in man, it is the guilty conscience of one who sought consolation by assuring himself that all men have guilty consciences; it is rubbing salt into the wounds instead of healing them; it is a pathological urge to portray the unhealthy aspects of life. Dostoyevsky himself was affected by it in much the same way as the psychiatrist might be affected by the psychic ailments he treats. And, as Lunacharsky said, "one must needs be endowed with colossal moral strength; I would say, one must possess our proletarian character of today, to be able to quaff such a noxious potion as Dostoyevsky, and to be the stronger for it, although for people of another type Dostoyevsky was indeed poison."

Lenin warned against the "execrable imitation of the execrable Dostoyevsky," and no one understood better than Lenin that Dostoyevsky could not be dismissed as a reactionary. From the reminiscences of the old Bolshevik Bonch-Bruyevich we learn how "vehemently Lenin condemned the reactionary tendencies in Dostoyevsky's work . . . At the same time, Lenin on more than one occasion remarked that Dostoyevsky was a truly great writer, who examined the sickness of contemporary society, and whose books, though abounding in contradictions and distortions, were vivid portrayals of reality." Lenin agreed with Gorky when the latter protested against the staging of *The Devils*. But it was at Lenin's suggestion that a monument was erected to Dostoyevsky, the writer.

It is noteworthy, too, that Marxists like Rosa Luxemburg and A. Gramsci closely studied Dostoyevsky's writings and made some extremely profound and penetrating observations about his work.

* * *

Idealist thinkers or artists of the Dostoyevsky type examine life through some powerful microscope, as it were, which while it reveals much of value in the phenomena of life, at the same time distorts them. But Marxism enables us to ascertain the angle of refraction, to use the objectively valuable findings of these thinkers and artists against their delusions and against any speculation on these delusions. This, of course, is not easy, it is far more difficult than simply to burn their writings and smash their instruments . . .

Scholars in many countries have created a

tradition of struggle for Dostoyevsky the humanist and against Dostoyevsky the reactionary. The "angle of refraction" is being established with increasing accuracy.

And so, when in the heat of the contro-

versy on the topics of the day our ideological adversaries invoke Dostoyevsky, we have the answers to their arguments. More, we have questions for them which they will find it hard to answer.

Problems of Education in Tropical Africa

THE "continent of the future" is what Africa used to be called until recently. Today this is a misnomer, for Africa is also a continent of the present—a present in which the foundations of the future are being laid. The building of these foundations, however, confronts the young African states with complex social problems which they must solve in order to ensure their independent economic and cultural development. Education and training of national cadres is one of the most important of these problems.

The task is complicated by the fact that colonialist influences have proved particularly difficult to uproot in education. The legacy of the past is still alive in African schools as colonialism seeks to maintain its grip on Africa's intellectual development. Kwame Nkrumah pertinently pointed out not long ago that neo-colonialism is today more dangerous to Africa than colonialism.

"... What the African of 1980 will be like depends on the school programs drawn up in 1961," a delegate from Upper Volta said at the African conference on education in Addis Ababa. "The type of man who will govern Africa tomorrow is potentially contained in the curricula of today."

This is an extremely complex problem which is affecting all other aspects of education by virtue of its economic, social and political implications.

The First Steps

1960 was proclaimed Africa Year. In that year 16 former colonies became independent. Today the map of Africa bears little resemblance to what it was immediately after the war, when there were only three independent states—Ethiopia, Liberia and Egypt, apart from the Union of South Africa. Today there are 33 sovereign states, which account for more than 75 per cent of the territory of the continent.

So far it is difficult to assess the progress made by the various states in education. Too

The Legacy of the Past

In 1950, according to the U.N. figures, between 85 and 90 per cent of the population of Africa was illiterate.

	Number of illiterates (in thous.)	%%
French colonies and trust territories		
French Equatorial Africa (today: Gabon, Chad, the Central African Republic, Congo (cap. Brazzaville)	2,700	95-99
French West Africa (today: Guinea, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey)	10,400	95-99
Cameroun (trusteeship terr.)	1,800	90-95
Togo (trusteeship terr.)	610	90-95
Madagascar	1,800	65-70
British colonies		
Sudan	4,900	90-95
Tanganyika	4,400	90-95
Sierra Leone	1,100	90-95
Cameroon	570	90-95
Nigeria	13,700	85-90
Ghana	2,460	77-81
Kenya	2,300	75-80
Uganda	2,300	70-75
Portuguese colonies		
Mozambique	3,400	95-99
Angola	2,400	95-99
Belgian colonies		
Ruanda-Urundi (trusteeship terr.)	2,300	90-95
Congo	4,700	60-65

little time has passed, and often no exact statistics are available for the past two years, which present the greatest interest. Moreover, the different countries started out from different levels. Nevertheless, it is clear that appreciable success has been registered in a number of countries. Representatives of the new African states said at the Addis Ababa conference that their governments had allocated as much as 17, 20 and 23 per cent of

the state budget for education. Compare this with the recent colonial past when the figure rarely exceeded five per cent.

In 1958, i.e., two years before most colonies in Africa received independence, the doors of **primary schools** remained closed to over 75 per cent of the school-age children. In this respect Africa was the most backward continent. In areas like South-East Asia and Latin America, for example, primary school attendance had risen to 70-75 per cent by that time.

In the former British protectorate of Somaliland the first primary schools for boys were opened only in 1942 and for girls in 1953. Speaking at the Eleventh General Conference of UNESCO, Apithy, head of the delegation of the former French colony of Dahomey, said that his country had long been regarded as the "Quartier Latin" of West Africa and an "exporter of officials and personnel." And yet in that country, which was in a somewhat better position by the time of independence (1960), only about 30 per cent of the children attended school.

After more than a hundred years of colonial rule there were only 52,000 pupils in the primary, secondary and technical schools of Guinea before independence, or less than seven per cent of the children of school age. In three years the republic more than doubled this number (to 105,000 in 1961). Secondary school attendance nearly trebled in this time. In the 1958-59 school year 214 new classes were opened, in 1959-60, 425, and in 1960-61, 300. In 1960 the appropriations for education were 46.4 per cent higher than in the previous year. By 1970 adult illiteracy is expected to be wiped out.

An important advance in education has been made in Ghana in recent years. Even before independence the people of that country had wrested certain concessions from the colonialists. Yet in 1957 about half the school-age children did not go to primary school, while secondary school attendance (though the highest in Africa) was in the region of 26 per cent. Between 1958 and 1962 primary school enrolment increased from 471,000 to 700,980, and the number of secondary school pupils from 153,073 to 193,000. In the current 1962-63 year 2,400 first-grade classes have been opened, according to Ghana's Minister of Education, Dowuona-Hammond. Under the second development plan universal and free primary education has been introduced.

In a number of other countries, too, the first years of independence have seen an in-

crease in school enrolment as well as in the number of schools and classrooms. In two years the number of pupils in the Republic of Chad increased by nearly 50 per cent. The same rate of growth was registered in Niger, which used to be one of the most backward countries as regards education. Considerable success has been achieved of late in Mali.

Most African countries are aware that these are only the first steps towards a level of education and literacy conforming to the requirements of modern technology and science, and that the rate of development has to be sharply increased.

The Problem of "Africanization"

In the different countries priority was given to different aspects of the general problem of raising education standards. In some the emphasis was laid on primary education. In others the problem of secondary education gradually came to the fore. But in all newly-independent countries the governments were faced with two main problems — increasing the **number** of schools, teachers and pupils, on the one hand, and **qualitative**, structural, **changes** in the educational system, on the other.

Still more serious was the situation in **secondary education**. Where some 15-25 per cent of the children went to primary schools, secondary school attendance did not exceed 1-1.5 per cent. In 1957-58 there was only one secondary school in Somalia. In the former French colony of Niger only 243 children, 0.1 per cent of the total, attended secondary school in 1957. On the whole, in 1958 the secondary schools of Africa were attended by not more than two per cent of the children of corresponding age.

Speaking in Addis Ababa, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, delegate from Upper Volta, said in this connection: "African education of course involves a problem of quantity; but the problem of quality relating to the content of education and the nature of the curricula, is of more revolutionary significance."

Although in recent years the number of schools has grown considerably in most African countries, in many the character of education still bears the stamp of the old colonial times. In the former Belgian colonies, for example, the Catholic mission schools retain a strong foothold.

The changes in the methods of instruction and the curricula are slow and half-hearted.

In view of this one of the central issues discussed at the recent education conferences

in Africa was the "Africanization" of education, i.e., bringing the curricula into accord with cultural and historical traditions, fostering a sense of national dignity, teaching the children more about their own country and acquainting them with its past, present and future.

"In the secondary schools of some countries less than 10 per cent of the time is allotted to the study of the country's own geography, whilst at least 80 per cent of the textbooks deal with the study of the former metropolitan country. The result is that pupils know more about the Seine than the Niger, or about the mistral than the harmattan," Ki-Zerbo said at the Addis Ababa conference.

A state of affairs where Africans study their own past on the basis of French colonial textbooks and where the peoples of neighboring countries once ruled by different colonial powers know practically nothing about each other, is of course totally unsatisfactory. In Upper Volta, for example, the geography of Ghana is not studied at all, despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of Volta workers go to work in Ghana and the peoples of the two countries have much in common.

Small wonder therefore that this type of education is condemned by progressive Africans, and a number of countries (Guinea, for example) are writing their own textbooks and drawing up their own curricula.

"Africanization," however, implies not only changing the character and orientation of

general education, but, above all, taking into account the needs of independent economic and social development in drawing up the curricula.

Requirements of Technological Progress . . .

Changing the structure of the educational system means above all putting the school on a polytechnical footing, training large numbers of technical cadres, particularly in the average skill bracket.

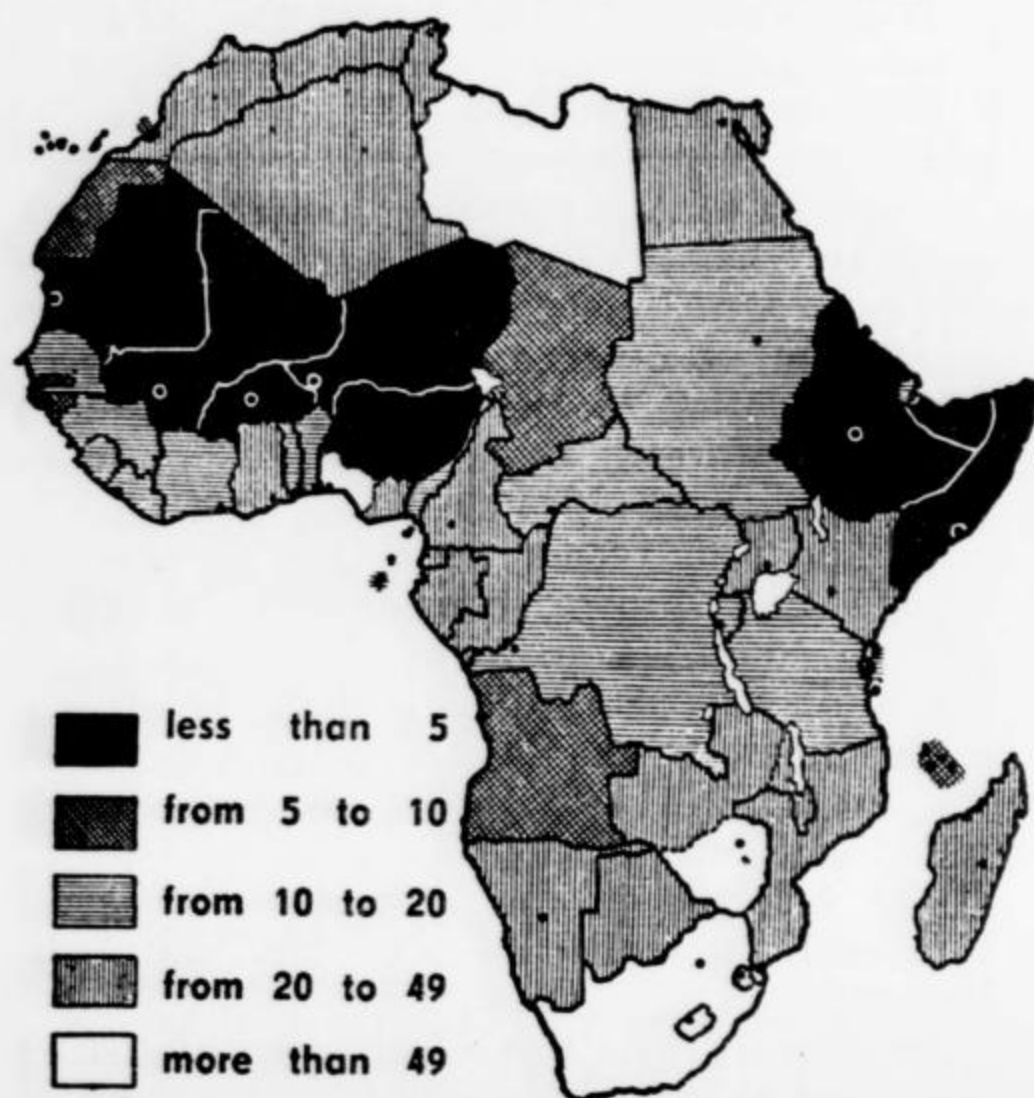
The colonial administrations appropriated negligible funds for **technical education**, although in the conditions of Africa it is of the utmost significance from the standpoint of independent socio-economic development.

In 1957-58 the technical and special secondary schools in many African colonies were attended by less than 20 per cent of all students. The majority went to the humanities, juridical and pedagogical faculties. Only seven per cent of the students were trained to be engineers and four per cent—agricultural experts. The inadequacy of these figures from the standpoint of the needs of Africa's development was repeatedly stressed in the resolutions and documents adopted by a number of African conferences on education.

Needless to say, the training of national technical cadres largely depends on the level of economic development and on the possibilities of providing jobs to these cadres. In this sense it is pivoted on the question of the character and rate of economic development of the new African states. But the overall problem is more complex. In the conditions of the modern technological revolution, the proportions and rates of growth of skilled cadres undergo a change. When the growth of the numbers of skilled technical personnel exceeds the demand, it makes for rapid technological and economic advance, as is shown by the example of Japan and its rapid economic progress in this century. In Africa questionnaires, public opinion polls and available documents show that already today the demand for skilled workers and technicians surpasses the supply. Until recently there were no schools in Tropical Africa training teachers in the field of technical education. Ghana's second plan of development now provides for the opening of a department to train teachers of technical subjects in the technological college in Kumasi.

Guinea has registered considerable success in the matter of changing the structure and content of education. Between 1958-59 and 1961 the student body in secondary technical

**PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL IN 1957-58
ATTENDANCE IN AFRICA (IN PERCENTAGE)**



and special schools increased more than five times. At the end of last year the Polytechnical Institute in Conakry, designed for 1,500 students and built with the assistance of the Soviet Union, was opened. Much is being done to develop education, to change its structure and to adapt it to the local conditions in Mali, which was one of the most backward of the former French colonies as regards level of economic and cultural development.

The report on the needs of Tropical Africa in the field of primary, general technical and secondary education drafted for the Eleventh General Conference of UNESCO expressed the view that talented African young people showed little interest in technical education.

At first glance, the situation in this respect, if we judge by figures alone, differs little from what it was under colonial rule: most of the students continue to attend pedagogical, classical and law departments.

In this connection, however, there are other data which present considerable interest, in particular an opinion poll conducted among 116 pupils at a Conakry school. Asked what profession they would choose for themselves, 34 said they would become technicians, 18—mechanics, 14—designers, 12—teachers, 11—agriculturists, nine—farmers, eight—mining engineers, four—fishermen, three—doctors, two—road engineers, and one—a biologist.

The social uplift which was typical of the period immediately after the attainment of independence and the positive programs put forward by the state are thus reflected in the attitude of young people to education.

Has Africa the Means for Education?

The complex problems confronting the African countries in the sphere of education required coordination of efforts and joint elaboration of a number of common problems.

Plans for the next five to 20 years have been drawn up. One of the most serious problems discussed in this connection was that of finances. The implementation of a five-year educational plan for Africa requires \$4,150 million, of which \$2,840 million can be drawn from the national resources. Owing to their low level of economic development, not all countries are in a position to allocate these sums from their own national resources at once. Hence international aid in promoting education in the underdeveloped countries is the duty of the economically more advanced countries.

The socialist states render no small aid to the African countries, helping them to build educational establishments, extending large numbers of grants to African students and loans for the needs of education. No political strings are attached to this aid.

The African states also turn to the Western countries for aid. Whatever aid is received from this quarter is actually part payment on the debt accumulated by the West during the long years of brutal colonial exploitation, and hence something the former colonies are entitled to receive and dispose of at their own discretion. The main thing is to see to it that an ideology alien to the African countries and hostile to their interests is not smuggled in together with the material and economic aid.

There is no point in setting any hard and fast proportion between the national and foreign funds used for education, for the ratio will depend on the specific conditions of each country. Yet it can hardly be considered normal when 80 per cent of the money planned to go for education is to be drawn from foreign sources, as is the case, for example, in the Congo (capital Brazzaville). Of the 10,500 million francs assigned for education

	NUMBER OF HIGHER SCHOOL STUDENTS BY PROFESSIONS IN 1958-59 (In Percentage)								
	Humanities	Pedagogics	Art	Law	Social sciences	Natural sciences	Technology	Medicine	Agriculture
Madagascar	7.1	—	—	66.5	—	26.4	—	—	—
Senegal	21.7	0.3	—	39.5	1.4	21.4	1.0	12.2	2.4
Ghana	15.2	15.7	5.3	6.6	22.9	8.2	16.0	4.0	6.0
Kenya	3.8	55.5	5.4	—	8.2	4.6	9.8	5.0	7.8
Nigeria	26.7	5.9	4.6	—	13.7	31.8	7.4	8.9	1.1
Rhodesia and Nyasaland	42.4	22.4	—	—	—	29.6	—	—	5.6

under the three-year plan (1961-63), 9,400 million is to be granted by France, the European Development Fund and other funds. It is above all the maximum utilization of the *internal* resources that is the genuine guarantee of the steady and rapid development of education.

Experiencing as they do an acute shortage of funds, the African countries face serious problems in the matter of financing education. Spokesmen of these countries point out that the available funds have to be used thriftily and in the most expedient ways. Planning as well as public initiative and mass activity acquire the utmost significance. Developments in a number of countries testify that much can be done within a relatively short time by relying on the initiative of the population generally.

The notable progress made in Guinea can be credited, in particular, to the voluntary help given by the public in building school premises.

The Soviet Union's experience shows how big a part public initiative can play. In 1929-30, for instance, only 4.6 per cent of the money allotted to combat illiteracy came from the state budget, the rest deriving from local budgets and extra-budgetary sources (mass organizations, voluntary donations, etc.).

Annual Expenditure for Education Per Capita

French colonies		\$
1958	Chad	0.80
1957	Niger	0.90
1958	Mali	1.79
1958	Guinea	1.98
1958	Senegal	4.14
British colonies		
1956	Nigeria	1.29
1958	Tanganyika	1.87
1958-59	Kenya	2.80
1958-59	Rhodesia and Nyasaland	4.20
1954	Ghana	4.90
Portuguese and Belgian colonies		
1957	Mozambique (Port.)	0.30
1957	Angola (Port.)	0.34
1958	Congo (Belg.)	3.12
1959	Ruanda-Urundi (Belg.)	1.18

At the same time the corresponding figures were in France 29.05, in Britain 36.4, in Portugal 4.28 and Belgium 46.4.

A country's approach to the problem of financing education reflects to a considerable extent its approach to its independent economic and social development in general.

Education — for the "Elite" or for the Masses?

A cardinal condition for solving the problem of education is the establishment of a

school system which would make knowledge accessible to the masses, and reveal and develop their talents. Only such an educational system corresponds to the needs of democratic development.

Following the Second World War, under the pressure of the changed world situation, the unprecedented growth of the national-liberation movement and, last but not least, of the needs of economic development, the colonialists had to make certain concessions. But education nevertheless remained the privilege of the few. Although more schools were being built, they were accessible only to a narrow circle of the *élite*, who were trained to become members of the future local administration.

In Africa today there are colleges which are in no way inferior to the best educational establishments in the West, yet the overwhelming majority of schools lack qualified teachers and often the most elementary material facilities.

Describing these schools the representative of Gabon said: "Three-quarters of the colonial schools (in Gabon — *Ed.*) are hovels with walls of tree bark or clay where the pupils write on their knees or blocks, sitting on the ground in the most uncomfortable positions. The straw roofs are often ripped off by the wind."

Otto Schmidt, a West German politician who visited the Congo and Cameroon in 1959, was astounded by the lavish appointments he found at a recently-built Jesuit college in Usumbura. "Such a costly establishment," he wrote, "can be justified only by the fact that this will be a center of spiritual and ideological education serving as a bastion of active struggle against communism in Africa. Some of the most promising African young people will of course become immune against communism here, but even among the graduates there will be those who sooner or later will use the knowledge they have acquired to fight the West and Catholicism."

The minor key of this commentary reflects both the narrow approach to the problems of Africa on the part of Western spokesmen who regard them only from the standpoint of their own interests — the interests of struggle against socialism — and their awareness that this policy is doomed to fail.

Nevertheless the tendency towards "selective" education for the *élite* presents a real danger in a number of African countries.

In African conditions educational privilege not infrequently paves the way for the neo-colonialist penetration. It is common knowledge that some Western politicians count on

the gradual "Westernization" of the African élite, seeing in it the social base which will uphold their interests. In their book, *The New Nigerian Elite*, H. and M. Smythe point out that one of the sources of "Westernization is Nigeria's only University College at Ibadan. Modelled on the English University in structure and curriculum," this college "leads not only to Westernization, but also to the development of élite thought-patterns and mode of living."

A similar situation in the educational establishments in Ghana has been denounced by the government which declared that the system of education in them ran counter to the country's requirements. The problem of the democratization of education in Africa is closely linked with the general democratic tendencies in the solution of political problems.

College enrollment in the colonies amounted to an infinitesimal percentage of the population. In Ruandi-Urundi, formerly a Belgian mandated territory, there were four students for a population of 4,700,000 in 1958. There was not a single higher educational establishment in most of the newly-emergent African states.

Number of students of higher schools per 100,000 of the population in 1958-59

Senegal	63.4
Ghana	29.2
Sierra Leone	18.8
Uganda	18
Kenya	12.5
Madagascar	7.7
Rhodesia and Nyasaland	1.6

Compare this with the fact that the number of students enrolled at higher educational establishments per 100,000 of the population was: 381 in Sweden, 691 in Japan and 1,076 in the USSR.

The Language Problem

Another problem which complicates the development of education in Africa is that of language.

In most of the African countries instruction is still in the language of the metropolitan country. How is this problem being tackled by the new states?

