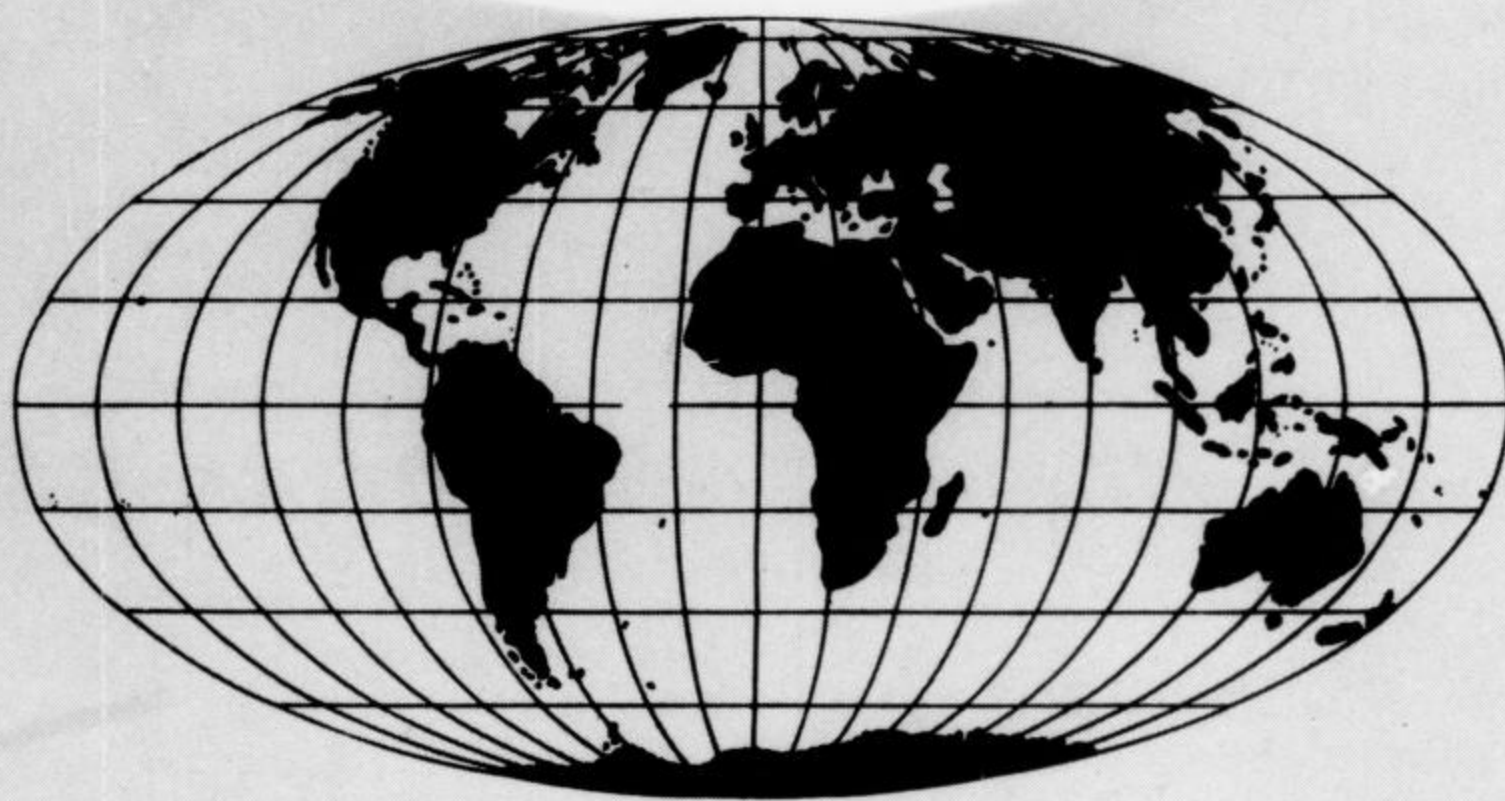


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

Philosophy and Politics

—John Lewis

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Yugoslavia Today

VOL. 7, NO. 3

March 1964

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MARCH 8

International Women's Day

Greetings to the working women!

May the unity and solidarity of women in the struggle
for peace and socialism grow ever stronger!