In the case of many of these states the people inhabiting their territory do not yet constitute a single nation. People speaking one and the same language find themselves living in different countries since the frontiers derive not from the natural processes of historical and economic development but from the colonial policy of European countries. On the other hand, decelerated social

development has retarded the approximation of languages. In Guinea, for example, more than ten local languages are spoken. In Ghana, too, things are very difficult in this respect. All this raises serious problems — political, economic and cultural, educational included.

In a number of instances the language of the former metropolis serves as the only means of communication between people living in different parts of one country as well as between different states. For this reason several countries have preserved it not only as the official language but also as a language in which instruction is given in schools.

The language problem in Africa may eventually be solved on a broader basis transcending state boundaries. A number of African countries are already examining the question. The situation of course differs greatly from country to country. The immediate future will in all probability show how this complex problem can be best solved.

Two Ways

The development of education is not an isolated process. Its rate, character and direction are determined, in the final analysis,

COLONIALISM CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED!

Colonialism is not only Africa's past. In several countries it is still the shameful present. In the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, in British Kenya, in the Spanish colonies and in states like the Republic of South Africa or the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it continues to exist in its most repellent and despotic forms.

In Angola over 80 per cent of the children were barred from primary school and 98 per cent from secondary school in 1958. Over three-quarters of the schools were run by missionaries. The following fact is indicative of the character of colonialist activities: although between 1930-35 and 1950-55 the number of primary school pupils roughly doubled in Angola (increasing from 4,300 to 9,100), the total percentage increased from 0.7 to only 0.9, bearing in mind the growth of the population. And this in 20-odd years!

In one of his speeches during colonial rule in Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah said: "Imperialism thrives only where the people are divided and are ignorant of their rights. That is why the educational system is so bad. In fact there is no system at all. It is one big muddle."

There is nothing to justify the existence of colonialism in our days. The Third Solidarity Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples, held in Moshi (Tanganyika) in February 1963, voiced the peoples' resolve: Make 1963 the last year of colonialism in Africa!

by the character of the political and social development of the country.

When the first independent state on the African continent—Liberia—came into being over 110 years ago, it would have been naive to expect it to pursue an independent foreign and home policy. And it remained in the same position for practically a century. Liberia developed in direct dependence on the USA and it still is one of the most backward countries in Africa, both economically and culturally.

Today the colonial path traversed by Liberia and still followed by a number of African countries is no longer unavoidable. The new world balance of forces, the upsurge of the national-liberation struggle and the entire trend of postwar development have created the conditions for the independent political, economic and cultural development of the African countries.

An examination of data published recently reveals two trends in the sphere of education

just as in the general development of the African countries. In the long run, the relative strength of these tendencies depends on how the new states tackle the problems of their national development, on the resolve with which they combat the legacy of colonialism.

It would be an over-simplification to assume that either of these tendencies has completely ousted the other in the policy of one or another state, although one could mention states which are solving their tasks consistently indeed. These trends often intertwine and clash in the policy of one and the same state. In public education the issue is whether to take the road of semi-colonial development with all the half-measures accompanying it, or the road of consistent solution of all tasks on a broad democratic basis which ensures rapid social progress.

Today Africa's destinies are in the hands of its peoples.

In Memory of Julian Grimau Garcia

THE international Communist movement and progressives everywhere have suffered a heavy loss. Another crime against humanity has been perpetrated. On April 20, 1963, Comrade Julian Grimau Garcia, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, was executed on orders from Franco.

Julian Grimau was born on February 18, 1913, into the family of a Madrid worker. His father, who died in exile, was a Republican Democrat, and his mother a Catholic. A printer by profession, Grimau joined the Communist Party in November 1936 at the time of the heroic defense of Madrid against the fascist offensive.

Grimau distinguished himself as a soldier of the Republican Army during the Civil War of 1936-39 and as an active Party worker. At the end of the war Grimau had to leave Spain, but abroad too he carried on the fight against the Franco dictatorship.

A staunch fighter for the freedom of his people and for communism, Grimau was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party at its Fifth Congress in 1954. At the



time of his arrest on November 8, 1962, Grimau had for several years been the leader of the Party organization in Madrid.

In a tribute to him, Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, said: "Julian Grimau was an exemplary Communist, one of those heroes who dedicated their lives to the Party, who worked for the Party tirelessly, and who, when faced with the supreme test, gave their lives without hesitation or regret. All this he did self-effacingly, without outward show, seeking no other reward but the clear conscience of one who has done his duty to his class, his people and his Party."

Voicing their protest against the foul murder, progressives throughout the world are confident that the Communists and democrats of Spain will reply to this crime by intensifying the struggle against the fascist regime.

Mourning the heavy loss, the Communists and all other progressive people throughout the world will always cherish the memory of the devoted Communist Julian Grimau Garcia.

W.M.R. INTERVIEWS**Luis Carlos Prestes on the Political Situation in Brazil**

The following is a summary of an interview given our journal by Comrade Luiz Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, during his recent visit to Prague.

The January Plebiscite and the Present Prospects

AFTER the resignation of President Janio Quadros in August 1961 Brazil teetered on the brink of civil war. The democratic and patriotic forces came out against the reactionary generals to whom the retiring president had turned over the power and who threatened to set up a reactionary dictatorship serving the interests of imperialism. The progressive forces fought for constitutional legality and for the transfer of presidential authority to Senor Joao Goulart. Finding themselves defeated, the reactionaries advanced a compromise proposal which was later supported by the national bourgeoisie, who feared the consequences of a civil war. An amendment was adopted changing the form of government and replacing presidential power by the Parliament. The reactionary forces hoped through Parliament to be able to secure greater participation in the executive power. However, on taking over office, Senor Goulart took immediate steps to free himself of the restrictions imposed by the amendment. A succession of cabinet crises enabled him, with the support of the democratic and patriotic movement and, primarily, the entire working class, to crush the ultra-reactionaries and strengthen his supporters in the army. The holding in January 1963 of the plebiscite originally scheduled for April 1965 was another victory for Goulart. Formally the people were asked to vote for or against the amendment, for or against parliamentary government. In reality, however, the question of the form of government was secondary and of little interest to anyone. The plebiscite was a reflection of the struggle now being waged in Brazil between the democratic and patriotic forces, on the one hand, and the reactionary, pro-imperialist forces, on the other. The 10 million votes cast against the amendment showed the strength of the democratic and patriotic movement, and spelled victory for Senor Goulart and

defeat for Senor Lacerda and the other agents of imperialism in Brazil. Defeated too were certain "leftist" groups and politicians, who stand for extreme measures — men like Francisco Juliao, for example, who do not understand the present situation in the country and who urged the masses to boycott the plebiscite. The number of people who abstained from voting was even less than during ordinary elections.

The results of the plebiscite confirm the view that the democratic and patriotic forces can win the day provided they are united, that conditions are maturing in Brazil which make it possible to carry out the far-reaching reforms essential for the country's progress and its economic liberation from the yoke of U.S. imperialism. Backed by the people and a strong army, Senor Goulart as President of the Republic has every opportunity to take the initiative in applying drastic measures to the U.S. monopolies and latifundists. But the cabinet he formed after the plebiscite is a cabinet of compromise with the latifundists and imperialists, a cabinet incapable of implementing a radical agrarian reform and adopting the measures with regard to imperialism the country so direly needs. As for the Communists, although they are in opposition to the government on this score, they nevertheless strongly support the positive aspects of its foreign policy while keeping a watchful eye on the reactionaries who are doing their best to retard democratic progress in Brazil. The Communists are fighting for the establishment of a democratic and national government which would carry out far-reaching reforms.

Chief Obstacle to the National and Democratic Movement

The democratic and national movement still encounters many obstacles in its striving for the united action of the working class with the broad masses in the countryside, the urban middle sections and the national bour-

geoisie, and this makes it difficult to build up the movement in accordance with some definite general program. The national bourgeoisie is torn by contradictions, and the working class is not sufficiently organized and united to win the wavering sections of the national bourgeoisie over to its side. Moreover, the alliance of the workers and peasants is as yet in its initial stage.

The main stumbling block to the development of the democratic and national movement is the conciliatory course adopted by influential groups of the national bourgeoisie, a course which can only be counteracted by the working class, by an alliance of workers and peasants, by a genuine mass movement which would unite the most consistent elements in a single united front.

Communist Contribution to the People's Struggle

The Communists have always taken an active part in the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Ever since it was founded in 1922, the Brazilian Communist Party has constantly dedicated its efforts to helping the masses to understand the causes of their poverty and backwardness, causes which have their roots in the imperialist domination and in the agrarian structure of our country based on the system of latifundia and the survivals of feudalism. The Communists led big successful mass actions against the U.S. military bases on Brazilian territory, against our participation in the war in Korea and in defense of our country's natural wealth. The movement against turning over Brazil's oil wealth to the big foreign trusts, for a state monopoly on the extraction and refining of oil, helped to alert the masses to the need to combat the U.S. exploiters. At the head of the working class, the Communists fought for the autonomy and freedom of the trade union movement and won major victories in this sphere. The two political strikes held in 1962 on a national scale were unprecedented in the history of Brazil and demonstrated the unity of the leadership of the trade union movement. Beginning with September 1961 we have also scored some important successes in organizing the countryside. The number of peasant associations and the number of peasants or-

ganized in the Union of Peasants and Agricultural Workers of Brazil has increased tenfold. Agricultural workers won the right to organize, a right recognized by the Ministry of Labor; statutes for agricultural workers were adopted which reflect some of the social gains won by the working masses in the countryside. Thanks to the activities of Communist members of Parliament, the democratic gains of the Brazilian people — free speech, freedom of assembly, the right of association, the right to strike and the right to organize — were written into the 1946 Constitution. The Communists have always steadfastly upheld constitutionality against all encroachments by the forces of reaction and betrayal.

The Communists are the most consistent fighters for complete national liberation. We combat the survivals of slavery and feudalism, we fight against racial discrimination, which still exists, we fight for a racial agrarian reform which would put an end to the latifundia and turn the land over to those who till it. We vehemently reject the old tendency to attribute Brazil's backwardness to the "inferiority" of the Portuguese, the Indian or the Negro, or to the tropical climate. We repudiate the position of those who claim that imperialist capital is essential for the progress of our country, and also of those who believe that the geographical position of our country as part of the American continent does not permit us to free ourselves from U.S. monopoly domination. We are also striving to develop the traditions of the anti-fascist and national liberation struggle begun by the glorious National-Liberation Alliance in 1935. We are persistently fighting for the full legalization of the Party. In our Party we adhere strictly to the traditional policy of strengthening friendship with the Soviet Union and the unity of the world Communist movement founded on proletarian internationalism and on Marxism-Leninism. Although as Marxists-Leninists we are waging a struggle on two fronts — against revisionism and against dogmatism — nevertheless what we reject and what we are fighting most vigorously are the manifestations of sectarianism and dogmatism, a trend that has dealt incalculable harm to our revolutionary activity and which has yet to be routed.

WMR COMMENTARIES

The French Miners' Strike

THE victory won by the French coal miners in their 35-day strike which was one of the biggest class battles fought in France since the war was a victory for the entire French working class. Moreover, the circumstances in which it was won gave it international significance.

The strike was basically economic in character. Never had the workers' demands been more justified. Although mechanization had greatly increased the productivity of the pits in recent years, the miners' work remained as arduous as ever. In the Nord and Pas de Calais departments no less than 45,000 miners were officially listed as suffering from silicosis. The disability rate rose to appalling proportions. And wages lagged 11 per cent behind other categories of workers; this figure, cited by all the miners' trade union federations, was never seriously questioned.

The indifference of the government to the miners' plight followed from its policy of curtailing coal mining in conformity with the decisions of the Common Market bodies and the European Coal and Steel Community.

On January 15 the miners began to employ "go-slow" tactics. There was a plan for strike action, but on January 31, in view of the government's promise to begin negotiations on February 15, the Miners' Federation, affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor, put off its implementation. But the intransigence of the government, its ludicrous offer of a 5.77 per cent increase to be effected gradually by April 1, 1964, and its refusal to consider the miners' demands until September 1963, compelled the miners to down tools on March 1.

The decree mobilizing the miners, which de Gaulle signed on March 2 in his residence at Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises, imparted to the strike a political significance from the very outset. The decree was a frontal attack against trade union rights and freedoms. Mobilization, being a profoundly anti-democratic measure of a military nature, was in full accord with the spirit of the authoritarian rule of de Gaulle. It was based on a law passed in 1938 with a view to "general organization of the nation in wartime" and providing for penalties ranging from one month to a year of imprisonment for refusal to go to work.

But even this measure proved powerless against the miners. So great was their resolve

that all the gendarmes in France could not have enforced the order. Not a single miner went down into the pits. No doubt de Gaulle realized that it would have been dangerous indeed for the government of the monopolies he heads as well as for the French reactionaries generally to employ naked force against the working class and the democratic forces.

From this moment on the strike turned into a struggle in defense of fundamental democratic rights — the right to strike and to organize. It also threw light on the political situation in France and the nature of the conflicts developing in the country. At the time of the "barricade revolt" in Algiers in January 1960 and the Salan putsch in April 1961, de Gaulle could still harbor the illusion that the widespread strike action taken in reply to the fascist threat was a token of support for his regime. Even the strikes and powerful demonstrations of February 13, 1962, could be regarded as actions mainly against the OAS and Interior Minister Frey as the man responsible for the bloodshed of February 8. This time, however, when de Gaulle took personal responsibility for the government's anti-labor policy by signing the March 2 decree, the mass actions acquired a distinctly anti-Gaullist character.

At the same time the veil of demagoguery camouflaging the general's reactionary regime was ripped off. His boast of December 29, 1961, that the "efforts of the state are aimed at ensuring everybody a share in the fruits of the progress achieved" was given the lie. "Often," he said at the time, "strikes seem unnecessary, if not anachronistic, in view of the steady growth of the responsibility borne by the people and their organizations in the elaboration of plans regulating the productive activities of the nation as a whole as well as of each particular branch of industry."

This "prophecy" has been blasted by the facts. Strikes are no more anachronistic than the exploitation of man under capitalism. The Gaullist state, which acts as a trustee for the monopolies and itself runs major nationalized industries, has once again revealed its true nature as an instrument of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The trade unions exposed the direct connection between the economic policy of the monopolies and the attitude of the government to

the miners. They pointed out that the state-owned coal mines (Charbonnages de France), while refusing to raise wages, were selling coal to the big industrialists at prices below cost. The coal board actually admitted in the "committee of wise men" set up by the government that miners' wages were 10 per cent less than in other industries (adjusted to working hours the percentage was claimed to be eight). But in spite of all that Massé, the chairman of the committee who also heads the Commissariat of Planning, declared that he could not recommend wage increases after April 1, 1963, since this would necessitate increases in prices, tariffs and taxes and would be incompatible with the plan. This approach merely proves that the monopolists are out to strengthen their positions in the Common Market, the "Europe of the trusts," at the expense of the working people.

It is true, of course, that it is impossible to do everything at once. But can the miners consider it normal that a year after the war in Algeria France's military budget is bigger than ever before? Could not this source be drawn upon to satisfy the needs of the working people without raising prices or increasing taxes?

Inasmuch as the Gaullist government, while conceding that the miners' wages were lower than in other industries, would not agree to remedy the situation and at the same time was unable to break the strike, it tried to maneuver in order to gain time and starve the miners into submission, or at least make their cause unpopular. Consequently, after admitting that there was an eight per cent wage lag, it offered on March 23 a five per cent raise in 1963, the rest to be made good by April 1964.

Since the government would not yield, the strike continued for another 12 days without the slightest sign of weakening. Indeed, the salient feature of the struggle was the steady growth of unity and the sweeping solidarity movement in France as well as on an international scale. In the localities and at the pits the fight was led by joint committees in which all trade union centers — the General Confederation of Labor, the Force Ouvrière and the Christian unions — were represented. Morning after morning members of the different unions together with unorganized workers and sometimes with the miners' wives turned up on the picket lines. Similarly, joint demonstrations were held. At meetings they all voiced the same views. One spokesman of the Christian trade unions said: "The government has no money for the miners, but it

finds billions for its strike force which is useless from the standpoint of France's security and dangerous for world peace." A representative of the Force Ouvrière said: "Only an agreement concluded with all the trade unions will end the strike." It was symptomatic that technicians and their organizations openly sided with the strikers and condemned the attempt at compulsory mobilization. As a matter of fact their resolute stand did much to win public support for the miners.

The miners were backed by all political organizations of the Left: the Communist, Socialist, United Socialist and Radical parties and the Human Rights League. Solidarity committees sprang up everywhere, with representatives of peasants' associations, the National Students' Union, the Union of French Women and even sports organizations taking part in addition to the above-mentioned parties. The solidarity movement embraced all sections of the people, including the peasants, handicraftsmen, shopkeepers, and intellectuals. Many churchmen also joined. The Archbishop of Marseilles sponsored a collection of donations for strike relief, and the Bishop of Arras said: "The miners' cause is our common cause."

Solidarity strikes were called by other sections of the working people who also suffer from the policies of the monopolies. On March 5 a 15-minute strike swept all branches of industry. Hardly a day passed without one or another group of workers downing tools or coming out on demonstrations in solidarity with the miners and, as often as not, also in support of their own demands. This was the case with the railwaymen and gas and electricity workers, post-office employees and the personnel of Air France and the Commissariat of Atomic Energy; in effect the entire nationalized sector followed the miners into the lists. Actions were undertaken by the steel workers, dockers, textile workers, etc. The diversity of the forms of struggle employed enhanced the impact of the work stoppages: there were two-hour "rolling" strikes of railwaymen, lightning strikes of gas and electricity workers, strikes by shifts and go-slow strikes. In some branches the workers won their demands even before the miners' strike was over. This was the case with the iron ore miners of Lorraine and the gas workers in Lacq. After March 1, two million workers got their holiday extended from three weeks to four; among them were one million steel workers, 750,000 of them in the Paris area, 500,000 textile and 200,000 clothing workers. Realizing that the government and the employers could not hold to their original hard line on wages, the capi-

talist press soon began talking of the "contagion of the eight per cent."

Why did the miners' strike transcend national bounds and acquire such great international significance? International solidarity, as we know, is only another name for proletarian internationalism. What also played a part was the fact that in many countries, especially those in the Common Market, the miners are advancing similar demands. De Gaulle's bludgeon tactics were rightly regarded by the workers in other capitalist countries as a possible signal for other governments to join in a common offensive against the right to strike; they were a threat to all workers. That is why the French miners had the support not only of their fellow workers in the socialist countries (for example, of the Soviet and Polish dockers and miners), but of the trade unions of Britain and West Germany, Belgium and Japan, Holland and Australia. The representatives of the European miners' unions affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, convened in Prague on April 3 by the WFTU, declared: "The united and courageous struggle of the French miners did much to counterpose a united front of the workers and the trade unions to the alliance of the monopolies. Thus they not only upheld their own rights and their own demands but rendered valuable assistance to all workers in the capitalist countries who are fighting against the monopolies for similar rights and demands."

* * *

What were the results of the struggle?

If we take only the wage increase percentages, the agreement reached between the unions and the government does not fully satisfy all of the miners' demands. But for all that there is a big difference between the 5.77 per cent raise plus an indefinite promise of negotiations in September which the government originally offered and the increases finally granted — 6.5 per cent by April 1, 7.25 per cent by July 1, 8 per cent by October 1, 11 per cent by January 1, 1964, and 12.5 per cent by April 1, 1964.

The significance of the outcome will be better appreciated if it is remembered that before the strike the government thought it was simply a matter of dictating terms to the workers, that on March 2 it announced the mobilization order and on March 5 declared through its Minister of Industry that "the government cannot countenance the continuation of the strike movement . . . The government stands by its offer and will take the steps necessary to enforce it." For a month

after that the authorities repeatedly declared that there would be no negotiations before resumption of work. In the end, however, the powerful united action of the working class, which won the support of all sections of the people, forced the government to retreat.

An undoubted achievement was the unity of action displayed in the course of the preparations for the strike, during it and even after returning to work, a unity of working men closely rallied under their union banners. This was an indication of the growth of the workers' class consciousness in the course of the strike.

It is no exaggeration to say that the miners' strike posed the question of trade union united action in an entirely new light.

"The hostility with which unity with the General Confederation of Labor was regarded in the Force Ouvrière is visibly disappearing," *Le Monde* said. The same could be said of the attitude of trade union organizations of the most widely differing trends in other countries to the French miners. Committees including Communists, Socialists and Catholics received representatives of the British miners in the coal areas. Relations on the international plane were established between trade unions which only yesterday had no contact whatever with each other. This is a new element which should be consolidated in the interests of all the working people in step with the growing awakening of the workers in different countries to the need to unite against the monopolies.

In the domestic political arena, following the October 1962 referendum when de Gaulle received one-third less votes than he had in 1958, and after the November elections, the broad movement in defense of social demands initiated by the December 29, 1962, agreement between the Renault Works and all the trade union centers introducing four weeks' paid holidays, testified to the decline of de Gaulle's prestige and the dwindling of mass support for Gaullism. A new blow was struck at the de Gaulle myth. This underscores, in spite of the role played by capitalist France in the economy and politics of Western Europe and the growing cooperation between the French monopolies and West German militarism, the weaknesses of the regime with its constant striving for "greatness."

The new features of the political situation in France are a result of the policy of unity pursued by the Communist Party. In 1958 the Party alone opposed the de Gaulle government and took the initiative in building a united

front of the democratic forces. This initiative has advanced from success to success. The Party's election slogan urging the Socialists and Republicans to fight shoulder to shoulder with it acted as a catalyst on all the Left forces, helping them to realize their strength and creating favorable conditions for broad economic struggle. On March 3, the day after de Gaulle signed the mobilization decree, Guy Mollet, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, repeating the Communist formula, urged the need to work "shoulder to shoulder" with the Communists, adding, however, the proviso, "whenever others present a greater danger than they do." But the march of

events has confirmed the more disinterested viewpoint and the more optimistic outlook of the Communists. "Unity," Maurice Thorez said on March 3, "has actually been achieved on practically all the basic points of a common program between the Socialists, Communists, Republicans, members of the General Confederation of Labor, Force Ouvrière and the Christian trade unions. The issue is not only joint defense against the immediate common danger, but also of joining forces in the common cause over a longer period. The issue is unity in the interests of building a new France, a democratic, socialist France."

Pierre HENTGES

The Imperialist Conspiracy and People's Solidarity

ON MARCH 18-20 U.S. President Kennedy conferred in San José, the capital of Costa Rica, with his Central American colleagues — the presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. The official pronouncements of this conclave and the speeches made at it were couched in the nebulous language customarily used when there are things to hide from the public. This time, however, the grandiloquent phraseology failed to disguise the substance of the shameful schemes hatched at the meeting against the rights of the peoples and the independence of the Central American countries, primarily Cuba.

The purpose of the conference, as can be seen from the declaration it issued, was to take steps to counteract the influence of the Cuban revolution in Central America and to check the growing democratic movement by repressive actions on the part of all the governments in the area. "Democracy" and "Western civilization" are to be defended against the "Communist threat" and "Fidelist subversion" by coordinated police action with the assistance of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. On their part, the Central American General Staffs will get together under the tutelage of Pentagon "experts" to work out joint plans for combating the revolutionary and democratic movement.

To begin with, the citizens of the Central American countries are prohibited from travelling to Cuba; the passports of people suspected of having visited Cuba are to be revoked, and travel papers will not be is-

sued to democratic-minded people in general — all in order to prevent anyone from visiting the Island of Freedom. An exchange of police information on the activities of "Communist agents" and a strict censorship of the press and radio are planned. In a word, repressive measures are to be stepped up against the patriotic forces which, inspired by the Cuban example, are waging a struggle against the savage dictatorship oppressing the peoples.

What did Washington's Central American stooges expect to achieve in San José? They had two things in mind: to persuade the USA to hand out a few million dollars extra under the Alliance for Progress and to make short work of revolutionary Cuba, which is a bone in the throat for the reactionary anti-popular Central American rulers.

These rulers are vying with one another in kowtowing to Washington and fulminating against the Cuban revolution. In San José Nicaragua's Somoza said he was ready to lead any action against Cuba. Costa Rica's Orlich demanded immediate armed intervention to deal with revolutionary Cuba. Ydigoras repeatedly declared he was wholly at Kennedy's disposal and offered the USA the use of Guatemalan territory for bases of aggression.

The conferees lamented the absence of "freedom" and "representative democracy" in Cuba and posed as champions of "human rights" and "democratic freedoms." What this posturing is worth is evident from the recent military coup in Guatemala which sent President Ydigoras flying right after he got back from San José (incidentally, as he left the

country, Ydigoras said that the coup was "for the good of Guatemala").

The basic reason for the coup was fear of those very "free elections" which are the object of so much concern to the imperialist propagandists when it is a question of Cuba. The point is that Juan José Arévalo, who was president of Guatemala when this country had a democratic regime, announced his candidacy in the coming presidential election. In spite of his present anti-Communist and anti-Cuban views, the reactionaries feared that the popular forces might rally around Arévalo and oust the Ydigoras clique and the reactionary military element from the saddle. Hence the military takeover.

After the conference the Nicaraguan dictator, Somoza, complained that President Kennedy had not supported the adventurist zeal of his colleagues. Why he did not is quite clear. Kennedy got what he wanted from the meeting and for the time being was not interested in pressing matters further.

Does this mean that the U.S. imperialists have given up the intention of overthrowing the revolutionary government of Cuba? Certainly not. The imperialists know full well that the loud talk of the Central American presidents is nothing more than boasting, for they cannot give anything but "moral support" to the aggressive imperialist schemes. The Caribbean crisis made it clear to U.S. imperialism that the Latin American governments obedient to it will play a very limited role in any anti-Cuban adventure. Moreover, the USA has to exert more and more effort to defend the corrupt regimes against their own peoples.

Because of this the U.S. rulers feel that their Central American servitors can best help by "keeping their own house in order," by propping their decaying regimes.

The dollar handouts of which the Central American rulers have been dreaming remain a matter of wishful thinking. The U.S. imperialists have made it quite clear that only when all the conditions set by the Alliance for Progress have been met will the question of "aid" be taken up.

Thus the San José conference concentrated on creating and setting into motion a repressive machine aimed against the democratic and patriotic forces in Central America so as to pave the way to aggression against Cuba as soon as the time is ripe. The results are already in evidence in growing police terror and a tightening of the stranglehold of the reactionary military element. The reaction-

aries are out to destroy the last vestiges of civil rights which have been retained so far in order to create an illusion of "representative democracy."

Ostensibly the San José meeting was called to discuss Central American economic integration as a means for bringing the various countries closer together. This was a shameless device by which the imperialists and their servitors hoped to capitalize on the peoples' striving for unity.

The fact is that Central America launched out on independence as a single federal republic, which the reactionaries subsequently broke up into a number of fragments in order to facilitate imperialist penetration and the oppression of the people.

But the agents of imperialism were never able to stamp out the widespread sentiment for unity among the middle strata and especially in the still numerically small working class. Hence the lip-service to unity and the talk about a "fraternal community" in which the official spokesmen of the oligarchy indulge. In reality the ruling cliques have always sought to preserve the frontiers between the countries of the Isthmus.

In recent years, U.S. imperialism, out to tighten its grip on these countries and to intensify their exploitation, has been advocating their "economic integration." The object is to coordinate the activities of the Central American reactionaries through strong integrated organizations and thereby open the doors still wider for the flow of U.S. capital into Central American industry, agriculture and trade. This is the real aim of the plans for a Central American "common market" which have already been carried out in the main.

The Cuban revolution impelled the imperialists to redouble efforts to consolidate their domination in the Central American countries and to use them to further their political schemes against Cuba, in particular in the Organization of American States.

Indeed, the isthmus republics are nothing but a U.S. clique used by Washington to impose its will on the Organization of American States, where U.S. diplomacy comes up against certain manifestations of independence on the part of the governments of countries like Mexico, Brazil and Bolivia, which hesitate to become active partners in employing the machinery of the OAS for imperialist aggression against Cuba.

The Central American Communist parties and other patriotic forces have exposed the

imperialist schemes. The first conference of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of these countries, held in 1961, declared that "imperialism, in order to hold the Isthmus in its colonial grip, is using the Central American puppet governments to carry out its plans for suppressing all manifestations of democracy in this important strategic area."

The second conference, held in November 1962 and attended also by the Party of the Panamanian Communists (People's Party), pointed to the colonialist aspirations of imperialism and the fact that it sought to utilize the striving of the Central American peoples for unity in its own interests and to harness these countries to its aggressive schemes against Cuba. Because of this, the statement of the conference declares, the "Communist and Workers' parties of Central America, united on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and linked by the fraternal historical bonds between their peoples, will redouble their efforts to bring home to the broad masses and to realize" the goals shared by the Communists and all other democratic forces: democracy and national independence, defense of sovereignty and establishment of peaceful and friendly relations with all nations.

The peoples of Central America and their revolutionary and democratic forces headed by the Communists will foil the maneuvers of the imperialists and the local oligarchy serving them and ensure the realization of the traditional striving for Central American unity

in the spirit of democracy and sincere friendship between their countries.

A united democratic Central America will work for world peace and friendship with all nations. It will be the peoples' answer to those who would perpetuate the domination of the present reactionary regimes and of imperialism.

The new anti-Cuba plans hatched in San José cannot but put the fraternal peoples of Latin America on their guard. Through their spokesmen at the first Latin American Congress of solidarity with Cuba held at the end of March in Brazil, these peoples voiced their fervent support of the Cuban revolution, which is a source of inspiration for them all in their struggle for complete national liberation.

"We solemnly declare that America will never desert the cause of Cuba, the symbol of the coming liberation of our peoples," the Appeal to the Peoples of America adopted by the Congress states. The Congress decisions were a blow at the imperialists' interventionist plans and a significant contribution to the liberation movement in Latin America. They will help to unite all the progressive, democratic forces of the continent in a united solidarity front with Cuba which the peoples counterpose to the conspiracies of the aggressors. In spite of all the efforts of the imperialists and their servitors, the peoples of Central America and all of Latin America will never be accomplices in aggression against revolutionary Cuba.

Hernan BARRERA

***In the Communist
and Workers' Parties***

Unity of Action Is the Main Condition for the Overthrow of the Fascist Dictatorship in Portugal

AT its last two meetings, the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party discussed the political situation in the country, defense of the Party against the frenzied offensive launched by the reactionary forces, and the problem of the unity of the world Communist movement. Three resolutions were adopted.

The first, entitled "The Outlook of the National Struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship," points out that the Salazar regime, rent by contradictions, becoming more and more isolated, and confronted with the struggle of the Portuguese people for democracy and the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence, is in the grip of the most severe crisis in its history.

The policy of the government, wholly subordinated to the interests of a handful of monopolies linked with foreign capital, arouses the indignation of large sections of the people. Because of this, classes and social sections with different and often contradictory interests have joined in the national movement against the fascist regime. But although they are fighting jointly against the regime, the various political organizations representing these classes and sections naturally pursue their own particular aims.

The Communist Party holds that to establish a democratic system in Portugal, it is essential:

- to smash the fascist state machine and win democratic freedoms;
- to destroy the power of the monopolies by nationalizing the main branches of the economy;
- to carry out an agrarian reform which would give the land to those who till it;
- to free the country from foreign imperialist bondage;
- to recognize the right of the people of the Portuguese colonies to independence;
- to carry out a social policy which would rapidly raise the living standards of the working classes;

—to pursue a foreign policy of peace and cooperation with all countries on the basis of equality.

The differences between this program and the programs of the other democratic trends are no obstacle to unity in the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, to win democratic freedoms and hold free elections. In the present situation, the Central Committee resolution points out, this is the supreme goal of the Portuguese people, the common immediate program of all the democratic forces, which have united in a broad front under the leadership of the Central Patriotic Junta.

The Central Committee noted the progress made in recent years by the unity movement and stressed that the conference of the opposition forces held on December 19-21 last marked another important step forward. The conference, which was held in an undesignated West European country and was attended also by representatives of the Communist Party, adopted resolutions on extending and strengthening the patriotic action juntas as a means of rallying the people to the struggle, and on establishing a strong revolutionary organization in the armed forces.

The document traces the growth of dissension in the camp of the supporters of the present regime. People who until recently were cabinet ministers, fascist deputies, high-ranking army officers or top officials have come out against Salazar. Exposing the opposition of some of these people as a maneuver merely aimed at removing Salazar while preserving the fascist regime, the Central Committee stresses that even if they were to take the initiative in the matter of overthrowing Salazar, the results of such a move would go far beyond their intentions. In the event of the Liberal trends succeeding in putting an end to Salazar, the people should welcome this as their own victory and bring pressure to bear on the reformers in order to "turn their liberal modification of the dictatorship into a democratic revolution."

As for opposition trends which sympathize with democratic ideas and have proved the sincerity of their intentions, these should join forces with other democrats in the national front of struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

The resolution stresses that the democratic movement would be marking time if it relied on the dictatorship being overthrown by a conspiracy of ex-servants of the regime. Only if they are united will the democratic forces be able to destroy fascism in Portugal. And for this mere agreement on principles is not enough; what is needed is unity of action. Only a mass movement of the people can wipe out the dictatorship.

The popular actions of 1961-62 (street demonstrations, strikes, soldiers' resistance to being sent to Angola, students' protests) testify that the national movement against the fascist dictatorship has entered upon a new stage. Never since the establishment of the dictatorship have the people displayed such militancy, courage and resolve to win freedom.

The mass political actions were made possible by the preceding thousands of smaller actions pursuing limited aims, in which the masses gained experience and faith in their own strength and unity.

Experience has shown that in order to raise the popular movement to a higher plane it is necessary to make use of all forms of struggle—illegal, semi-legal and legal—for such political and economic demands as higher wages, better conditions for workers and peasants, peace in Angola, discontinuation of repressions, an amnesty, the rights of the students to have their own unions, etc. Despite the absence of freedoms, underground work should be combined with legal activities.

The Central Committee points out that for years the patriots did their best to find a peaceful solution to the political problems in Portugal. Yet Salazar, making full use of the highly militarized state machine, replied even to the most modest demands of the people with brutal terror, thereby ruling out any possibility of winning democratic freedoms by peaceful means. Therefore "all the opposition forces agree that in order to overthrow fascism violence has to be met with violence, that the liberation of the Portuguese people from fascism is no longer possible by peaceful means."

The democratic forces which attended the December conference voiced their "firm resolve to lead the people of Portugal to a popular national uprising." However, the Central Committee stresses, this aim cannot be attained by propaganda alone. "The people will not be con-

vinced of the necessity for armed action against the dictatorship until their own experience gained in preceding battles proves to them that they have no other recourse."

Declaring that a national uprising cannot be victorious unless a large part of the armed forces joins it or is neutralized, the Central Committee points to the perniciousness of putschist concepts, which throughout the struggle against the dictatorship have led to defeats, to the crushing of revolutionary armed organizations and premature actions which have cost the lives of many progressives. "The task of the democratic forces in this field is not to encourage servicemen to prepare for a military coup, but to build a strong revolutionary organization in the armed forces which in the conditions of a revolutionary crisis could take resolute action."

But such a situation has not yet matured, the Central Committee stresses. The only way to prepare for a national uprising is to strengthen the unity of the opposition forces, build a strong organization, extend the mass movement and utilize all forms of popular action. The Portuguese Communist Party, as the party of the working class, a party universally recognized as the main force of the opposition, bears especially great responsibility for building the national movement against the fascist dictatorship. "We have exerted, and will continue to exert all our efforts and use all our resources," the document states, "in the interests of the national democratic movement."

In its "Resolution on Improving the Party's Underground Work," the Central Committee analyzes the situation created by the intensified repressions with which Salazar seeks to arrest the rapid growth of the people's struggle and to strike a blow at its vanguard force—the Communist Party.

Speaking of the decisive role of the Party in the national struggle against the dictatorship, the resolution stresses that it is in the interests of all democrats and patriots, of the entire people of Portugal, to defend the Party, its organizations and its leadership.

Thoroughly analyzing the situation in which a number of leaders and members of the Party were arrested in December 1961 and in 1962, the Central Committee pointed out that the large-scale police offensive also revealed serious shortcomings in the underground work of the Party, its functionaries and even its leadership. The Central Committee adopted measures aimed at safeguarding the Party and criticized the comrades, including those in leading bodies, who were responsible for the poor organization of underground work. "Under a fascist regime,"

the resolution says, "it is impossible to carry on Party work in a way which would preclude the possibility of Communists being arrested, but what can and must be done is to prevent serious blunders in the matter of safeguarding the Party which expose people to the danger of arrest."

Instruction in underground work and discussion of the methods to be used in all Party organizations, stricter control and discipline, heightened vigilance, criticism and self-criticism, struggle against complacency and loose talk, improvement of the structure of each Party organization, careful distribution of assignments, improved education and considered selection and promotion of cadres — all this is essential to protect the Party against the fascist terror.

In a statement entitled "In Defense of the Unity of the World Communist Movement," the Central Committee reaffirmed its loyalty to the common principles of the international

Communist movement laid down by the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.

In regard to the differences within the Communist movement, the Central Committee supported the proposal made by N. S. Khrushchov on behalf of the CPSU at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to call a halt to open polemics on the disputed issues between fraternal parties. The Central Committee of our Party declares in its statement: "There is but one way to overcome these differences — through patient, frank and friendly talks between fraternal parties. The Portuguese Communist Party considers such talks essential in order to prepare the ground for a successful meeting of all Communist and Workers' parties, to discuss all controversial issues."

The Central Committee of the PCP expressed its confidence that ideological unity and unity of action in the world Communist movement would be restored.

Jose MORAIS

The Creative Initiative of the Masses in Communist Construction

AT the 15th U.N. General Assembly, N. S. Khrushchov, speaking of the life-asserting force of the Soviet social system, mentioned the Komi Autonomous Republic as a case in point. He noted at the time that the republic's industrial product had increased 109-fold between 1913 and 1959. Since then the republic has made further great strides in all fields of endeavor: industrial production now exceeds the 1913 level 125-fold, the well-being of the people has registered new gains, there have been notable advances in the cultural field.

The significance of all this can be fully appreciated if it is remembered that before the revolution the Komi people had no written language of their own, that the bulk of the population lived in dire poverty. Although abounding in rich deposits of coal, oil, gas, slate, asphalt and other mineral wealth it was a forgotten backwoods.

The fortunes of the people depended on many casual circumstances. They had to contend with crop failures, the tyranny of the merchant, diseases, many of which were a national calamity. Thousands left their homes for distant regions in fruitless quest of a better lot.

Such was the picture in the past. Today it is just the reverse. Tens of thousands of people are making their homes in the republic and

finding their happiness there. The one-time grim and forbidding area is now vibrant with life and activity.

The Mainland tundra beyond the Arctic Circle, where once the great white silence reigned supreme, has sprung to life with the myriad city lights of Vorkuta and Inta, the smokestacks of factories and power stations, the high-voltage transmission lines stretching for hundreds of kilometers, the pits of the Pechora coal fields which yield 17 million tons of high-grade coal annually.

In the central part of the republic are the Ukhta oil fields extending over tens of thousands of square kilometers. Scores of oil derricks rise above the taiga. Trains carrying coal and oil speed along the railway built in Soviet times. Lampblack factories are turning out products that have won a name for themselves far beyond the confines of the country.

The forest has been invaded by modern machines of every description — skidding tractors, power saws, diesel locomotives, cranes, etc. For mechanization the timber industry may be said to be the most up-to-date in the republic. There is not a trace left of the log cabins in which the lumbermen used to live. Their place has been taken by dozens of well-built settlements that have their own

schools, clubs, dining-rooms, stores, radio and cinemas. About 16 million cubic meters of timber is felled in the republic annually.

Such is the picture in every sphere of the republic's economy—a picture of progress and unbounded perspectives. But its most signal achievement is the birth of the new man who is recasting the life of the republic.

Before the revolution there were hardly any people in our area with a higher education. Today more than 40,000 specialists with a higher or secondary specialized education are working in various spheres of the economy. Among them are the children of the hunters, reindeer-breeders and peasants who under tsarism did not even dare to think of school. The small village of Pyedlino alone has given the country 11 scientists. The republic today boasts a branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a teachers' college, branches of mining, forestry and oil institutes, and several technical schools.

The Communist Party has always proceeded from the fact that the building of the new society will be successful only if all the working people are given the opportunity to display their initiative, their enterprise. Lenin wrote: "One of the most important tasks today, if not the most important task, is to develop this independent initiative of the workers, and of all the toilers and exploited generally, as widely as possible in creative *organizational* work. At all costs we must break the old, *absurd*, savage, despicable and disgusting prejudice that only the so-called 'upper classes', only the rich, and those who have gone through the school of the rich, are capable of administering the state and directing the organizational construction of socialist society."

Practice has fully borne out the truth of these words. It has shown that there are a great many talented organizers of socialist construction among the masses, people capable of governing the country.

More than 800,000 workers, engineers and technicians in our republic are participating in the great movement of our times—the Communist labor emulation movement. Ninety-one enterprises, 665 factory shops and more than 4,000 work teams are vying for the right to be called collectives of Communist labor; 800 collectives have already won this right.

Behind these figures is the creative endeavor of tens of thousands of people who never rest on their laurels, are never daunted by difficulties.

To cite an example. Last year the Ukhta oil refinery, deservedly called an enterprise of Communist labor, had to grapple with a difficult situation when a new gusher sharply in-

creased the oil flow and threatened to overtax the refinery's capacity. It would have been uneconomical to transport the crude oil to another area, and there could be no question of throttling the gusher and artificially reducing the output. Innovators suggested a way out. They proposed reconstructing the installation without stopping production. To work out the project the usual way would have taken much too long. The refinery's engineers, members of the local public designing office which functions on voluntary lines, came to the assistance of the innovators and made the needed designs in their spare time. The result was that in a very short time the production capacity of the installations was increased 30 per cent without major outlays, which made it possible to produce tens of thousands of tons of oil products over and above the plan.

About the public designing offices. They are a notable new departure. They are an offshoot of the movement of workers and engineers for technological progress, for the mechanization and automation of production. The public designing offices examine rationalization proposals and expedite their introduction, suggest measures for improving the technology of production, and handle a host of other technological problems.

Another highly interesting feature of the Communist labor emulation movement are the economic analysis councils.

The varied problems tackled by these councils may be gathered from the functions of the economic analysis council at the Kapitalnaya No. 1 pit of the Vorkutaugol colliery.

Shortly after the Twenty Second Congress of the CPSU, a meeting was held at the pit to discuss, among other things, the question of production costs: it appeared that although nearly 20,000 tons of coal had been produced over and above the 1961 plan, production costs were 230,000 rubles higher than planned. The meeting decided to set up an economic council which would exercise public control over the expenditure of funds and materials and help ensure efficient operation. The council was made up of the pit's best workers, engineers and technicians. A special bureau was formed to verify the fulfilment of the council's recommendations.

The Council has proved to be a most successful and effective form of drawing workers into the management of production.

What specific questions has the council dealt with to date? On its recommendation the number of faces worked simultaneously has been reduced and the speed of working the seams increased to 150 meters a month. The two-shift

system is being introduced in the longer workings, making it possible to complete the full cycle daily. This increases productivity per face: not long ago the pit's output was 20 per cent less than it is now.

The council has revealed the causes for the waste of timber and explosives, helped to re-plan the pit's transport system so as to eliminate bottlenecks, etc.

It verifies the fulfilment of the production plans for the month, helps the pit management to reveal latent production potentialities.

Thanks to its recommendations, 65,000 tons of coal were mined over and above plan in 1962 with a smaller labor force than before; the productivity of labor rose 20 per cent and more than 110,000 rubles were economized by lowering costs.

Of course, these achievements were the result not only of the economic council's recommendations. But the assistance it rendered in matters affecting technological progress, in showing up shortcomings and suggesting how to go about eliminating them, undoubtedly contributed to the success achieved.

There are 130 public designing offices and economic analysis councils in the republic today, uniting about 1,500 engineers, technicians and workers.

Mass initiative is being displayed not only in the sphere of material production. In the past few years, and particularly since the Twenty Second Party Congress, spare-time work on the voluntary principle is playing an increasingly bigger part in Party, government and other organizations. Thus, 34 departments and about 90 different kinds of committees and councils, staffed by more than 3,500, have been set up under the various Party bodies of the republic (Regional Committee, City committees, District committees, etc.) on the voluntary principle.

The Syktyvkar City Committee, for example, has enlisted the assistance of about 100 Party members to work as spare-time functionaries in these commissions and departments; this is five times the number of the Committee's full-time functionaries. Three hundred and fifty teachers, 70 doctors, 700 old-age pensioners, 100 agricultural and other experts are assisting the Party on the voluntary principle. They are thereby greatly facilitating the work of the Party bodies, helping to spread the Party's influence and strengthen its ties with the people.

The various departments of the Party committees set up on this principle are doing very good work also in the sphere of economic and cultural development. Take the education department of the Syktyvkar City Committee, for example. The department examined the state

of educational work in the city's two vocational schools, commercial college and music school. On its initiative several very useful conferences of the teaching staffs of the secondary specialized and vocational schools were held. In a word, the department takes a lively interest in all matters affecting the life of the various educational institutions, renders every assistance to the teaching personnel and helps to eliminate whatever shortcomings there may be.

The strength of the volunteer departments lies in the fact that they rely on the most advanced experience and themselves actively champion all that is new and progressive.