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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The Council for Mutual Economic Aid—An Instrument of Cooperation Between Socialist Countries

Piotr Jarosiewicz

THE Council for Mutual Economic Aid is an international organization open to sovereign states. Its activities, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, are aimed at utilizing the opportunities created by the emergence and growth of the socialist world system of economy to promote the economic growth of each country separately and the community as a whole in the interests of the peoples of the entire socialist commonwealth.

In the 15 years since its inception the Council has accomplished a good deal. It has stimulated trade, initiated joint endeavor and mutual aid in various branches of the economy, and facilitated the gradual development of cooperation in the sphere of production. The supply, mainly by the USSR, of machines, other equipment and raw materials for the basic branches has played a decisive role in the industrialization of the People's Democracies, making possible the harmonious, planned development of entire branches of the economy.

In this article we do not propose to sum up the activities of the Council but shall dwell only on a few relevant questions which we believe merit attention and call for solution. Looking back at the record, we merely note that the Council's activities were limited by the lack of conditions essential for effective planning on the scale of the entire organization and for consistent deepening of international socialist division of labor. Moreover, mistakes were made in resolving economic problems on an international scale, partly due to the autarchic tendencies manifested from time to time in the People's Democracies. For a variety of reasons the volume of trade among the member-countries, although it has grown, is still inadequate; our per capita foreign trade is still considerably less than that of the West European countries.

Still, good progress has been made and we are now in a position to extend the interna-

tional socialist division of labor and to expand trade. Thanks to the labor effort of the socialist countries their economies advanced and the economic groundwork was laid on which we are now building comprehensive socialist cooperation. This, we believe, is the biggest achievement.

The present phase in the activities of the Council was ushered in by the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These decisions were fundamental from the standpoint of enhancing international cooperation and shaping economic relations between countries in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the needs of the modern productive forces at this new stage of socio-economic development; the feature of the new stage is that the Soviet Union is building communism while the European People's Democracies have laid the material and technological foundations for socialism.

The technological revolution, directly reflected in the scale and nature of the cooperation between the socialist countries, makes it imperative to coordinate economic efforts, particularly in the matter of introducing the latest achievements of technology.

The integration now under way in the capitalist world is used by imperialism as an economic and political weapon against the socialist countries. The European Economic Community and other bodies hinder the development of normal relations between the socialist and capitalist countries and muster forces for neo-colonialist expansion. Still, the fact that the capitalist integration makes for modernization of technology and coordination and specialization of production should not be underestimated.

In the People's Democracies industry, as we know, is still relatively dispersed and tendencies to turn out a wider range of goods than is necessary or expedient still exist; so that without cooperating with the USSR

and with one another through the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, they would not be able to make full use of the possibilities afforded by the identity of their social systems, not to speak of the advantages accruing from the cooperation; they would forfeit their chances of rapidly achieving the economic and technological standards of the most advanced countries in the world.

International economic cooperation based on mutual benefit and aid is an objective necessity. We in Poland are keenly aware of the need for this cooperation and of the new opportunities in this respect. Because of this Poland favors closer integration; for one thing, it made its contribution towards the convocation of the 1962 and 1963 conferences of First Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the Council countries, and is steadfastly implementing their decisions which conform to the new stage in the development of the socialist countries. This attitude determines our stand on all the basic aspects of the Council's work.

Coordination of Economic Plans

Coordination of the economic efforts of various countries has been on the order of the day for some time. Formerly, however, attention was focused mainly on planning trade. Consistent coordination of economic plans began in 1958. Since then the member countries have concluded among themselves five-year agreements on mutual deliveries for 1961-65, but important though this is it is not enough. The first attempts at coordination revealed the inadequacy of the old methods. For instance, although the countries concerned clearly experienced a shortage of certain types of machines and other equipment, no decision was taken on specialization and on plant construction to satisfy these needs. One of the shortcomings at one time was that plans were coordinated only for five years instead of more profound specialization and coordination of investments: because of this we were unable to resolve the basic problems of developing the raw material and manufacturing industries and other branches.