Numerous political study centers, lecture groups, libraries, people's theaters, women's councils, house committees, voluntary guardians of the peace detachments, and even some government departments, are also functioning on the voluntary principle. In Inta, for example, the public health department of the City Executive Committee is now staffed by volunteer workers — all of them doctors, who devote part of their spare time to it. When the department was established many were sceptical about things working out. But practice has proved the reverse: not only have state funds been economized as a result, but the health services have improved which is the most important thing. The department, which is headed by the chief doctor of the city hospital, regularly arranges for medical commissions to tour the villages of the region for prophylactic purposes, something that was not practised before. These commissions, needless to say, have won the gratitude of the population.

Women's councils have been set up at most enterprises and in the rural areas. They not only carry out extensive educational and cultural work among women and children, but also actively participate in the organization of public services and amenities in the towns and villages, in improving the work of schools, children's, medical and commercial institutions, see to it that the proper order is kept in dining-rooms and shops, etc.

In a number of villages and workers' townships the functions of the militia are now performed by guardians of the peace detachments, consisting of factory and office workers who after the day's work maintain order on the streets and in public places, guard socialist property, etc.

Since the November (1962) Plenary Meeting of the C.C., CPSU, the voluntary principle in Party and government work is being introduced on a still wider scale. The establishment of the Party and State Control Committee

of the Komi Regional Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the Komi Autonomous Republic and its local bodies has made it possible to draw many more people into public activity. Groups of activists to assist the Party and State Control bodies are being formed at all factories, building sites, collective farms and state farms, in offices and residential districts. More than a thousand activists—workers, peasants, intellectuals, Communists and non-Party people—are already taking part in the work of these groups.

More and more new forms of public activity are emerging. They need to be given every encouragement so that they can take deep root and spread. That is why Party organizations are paying so much attention to the question of promoting the voluntary principle in all spheres of endeavor, why this question is on the agenda of every Party bureau meeting,

and why the positive results of this work are popularized through the press and the radio.

Another important reason why the Party is giving the utmost encouragement to mass initiative is that the broad participation of the working people in the management of production, in the work of Party, government and other bodies not only enriches their practical experience but helps to train personnel. Direct participation in public affairs broadens one's outlook, makes for a deeper sense of responsibility and enables one to display one's organizational talent more fully. Active participation in public affairs is a good school for training future Party, government and executive personnel. And it is from among these that we draw the cadres needed for work in all spheres of creative endeavor.

A. DMITRIN,
*First Secretary, Komi Regional
Committee, CPSU.*

The Problem Commissions of the Polish United Workers' Party

THE activities of the problem commissions, their role and the character of their work have been the subject of lively discussion in the Party for some time. Opinions on this question have been aired in the columns of the Party press and at meetings and conferences.

The need for such an exchange of opinions had been felt for some time, for the problem commissions originally sprang up spontaneously and were largely experimental. There were no general directives, no ready-made examples to follow, and this naturally gave rise to diverse and often contradictory ideas as to their functions.

The fact that by the end of 1961 close to 2,800 such commissions were functioning under the auspices of the 398 Regional (urban and district) Committees of the Party, and that through their agency tens of thousands of Party members have been drawn into active Party work shows that this is by no means the least important province of the Party's work.

Attention was focused on this question again when the organizational division of the Central Committee, after studying the work of a number of problem commissions at 15 Regional Committees, advanced some proposals aimed at clarifying the role, tasks and character of the commissions.

The material gathered in the course of the

survey has helped to throw light on some questions of decisive significance for the further development of the commissions. Here are some of them.

1. Tasks of the Problem Commissions and Their Place in the Structure of the Party Committees

The organization of commissions which act as auxiliary bodies of the Party committees follows a principle that has been traditional in our Party; their existence moreover is provided for by our Party Rules.

In addition to the Party control commissions set up in accordance with the Party Rules, the most common type of standing commission functioning under the auspices of the Regional committees are the complaints commissions, the commissions on pensions and Party veterans, on the history of the Party, etc. As a rule, the character and functions of these commissions are stipulated in Party documents. The setting up of the problem commissions did not merely add to the number of already existing commissions, it introduced a qualitative change in the methods of work of the Party Committees.

All the commissions functioning under the Regional committees, including the problem commissions, are organs of the Committee or

its Bureau; they work with non-Party activists and help to strengthen the collective principle in the work of the Party Committee.

There is, however, a distinct difference between the problem commissions and the other commissions. The latter cover a wider range of activity, thus serving to widen the sphere of the Party's influence. The problem commissions, on the contrary, operate "in depth," so to speak. Their purpose is to help the Party Committees to solve key political and socio-economic problems.

The fact that within a comparatively short space of time these commissions have sprung up at all the Regional Committees proves that they fill a very definite need.

In the course of the discussion, many Regional Committee secretaries and members stated that the problem commissions have indeed become indispensable to the work of the Party Committee. Opinions differed only as to the exact functions of the commissions and their methods of work.

2. Role of the Problem Commission and Method of Work

The Regional Committees had considerable difficulty in determining what role the problem commission should play and how it should function. When they first came into being in 1956-1957, the Party Committees were faced with a host of problems requiring urgent solution. Here are the three principal questions which, we believe, were decisive in determining the direction the activities of the problem commissions were to take:

1) A critical appraisal of the methods of Party leadership in the preceding period showed that it was time generalities and a superficial approach were replaced by a thorough knowledge of the concrete problems of the given area. For this it was necessary to build up around the Regional Committee a body of knowledgeable and experienced activists.

2) Owing to the sharp reduction in the staffs of the Party committees in this period and the weakening of the committees' ties with the other Party organizations it became urgently necessary to enlist the services of activists working on a voluntary basis.

3) Serious shortcomings in the work of the Party committees made it imperative to find a more suitable organizational form, one that would stimulate the activity of all members of the Regional committees and strengthen the collective principle.

At first many of the Regional committees limited the activities of the problem commissions to the preparation of material for the

examination of one or another question. The commissions consisted of members of the Regional committees, Party functionaries and activists. This "brains trust," as it was often jestingly called, engaged chiefly in "paper work" and was detached from daily practical activity. The materials and conclusions they produced were of course of scant value. Moreover this one-sided activity only weakened the committees' ties with the Party organizations. This type of activity was hence abandoned. And not only because, as was generally conceded, it caused work with the Party organizations to be neglected, but chiefly because it undermined the collective principle, to strengthen which was the original purpose of the commissions. Observance of the collective principle does not only imply that all members of the Committee must participate in drafting one or another decision, but that, relying on their close link with the Party organizations, they should create the conditions which would enable Party members to take part in elaborating Party policy and in ensuring that decisions are properly carried out.

In an effort to overcome this shortcoming, some Party committees went to the other extreme: they confined the activity of the problem commissions mainly to work with Party organizations. In many committees the tendency to give "guidance" to the Party committees in trifling matters began to revive. Members of the problem commissions assumed the role of permanent guardians of the Party organizations. Consequently, this concept too had to be discarded, inasmuch as it presupposed methods which life itself had ruled out of the practical activity of the Party committees.

A study of the activity of committees which succeeded in steering the work of the commission into the right channel shows that the secret of their success lies in their having avoided the above-mentioned extremes. In these areas, the forms and methods of work with the Party organizations vary. The commissions study the different problems jointly with the Party organizations concerned. They submit their criticism and suggestions for discussion at meetings of the Party organizations and the Bureaus, at conferences of secretaries of Party branches and local activists. In the course of this work they help the Party organizations to eliminate shortcomings. After the Committee has made its decisions, the members of the commissions directly associated with the given Party organization and its *active* help the latter to carry out the decisions and check on fulfilment. In this way the problem commission renders substantial assistance to the Party Committee.

The function of the commissions, therefore, is to draw the Party organizations and activists into the mainstream of the Party activity in the given region, to verify the fulfilment of the decisions adopted, and, last but not least, to ensure the observance of the collective principle of work.

3. What Kind of Problem Commissions?

The question of how many commissions are needed and of what type is by no means a purely formal one. We have learned by experience that there is a direct connection between what is understood to be the character of the commissions and their number and type. If there is complete clarity as to the purpose for which the commissions are set up and their role in the work of the Party Committee, the matter of the number and type will take care of itself.

This question loomed very large in the discussion. Opinions differed chiefly on the advisability of having commissions of the same type functioning both in the Regional Party committees and in the Regional People's councils (local government bodies at regional level.—Tr.) and working on the same problems.

Those who advocated preserving the parallel commissions pointed out that these could help the Regional committees in their guidance of the public and economic life of the Region by reinforcing the weaker links in the People's councils. At the same time these comrades stressed that as distinct from the commissions of the People's councils the functions of the problem commissions are political, not administrative. In order to counteract the tendencies, which still persist, to assume administrative functions and duplicate the work of the People's councils, the comrades proposed holding consultations on work programs and dividing the problems dealt with between both types of commissions.

Others maintained that the discussion by the Party committee and commissions of matters coming within the competence of the People's councils tends to weaken the independence of the councils and their executives, and to relieve them of responsibility for the job entrusted to them. While they did not deny that there are weak links in the People's councils, these comrades, however, drew different conclusions as to the methods of exercising political leadership of the Region. They proposed strengthening the staffs of the commissions of the People's Council by including active Party members who possessed the necessary qualifications, and building up a Party core in each commission directly responsible to the Secretary of the Regional Committee.

It cannot be denied that to some extent both these points of view are correct. However, there are many other factors which must be taken into account before choosing between the different solutions suggested. There is no doubt that the political leadership by the committees of the public and economic affairs of the regions is steadily improving, that some valuable experience is being gained in stimulating political activity and promoting the independence of the People's councils and that both the Regional Committees and the Regional People's councils are functioning more efficiently. But this is a rather slow process the pace and scope of which varies considerably from one region to another. As this process develops the situation will undoubtedly change.

It is already obvious, for example, that the parallel existence in the Party committees and People's councils of the education commissions is superfluous. But to draw the same conclusion with regard to the agricultural commissions would, in the case of most Regions, be premature at this stage.

The need for commissions for work among women and youth was also questioned in the course of the discussion. Most comrades were of the opinion that these commissions, which consist mainly of the heads of the corresponding youth and women's organizations, were in fact performing the functions of the elected leadership of the organizations in question, which is an obvious breach of the democratic principle in the work of public bodies and retards the development of the non-Party activists. At the same time, it was pointed out that according to the Rules of the Party, the Party collective should guide the work of youth and women's organizations. This view was generally approved.

The survey of the work of the problem commissions and the exhaustive discussion that followed have convinced us that it would be both inadvisable and incorrect to set any definite standard as regards the number and type of these commissions. There are, however, certain basic criteria by which each Committee should be guided in deciding this question; the concrete conditions and requirements of the given Region, and also its actual possibilities in the matter of personnel. The important thing is not to create fictitious commissions; any decision to set up a problem commission should carry with it the firm conviction that its members are fully capable of coping with their tasks.

4. Organization and Membership

As a rule, problem commissions are set up by plenary meetings of the Regional Party Com-

mittee, at which the range of questions to be handled and the composition of each commission are decided. And, of course, a commission can be dissolved only by decision of the Plenary Meeting.

Besides members of the Regional committees the problem commissions include a considerable number of active Party members who are specialists in one or another field. It is gratifying to note that non-Party specialists, too, have begun to participate in the work of the commissions.

In some regions, however, there are quite a few Regional Committee members who take no part in the work of the commission, usually for reasons of ill health, over-work, unfitness for the particular type of work required, age, etc. In an effort to build up a strong nucleus in the commissions, some committees insisted that at least one-third of the latter's membership should consist of Regional Committee members; in other cases the proportion ran as high as 50 per cent. This, of course, is not a right approach.

Experience shows that there are several basic rules that should be observed in order to ensure the broadest possible participation of Committee members in the commissions.

The first is adherence to the voluntary principle. This of course does not exclude the use of other means, such as persuasion and advice, especially when one is dealing with workers and peasants. After all, their membership in the committees should not be a mere formality, it should serve to broaden their knowledge and experience, and help to train and educate them as Party workers.

Second, it still happens quite frequently that a small group of active members carries too heavy a load of work. Hence the decision adopted by some Committees that members of Regional Committees should work in only one commission, and that the members of the problem commissions should, if possible, be relieved of other work, was generally approved.

Third, the question of activating all members of the Committees should not be approached mechanically. If some of the comrades have a valid reason for not taking part in the work of the problem commissions this need not prevent them from doing good work on other commissions of the Regional Committee or carrying out one or another Party assignment more suited to their capabilities and interests.

5. The Rights of the Problem Commissions

The rights of the problem commissions relate chiefly to the various forms of contact with the Party and public organizations, and

with the management of enterprises and offices and the type of assistance they render. The commissions have the right to study and investigate — either on behalf of the Committee or on their own initiative — various questions in their particular sphere of activity.

In some Regional committees there has been a certain misunderstanding as to the exact rights enjoyed by the problem commissions. A good number, sometimes even the majority, of the members of some commissions are Committee members. This has given rise to the tendency to empower the commissions to adopt certain decisions binding on Party organizations. The statutory rights of the Party Committee and its bureau were thus identified with the rights of individual members of the Committee.

It became the rule in most Committees for the report of the activities of the problem commissions to include only those proposals that had been unanimously approved by all the members of the commissions. This method was recognized as incorrect. In adopting one or another decision the Party Committee must have a full picture of the actual situation and of the different views expressed in the course of debates, in order to be able to examine all the proposals submitted for the solution of the given problem. Hence it was decided that it is not only the right but the duty of the problem commissions to inform the Committee of all the variants of the decisions discussed in the course of their work.

* * *

The several years' work of the problem commissions, the experience accumulated and the discussions held in all Party committees over a period of several months provide ample grounds for drawing a few conclusions. In February of this year the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party summed up the debate and approved a directive "On the principles of the organization and basic purpose of the problem commissions of Regional (urban and district) committees." The experimental period may thus be considered to have ended.

The directives do not seek to provide any standard model complete in every detail and suitable for all Committees. The conditions, requirements and possibilities of the Regional Committees are far too varied for any unified pattern to be followed. The main attention is hence devoted to questions of principle, those which have a bearing on the further development of the commissions.

These directives were most timely both from

the standpoint of the present stage in the development of the problem commissions as well as in the light of the concrete needs of the localities in order, on the basis of the experi-

ence already gained, to forge ahead to the solution of tomorrow's problems.

And so, the debate continues. But now it will be a debate in action, so to speak. *D.L.*

Readers' Forums—An Important Feature of the Socialist Press

IN keeping with the editorial policy outlined by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the editors of the Party's central organ, *Neues Deutschland*, are working to make it a mass paper in the full sense of the word, a true mouthpiece of the people, put out with the participation of the masses. One of the means of achieving this is the readers' forum. Besides representing an important element of inner-Party democracy and socialist democracy generally and helping to strengthen the ties between the Party and the people, such discussions exert a strong influence on public opinion and promote the development of socialist thinking both by popularizing the views and experiences of the more advanced workers and by subjecting backward views and habits to public examination.

For two years now *Neues Deutschland* has carried a weekly page devoted to readers' views on questions of general interest. People from all walks of life regularly take part in this frank exchange of views. Particularly keen interest was evinced in the subjects "Is man egoistic by nature?" and "The freedom we want."

The first of these subjects came up as a reaction to the claim of a West German philosopher that man is an anti-social being with a dog-eat-dog attitude to life. More than a hundred readers, including several from West Germany, sent in letters, but only two of them thought that all men were enemies by nature and argued that proof of this could be found even in everyday life under socialism. All the rest maintained, citing their own experience, that egoism was bred by private property relations and capitalist exploitation and that only the socialist and communist social system could be considered worthy of man.

The discussion on freedom was started by an article answering the claim of a Hamburg theologian named Thieliicke that the people of the GDR were "pining for" Bonn-style "freedom." Within a short time 87 readers wrote in, all refuting Thieliicke's claim. The exchange of views was concluded by an interesting discussion with young workers of the WSSB Works in Berlin who concurred with the consensus of

opinion but criticized the lack of trust in people and the petty tutelage which they sometimes found annoying at their enterprise. The discussion elucidated the Marxist concept of freedom and threw light on the economic, political and spiritual freedoms which have been achieved in the GDR.

The exchanges of views are not confined to the special weekly page which is mainly devoted to ethical questions but are conducted in the other sections of the paper as well. There was, for instance, an interesting discussion on man's purpose in life which raised the problem of socialist education of the youth.

This discussion was started by a letter from a girl student at the Cottbus Agricultural College from a village where she had gone with some other students to help with the harvesting. In the letter, which she wrote to her parents, she complained about the conditions in which the students had found themselves. She wrote: "We were put up in the club of a school hostel, 14 girls all in one room, with straw mattresses to sleep on. The place looks like an army camp. All our muscles are aching from the work and the mattresses . . . If it's not going to get any better, we won't be able to hold out. If only time flew faster . . ."

To start with, the newspaper held a frank discussion with the students of the Cottbus College on what one should strive for in life and the attitude of young people to the difficulties and shortcomings encountered in building socialism. Many views were expressed. Some supported the author of the letter, saying that she was right in complaining about shortcomings and that one should not demand too much of young people. Others were worried in advance about the possibility of being sent after graduation to some poor cooperative and not earning enough. "Everyone wants to get married sooner or later and set up his own home, but you can't do that with consciousness alone," was the tenor of their argument.

But most of the students thought differently. The way to socialism is not always easy, they reasoned, and young people can hardly expect someone to smooth the road for them. The

harvesting campaign was a serious test, but he who shirks difficulties today will hardly be able to make a go of it tomorrow.

Neues Deutschland put all these different views to public discussion. It also posed this question: "Do you consider the fact that socialist construction involves solving ever new problems and overcoming difficulties to be a burden? What gives you greater satisfaction—to attend only to your own private well-being or to devote all your energies to the common good, to socialism, and to set yourself grand tasks?"

The response was lively — 150 letters expressing the opinions of a far bigger number of people were received. Some of them set forth the views of groups of the Free German Youth, school children, socialist labor teams, students and servicemen. And not only the youth had their say: 40 per cent of the letters came from people over 30.

Some 80 per cent of the letters leave no doubt that the young people have a clear aim in life. Their aim is to build socialism in the GDR, to build a peace-loving Germany. Moreover, they are determined to carry on the fight regardless of the difficulties that have to be overcome.

These young people are aware of their rights and responsibilities in the struggle to build a new life. Heinz Kortmeier, a young worker at a Brandenburg steel-rolling mill, voiced views shared by many young workers in the GDR: "I am 26 years old. Between 1950 and 1953 I learned the trade of a rolling-mill operator and became the chief operator of a wire-rolling mill run by a team of young workers. Those who know rolling mills know what it means to be chief operator. Together with the foreman he sees to it that the output is up to standard. You always have to be alert, to catch and correct mistakes. I enjoy my work, for all that I do for society I also do for myself. We young workers constantly encounter new problems in our day-to-day work. Socialist construction demands of us, as the leading class, ever greater achievements in the economic field."

A young soldier wrote: "It is the duty of the young generation to show what it can do wherever the difficulties in building socialism are the greatest. After all we cannot send our grandfathers to the main sectors of socialist construction, can we?"

Many young people realize that it is on the job, by his work and attitude towards his fellow workers, that a person can prove his worth. A team of young workers from the same Brandenburg steel-rolling mill put it in these words: "Only by achieving the highest scientific and technological level shall we reach the goals set

by the Party Program. Hence we must all pull together. We know that there still are things to criticize in our work, and that all is not yet smooth sailing. But these are difficulties of growth which have to be overcome. What we know for sure is that our life would be meaningless if we were to work only to make money. Our greatest concern is peace."

The views of those who went through the hell of fascism were very helpful in the discussion. For instance, Elisabeth Hesse, of Coswig, wrote: "I was born in 1919. After the inflation period, father used to bring home about 20 marks a week. To earn a few extra pennies, mother sat up nights sewing buttons by the light of a paraffin lamp. I was 20 when the war began. I lived in constant fear — fear for a close friend who was somewhere in the Kuban fighting for a criminal cause, fear for my brother in France, fear for my own life. In 1943 my friend was killed, and in 1945 my brother. When the war ended it seemed that all was ended for us. I was 26 years old, but I had never seen youth." But then came regeneration. She became a teacher and built her own family. Her life acquired meaning. Today she writes: "Now I know that life has a worthwhile purpose."

The letters show that the majority of our young people are conscious participants in the all-out building of socialism, that they know that tomorrow it will be up to them to tackle the tasks of passing over to communism. They are doing a good, conscientious job in the decisive sectors of production, investing their strength of character, courage, knowledge and know-how in the building of the future. They are not daunted by difficulties.

There were also letters from a small minority of young people who either are still in school or college or have just entered upon life on their own and who do not always understand the meaning of the momentous social changes taking place in the GDR. For them the building of socialism is mainly a struggle with shortcomings and difficulties; in other words, they do not see the wood for the trees. From this they draw incorrect conclusions for their private lives as well. A young Berlin student declined to take part in the discussion because, in his words, it "uses socialism to cover up hardships which clearly are not necessarily difficulties of growth." He believed the issue was not that the students tended to falter in face of the difficulties but that work in the co-operative was poorly organized. Better conditions must be provided to the young specialists so that they can work more productively. Unless this was done, the complaint was fully justified. A similar opinion was ex-

pressed by a young worker from Karl-Marx-Stadt.

The discussion made it clear that some of the critical views are justified. Young workers and researchers often complain that sincere, devoted young people working towards a very definite goal find themselves in difficult conditions. And too often difficulties arising from poor management are shifted on to young activists.

Many readers write about instances of educational establishments countenancing dogmatic instruction which does not meet practical requirements. Because of this it too often happens that young people, coming across some difficult problem in life, say: "This is not what we were taught."

Rudolf Kirste, from Glauchau, wrote in this connection: "We young people do not throw up our hands in face of difficulties when the tasks are properly explained and all things called by their proper names. Those who know the causes and connections will not only understand the circumstances but will also work to do away with the grievous legacy of the old social system. No big construction undertaking has ever been built on a bed-mat. Teachers who cannot link theory with practice should not be surprised if their pupils fail in life."

In conclusion the newspaper published excerpts from speeches at the Sixth Congress

of the Party which provided an exhaustive answer to the problems raised during the discussion.

Our experience in arranging readers' forums can be summed up as follows:

First and foremost, the right subject should be taken up at the right time, i.e., one must know what issues interest the people most in connection with the implementation of the Party's decisions, what new ideas and questions arise in the course of the mass struggle, and, especially, what problems require enlisting the readers' help.

The success of the discussions depends on how pointedly the questions are posed, how clear the issues involved are made by proper choice and presentation of material, and on the extent to which the editors steer clear of evasion and shilly-shallying.

The discussion should never be allowed to drift. Therefore from the very beginning the editors should have full clarity on the main ideas to be developed. Otherwise it would be difficult, in view of the large number of letters coming in, to distinguish between the important and the trivial, to prevent the discussion from dragging on endlessly or from being side-tracked to secondary issues.

We believe that Party newspapers should pay unflagging attention to organizing exchanges of views among readers. *E. REUTHER.*

Meetings of Central Committees

RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party held in March heard a report on the February session of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and unanimously approved the directives given by the leadership of the Party and the government to the Rumanian representative as well as his activities.