The fact that *the 1962 conference highlighted coordination of long-range plans as the basic method* is of particularly great promise for the future. By agreeing on basic priorities up to 1980 the member countries will be able to ensure a rational distribution of industry; five years is too short a time in which to build new capacities which, like

metallurgy and chemicals, exert a decisive influence on all other branches. Looking 15-20 years ahead makes it possible to foresee the sectors and branches likely to become bottlenecks in particular countries or on the scale of the Council as a whole, and to chart ways and means of preventing disproportions.

As regards raw materials, the Council countries, despite the fact that they possess some of the richest mineral deposits in the world, do not as yet satisfy all their own requirements. Moreover, raw-material requirements are rapidly growing. To increase the supply the member countries consider it essential to concentrate material and financial means on agreed targets. Since investment in raw-material production brings in relatively slow returns, we aim at spreading the burden of the initial outlay as evenly as possible. Joint extraction of minerals is now being started in countries lacking the means to tap their resources unaided. This participation of countries lacking the necessary raw materials in building enterprises in the countries possessing these is an effective way of solving fuel, power and raw-material problems.

The opportunities for coordinating plans are good also in many branches of manufacturing industry. In view of their relatively limited home market, the European People's Democracies should build production capacities with a view to meeting the requirements of other countries as well. Otherwise low returns on investments cannot be avoided, cost of production will be high, and we will not be able to remove the obstacles to technological progress, obstacles that always accompany non-optimal production.

Our main object in working towards coordination is to find a comprehensive solution of the basic economic problems of the Council countries. The job is a big one. At the moment, because of the slowness of some of the countries in elaborating their programs, the scale of the work done in coordinating long-range plans up to 1980 is somewhat restricted. This work, however, will be continued on a broader scale in 1965, when coordination of the 1966-70 plans has been completed. The fuel and power balance up to 1980 and some other problems are being elaborated now.

The task of the moment is to coordinate the plans for 1966-70. The groundwork for this has been prepared by the Executive Committee and its agencies. The documents which the member countries should prepare for each other's information, namely, preliminary balance sheets for the raw materials, machi-

nery and other equipment needed and the key targets of the projected national five-year plans, have been specified. Later, a summary will be compiled of the approximate output and consumption estimates for such vital raw materials as oil, iron ore and non-ferrous metals, and also for basic machinery, other equipment and chemical products. These preliminary estimates will provide a guide, and we shall obtain an overall view of the perspectives of the member countries and the prospects for extending their economic contacts. The estimates will facilitate international planning along lines best able to meet the requirements. The member countries will thus be equipped with a more effective instrument for comprehensive elaboration of targets and coordination of efforts during the next five years. We believe that coordinating national plans for the basic interlinked branches will be followed by joint planning in these areas by all the countries concerned.

In accordance with the decisions of the 1962 conference we attach particular importance to coordinating basic investment plans. Here we are not breaking completely new ground, for we have already achieved a measure of coordination as regards investments for 1964 and 1965. This paves the way to a proper investment balance for 1966-70. Clearly, the exchange of information when investment targets are being set—and this is what the work done so far amounts to—helps the countries to introduce the necessary adjustments to original plans. This will be continued and, undoubtedly, elevated to a higher plane in working out the plans for the next five years. More effective investments give added impetus to the economic development and augment the resources available for raising living standards.

Poland is taking an active part in coordinating the plans for 1966-70. At the same time we believe, as mentioned above, that coordination of long-range plans up to 1980 is of decisive importance.

As regards overall planning, our view is that long-term coordination and the accompanying international socialist division of labor, extending and deepening the economic links, are vitally necessary, primarily for the People's Democracies, since this guarantees rapid growth not only in the next five years but over a longer period. The coordination should be extended, gradually but steadily.

Perfect coordination in the limited time available for the completion of the plans for 1966-70 is unlikely. Moreover, even the con-

cept of perfection is bound to change as the operation of the machinery of the Council improves and the economic bodies of the various countries become increasingly aware that the economic progress, strength and sovereignty of each country, as well as success in the economic competition with the capitalist world, can be ensured only through the improved international socialist division of labor.

Coordination of scientific and technological research is of enormous importance. The multitude of problems involved requires heavy expenditure and large numbers of skilled personnel. Consequently, most of the socialist countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union, are not in a position to organize all-round, comprehensive research on a large scale.

Joint research by the member-countries stimulates technological progress. So far, however, cooperation in this field has proceeded exclusively on a bilateral basis and hence its effectiveness has been limited, particularly because of the absence of a coordinating center. The number of joint research projects is not very great. It is therefore essential to deepen the cooperation in this area. We on our part are looking forward to receiving from the Soviet Union further valuable aid in many spheres of science and technology.

The Council has set up a committee to coordinate the research with a view to distributing the principal projects among the countries willing to undertake them. Since economic expediency is the main criterion here, it would seem that the most efficient way would be to conduct research along vertical lines, with each country undertaking all the stages involved, from basic research to production technology. Our aim is to ensure that research conducted within the framework of the Council should be in the van of scientific and technological progress.

Coordination of economic plans is now the basic form of cooperation among the member countries. But important though it is, we see it only as a primary form of international planning. As economic relations become closer, higher forms of cooperation emerge, in particular the specialization and coordination of production necessitated by the modern productive forces.

Specialization and Coordination of Production

The comparatively high level of industrial development in the member countries is, in our opinion, incompatible with diffused pro-

duction. Organization of cheap but technologically advanced mass production is a pressing task. And rational concentration of profitable output can be achieved through the international division of labor and specialization and coordination of production.

The international socialist division of labor presupposes all-round economic development of the countries party to it; indeed, one of its basic principles is the evening up of the various national levels. And this presupposes a faster growth in the lagging countries and far-reaching changes in their industrial structure. It is along these lines that in the past 20 years Poland, with the cooperation and aid of the other socialist countries, built up her industry and is now a predominantly industrial country.

Specialization and coordination confronts the Council with a difficult and complex task. Never before has an attempt been made to evolve, in such a brief space of time and on such a scale, an international division of labor through specialization and coordination along socialist lines. In tackling this task the member countries naturally proceed from the historically conditioned economic structure and aim at raising the industrial and technological level of each country as well as of the community as a whole.

International specialization and coordination involves a complete break with the traditional striving to turn out an unnecessarily wide range of goods in each country, often in small quantities and with a backward technology. Unless things change in this respect there will be delay in going over to the most profitable type of production—automated mass production—by either cooperating in the manufacture of parts and sub-assemblies or allocating particular lines of output to particular countries.

The momentary interests of one or another country, the desire to retain the existing capacities in the traditional industrial set-up often prompt us to cling to old positions even after the objective economic requirements and considered calculations have made it clear that it is time to take a step forward. Yet not one of the People's Democracies can hope to make progress in isolation from the others. The need to extend production coordination is patent if only from the fact that none wants to buy either outdated or too expensive equipment. Needless to say, automated production to meet specialization commitments requires additional expenditure and may even cause temporary difficulties,

but only in this way can steady economic growth be ensured.

The Soviet Union with its vast economy and market can steadily increase mass production of machines, parts, and other equipment. International coordination is, therefore, not an urgent economic necessity for the USSR. For the other member countries of the Council, however, specialization and concentration of production is a key task in view of their limited home markets both for means of production and for some consumer goods.

Although progress has been made in specialization and coordination there are still many unsolved tasks. The achievements to date are primarily the result of bilateral economic cooperation, and should be regarded only as initial steps towards meeting the requirements of the separate countries and the community generally.

It should be noted that in 1962-63 agreement was reached in the Council on specialized production of 525 items of engineering output, bringing the total to nearly 1,200. While this is no small accomplishment, the fact is that in most cases specialization affects concentration of production only to an insignificant extent, and the flow of goods between the member countries is not substantially increased.

The reason is that in the past attention was focused primarily on the division of labor in lines already in production, while specialization of projected output was neglected. Consequently, no basic qualitative change took place in the structure of the division of labor among the Council countries. Owing to insufficient specialization and inadequate deliveries of specialized output, their requirements remained to a considerable extent unsatisfied.

It is the urgent task of the Council to ensure that the requirements of the member countries for up-to-date technical equipment are more and more fully met as time goes on. The 1962 conference recommended *advancing specialization to a higher level*. Today decisions taken in this sphere provide for concentration of production, for technological standards of specialized production equal to world standards, for assessing the production-consumption balance and stipulating the volume and dates of reciprocal deliveries. The countries have the right to supervise work on their orders within the framework of the specialization arrangement, while countries undertaking to organize specialized produc-

tion must have the technological know-how, the personnel and the material resources needed to ensure conformity with world standards.