The meeting reaffirmed its complete agreement with the basic principles of the international socialist division of labor approved by the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the Mutual Economic Aid Council member-countries in June 1962, which laid down that the principal means of

developing and deepening the international socialist division of labor was the coordination of the national economic plans in the spirit of respect for national independence and sovereignty, full equality, comradely mutual assistance and mutual benefit, as proclaimed in the Moscow statement of 1960.

The meeting pointed out that these principles have fully proved their value and represent a firm foundation for deepening economic relations with a view to developing each socialist country, gradually overcoming the differences in the level of their development, and achieving a general advance of the socialist camp as a whole.

Exchange of Views

The Communists and Democracy

Hadi Messouak (Morocco)

MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS, AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF DEMOCRACY IN THE ECONOMICALLY UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

THE problems of democracy are among the most important today in the development of the young national states.

Just as the establishment of colonial rule was inevitably accompanied by the loss of a nation's independence and the trampling underfoot of elementary human rights, so was the struggle against foreign domination inevitably accompanied by a struggle for the economic, political and social rights of man. *Independence and democracy are two intrinsic aspects of the national-liberation movement* which came into being at the dawn of the century and gained momentum under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia. In some countries this movement ended in revolutions which put the proletariat and the peasantry in power. In other, more numerous cases, the national-democratic revolution was carried out only in its national phase, the democratic phase being completely, or partially, checked by the bourgeoisie which stood at the head of the liberation movement.

The existence in the world today of numerous young sovereign states, the policy of positive neutrality pursued by most of them, the progressive aspect of their firm opposition to colonialism and neo-colonialism — all these features create very favorable conditions for the further advance of the world revolutionary movement. We would be making a big mistake in our strategy, the ultimate object of which is the triumph of socialism, if we under-rated the contribution made by the national-liberation movement to the international working-class movement. But we would be making just as big a mistake if we underestimated the anti-democratic tendencies that are becoming increasingly apparent in the majority of the countries that have taken the

road of independent development. Such tendencies must be combated if we do not want to risk being left behind the new progressive trends taking shape in the masses, to risk reactionary regimes entrenching themselves in Asia and Africa, regimes serving the anti-imperialist wing of the local bourgeoisie in the best of circumstances, and in the worst — the pro-imperialist wing.

At present the political hegemony in the former colonial countries (with the exception of those where socialism has triumphed) belongs either to the feudal lords in alliance with the "business" bourgeoisie, or to the middle classes. Nowhere does it belong to the proletariat. True, the extent to which the people are prevented from taking part in the government, from controlling the machinery of state, the extent to which their democratic freedom is restricted, varies, depending on the regime. There are regimes of the fascist type as, for example, in some of the Latin American countries; then there are regimes which approach (at least formally) the bourgeois democracy of the West, for example, in India; finally there are absolute or very nearly absolute monarchies as, for example, in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Morocco. But no matter how marked the difference between the authoritarian regimes set up by Right-wing extremists and the authoritarian regimes imposed on the people by the local bourgeoisie, in neither case is there people's sovereignty; the masses are virtually debarred from power in both instances.

For many years now the authoritarian regimes in the newly-independent states have been relying more and more on the military. Latin-American historians have counted more than 40 military coups in South America since 1930. In the past ten years the Middle East has become the arena of similar events. Thus, the Egyptian military revolution in 1952 was followed by coups in the Sudan, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and just recently in the Central African republic

*Continuation. For beginning see previous issue of our journal.

of Togo. The militarization of the machinery of the state and its institutions in the newly-emergent countries is continuing.

This phenomenon has a particularly important bearing on the future of democracy in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Its nature and development cannot be a matter of indifference to us Communists for we realize our responsibility for what is taking place in our respective countries. We must make a thorough study of the nature of military dictatorships and the circumstances in which they arise, with regard for the balance of class forces on the national and international scale.

To begin with, military dictatorships in the newly-free countries are established in the course of anti-feudal and anti-colonial revolutions. Colonialism and feudalism in their traditional garb are now destined to disappear, for their archaic form of exploitation has been rejected by the moral and, particularly, technological requirements of the age. But neo-colonialism is finding ways and means of maintaining the old relations between the metropolises and the states that have won their independence: the foreign troops and police are withdrawn from the national territory only after a local army and police force have been formed; the open administration of the metropolises is gradually being replaced by so-called technical aid carried out with the help of a numerous corps of local officials. In the meantime, however, the industrialist and financier, the landowner, the importer and exporter remain. Colonial plunder and the consequent impoverishment of the working people continue.

The feudal and reactionary forces too have to adapt themselves to the new conditions. Following the example, and often also the advice, of their foreign guardians, some feudal lords pursue a liberal policy of sorts: they permit parliamentary institutions, consent to some formal freedoms provided that the colonial and feudal economic structures are retained and that the means of production—the land, factories and mines—remain in the hands of their owners. The class relations in these countries remain fundamentally unchanged. The end result is a sharpening of contradictions between those who enjoy the benefits of the neo-colonial regime and those who are its victims, between the defenders of the old system and the champions of the new.

A conflict becomes inevitable. The feudal lords and colonialists, even the disguised ones, and their allies from among the "business" bourgeoisie muster their forces to defend their privileges. The working people, the main victims of the regime, take action against these classes

and social groups. The working people are supported by the nationalist section of the bourgeoisie which, oppressed by the feudal lords, is compelled to compete with foreign monopoly capital and which has been debarred from power by its opponents inside and outside the country. As soon as the crisis comes to a head, politically and socially, the conservative forces and the forces of progress clash.

Excepting revolutions of the socialist type, this clash of forces is more and more frequently taking the form of military coups d'état. As a result, either direct henchmen of imperialism come to power, as has been the case in some of the Latin-American countries where reaction gained the upper hand, or the nationalist section of the bourgeoisie, as has been the case in some countries of the Middle East once feudal reaction was smashed.

Why coups d'état and putsches and not a revolution or a popular struggle? Because the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie fear the people. The course of events would indicate that there has been a tacit agreement between the forces of the national bourgeoisie and the forces of reaction to prevent the masses from taking part in the conflict. Of course, both "appeal to the people": the feudal lords, for the purpose of making the most of the lack of political consciousness of the masses; the national bourgeoisie, for the purpose of exploiting the people's legitimate desire for constructive reforms. But on no account will the bourgeoisie agree to the masses playing the leading role in the abolition of the feudal-colonial system. To allow this would mean permitting the bourgeoisie to be pushed into the background by the parties and organizations of the workers and peasants, would mean "risking" a real revolution.

Why military and not civil coups? Because the narrow economic and social base of the above-mentioned forces, their relatively weak influence among the masses leaves them no other choice. The national bourgeoisie's influence in the economically underdeveloped countries lies in the administrative apparatus and the army where the old feudal and colonial personnel is gradually being replaced by personnel who come mainly from the middle classes. The various factions of the bourgeoisie are contending for this influence.

Needless to say such methods of assuming power are anything but democratic, and do not hold the promise of being democratic in the future. Unfortunately, this will be the case in countries where the degree of class-consciousness, of political organization and the ability of the masses to take action is still insufficient

for them to be able to destroy the economic and political apparatus of reaction with their own forces and to compel the national bourgeoisie to reckon with their will within the framework of a common alliance.

In the countries where a Rightist dictatorship has temporarily triumphed the struggle continues; it is a more difficult one but the issues are more clearly defined, for the fight is against a dictatorship that is openly opposed to the people and safeguards colonial and feudal interests. Dictatorships of this kind are anti-revolutionary also in their international aspect for their leaders link their destiny with the destiny of their European or American patrons. Faced with a Batista or a Trujillo the forces of democracy unite and take a common stand on the same side of the barricades.

But Nasser is not a Batista. Some of the military dictatorships in the Middle East, being anti-imperialist in character, differ from the Rightist dictatorships. These regimes, which represent the power of the middle classes, are upheld by methods of violence and have nothing in common with democracy; the petty bourgeoisie, dressed in military uniform, seeks to destroy the political and economic structures of feudalism completely, and the colonial or neo-colonial structures completely or partially.

Of course, the coup d'état carried out by the Egyptian national bourgeoisie would not have been successful without the participation of the people. The people, tired of the arbitrary rule of the old regime, of the exploitation by feudal lords and foreign monopolies, enthusiastically hailed the change of power and hoped it would greatly improve their position. The new masters of Egypt who called themselves "the children of the people in military uniform" took some steps in this direction. But they did not venture far afield. Thus, not a single one of the major constructive measures (for example, the agrarian reform, industrialization, resistance to foreign capital) *was carried through to completion and, what is most important, not a single one of them was undertaken and put into effect with the participation and assistance of the organizations of the masses.*

Take the agrarian reform. Because of its bureaucratic character its effectiveness was limited. In Egypt only a small part of the land was distributed. The former landowners received compensation, whereas the fellahs had to reimburse the cost, including interest, for the land obtained. In Iraq the peasants had to pay an extra 20 per cent to cover the expenses connected with carrying out the agrarian reform. If the agrarian reform in these countries had been carried out by the peasants themselves, the land would undoubtedly have been distributed on a much wider scale and free of charge, as was the case in China and Cuba. Given democratic conditions the agrarian reform could have been thoroughgoing. But what the Egyptian and Iraqi bourgeoisie feared most was conscious, active participation of the masses, for in that case the revolution might have really become a people's revolution, that is, the power would have been taken over by the people, and a dictatorship of the toiling classes would have been established.

The economic successes achieved to date by certain military dictatorships are, therefore, in the opinion of both Marxist and non-Marxist scholars, incomplete; they have no future unless these regimes are democratized.

The regimes of "the middle classes in military uniform" are more and more using dictatorial methods. The army is beginning to have an increasingly bigger say in managing industry, agriculture and in administration. The military, which have nothing progressive about them, are in effect merging with the machinery of state. Any criticism or action on the part of the masses or progressive parties is openly or covertly suppressed. Democratic freedoms are curtailed and then simply abolished. Citizens are deprived of all legal possibilities to hold meetings and demonstrations, to form political parties and other social or even cultural organizations. The press is sometimes entirely in the hands of the government as is the case, for example, in the UAR following the pseudo-nationalization measures. The military leaders are shaping society to fit their class interests, and are seeking to force their concepts on the people. Repressions are becoming synonymous with government.

Unfortunately, the absence of democracy is a feature not only of the military (pro- or anti-imperialist) regimes in the underdeveloped countries. The same may be said of the non-militarist regimes which impose so many restrictions on democracy that what is left of freedom is purely ephemeral. Numerous African and Asian constitutions speak of public freedoms, some speak of economic and social freedoms. But not a single one of them *guarantees* political freedoms, or provides for effective economic and social measures. In most cases they are simply general declarations far removed from reality.

Dozens of young states today have proclaimed that they are political and social democracies. But in how many of these states do the Communist parties enjoy legal status? In how many of these states are progressive organizations allowed to unite the working people —

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workers and peasants—in defense of their interests? In very few, indeed.

What is more, in most of them there is only a single, united party, or a leading party that monopolizes the political scene. In the countries where the national bourgeoisie is in power the dominant ideology is bourgeois-national. Even though the bourgeoisie maintains that it is a supporter of "directed democracy" or "guided democracy," "social democracy" or "immediate democracy," it in all circumstances defends its old and newly-acquired economic privileges, its political prerogatives from imperialism and feudalism, from the masses, and in some instances from the one and the other.

The anti-democratic nature of the bourgeoisie impels it to seize power and maintain it against the will of the masses. What is required of the masses is "unqualified approval," "blind adherence," and "hearty applause," in exchange for which the national leader makes a few paternalist gestures. All the people are fit for is to give their blessing to their good genius and to support his plans, which, the leaders of the contemporary national movement assert, the masses are incapable of drawing up, of seeing that they are realized. Thus, whereas the liberation of the former colonial peoples is proceeding at a rapid pace, the democratization of their regimes is encountering serious opposition not only on the part of the supporters of neo-colonialism but, to an increasing extent, also on the part of the national bourgeoisie.

We Communists *should work to ensure that national liberation also means freedom for the people, that the democratic ideal is not separated from the national ideal.*

What must we do to this end?

The Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties of November 1960 clearly defines the tasks facing us: "In the present situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organizations); the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other domestic and social

changes, and for participation in shaping government policy."

The achievement of these national tasks is the *sine qua non* of our complete political independence and economic liberation. And everything will depend on how we go about tackling them. Recent experience has shown that these tasks cannot be successfully accomplished through military dictatorships or authoritarian regimes, and without the participation of the people. Recent experience has likewise shown that in Cuba these tasks are being tackled with unprecedented success, for the people have made them their own affair.

The agrarian reform is the affair of the peasantry who should demand such a reform and directly participate in its implementation. The removal of foreign bases and the expulsion of monopoly capital is the affair of the people and it alone should enjoy the benefits of the results achieved. Economic development is the affair of the entire nation and it alone is capable of mobilizing the forces needed to carry out this immense task which holds the promise of a radiant future. In brief, the peoples of the young independent states *should reject paternalism and authoritarianism and in the interests of democracy carry out their own national-democratic revolution.* The people should realize that they are strong enough to organize to fight for real political freedom for their country and economic independence, and for the democratic rights of its citizens.

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The struggle for national liberation (not to speak of subsequent social progress) cannot be carried to completion without the development of democracy. This was the keynote of H. Messouak's report and, as the exchange of opinions shows, it has been confirmed by the whole experience of the newly-emergent states.

Aziz Al-Hajj

There are forces inside the national liberation movement, of course, which adhere to the opposite view. In their opinion democracy is a "luxury" which the people fighting for independence cannot afford. Aziz Al-Hajj (Iraq) in his contribution demonstrated the

GROUNDLESSNESS OF THE ARGUMENTS THAT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY CAN BE DISPENSED WITH.

There is, firstly, the "argument" that the *establishment of political democracy is impossible and indeed harmful so long as imperial-*

ism and its agents continue to represent a real and constant danger. This view artificially counterposes the struggle for democracy to the struggle against imperialism.

In reality, however, the struggle for democracy is a precondition for successful struggle against imperialism and is inextricably linked with it. National liberation means, above all, the liberation of millions of working people (the majority of society) from imperialism and feudalism. Hence the national-liberation movement cannot achieve its principal objectives unless the masses take an active part in it, and this participation is conditional upon the establishment of a democratic form of government and broad democratic freedoms.

Prior to the revolution of July 14, 1958, our Party and the other democratic forces in Iraq fought under the slogans of political independence, social reform and political democracy, all closely interlinked with one another. Whenever the pro-imperialist monarchy in Iraq hatched one of its regular conspiracies against the people, preparatory to shackling the country with some new imperialist treaty or pact, it invariably increased the oppression of the masses and curtailed democratic freedoms. Hence our people came to see that there was a direct connection between the suppression of democratic rights and freedoms and the betrayal of the nation by the rulers of the regime. After July 14 our Party waged a persistent struggle for the extension of democracy as an essential condition for strengthening the country's independence and thwarting all and any imperialist conspiracies.

Prior to Syria's union with Egypt, the democratic parties and organizations in that country played the same role, rallying the masses to the struggle against the threat of imperialist aggression.

However, the national bourgeoisie (and especially the Right-wing) with its narrow class interests fears the growing might of the democratic forces and seeks to suppress them with the support of reactionary elements and through the organs of suppression inherited from preceding regimes.

It is not hard to see that this leads to the isolation of the government from the majority of the people, increases the danger represented by the pro-imperialist reactionary elements which are searching for an opportunity to deal a crushing blow at the new regime and thrust the country back under the imperialist yoke. Thus, the abolition or restriction of democratic rights only plays into the hands of imperialism and its agents, the enemies of national liberation; in the long run it boomerangs against the

national bourgeois governments as well, and of those sections of the population whose interests these governments represent.

The absence of democracy is fraught with another danger to national independence. Unless it is controlled by the people, the patriotic parties and a democratic Parliament, the bourgeois government is likely to pursue a domestic policy dictated by its own narrow class considerations. In many instances this means sacrificing the national interest to class interests. The imperialists are quick to take advantage of the weaknesses of such a government to impel it farther along the path of struggle against the people, compelling it to yield one position after another. This, incidentally, is one of the chief tactics of the policy of neo-colonialism.

Another of the "arguments" used in anti-democratic propaganda is directed against the existence of parties, i.e., against the right of the popular masses to have their own political organizations. This school of thought holds that the establishment of various parties allegedly tends to dissipate the forces of the people, leading to ideological conflicts between Rights and Lefts, to disunity and strife. According to Nasser, "one Party will advocate orientating on the West, the other, on the East."

Experience disproves these contentions. The patriotic parties of Iraq, Syria and the other Arab countries have played a splendid role in rallying and organizing the people against imperialism and feudalism. The activity of the democratic national parties has always been an important factor serving to cement the unity of the popular struggle.

It is only the people who can truly judge the worth of a political organization. They refuse to support parties alien to their interests and they give their enthusiastic support to the democratic parties. These parties, and primarily the Communist parties, have won the sympathy and confidence of millions in the Arab countries. The real strength of the Communists lies not so much in their numbers, as in the correctness of their policies, in their ties with the masses, in their work to unite the latter under their banners. In fighting for democracy, the Communists do not believe that freedom should be given to the enemies of the revolution, the enemies of national independence and agents of imperialism. On the contrary, they stand for granting broad freedoms to the democratic forces and for denying these freedoms to imperialist agents, their parties and organizations. They advocate the establishment of a democratic regime representing the interests of all the patriotic forces and classes,

a regime directed against imperialism and reaction.

The ruling circles of some Arab countries, on the other hand, maintain that the struggle for national independence requires a single organization "expressing the interests of the whole people." Such an organization, they maintain, should be not a party but a national bloc constituting a national front that would absorb all patriots and patriotic parties. An organization of this type, originally called the National Union, and later renamed the Arab Socialist Union, has been set up in the UAR. The Algerian leaders, who are urging the formation of a National Liberation Front, appear to be about to follow suit. The question arises:

DOES THIS STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE TO CONSOLIDATE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE REALLY CALL FOR THE LIQUIDATION (OR SELF-LIQUIDATION) OF PARTIES, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SINGLE-PARTY SYSTEM?

To this Aziz Al-Hajj replied emphatically in the negative. Here, he said, we come up against an attempt on the part of the national bourgeoisie or some of its sections to appropriate the fruits of independence and deprive the masses of the opportunity to defend their own interests. This slogan is essentially directed against the workers and peasants, against the Communist Party and other democratic forces. Experience has shown the fallacy and harmfulness of this course. Gamal Abdel Nasser has admitted that the National Union has failed to unite the people, that, on the contrary, it has become a platform for the feudal reactionaries.

In place of this, the Communists advance slogans calling for the consistent democratization of public life (the right to existence for all parties opposing imperialism and feudalism, the right to organize trade unions and other public bodies, the establishment of a democratic regime, representing the interests of all classes opposing imperialism), the formation of a national alliance consisting of all patriotic forces.

It must, however, be admitted, the speakers stressed, that erroneous and harmful as it may be, the slogan of a single political party has a definite appeal for certain sections of the population in some countries. After all, on the face of it, it sounds like a call for unity, and what can be better than popular unity! Moreover, the questions associated with democracy (particularly the question of the advantages of a single party or a multi-party system) are complex in themselves, and the anti-democratic forces are

doing their utmost to obscure the issue completely.

E. Abdelkader

That is why it is necessary, above all, to have complete clarity on these questions, to help the people to understand particular slogans properly, E. Abdelkader (Algeria) emphasized.

In the first place it must be made quite clear that the alliance in defense of the national interests does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a single organization or party. The purpose of such an alliance should be to unite *diverse forces who have reached agreement on general issues*. Hence it can easily exist in the form of an *anti-imperialist front* consisting of several organizations; fronts of this kind can solve major problems, as is evidenced, for example, by the experience of the Vietminh. And conversely, a single party, though outwardly presenting the appearance of a solid bloc, can be undermined and paralyzed by inner contradictions and can prove to be less stable and less effective than an amalgamation which allows of a certain flexibility within a general framework.

This, of course, does not mean that all amalgamated parties are stable and all single parties are necessarily weak. The stability of any political union cannot be measured only by the nature of the internal ties and flexibility (or inflexibility, as the case may be) of the newly-established grouping. In the long run it is measured by the strength and sincerity of the agreement reached on objectives common to all the participants — as individuals or as organizations — and also by how this agreement is carried out in the course of joint action.

A single party also does not possess any magic formulas. Some patriots are easily satisfied with the formula: "an underdeveloped country needs the dictatorship of a single party." How, then, can one account for the negative results of such dictatorships in some underdeveloped countries? The main thing, obviously, is the actual content of the party's policy, its objectives.

Unfortunately, this is too often forgotten. In arguing the need for a single party, many refer to the positive experience of the single-party system in a number of socialist states. But, after all, here you have an incomparably higher stage of development, marked by the abolition of capitalist exploitation and class antagonisms and the voluntary recognition by all of society of the leading role of the proletariat and its party. But it is another matter altogether when different classes and social sections of the

nation (including the national bourgeoisie) have to be united in the course of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution.

It is quite clear that in deciding the question of the existence of one or several parties, it is necessary to take into account the stage of the revolution and the objectives it pursues. Incidentally, curiously enough, the proponents of a single-party system in the underdeveloped countries seek to justify the suppression of democracy on revolutionary grounds.

WHAT IS THE PRIMARY TASK OF THE REVOLUTION: TO ACHIEVE ITS SOCIAL OBJECTIVES OR ENSURE THE EXPANSION OF DEMOCRACY?

The very posing of this question may appear to be absurd, said the speaker. Yet only recently the Nasserite ideologists advanced the slogan: "social justice first, political democracy later." They declared that Egyptian society needs social reforms first and foremost, while the people need education, and that the reactionary classes must be removed before democratic freedoms can be ensured and a democratic regime established.

Aziz Al-Hajj

In Iraq, official propaganda was based on what Kassem termed the "transition period," after which it would be possible to grant the people rights and establish a democratic parliamentary regime. The results of this policy are now evident.

The attempt to separate the implementation of social reforms from the granting of political democracy is a flagrant contradiction in itself: social reforms, especially in the sphere of agrarian relations, in the interests of the masses cannot be effected without the participation of the masses, their trade unions, parties and organizations. To the data cited in the report of H. Messouak, one might add that whereas in the first year of the revolution in Iraq 6.5 million dunams of land were confiscated with the participation of the peasants and their organizations, throughout the subsequent years, i.e., during the period of the offensive against democracy, the area of confiscated land amounted to only 2.5 million dunams. The distribution of the land has been held up and some changes in favor of the big landowners have been introduced. And recently Nasser admitted that the land reform in Egypt had been delayed, that the feudal lords had circumvented the law, while the big capitalists had increased their wealth by exploiting the workers.

A. Avanesyan

A. Avanesyan cited the example of Iran to illustrate the point that the effectiveness of one or another social reform is determined chiefly by the level of development of democracy, the scope of the popular movement.