Recent decisions on *combining specialization with coordination of plans* are aimed at ensuring a comprehensive division of labor for the given branch of industry already at the coordination stage. This will make for punctual fulfilment of deliveries and thereby facilitate the harmonious economic advance of each country and the entire community.

It should be stressed that a basic condition for specialization and coordination is maximum unification of standards in all countries. So long as standards differ and projects and designs originating in one country are not applicable to another without the expenditure of much effort on their readjustment, so long as the criteria of quality, research methods, dimensions, etc., are not identical, serious obstacles will be encountered. To surmount these there is a permanent committee for standardization and also an Institute of Standards.

Important too is the organization in the member countries of the manufacture of machines and other equipment which they previously produced in insufficient quantities or not at all. This implies that the countries concerned should plan the overall orientation of their engineering industry for a long time ahead.

We believe however, that exact definition of the place of the various countries in the overall system of international specialization and coordination is a matter of the future. The recommendations of the industrial committees of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid are not enough for this. We count on arriving at an expedient, optimal specialization arrangement for industry in the process of coordinating the plans for 1966-70 through bilateral and multilateral consultations. The experience of the Council is that bilateral cooperation is indispensable; there is room for more of it in many branches of the economy. By bearing this in mind, we could greatly accelerate realization of the decisions and recommendations of the Council. On the other hand, bilateral cooperation, by bringing to the fore the problems necessitating multilateral solutions, paves the way to new forms of multilateral cooperation, while making for more flexible solutions, in full accord with the specific features of each country, of the economic tasks defined on a multilateral basis.

Diversity of Forms of Cooperation and Its Comprehensive Nature

The progress made in the economic relations between the member countries since the 1962 conference is manifest in the steady broadening of cooperation and in the varied forms of the cooperation.

The completion in 1963 of the oil pipe-line—the longest in the world—carrying Soviet oil to four other Council countries, is an important undertaking. It cuts transportation costs to one-third as compared with rail transport, and will enable Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary to build a modern petrochemical industry.

The socialist countries now have a unified power system taking in the European People's Democracies and the Western districts of the Soviet Union. The new grid facilitates fuller use of generating capacity, distribution of loads during peak hours and in the event of break-downs, and ensures a stable electricity supply to all the countries concerned.

The growing contacts make heavier demands on transport. In all our countries railways are decisive at the moment, but in the near future road transport will come in for special attention and so will marine and inland shipping. One of the difficulties now encountered on the railways is a shortage of rolling stock. An effective way of eliminating this bottleneck is a common freight-car pool, which will be inaugurated this year. Its purpose is to ensure more efficient haulage on international lines.

Speaking of the prospects, it should be borne in mind that there are branches which some countries, in view of the facilities at their disposal, are more interested in developing than others. We feel that in such cases the *interested* countries should combine their efforts on a broader scale than hitherto. In particular, we believe that international consortiums could be set up. Closer cooperation based on such agreements would be an effective complement to our multilateral efforts on the scale of the Council.

We believe that the task of these industrial consortiums should be to plan investments with a view to better utilization of resources, to draw up production programs envisaging better use of existing capacities and assembly-line production, and to combine research and technological programs. With experience more and better forms will no doubt be found. For instance, enterprises financed and managed by two or more countries could be built.

Not all the countries hold the same views on these higher forms of international cooperation. Hence consortium agreements or other arrangements between producers could be concluded between countries interested in them. Agreements of this kind fully accord with the decisions of the 1962 conference and also the Charter of the Council. We intend to set up international consortiums in a number of key branches, for instance, in the manufacture of bearings, iron and steel, etc. The basic premise is that enterprises operated by these associations remain the property of the respective countries.

The Charter of the Council guarantees the economic sovereignty of each member country. No decision affecting any country can be taken without the agreement of its government.

A few words about foreign trade and foreign currency and financial operations in general. We believe that the law of value should be strictly observed in the planned cooperation among the socialist countries.