It is already 15 years since the military-police regime of the Shah, with the support of the Anglo-American imperialists, abolished the last remnants of democracy in Iran, he said. Today there is not a single legal democratic party or organization, not a single democratic newspaper or magazine in the country. Many patriots have been executed, still greater numbers have been jailed or exiled. For the last two years the military, headed by the Shah, have been ruling the country without the Parliament, docile as it was.

This anti-national policy has tied the country economically, politically and militarily to the chariot of imperialism. A large part of the budget goes for the upkeep of the army, the police and the special punitive detachments of paratroops. Iran is forced to pay a huge sum (\$80 million) annually, for participation in CENTO. Unemployment is growing. Agriculture is in a critical condition—feudal exploitation has brought the masses to a state of extreme poverty, tens of thousands of peasants are fleeing the villages.

The struggle of the progressive and democratic forces against the reaction and the imperialist yoke has not yet assumed the character of a general nationwide movement. But much inflammable material is piling up, an intellectual ferment is taking place. Anxious to avoid an explosion, the Shah and the imperialists are seeking to preserve the regime by making a few minor concessions to the people. On the other hand, they are being forced to do so by the scope of the socialist and national-liberation movement in the world today. They are using the old tactics employed by the moribund classes from time immemorial: "to prevent a 'red' revolution, we must make a 'white' one; to prevent the reforms from being forced from 'below', they must be initiated from 'above'."

The Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) (1961) stressed that the Shah and his masters would not be content with the old methods of rule, that side by side with the terror and violence they would resort to maneuvers. This has been confirmed once again today by the official announcement of the policy of reforms.

In January 1963 the Shah held a so-called referendum on six points. It is necessary to

make a proper assessment of the measures without either exaggerating or minimizing their significance.

In the sphere of agrarian relations, what is being proposed is nothing but a limited agrarian reform which will facilitate the development of capitalism in the countryside and the emergence of a "kulak" class as an additional mainstay for the existing regime. One of the main objects of this reform is *to win the peasants over to the side of the reactionary bourgeoisie, and thus deprive the proletariat of its natural ally*. The limited character of the reform is evident if only from the fact that each landowner is being permitted to retain possession of at least one village; the peasants who receive land will have to pay for it, as well as for the use of water and agricultural machines. Moreover, the Shah has been carrying out this reform for several years now and does not expect to complete it in less than 30 years! It is quite clear that only a national democratic government could carry out a radical reform, i.e., turn over the land to the peasants who have little or no land.

Another point in the referendum concerns the sale of state-owned factories and plants to private individuals. This is a regressive measure for two reasons. So long as the government is reactionary the state sector of the economy serves as the vehicle of imperialist influence. But with the prospective consolidation of democracy and the establishment of a national government, this sector could play a progressive role.

The curtailment of the state sector is all the more anti-national because the plants and factories are to be turned over to the former feudal landlords in compensation for their land. Thus, yesterday's feudal despot will be today's reactionary compradore manufacturer.

The referendum also proclaims the intention of "making the worker the partner of the factory owner." The purpose of this is to split the working class, create a docile strata of relatively highly paid workers in order to use them in the struggle against the proletariat.

It must be said that even the national bourgeoisie opposed the referendum, declaring the reforms to be sheer demagoguery.

Our Party boycotted the referendum since its six points contain some regressive measures, and advanced its own positive program of struggle for genuine progress in the sphere of social relationships. As regards agrarian reforms, it is demanding that the land be turned over to the landless and land-poor peasants without compensation; that the peasants who have already received allotments should cease

paying for them; that all remaining lands belonging to the Shah and the landowners should be distributed among the peasants, and that sharecropping and ownership of the big estates be abolished. The Party is urging the peasants to organize and fight for their rights.

The fulfilment of all these and other progressive social demands obviously depends on the democratization of the regime, for

THE POLICE STATE HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN OBSTACLE TO SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND TO ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

E. Giudici

The struggle for the expansion and effective functioning of democratic institutions is spreading also in those Latin American countries where the reactionary ruling circles combine police regimes with the "system" of periodic military coups.

Argentina is a country with strong democratic traditions. Its liberal thought was expressed in the secular nature of a good part of the educational system, in civil life and in the observance of standards of international law which denote a whole epoch in the history of the Latin American countries (self-determination of nations, compulsory arbitration in conflicts between nations).

These traditions began to collapse in 1930. The military coup replaced formal democracy with a reactionary dictatorship serving North American interests. At the same time anti-communist repressions (the Communist Party had been legal ever since its foundation in 1918) became official policy for the first time.

Since that time, with the exception of brief intervals of some democracy and constitutionality, political reaction has increased in proportion to the development of the progressive forces opposing it. A feature of this period is that any popular or democratic upsurge which might have led to a more or less progressive solution of the acute political crisis has invariably been crushed by a military coup.

Beginning with 1930, anti-communism has served as the pretext for nullifying democratic gains, narrowing the field of activity of important progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie. Today it is being used as an instrument to check the movement for national economic liberation which has before it the fresh and inspiring example of the Cuban revolution.

With the gradual rejection of formal democracy a centralized and oppressive state took shape, assuming at times a fascist and militarist character. New "crimes," the crimes of progressive thought and action were written

into the law code. In other cases a police order sufficed.

The repressive legislation reached its peak in the period between 1959 and 1962, after the betrayal by Frondizi's government of the program which had brought him to power. To this legislation has been added the systematic abuse of the state of emergency during which the dictatorship operates behind a screen of legality. Justice, in the shape of the Supreme Court, has with rare exceptions granted the President of the republic unlimited powers during the operation of the state of emergency. All this has reduced the Constitution to a mere formality. In defiance of the Constitution, the present government has proclaimed what it calls a "state of necessity" which virtually establishes a military dictatorship and wipes out the remaining vestiges of legality.

By its stubborn resistance to any democratic progress in the face of popular action on an increasing scale, reaction has placed itself in an impossible situation: if it opens the door to legality it will witness its own defeat at the elections and will be forced to annul the results: if it closes that door, it will have to provoke mass actions which will decide the issue.

Such is the epilogue to anti-communism: an anti-popular and anti-national government supported by Yankee imperialism resting on bayonets pointed against the overwhelming majority of the population. The military policy of the Frondizi government assumed new forms based on the theory of the so-called "internal front" which springs from the Nazi idea of "total war" (first, win the nation in order to act as a single entity outside the country). The new element in it is that today this theory is called upon to fulfil the aggressive aims of the United States in its Latin American hinterland. The "internal front" in Argentina is the internal

aspect of the external repressive front of the United States. The headquarters of this external front is in the Pentagon and operates through the agency of the Inter-American Defense Council.

We Communists are waging a difficult and determined struggle for democracy. In our political activity we have utilized all possible legal means, warning our members against the two extremes: flat rejection of all legal action, which would lead in the long run to stifling the fight for democratic freedoms, and separation of the juridical elements from their political foundation. Through its national juridical commission established for the purpose, the Communist Party has fought some important battles in the law courts and in other state institutions.

We also attach much importance to ideological struggle, for without it all political action would be ineffectual, and also because it is precisely in this sphere that the correct political course is often determined.

Our reply to anti-communism is to build the Party, to push ahead with united action, increase Communist influence and spread the propaganda of Marxism in order that it might be more effectively applied to the solution of practical social problems.

Nearly all the comrades who spoke on the question of the development of democracy in the conditions of the national-liberation struggle, in the economically underdeveloped states and under military dictatorships, stressed the need to give the closest attention to these problems and to study them from Marxist-Leninist positions. In the course of the discussion the opinion was expressed that it might be useful to hold a special exchange of opinions on the paths of development of countries newly liberated from the colonial yoke.

Among Our Contributors

SANTIAGO CARRILLO: *Secretary-General, Communist Party of Spain.*

LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES: *Secretary-General, Brazilian Communist Party.*

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Reviews

International Unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties

THIS six-volume collection of articles and speeches by Wladyslaw Gomulka* covering the period from 1956 to 1962 reflects the basic ideological and political achievements of the Polish United Workers' Party. A prominent place in these volumes is occupied by international problems in general and the problems of the unity of the international working-class movement and the relations between the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in particular. Our Party has always regarded the national tasks of the working-class movement as part of its international tasks, and the building of socialism in Poland and the entire policy of our country as a factor in the worldwide struggle for peace, freedom and socialism. "The most important and decisive condition of success in realizing the historical tasks of the Communist movement in each country and on a world scale," Gomulka says, "is the international solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties, their ideological unity, the unity of their will and action."

The unity of the international Communist movement and in particular the unity of the parties of the socialist countries is discussed in many of the speeches and reports. The stand of the PUWP on these fundamental questions is dealt with in detail in his reports on the meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties held in 1957 and 1960. "Ideological unity of all the Communist and Workers' parties guiding the building of socialism in their countries is the cornerstone of the unity of the countries of the socialist camp," he says. "This ideological unity of the parties is the main source of strength for the separate countries and for the entire socialist commonwealth. The ideological cement binding the Communist and Workers' parties is the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the general principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction which have passed the test of life.

"All the parties are independent and equal and act in solidarity . . . Each Party determines its own political line, applying the general laws to the concrete conditions and specific features of its country . . . Each Party is independent

and responsible to the working class and to all the working people of its own country as well as to the international working-class and Communist movement as a whole."

This understanding of the international bond linking the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties was strengthened by the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which, repudiating the personality cult and discarding the dogmatic approach to unity, ushered in a new stage in the development of the world working-class movement and restored the Leninist principle of the solidarity and fraternal cooperation of all parties. In all its activities in the international arena and in its relations with fraternal parties, the PUWP strives to strengthen this ideological and political bond which unites the Communist movement and the socialist camp into a powerful international force equal to its responsibility for the destinies of the world.

* * *

The immortal slogan of Marx and Engels, "Workers of all lands, unite!" — the watchword of the revolutionary working-class movement ever since its inception — has acquired deeper and richer meaning at each successive stage in the development of socialism.

Before the socialist revolution in Russia it symbolized the solidarity of the revolutionary parties of the European proletariat in class struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression, for the workers' rights, democratic freedoms and peace.

The emergence of the first socialist state and the founding of the Communist International as the guiding center rallying the entire revolutionary working-class movement throughout the world around a common program imparted new meaning to proletarian internationalism. The Soviet Union became the mainstay of the world revolutionary movement and, consequently, the attitude towards the first state of the workers and peasants and preparedness to defend it against imperialist intervention became the measure of genuine internationalism. In its early years, the Communist International played a highly important role, passing on to the new Communist parties the experience of the

*Wladyslaw Gomulka, *Przemowienie*, Warsaw, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1957-63.

Russian revolution and the invaluable ideological achievements of Lenin's Party, and training and steeling numerous cadres. In later years, however, when the conditions in which the parties functioned became increasingly complex and varied (a fact which, contrary to Lenin's counsel, was not always taken into account in the Communist International), and when the parties themselves had grown stronger, it became clear that there was no longer any need to have a single leading center for the entire world Communist movement. Because of this the Communist International was dissolved in 1943.

The rise of the socialist world system after the Second World War, the disintegration of the imperialist system, the victory of the Chinese revolution and the emergence of socialist countries in Europe and Asia which, together with the Soviet Union, extended over one-third of the globe, the powerful upsurge of the Communist movement in many countries and the intertwining of this movement with the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement created a new situation in which the ties between Communist parties acquired a new content and new forms. From the international class solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties grew an alliance of socialist states, an alliance of a new type guaranteeing the independence of the People's Democracies, ensuring their defense against imperialism and attempts at restoring capitalism, and enabling them to pool their resources for the building of the new society.

The consequences of the personality cult which did much harm to the Communist movement laid their stamp also on the relations between the socialist countries in the early years after the war when they caused a measure of inequality between the parties. An attempt was made to give organizational form to inter-Party cooperation through an Information Bureau, but it proved impracticable. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union then took the initiative in eradicating the elements of inequality in inter-Party relations which had existed in Stalin's time. At the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU it was pointed out that the formulation "headed by the CPSU" or "headed by the USSR" did not properly reflect the spirit and substance of the internationalist position of the CPSU and its relations with other parties. No Communist Party, irrespective of the contribution it has made or may make in the future to the international Communist movement and the socialist camp, can assume leadership of other parties. As N. S. Khrushchov put it, "in the Communist movement there are no parties that stand 'above' others

and no 'subordinate' parties. All Communist and Workers' parties are equal and independent . . ."

Today no center exercising leadership of all the parties is needed to ensure the unity of the Communist movement or the fulfilment of its tasks either on the international scale or in each country. Nor are regional centers necessary. At present, when the Communist parties, steeled by long years of struggle and with a wealth of national and international experience to draw on, are functioning in widely differing political and social conditions, leadership exercised from without by any single working-class party is as unnecessary as it is unrealistic. Each Communist Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is best able to assess the situation in its own country, to chart its political line and solve the tasks in the best interests of the working people of the country in question.

At the present stage in the development of the international forces of socialism the theory and practice of revolution and building socialism are not shaped by any one Party; they are the fruit of the labors of many Communist parties, all applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in their respective countries.

"The methods used by the parties to accomplish their internal political, social and economic tasks," Gomulka says, "reflect the specific features of these countries and, consequently, differ in many respects. This is a normal state of affairs which facilitates the building of socialism and the revolutionary struggle and enriches Marxist-Leninist theory with new experience without in any way weakening the unity of the international Communist movement."

In the international community of Communist parties and the commonwealth of equal and sovereign socialist states, history has assigned a special place to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for it is the CPSU that first carried out the proletarian revolution and built the most powerful of the socialist states, a state which is the nerve-center of the socialist world system, the mainstay of all the socialist countries and all the forces upholding the freedom of the peoples and of world peace against imperialist violence, aggression and the threat of nuclear war.

The criterion of the internationalism of each Communist and Workers' Party in the socialist and non-socialist countries alike is the attitude towards the socialist camp, towards its unity and solidarity. To regard the alliance of the socialist countries merely as another military-

political alignment, to liken the socialist camp to a military bloc and consequently to adopt a "neutral" stand towards it, is tantamount to withdrawing oneself from the main forces fighting for social progress, freedom for the peoples, peace and the victory of the socialist system, tantamount to renouncing internationalism.

* * *

Whereas before the rise of the socialist world system the class struggle was fought primarily within the boundaries of each capitalist country, today it is waged not only on the national arena, but also on the scale of the whole world which is now divided into two diametrically opposed social systems. The basic contradiction of our time—the contradiction between the socialist and capitalist worlds, between the two social systems—lays a deep imprint on the life of the peoples, linking the internal front in each country with the international front, and the internal problems with the common and paramount issues affecting the whole world, thereby making the solution of these problems dependent on the global alignment of forces.

The global policy of socialism, the material, defense and political potential of the socialist camp combined with the strength of the working class and the peoples fighting for their freedom, must be counterposed to the global policy of imperialism. "Unity of action and co-ordination of policy vis-à-vis the imperialist world," Gomulka says, "is imperative by virtue of both the character of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems and the concrete military-political situation."

"... The unity of our interests and aims, which provides a solid foundation for a concerted foreign policy," he goes on, "gives us an advantage in the international arena over the capitalist world, whose strength is being undermined by internal contradictions." Conversely, any weakening of this unity would enable the adversary to embark on maneuvers endangering the positions and security of all the socialist countries. Hence it is necessary for each socialist country to be guided in its foreign policy by common agreed considerations, to ensure the correctness and effectiveness of this policy by proceeding from joint Marxist-Leninist assessments of the international situation and the interests of the socialist camp as a whole. This follows from the unanimously adopted principles set forth in the statement of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. "The interests of the Communist movement call for the solidarity of every Communist Party in observing the assessments and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperial-

ism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal parties at their meetings."

The 1960 Moscow meeting adopted the principle of peaceful coexistence of all countries irrespective of their political and social systems as the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. Consequently, as Gomulka points out, the attitude taken towards this general line "is an expression of one's attitude towards the unity of the socialist camp and, what is more, to the unity of the international Communist movement." The policy of the parties of the socialist countries should be identical on the question of combating colonialism in all its forms, i.e., the achievement by the newly-free countries of complete independence from imperialism and the consolidation of their sovereignty. Cooperation among the parties and the concerted efforts of the socialist states are essential for the active support of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples, economic and political aid to these peoples, defense of their interests in the international arena, etc.

A common general line, joint strategic aims and a coordinated foreign policy in no way infringe the independence and initiative of the various Communist parties and socialist countries. In the context of the common international policy of the socialist camp, each of the member-countries can and is expected to display initiative in line with the specific interests of its geographical and political region, and also to implement a practical program stemming from these specific features. But all these actions should be subordinated to the jointly elaborated policies, the common strategy and the common aims.

The same strategic aims in the struggle against imperialism are shared not only by the parties in the socialist countries but by all other Communist and Workers' parties as well. The means and methods of the parties of the capitalist countries may differ. Their support of the policy of peaceful coexistence under no circumstances means cessation or weakening of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the domination of monopoly capitalism and against colonialism and imperialism in their own countries.

It is the mission of the world Communist movement to save humanity from thermonuclear destruction and to uphold peace. This is the task to which the joint efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties must be subordinated. And the unity of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces is essential for success in this struggle.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is organically linked with the peaceful competition of the two worlds in which the decisive role is played by economic competition. The realization of the principal economic task of the socialist countries — the achievement with utmost speed of the economic level of the developed capitalist countries and then surpassing this level — necessitates combining the potential and means of the different socialist countries, division of labor among them, and joint solution of the tasks of economic and technological progress. Economic and technological competition with capitalism in building up the productive forces and raising the productivity of labor and the standard of living is the common task of all the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries, for it is victory in this competition which, in the final analysis, will ensure the triumph of the new system throughout the world.

"At the present stage," Gomulka says, "it is imperative to ensure a more comprehensive and more harmonious development of the productive forces on the basis of the latest achievements in technology and science. The socialist countries can do this by utilizing all the advantages of planned socialized economy and improving the methods of management and planning not only within the bounds of each country but on an *international scale* . . . The world socialist community will thus counterpose to imperialism not only a more united political and defensive alliance but also a powerful economic organism combining the reserves, means and production potentials of the equal socialist countries for the achievement of their common economic aim in the competition with capitalism".

Hence the need for extended cooperation and mutual aid among the parties and governments of the socialist countries, for coordinating socialist construction and long-range economic plans.

* * *

Marxist-Leninist ideology is the bedrock on which the unity of the Communist movement rests. Defense of the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism against distortions — dogmatic and sectarian as well as right opportunist and revisionist — is a prerequisite of the ideological unity of all Communist and Workers' parties. The responsibility of each Communist and Workers' Party to its own people and the world working-class movement demands strict adherence to the common principles and aims agreed upon at international

conferences and set forth in unanimously adopted decisions and documents. The differences of opinion that have appeared in recent years in the world Communist movement stem from a situation in which the socialist world system embraces countries at different levels of economic and historical development, countries which arrived at socialism by different and often difficult paths. But neither differences in history nor disparities in economic levels can justify a divergence of views that weaken the unity of the Communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist camp. The fact that there should be differences of opinion on ideological and political problems is in itself neither surprising nor dangerous. Experience has shown that objective identity of interests and basic goals does not automatically preclude differences in assessing practical political tasks. What is harmful is the artificial exaggeration of these differences in public, imparting to them the character of insurmountable differences of principle, forgetting that the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement is of the utmost importance.

There is no objective contradiction between the interests of the peoples of the different socialist countries or between their governments. On the contrary, their interests fully coincide vis-à-vis their common enemy — imperialism — just as their fundamental objectives do. Consequently, the fact that differences nevertheless have arisen, that they have assumed the form of a sharp public controversy and divergencies in policy in some of the countries, is because some parties have departed from the jointly elaborated general line of the Communist movement. This is sharply at variance with the statement of the 1960 meeting, which stresses that actions that might undermine the unity of the international Communist movement cannot be tolerated.

Good will on the part of all the parties concerned is essential to overcome the differences. Our Party is in full agreement with the suggestion made by N. S. Khrushchov that the public controversy be terminated and an end put to irresponsible attacks on fraternal parties, to the polemics which give comfort only to the imperialists, that the course outlined in the documents of international meetings of Communists be followed. It is essential to work patiently to overcome differences on concrete ideological and political problems through bilateral and multilateral meetings and calm business-like discussion. "Controversial issues, which there have always

been and are bound to be between the Communist and Workers' parties, must be solved for the good of all parties and the movement as a whole," Gomulka says. "It takes time, and often quite considerable time, to find the correct solutions to outstanding issues in line with the interests of the development and consolidation of socialism. So long as one or another issue cannot be solved jointly, it should be laid aside and not allowed to interfere with cooperation." Unity will be ensured when secondary differences are subordinated to the basic requirements of proletarian internationalism and the fundamental interests of the socialist camp. It is essential to proceed from that which unites us and not from that which divides us, to relegate divergencies to

the background and concentrate on the common views, interests and aspirations. This approach to the unity of the Communist movement and the socialist camp permeates Gomulka's speeches and writings.

Addressing the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, he said: "The more united the Communist parties stand on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the greater the solidarity of the socialist camp, the more successfully will the international Communist movement cope with the big and difficult tasks posed before it by history, by our time, and the easier will it be for the peoples of the socialist countries to build socialism and communism."

Artur STAREWICZ

A New Book About Marx

IN the capitalist world where "exposures" of Marx and Marxism, written mostly by anti-pseudo- and renegade Marxists flow from the cold-war printing presses in a never-ending stream, a biography of Marx* by a Marxist is an event as unique as it is welcome.

Author Arnold Kettle, university lecturer and executive member of the British Communist Party, was commissioned by the publishing firm Wiedenfeld and Nicholson to do the book *Karl Marx* for their Pathfinder Biographies series, designed to acquaint young people with some of the "men who made history."

And into this small book of 120 pages Kettle has packed so much information about Marx and his revolutionary philosophy and activity, and, what is more, has presented it in such a clear and lively way that none will dispute the success of the design.

Part One tells briefly about Marx's formative years — school in his native Trier, student days in Bonn, Berlin and Jena, his courtship of Jenny von Westphalen, journalistic work in Cologne and the years of persecution and exile which took him first to Paris, thence to Brussels and ultimately, after the defeat of the 1848 revolution in Germany, at the age of 31, to London.

Kettle shows Marx not only as the diligent researcher in the famous reading room of the British Museum, but also as a man of action who spent "a considerable part of his time helping to organize political activity, especially among the working class."

The young reader of the book will learn that Marx was the friend of the Chartist leaders Ernest Jones and Julian Harney, that he was acquainted with the pioneers of the powerful British trade unions of today, and that he was one of the founders and the moving spirit of the First International.

Marx, the young reader will discover, studied the writings of the British bourgeois economists, especially Adam Smith and David Ricardo, who propounded the idea of the labor theory of value. Marx's development of this theory is traced with the clearness of crystal; making profit through the sweat and toil of other people was the process which Marx called "exploitation." The driving force of the capitalist system was profit-making for the few through the exploitation of the millions who sold their labor power for wages.

How the class of capitalist exploiters arose and became the dominant class in society is the theme of the chapter on Marx and History. Marx and Engels, Kettle says, did not agree with many of the views held by such historical personages as Joan of Arc or Luther or Oliver Cromwell or Milton or George Washington or Robespierre or Shelley; but men and women of this mettle, they held, had contributed nobly to the advance of humanity, while the contribution of the scientists like Bacon, Boyle and Newton was "sheer human gain."

Science, in Marx's view, played an extremely important part in man's struggle to gain greater freedom. For to the extent that man masters the science of society, he can get

*Arnold Kettle, *Karl Marx. Founder of Modern Communism*, Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1963, pp. 120.

control of social and human problems and is free to solve them.

To Marx's specific criticism of the capitalist society, Kettle adds his "most fundamental" criticism of all — capitalism was preventing men and women from becoming more free. Marx the humanist "believed passionately in the dignity of human beings," and his indictment of capitalism was that it prevented human beings from fulfilling their inmost needs, from being free above all to develop their individual abilities to the maximum.

Without grasping this aspect of Marx's teaching, Kettle says, it is impossible to understand why Marxist ideas have captured the imagination of millions, inspiring them to fight for freedom in a world without capitalist exploiters.

This little book, which in brief compass brings together the essentials of Marxism in a most readable way, will reward the older reader as well as the younger: it deserves a special place in the library of all fighters for socialism.

John GIBBONS

Communications and Comment

The Intrigues of the Imperialists in Peru and the Struggle of the Peruvian People

(Letter from Lima)

ON JANUARY 5, 1963, over 1,500 people were arrested in Peru by order of the military junta. The premises of the National Liberation Front (NLF), trade union, democratic and even cultural organizations were raided and also the premises of *Unidad* (organ of the Communist Party) and *Frente* (organ of the NLF). Constitutional guarantees were abolished and a state of emergency declared. Among the arrested were not only the leaders of the NLF, the Communist Party, trade union, peasant and student organizations, but also scientists and members of the free professions generally. The repressions engulfed people from all walks of life. The action of the authorities was in the nature of a military operation carried out by the police and its agents at one and the same hour throughout the country. Those arrested were subjected to torture reminiscent of the barbarous methods of fascism.

The "operation" of January 5 was not an isolated, chance event. It was a link in the chain of the repressions which began last November and as a result of which the workers Pedro Chihuan, Alvino Sotomayor, Remigio Huaman and many peasants in Cuzco and Pasco were killed.

To justify these repressions the military junta circulated the canard about a "Communist plot" directed from "Moscow, Prague

and Havana," allegedly entrusted to the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front. The "plot," according to the Peruvian authorities, provided for guerrilla operations, attacks on army barracks and banks, setting fire to factories, provoking disorder in the universities, and a number of terrorist actions.

The authorities announced that the police operations of January 5 had helped to avert "a bloody chaos." They also announced that they were prepared to produce the proofs of the danger. To date, however, these proofs have not been forthcoming.

It is now clear to most Peruvians what had been obvious from the very beginning to the more advanced and politically conscious elements of our society, viz., that all the talk about a "communist plot" is pure invention. This time-worn bogey was first raised in our country in 1926, when the Communist Party was founded.

The reactionaries forged "documents and proofs" to buttress their slander of our Party. One of these "documents" was supposed to be a letter from Raul Acosta, General Secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party, to the Cuban Ambassador in Peru thanking the latter for the economic aid given to the organization "training guerrillas." This notorious letter was "found" during a raid on the Cuban Embassy in Lima, a raid engineered by FBI agents and

APRA thugs.* It was used by the Prado government to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba, and to send Raul Acosta to jail for two years.

Here it should be noted that notwithstanding the attempts of reaction to intimidate Acosta's lawyers, and the fact that his prosecutors, the newspaper *La Prensa* and the Beltran government, had ample opportunity to fabricate "proof" of his guilt, the Supreme Court was compelled, in face of the absolute groundlessness of the charge, to concede that the documents had been forged and to acquit Raul Acosta.

As is evident from official reports those arrested during the last raid were detained in their homes while a search was made for weapons. But all that was found were books and magazines and none of them classed as illegal literature. What about the promised proofs of the "communist plot"? The military junta will have to forge the "compromising" documents which it will then conveniently "find." These "documents" will, undoubtedly, be along the lines of the "letter" to the Cuban Ambassador, ascribed to Raul Acosta.

As to the guerrilla detachments, they exist in the imagination of the reactionaries headed by Beltran, ex-prime minister and owner of *La Prensa*, the mouthpiece of the ultra reactionaries. It was Beltran's paper which for months kept harping on the story that Peru was being overrun by guerrillas.

When Beltran was still Prime Minister the newspapers *La Prensa*, *La Tribuna* and *La Cronica* began to spread rumors about guerrilla detachments in La Convencion, calling this area the "Peruvian Sierra Maestra." This story, which was picked up by the radio and television, was designed to justify the repressions on which the Peruvian oligarchy and North American imperialism were insisting. Escorted by storm detachments and hundreds of police agents, Beltran went to Cuzco—a historic town known for its democratic traditions and against whose population Beltran on repeated occasions demanded that repressive measures be taken—with the object of provoking disorders there and drowning in blood the actions of the people. However, thanks to the political maturity of the population and the explanatory work carried out by the Communist Party, Beltran's provocation was foiled.

Shortly after it seized power in July 1962,

the military junta took a series of measures, on the insistence of the same reactionary forces and on the pretext of fighting the guerrilla detachments in La Convencion, directed against democratic and progressive circles. But it was not until it had fortified its position with U.S. aid that the junta openly ventured to launch its attack on the people. Significant in this respect is the statement of General Juan Bossio, a Minister of the military junta, who at a press conference said that there were no guerrilla detachments in La Convencion. Bossio thus confirmed an earlier statement to this effect by the prefect of Cuzco and by other officials, and what the Communist Party and public opinion had been saying all along. But reaction, headed by Beltran, availing itself of Washington's support, insisted on repressions against the democratic forces and, in the first place, against the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front. Furthermore, Kennedy, before renewing diplomatic relations with Peru and before granting the credits and military aid she requested, laid down harsh terms to the military junta: General Bossio was to be removed from the government at once, Peru was to support the invasion of Cuba with men and arms, and, finally, the repressions against the people were to be carried out without delay.

The junta straight away accepted Washington's terms. Bossio was obliged to resign. Shortly after, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Admiral Llosa flew to Washington to attend a conference of the Organization of American States. At this conference he gave the assurance that Peruvian armed forces would be dispatched to take part in the planned invasion of Cuba. Upon his return the junta embarked on its repressions against the people, and against its revolutionary organizations in the first place. In return, Washington gave several million dollars as economic "aid" and the appropriate military and diplomatic support.

By carrying out these repressions the military hierarchy was not only complying with orders from the outside; for many years they had been plotting an armed clash with the people with a view to drowning the popular movement in blood and thus weakening it. Previous dictatorships had not risked using the army against the people. They had used the police or hired assassins instead. The reason for this is that the soldiers are for the most part peasants dressed in uniform, while the nco's are drawn from the impoverished middle class. The present military junta is trying to create a precedent by turning the

*APRA — a reactionary party, founded in 1924. Originally an agent of the North American monopolies, and as such is it advanced anti-imperialist demands; subsequently it became carrying on splitting activities among the working people—Ed.

army into a force that will fight on the "home front," first of all.

As might have been expected the repressions were given the seal of approval by the U.S. charge d'affaires in Peru, Douglas Anderson, and by Beltran and Manuel Seoane, the APRA's second in command.

These actions were carried out in the short space of time between October 1962 and January 1963, but it was enough to expose the real authors of the plot against the people—the oligarchy and North American imperialism.

Trotskyite provocations, adventurist and terrorist acts played their part in the repressions, a fact which should not be overlooked.

The fire started in warehouses in La Oroya by one of the overseers of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation on the latter's instructions shows to what lengths capitalism will go to attain its ends. Cerro de Pasco is the biggest copper company in the country. With the help of the government it recently received a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank to modernize its equipment. This, as the workers know, will eventually mean wholesale dismissals. When the miners put forward a demand for a wage increase the company flatly refused to meet the demand and deliberately provoked a strike. The government dispatched police and in the clash that ensued a worker, Moises Alvarino Ricalde, was killed.

Raids on banks in which Trotskyites take part, the circulation of photographs showing Hugo Blanco* surrounded by peasants armed with rifles, serve the same provocative purpose as the burning of the warehouses in La Oroya. It enables the reactionaries to whip up the atmosphere needed for its repressions.

However, neither repressions, violence, provocations, nor demagoguery can resolve the crisis in the country. Neither the millions granted by the American banks nor the latest taxes introduced by the military junta will be able to cover the growing deficit in the country's finances. The cost of living is rising steadily, by 1961 it had trebled compared with 1950. The situation in the countryside has gone from bad to worse. The conditions of the peasants are appalling, as may be gathered from the fact that their monthly income is no more than 80 sols (a little over \$3), and that they are compelled as a consequence to sell or "make a present" of their children.

The working class, peasantry and some sections of the petty bourgeoisie, undaunted by the heavy odds, are carrying on a resolute

struggle. Notwithstanding the reprisals and the state of siege, the strike struggle has spread to practically all parts of the country and to the key industries. The peasantry also are waging a resolute struggle for the return of their land and against the semi-feudal system of exploitation. This powerful movement of the workers and peasants is gathering momentum and is successfully counteracting the treachery of the APRA leaders, the provocations of the Trotskyites and their followers. Features of the struggle are the growing process of organization in town and countryside; the strengthening of the alliance of the workers and peasants through their joint mass actions and, lastly, the increasingly anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and patriotic character of the actions of the working class and the peasantry. Ever broader sections of the population are joining these actions—radical petty-bourgeoisie, university students, intellectuals and the genuinely patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie. The fruit of this anti-imperialist and patriotic movement is the National Liberation Front which in the past year of hard struggle has become a force in the country.

These actions and the explanatory and organizational work carried out by the Communists has greatly added to the political experience of the Peruvian people who now see more clearly through imperialism's plans which are levelled against peace, Cuba and the national-liberation and democratic movement of peoples.

The Peruvian people and, particularly, the working class, the organized peasantry and the students see that one of the chief aims of the repressions is to prevent the peaceful democratic development of the forces in our country which are waging a struggle for progress, for improving well-being and for democratic liberties.

The people realize that the aims of this imperialist plan are far-reaching, that it is a question of imperialism's offensive on the continent, of increasing the dependence of the Latin American countries through the "Alliance for Progress," of making our countries subservient to the aggressive policy of the Pentagon. Finally, this plan is directed against socialist Cuba.

But this imperialist design has come up against the resistance of the Peruvian people who have demonstrated high political consciousness and their determination to continue the struggle. On this basis the National Liberation Front and with it the Communist Party, by pursuing a consistent united front policy,

*Hugo Blanco is the secretary of one of the 150 peasant trade unions in La Convencion. The military junta is so "sure" that there are guerilla detachments in La Convencion that it has detailed 25 police to arrest him.

are fighting for the release of all those arrested, for democratic liberties and the national

liberation of the Peruvian people.

Jose MUNAR

End of the Big Gamble

"DIVIDE and rule" used to be the basic principle of colonialist policy in Africa. In recent years, however, when the imperialists could no longer ignore the will of the Africans, they had to look for more subtle methods, less in conflict with the spirit of the time. Capitalizing upon the legitimate striving of the African people towards the unity of their continent, they advanced a new watchword — "unite and rule." It is common knowledge, however, that genuine unity is possible only between free, independent and equal peoples and on a fully voluntary foundation; indeed, history has shown that artificial associations are shortlived. The so-called Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is a case in point. It was set up by the British colonialists in 1953 to include the people of Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi (Nyasaland). The object was to combine the mineral wealth of the North with the developed manufacturing industry of the South and the cheap labor of Nyasaland. The "federation" was designed first, to swell the profits and capital of the London, New York and Johannesburg banks and, second, to place all the three territories under the control of the white supremacists of Southern Rhodesia so as to ensure "political stability."

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland proved still-born. And today this big gamble of British imperialism is approaching its end.

In the elections to the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia held last December a decisive victory was won by the United National Independence Party headed by Kenneth Kaunda, the prominent African national leader. In March this party secured the official consent of the British government to Northern Rhodesia's withdrawal from the Federation.

Last February brought victory to the patriots of Nyasaland, who wrested self-government from the colonialists. For the first time an African government was formed in that country; the head of this government, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, leader of the Malawi Congress Party, declared that his aim was "to obtain a death certificate of the Federation."

Lastly, important changes have taken place to the south of the Zambesi River, in Salisbury. In the South Rhodesia elections held

last December which were boycotted by the African population, victory went to the Rhodesian Front, a party of the ultra-right racialists. Paradoxical though it may seem, in Southern Rhodesia, too, it was the opponents of the notorious Federation who came to power, for the leaders of the Rhodesian Front, seeking to impose an open regime of apartheid on the country, place more hopes on an alliance with the South African fascists than on the federal bonds.

In these circumstances the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia to wrest the country from the control of the racialists, to prevent the joining of Rhodesia to the Republic of South Africa and the establishment of an aggressive anti-African bloc, acquires added importance for the cause of peace and freedom in Africa.

The white supremacists of Southern Rhodesia are conducting a steady offensive against all African progressive organizations upholding the elementary democratic principles of "one man—one vote." The African National Congress and the National Democratic Party, both patriotic parties, have been suppressed in recent years. In the beginning of last year the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), whose courageous struggle is now known to the whole world, was formed on the basis of the National Democratic Party. The ZAPU entered the lists against the racist constitution for Southern Rhodesia manufactured in London, and called on the Africans to boycott the parliamentary elections.

The activities of the ZAPU instantly had the racialists foaming at the mouth. Following the suppression of two publications of the party, *Spear* and *Zimbabwe News*, and a mysterious automobile accident in which Samuel Perirenjatva, Vice-President of the ZAPU, was killed, the colonialists set their minds on finally smashing the Party. In September 1962 they provoked "riots" among the Africans and, raising a vicious hue and cry, fell upon the ZAPU. The party was outlawed and thousands of patriots were imprisoned or exiled. Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the party, was in exile for three months and returned only in the beginning of January. Later, however, this national leader of the Zimbabwe people was again arrested and sentenced on

April 1 to six months' hard labor on charges of violating the so-called Law and Order (maintenance) Act. There is a mounting reign of terror as police vans scour the towns and villages of Rhodesia and the number of arrests continues to grow.

The patriots of Southern Rhodesia need the support of all progressive and democratic forces of the world in their struggle. On the initiative of the Third Solidarity Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples, March 17, 1963, was observed as a day of solidarity with the people of Southern Rhodesia. The resolutions of the

meetings and rallies held on that day in many countries express firm confidence that Southern Rhodesia will be free regardless of all the efforts of the racialists.

The stronger the united front of the patriots of East, Central and South Africa, the closer the victory of the Zimbabwe people. By uniting their efforts, the people of Africa will deliver the death blow to moribund colonialism, and in the place of the loathed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland there will arise a fraternal community of free peoples.

V. SHERMAN

Against the Persecution of Democrats

LAWLESSNESS IN THE GUISE OF DEMOCRACY

THE "antagonism between imperialism which denies democracy and the masses who are striving for democracy," of which Lenin spoke, has become especially pronounced in our days.

To the growing influence of the progressive forces fighting for socialism, social change and peaceful coexistence, the ruling classes counterpose political repressions, which have become part of the official policy of the imperialist countries. Depending on the political conditions, the militancy of the democratic and progressive forces and the political cunning of the ruling classes, the repressions take different forms in the different countries.

The imperialist states have evolved, and continue to perfect, a legal system which enables them to deprive leaders of the democratic movement of civil rights or to curtail these rights, and to outlaw political parties and organizations.

The outwardly constitutional method of enforcing through parliaments laws which for all purposes are unconstitutional is now being applied on an increasingly wider scale. The reactionaries are doing their utmost to make anti-communism and suppression of the progressive movement official legal doctrine.

The juridical system in the imperialist world today was described by Marx in the following words: "Laws for which the basic criterion is not the *actions as such* but the *way of thinking* of the given person, are nothing less than *positive sanctions of lawlessness*."

Relying on these "sanctions of lawlessness" and making use of the enormously inflated state of machinery of coercion, the ruling class-

es of the imperialist countries in which many people still believe in bourgeois democracy are carrying out "bloodless" operations against democrats and progressives. Without eliminating them physically, the reactionaries are going all out to prevent them from taking part in political life and to discredit them.

By hounding the Communists and democrats, the reactionaries everywhere are trying to intimidate those who sympathize with them, to prevent the spread of Communist ideas and to isolate the Communists and progressives politically.

The complexity of the legal system designed recently in the imperialist countries makes it possible for the reactionaries to take arbitrary action and deceive the masses by maintaining the semblance of law.

The experience of public life in the imperialist countries shows that any offensive against the democratic rights plays into the hands of the reactionaries and the ultra-Right and paves the way to a naked dictatorship of the ultra-Right. The political repressions carried out in the guise of legality can become the beginning of terror, proof of which is afforded by the everyday life of the imperialist countries. The Communists and their parties are usually the first on whom the reactionaries precipitate their system of "bloodless" political reprisals. But never has political persecution been limited to the Communists. The restrictions on basic democratic rights, which imperialism has elevated to the level of unconstitutional laws, spell grave danger not only to Communists but also to large sections of the population.

The struggle for real guarantees of the basic

democratic rights is an important field of action for the working class and its political parties in all the imperialist countries. The demands advanced in this struggle are: legal status for the Communist parties and all progressive public organizations, discontinuation of political persecution based on unconstitutional laws, repeal of these laws, a halt to the anti-democratic practice of curtailing civil liberties for political reasons. More and more people are joining this struggle. They insist on the inviolability of civil rights, which is the condition for success in the struggle for social and economic changes.

The materials printed below illustrate the methods used by the reactionaries in their offensive against progressives and the resolve of the masses to uphold their democratic rights.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. In March another member of the Communist Party, Samuel K. Davis, correspondent of *The Worker*, was ordered by the Subversive Activities Control Board to register as an "agent of a foreign power." Davis' letter, a reply to this unconstitutional demand, is deeply moving. "I consider it a privilege to be named with such a group of courageous Americans who exemplify the finest traditions of this country," he wrote about his comrades who, like himself, were given shameful "registration" orders.

Having started in June 1961 another round of anti-democratic baiting, the U.S. rulers are going ahead with this campaign despite the indignation of public opinion throughout the world and the protests at home, despite the obvious unconstitutional nature of the persecutions. After securing the indictment of the American Communist Party in December 1962, the reactionaries initiated prosecutions against individual Communists. The trial of two leaders of the American people, Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis, is expected to open any day.

The persecution is not confined to the Communists. In one way or another the government has preferred charges against many trade unions and other organizations.

The present political persecution in the USA is a striking example of the application of a juridical system in which anti-communism and struggle against progressive views are now official legal doctrine.

The ultra-Rights have succeeded in creating in the USA an unconstitutional legislation of modern imperialism which regards not actions as such but ideas as the criterion of guilt, as grounds for prosecution and imprisonment. This "legislation" virtually denies citizens constitutional rights and freedoms; any organization and any citizen of the United States working for peace and campaigning for civil rights can

be charged with "subversive activity" and subjected to political repressions. This shameful legislation, dressed up in phrases about struggle against "subversion," is being implanted in all imperialist countries.

Behind the screen of the Internal Security Act the authorities can force any citizen or organization to self-incrimination as an "agent of a foreign power." Refusal to comply with this order may lead to imprisonment (even imprisonment for life) or to a fantastic fine. This legal trickery was used in the trial of a political party, the first trial of its kind in the country's history, and the Communist Party was indicted and sentenced to a fine of \$120,000.

The system of political repressions designed by the U.S. reactionaries is dangerous because of the hypocritical veil of bourgeois respectability which conceals calculated brutality.

In an attempt to soothe the public, Attorney-General Robert Kennedy unctuously says that only one thing is required from the Communists — to register as "agents of a foreign power" under the McCarran Act, that no one raises the question of outlawing them. But it is clear that this self-incrimination which, according to the designs of the reactionaries, should take the form of registration, signifies either renunciation of one's country and civil rights or renunciation of convictions the inviolability of which is guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

The chorus of official spokesmen singing the praises of the legal character of the repressions is joined now and then by voices which testify to the real aim of the sponsors of the campaign. "Another nail in the Communist coffin," such are the headlines in the capitalist press on the trial of the Communist Party.

For 11 years the progressives have resisted the reactionary attempts to enforce the McCarran Act, an enabling law for fascism. Aware of the outlook of the people, the U.S. rulers are doing their utmost to impart to the political persecutions based on this law the semblance of routine legal procedure. They have turned the disgraceful trial of the Communist Party into a formal act which prohibits the Communists from speaking on the substance of the charge preferred against them, a charge which is unconstitutional. But the progressives know that this is the tactic of an octopus noiselessly extending its tentacles, threatening death.

The struggle for the repeal of the unconstitutional laws, for restoration of democratic rights and freedoms is one of the most important aspects of political life in the United States today.

Upholding constitutional rights and freedoms,

the American Communists are displaying civic courage, fidelity to the democratic traditions of their people, and in the specific political conditions of their country loyalty to the principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class.

Their successes in the fight for democratic rights are something more than reliable defense against possible persecution of other progressive organizations. The general democratic struggle of the Communist Party is broader and more significant than courageous protest against political repressions. Every success won by the Communists in this area is a blow at the ultra-Rights who aim at blocking progressive socio-economic measures and who openly call for another world war. The ultra-Rights threatening the economic and political rights of all sections of the population are the sponsors of the offensive against the trade unions which have advanced a program against unemployment.

Curbing the ultras is the way to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe. On this general democratic struggle largely depends the issue of war and peace, and the destiny of progressive people and organizations not only in the USA, but in other imperialist countries as well. An end to the political persecution of the Communists and progressives, annulment of the shameful verdict on the Communist Party and repeal of the unconstitutional cold war laws—these will be the first steps towards this aim. Upholding democratic rights, directing the brunt of their struggle against the ultra-Right and pro-fascist elements, the American Communists are defending the progressive way of development for their country, the road of peaceful coexistence, i.e., the progress of humanity as a whole. *J. WRIGHT*

CANADA. With the people of Canada approaching the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of state power founded on bourgeois democracy, many of the democratic rights won by the people in revolutionary struggle and the very independence of our country are threatened by monopoly rule. The all-encompassing democratic struggle at present is directed primarily against U.S. economic and political interference in Canada's affairs. The people are determined to be masters of their own house.

The struggle for full independence from U.S. imperialism is closely intertwined with the struggle for democratic rights. The steadily growing economic subordination of Canadian monopoly — junior partners of U.S. monopoly capital — creates the real danger that the methods of political persecution carried out by the U.S. rulers may be exported to Canada.

A lively campaign is being waged against political discrimination, an expression of which is the denial of citizenship to the thousands of immigrants who have come to Canada and who consider it their land of adoption.

Most of the immigrants comply with all the requirements — age, length of stay in the country, devotion to democratic institutions, etc.,— but are denied citizenship merely because of political opinions or associations. This anti-democratic practice is similar to the "thought control" so widely prevalent in the United States. The issue of citizenship rights takes on added importance and urgency in Canada because of the mosaic composition of its population.

At a National Conference on Citizenship Rights held last October in Ottawa on the initiative of the Canadian Council of National Groups attended by over 150 delegates from all over the country, examples were cited demonstrating the extent of the discrimination. Participation in a parade or attending a peace meeting, or signing a petition to stop the atom bomb tests, or against placing atomic weapons on Canadian soil by the USA, or demanding general disarmament were sufficient "reasons" for turning down applications for citizenship.

Delegates spoke with indignation about how the police collect secret information about the political beliefs of applicants. On the basis of this information many applicants are refused citizenship. Even subscribing to progressive newspapers and periodicals earns a refusal to grant people elementary democratic rights. Ridiculous cases were mentioned at the conference; for example, playing in an orchestra organized by a progressive organization or having prepared special Ukrainian dishes for a banquet organized by a progressive society was considered by the authorities to be proof of disloyalty and a reason for turning down the application for citizenship.

Refusal to grant citizenship deprives many people of elementary democratic rights. Denied a passport they cannot travel abroad, have no right to vote, etc. The vicious, anti-democratic class character of the discrimination can be seen from the fact that reactionary immigrants, men who participated in fascist atrocities during the last war and who fought against the Canadian armed forces have no difficulty in becoming citizens. They are welcomed with open arms.

The movement for civil rights is one of the main features of Canada's public life. The demands of this movement are set forth in a brief adopted by the national conference on Citizen-

ship Rights and presented to the government and Parliament. Progressives are demanding that the undemocratic practice of denying citizenship because of political beliefs should be discontinued and that the processing of applications for citizenship be removed from the police and placed in the hands of a non-police agency. The Act and regulations should be amended to comply with the Canadian Bill of Rights and declared a constitutional right.

What is involved here is a fight for the real legality of the progressive and Left organizations and their press and the right of people to be associated with them without being subjected to police harassment, discrimination and intimidation.

Norman FREED

ARGENTINA. Never in the history of Argentina has it been subjected to such violence as is the case today. And this is not fortuitous. In order to crush the growing struggle of the working people against the pro-imperialist policy of the ruling oligarchy, the parasitic classes resort to anti-communism. In reality, however, the anti-communism turns into violence against democracy, against the very bourgeois democracy of which the rulers are so proud.

The Constitution provides not only for constitutional law but also, in a certain sense, for *unconstitutional* (my italics—A.P.) law — so writes Hans Kelsen, a U.S. lawyer whose books are studied in the universities of our country. Given this "legal" basis, it is little wonder that in order to justify unconstitutional measures such as the annulment of election results, the dissolution of provincial legislatures and consultative bodies, the closure of the National Congress, the virtual dissolution of political parties, etc., the Guido government has given citizenship to a new political doctrine, the so-called "state of necessity".

The destruction of the constitutional state in our country began with the military coup engineered by the U.S. oil barons in 1930. Since then there has been a succession of "de facto" governments and "state of siege" governments. Of the 33 years since the 1930 coup 17 were years of the "state of siege." The last time the state was declared was September 2, 1959, and it has not been lifted since.

During the state of siege Parliament either does not function at all or it functions only in order to seal the decrees issued by the executive authority which acts as the sole legislator. In this way, an endless number of anti-

communist laws reeking of fascism and McCarthyism have been piled up.

From the standpoint of repressive legislation the present military and police regime has surpassed all the others. The way in which the Guido government came to power had nothing in common with democracy. Guido, the man of the military, was proclaimed President by the Supreme Court, although the displaced President Frondizi had not left the country, had not resigned and was in good health. According to Article 75 of the Constitution, however, one of these conditions is required if the head of the executive power is to be replaced.

This regime, which has hardly any public support issued the anti-communist decree No. 8161, a decree humiliating to our people. Article 2 of this decree says: "The use of pictures, symbols, signs, statements, doctrines, articles, works of art or works pretending to be such, which speak about Communism, the Communist Party, national or international, or any Communist organization, legal or illegal, about a Party close to the Communist Party, or contain information about any Communist government, the international Communist movement or movement which is a concealed continuation of the latter, as well as the reproduction of such material for the purpose of ideological persuasion, propaganda or distribution, is forbidden." Anyone who violates this "law" is liable to a term of imprisonment ranging from 30 days to 10 years and to fines ranging from 5,000 to one million pesos.

The most disgusting thing about this decree is that it is backed up by the claim that "the Argentine people live . . . in the conditions of freedom and democracy guaranteed by the Constitution." But Article 14 of the Constitution states clearly: "In conformity with the laws regulating the functioning of the Constitution, all citizens of the country enjoy the following rights: . . . the right to publish their ideas in the press without preliminary censorship, freely to use and dispose of their property, . . . freely to profess their religion, the right to teach and to study." What remains of these rights "guaranteed by the Constitution"?

Even though law is prostituted in this way, the attitude taken by some of the judges in trials based on decree No. 8161 shows that it is hardly possible to put this law into effect. Without saying anything about the character of this law, many judges plead their incompetence and declare that the particular cases are within the province of either local or federal authorities.

The anti-Communist legislation is supplemented by the monstrous statute concerning

*"State of necessity" (estado de necesidad) the doctrine used to justify violations of the Constitution on the pretext that extraordinary circumstances "compelled" the government to take these measures.

political parties, which shows that the exploiting classes can no longer tolerate even the semblance of their own bourgeois democracy. The statute abolishes the "equality of citizens before the law" proclaimed in Article 16 of the Constitution. It annuls such a democratic gain as the electoral law of Saenz Pena adopted at the beginning of this century, which provided for equality of all in the elections. The present fascist statute eliminates from the electoral lists candidates of the working class and the people because it forbids Communists, Peronists, Progressive Socialists and any other party which can be regarded as Left or anti-imperialist, to take part in the elections. Thus, the exploiting minority and agents of imperialism enjoy a guaranteed monopoly of power.

The "decree on the security of the state" signed on January 30, 1963, is directed against the growing class struggle. The wave of strikes and militant actions by the working people so scared the big capitalists and monopolists that they launched a large-scale anti-Communist campaign, raising the Communist-Castro bogey and insisting on repressions against the working class.

This decree, which practically kills the right to strike, has provisions for terms of imprisonment ranging from two to 15 years for those who "disorganize" or "disrupt" production and "insist" on a strike when such action has been declared illegal.

The decree forces people to act as informers; it stipulates a prison sentence ranging from three months to two years for those who "having knowledge of a crime qualified in the decree" "failed to report this to the authorities." Informers are rewarded by this law which says: "Those who, being involved in actions qualified by this law as criminal, report this in good time to the civil or military authorities will not be subject to punishment."

Through these laws the police are conducting raids all over the country, throwing hundreds into prison — Communists, Peronists and people opposed to imperialism. Houses are looted on the pretext of searching for Communist propaganda, the relations of victims are detained as hostages, and the prisoners subjected to torture which often ends in death.

Ernesto Guidici, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, doctors Carlos Abolsky and Alfredo Dratman, both members of the Party, have been in jail for months. Hundreds of men and women unlaw-

fully condemned by military tribunals are kept in prison in different parts of the country.

The people, however, have not resigned themselves to this lawlessness. Committees fighting for the release of the political leaders and trade union officials have been set up in the capital and in the provinces. Headed by the League for Defense of Human Rights and the Committee of Relatives of Political Prisoners, these bodies are made up of representatives of the women's, youth and students' organizations, trade unions, political parties, including the Communist Party, the Peronist Coordinating Council, the Socialist-Vanguard Party and the Christian Democratic and Radical parties.

The militant movement of the people has compelled the government to make concessions. The biggest success was the abolition of the concentration camp in Puerto Deseado in the Extreme South of the country.

The repressive laws aimed at isolating the Communist Party from the working class, from the democratic parties and other organizations, have not fulfilled their purpose. On the contrary, the influence wielded by the Party and its contacts with the other political forces are growing. This was demonstrated at the Twelfth Congress of the Party held under the slogan "For Mass Action Aimed at Winning Power." The Congress took place over February 22 and March 3 in Mar del Plata, despite the illegality and the repressive laws and decrees.

The facts show that the old political structure in the Argentine is every bit as rotten as the economic structure. Proof of this was the latest military coup of April 2, which became possible only because the Guido government was hounding democrats, and the Communists in the first place, instead of taking measures against the fascist plotters. Only a new government, a government of national salvation, capable of continuing the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution to the end, can ensure genuine democracy for the people. This can only be a people's government based on a grand democratic national front and guaranteed by the hegemony of the working class in alliance with the peasantry, headed by the Marxist-Leninist Party.

Alcira de la PENA

*member of the Executive Committee
Communist Party of Argentina*

FEDERAL GERMANY. When the rulers of Federal Germany banned the Communist Party in August 1956, many on the Left still

believed that the persecutions would be confined to the Communists. Developments since then have left no doubt that the ban on the Communist Party was but the beginning of a broad offensive on democratic rights and freedoms.

At the recent trials staged in Bonn many leaders and functionaries of democratic organizations, opposed to the revival of Nazism or the fanning of war hysteria, were indicted.

Helmut Klier, an active trade unionist, was charged in Duesseldorf with engaging in anti-state activity by publishing a pamphlet headed "The Cross of the Swastika—A Cross on the Grave of Democracy." The charge was made by a man named Schindler, an ex-Nazi judge. In Wuerzburg Dr. Elmar Herterich was sentenced to four months' imprisonment and fined for making "derogatory statements." According to the Associated Press, Dr. Herterich became known for his evidence against a number of former Nazis and SS leaders in the Wuerzburg judiciary. Fritz Rath, chairman of the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution in Hanover, was sentenced to 14 months' imprisonment and disfranchised for three years for taking part in the "Association for the Observance of Democratic Rights." Just before International Women's Day (March 8) Elfriede Kautz and Gertrude Schroeder were sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment because the court found that their work in the organization for "Happy Holidays for All Children" was unconstitutional.

Long preliminary investigations have become a specific means of struggle against democrats, a means of intimidating those who sympathize with them in the Federal Republic. At present about 80,000 such investigations are under way, affecting hundreds of thousands of citizens. Interrogations and

threats are designed to instil fear into people and to paralyze their political activity. Memories of the times of fascism when a charge of political unreliability and "character assassination" was followed by internment in concentration camps and physical extermination are still fresh.

The persecution of progressives in Federal Germany is in the hands of ex-Nazis. Of the 25 state secretaries 15 were accomplices of Hitler. Most odious of these is Hans Globke. In Hitler's time Globke helped draw up the legislation which abolished parliamentary democracy in Germany; he was one of the authors of the race laws, he helped compile the so-called "people's list" which envisaged the "Germanization" of Poland, and he drafted the peace treaty with Petain which handed over thousands of anti-fascists to the Gestapo. Today Globke runs Adenauer's Chancellery. Bonn's counter-intelligence and press department form part of his bailiwick. Herr Globke prepares meetings of the cabinet, issues orders to the state secretaries, and is more influential than any minister. He is known, and with justice, as the "grey eminence" of Bonn.

At present legislative preparations are under way in Western Germany for a still broader offensive against the democratic forces. Bills making it possible to introduce a state of emergency at any time and on any pretext have been submitted to the Bundestag. Now that the Communist Party is outlawed, this will be a blow above all against the trade unions, the Social Democrats and the liberal bourgeoisie. The Communist Party calls on all democrats in West Germany to unite in order to uphold the democratic rights and liberties of the people, to make the Federal Republic a democratic and peace-loving state.

Walter SCHULZ

OPEN THE PRISON GATES IN GREECE

THREE days before the opening in Paris of the International Conference for a General Amnesty for Political Prisoners and Exiles and for the Restoration of the Rights of Man in Greece, news came that Minister of Justice Papaconstantinou had ordered the release of nine political prisoners; one of the men released was K. Godjoulis, national resistance fighter.

In Peloponessos in 1944 Godjoulis together with a group of hostages faced a Nazi firing squad in the town of Patrai. People who came to bury the bodies of the shot men found Godjoulis hovering between life and death,

having been severely wounded in the head and chest. The life of the anti-fascist was saved by patriots.

Came the day of the liberation. But fascist reactionaries remained in the country. Former accomplices of the Nazis launched a policy of revenge in regard to the patriots and fighters for national liberation. Over 70,000 resistance fighters were thrown into prison. Godjoulis was sentenced to hard labor for life. He has spent 18 years in jail.

We have cited this example in order to show how freedom fighters are persecuted in Greece. Some 1,200 patriots like Godjoulis are

still held in dungeons. Greece is one of the few countries in Europe in which resistance fighters are persecuted, and in which collaboration with the Nazis is extolled.

This state of affairs has shocked public opinion throughout the world.

The international conference held in Paris on March 23-24 was the most significant manifestation so far of worldwide solidarity with the Greek people.

The conference was attended by over 200 people active in public life in France, Greece, Italy, Britain, Spain, Austria, Norway, Denmark, Holland, West Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Cyprus, Portugal and Finland.

Louis Dechizeaux (France), who presided at the opening session, said that for Europeans Greece was the mother of nations, the birthplace of European civilization. Delegates denounced the brutal persecution of the resistance fighters.

M. Leroy, secretary of the sponsoring committee, cited data of Greece's tragedy, on the reactionary regime, and on the conditions of political prisoners and the 60,000 political refugees. Lawyers and other public figures who had visited Greece were shocked, he said, by the conditions of the political prisoners and their families. The Greek government, he added, tries to depict these patriots as criminals. But one fact is enough to refute this claim: the government is demanding that the prisoners renounce their political beliefs, promising to release them if they do so. Leroy denounced the fascist law of 1962 which, on the pretext of abrogating the "emergency," makes it possible to extend the political repressions.

Mr. Pavitt (Britain) described the regime in Greece as a police state. Each citizen seeking a job is required, in addition to other formalities, to produce a certificate testifying to his political convictions. Mr. Pavitt cited facts showing that elementary democratic rights were trampled underfoot in Greece.

The conference was addressed by Manolis Glezos, national hero of Greece, who was given an ovation by the delegates. War cri-

minals who had been jailed after the liberation had long since been pardoned, Glezos said, while freedom fighters were still languishing in jail. Glezos expressed gratitude to those throughout the world who had displayed solidarity with the Greek resistance fighters, and he called on all sincere people to carry on the fight for the release of the prisoners.

The conference was also addressed by Greek delegates Kothris, ex-Minister Merkouris, members of Parliament Baklatzis, Bredimas, Kicikis and Iliou.

Messages of solidarity were received from many countries. Picasso, greeting Manolis Glezos, wished the conference success, the speedy release of the political prisoners and restoration of democratic rights in the country.

The civil war in Greece ended 14 years ago. Delegates expressed their concern over the fact that political prisoners are still held in jail and tens of thousands of freedom fighters are forced to live in exile. The conference called for the immediate release of all political prisoners and for a general amnesty. The resolution points out that, although Greece is a signatory to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Man, the government still tramples on freedom of the press, on trade union rights and on many other civil rights and liberties.

The conference decided to form a permanent international committee for amnesty and human rights in Greece, to send a delegation of M.P.s to Greece to present to the King and the Prime Minister the demand for an amnesty for the political prisoners, to form an inter-parliamentary committee with the task of working to get the Greek government to respect the international agreements on human rights.

From Paris the call resounded all over the world: open the prison gates in Greece, release the resistance fighters, patriots and democrats! A general amnesty! Restore democratic freedom in Greece!

Paris, March 1963.

Periklis KARAS

AGAINST THE REPRESSION IN TUNISIA

THE banning on January 8 of the Communist Party of Tunisia was followed by police repressions against the democratic forces. Numerous arrests were made, in particular, among members of the General Union of Working People. Hassan Sadaoui,

one of the leaders of this union, died in a police cell. Mabiha ben-Milad, president of the National Union of Women, wrote in an appeal to President Bourguiba: "We draw your attention, Mr. President, to the fact that members of the Bureau of our association have been

interrogated at police headquarters for days on end without any reason at all, our activities being of a social and cultural order."

Another instance of the repressions took place on February 13, when the leadership of the Paris section of the General Union of Tunisian Students was dissolved on orders from Tunisia. This section, it will be recalled, denounced the repressions against the Communist Party. This arbitrary action of the Tunisian authorities evoked profound dissatisfaction among Tunisian students in France, for the stand taken by the Paris section had been supported by most students: Tunisian students in Tours, Strasbourg and Montpellier voiced solidarity with their comrades in Paris.

Despite the protests, arrests of Communists continue. Mohammed al Hadi Djarrad, publisher of *At-Talia*, central organ of the Communist Party, has been held in jail without trial since February 12. On February 28

Abdel Hamid ben Mustapha, member of the Political Bureau of the Party, was arrested, and on March 9 Mohammed Harmel, Secretary of the Central Committee.

Hadi Djarrad is not allowed to receive food parcels although the state of his health gives grounds for serious concern.

The anti-democratic measures of the Bourguiba government are particularly disturbing in view of the fact that anti-communism and the persecution of democrats seriously weaken the new Afro-Asian states; objectively the repressions play into the hand of the enemies of the independence of these countries. That is why democrats throughout the world and all friends of the Tunisian people express solidarity with Mohammed Ennafaa, Mohammed Harmel, Abdel Hamid ben Mustapha, Mohammed al Hadi Djarrad and their comrades and insist that the persecutions be ended.

SUPPORT MOVEMENT IN DEFENSE OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE

THE Iraqi authorities are still hounding and exterminating progressives. Torture and killings in jail and secret sessions of military tribunals styled as "court trials" are commonplace. The new rulers prevent any leakage of information about their crimes. The authorities do not report the death of many patriots held in jail. However, more crimes are becoming known to the public.

The Committee of the Movement in Defense of the Iraqi People, recently formed in London, has issued an appeal to world public opinion for help in ending the torture and killings in Iraq.

Hundreds of patriots are denied the right to defend themselves and their ideas. Many have died under torture. The appeal of the Iraqi Committee makes it clear that Hussein Ahmed al Raddahwi (Salaam Adel) was not tried at all. According to reports his eyes

were gouged out and he died under torture. George Talloo, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, was murdered by members of the "national guard."

Raping of women Communists and daughters of patriots is one of the worst manifestations of the terror. More than 10 cases of rape are known.

The Iraqi Committee appeals to world public opinion for solidarity with the democrats of Iraq and to work to secure an end to the torture; legal rights for accused persons; to compel the Iraqi rulers to allow international delegations to enter Iraq and to have direct and free contact with the political prisoners; continuous pressure on the Iraqi government to allow detainees to have international lawyers to defend their cases.

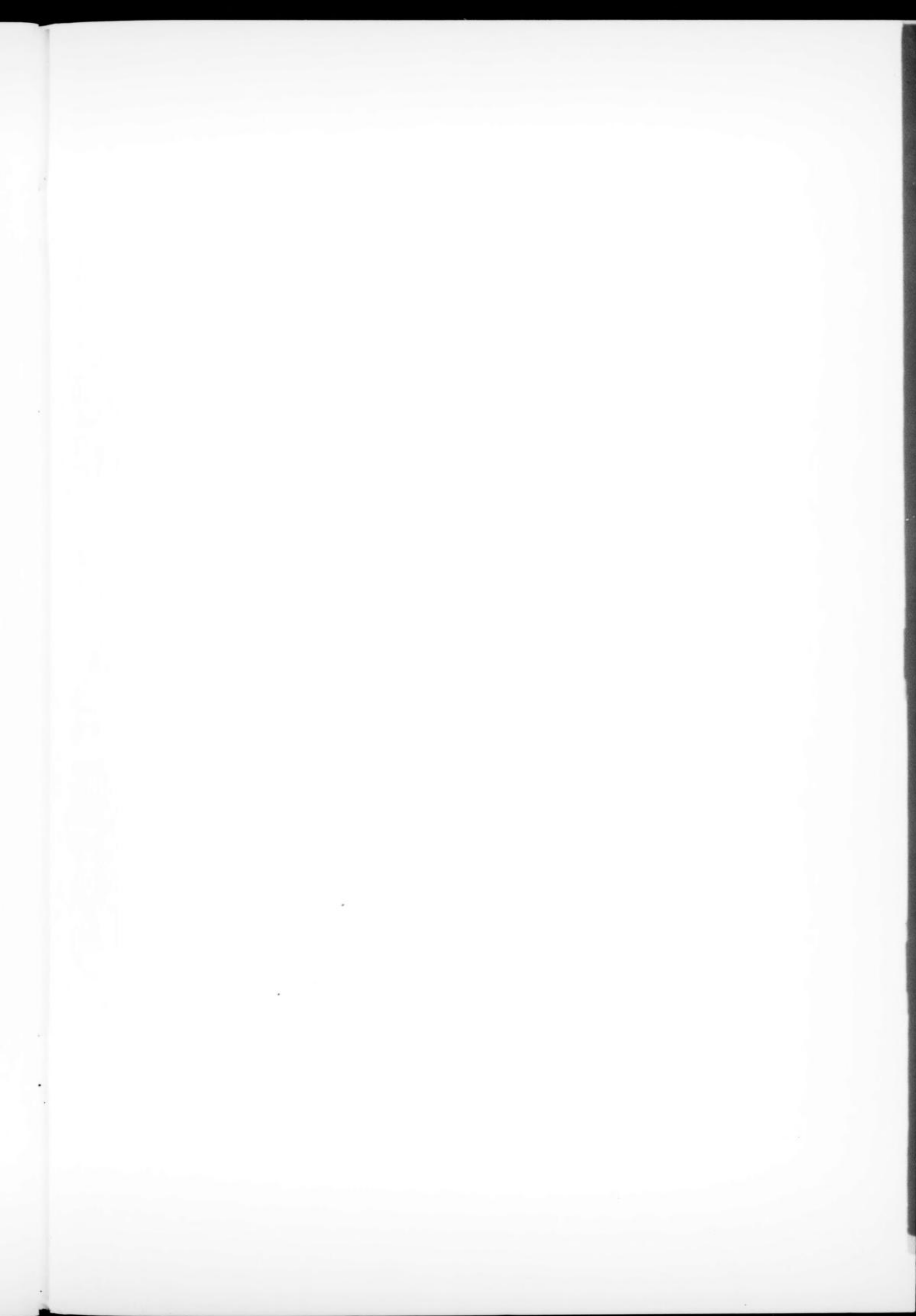
Let us raise our voices in defense of the Iraqi democrats!

M. SAMI

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the titles are given in English)

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