In the past foreign trade stood to some extent by itself as a form of economic cooperation between socialist countries. Today it has become an integral part of the overall system of economic cooperation. The planned increase in trade among the members of the Council quite correctly foresees a greater flow of goods between the People's Democracies and the USSR. But trade between the People's Democracies is not growing fast enough. The turnover could be greatly increased provided cooperation between the countries concerned is extended and deepened.

The matter of prices on the socialist world market is a pressing issue. The present "contract prices," as they are called, were fixed in 1958 on the basis of the world prices of 1957. Since the prices of the goods exchanged by the Council countries have by and large remained constant, while world prices have changed in recent years, a certain disparity has appeared between the two. Since the change in world prices was not a transient fluctuation, the agencies of the Council feel that price adjustments are necessary within the community. In December 1963 the Executive Committee of the Council decided to continue working in this direction, primarily on the basis of bilateral agreements. It was also decided to be guided by the average world prices in 1960-64. Approximation of the prices in trade between the Council countries to the world prices is, in our opin-

ion, correct from the standpoint of promoting cooperation.

Preparations are under way for revising rail transit rates. We regard freight haulage as export of transport services, the charges for which should be fixed on the same principles as the prices of goods in trade between the member countries.

Foreign currency questions and financing in general are closely linked with trade, but until recently they were not accorded due attention in the Council. Member countries operated mainly through bilateral clearing arrangements, multilateral arrangements playing only a secondary role. As a result volume of trade was determined by the potential of the economically weaker partner.

In the recent period much effort has been put into organizing the International Bank of Economic Cooperation—it started operations at the beginning of the year. It is now possible to go over to multilateral accounting which will no doubt stimulate trade.

When sufficient experience has been gained in the operation of this bank and in multilateral clearing, Poland plans to advance a proposal that the basic capital of the bank should be in gold or convertible currency, and also that the clearance ruble be partly converted into gold or convertible currency. This will enable the bank to extend its operations and create new economic levers for balancing payments, make reciprocal trade more attractive and help to improve the multilateral clearing system.

The member countries will continue to work for the further expansion of world trade as a factor helping to implement the policy of peaceful coexistence.

We stand for trade and better relations with all countries, the capitalist countries and the new national states included. Hence the support accorded by the member countries to the proposal for an international trade conference put forward by the USSR in the United Nations. The countries affiliated to the Council have traded all along with the capitalist countries. In 1950 this trade was in the neighborhood of 2,700 million rubles, and by 1962 it had grown to 5,600 million rubles. The Council is anxious to extend its contacts with the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe and to make these contacts more effective. The member countries take part in hundreds of international economic organizations. Poland, for instance, participates in nearly 150.

This shows that the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, far from pursuing a policy of

economic isolation, is actively extending economic contacts with countries of differing social systems.

* * *

The coming years will see greater efforts to ensure effective international cooperation along socialist lines. We in Poland are fully aware that this confronts our Party officials and business executives with big tasks. To help in carrying out the joint economic program we shall work hard to fulfil our commitments to the Council community.

The extended cooperation, and especially the introduction of new forms and methods, will, of course, involve difficulties. There still are executives and experts who, though they concede that international socialist cooperation is a sound principle, nevertheless hesitate and voice doubts when it comes to prac-

tical, purposeful work in this direction, preferring to carry on in the old way. But the new is bound to triumph, and to facilitate this all the obstacles to international economic cooperation must be eliminated. We are faced with the crucial question: should the socialist cooperation be developed faster than hitherto, or should it be slowed down? There is only one answer—we must forge ahead with all speed, but with due regard to the actual possibilities and needs of the economy.

International socialist cooperation is a new and important means of ensuring the well-being of the socialist nations, a vital lever in building socialism and communism in each country and in the socialist community as a whole. It is cooperation based on proletarian internationalism, socialist solidarity and mutual aid.

The National-Liberation Movement and the World Revolutionary Process

Fuad Nassar, Aziz al-Hajj

THE national-liberation movement has become the great movement of our day, second only to the rise of the socialist world system. The national-liberation revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are powerful blows at imperialism and its colonial system. More than 50 sovereign states with an overall population of more than 1,500 million people have been established on the ruins of old colonial empires.

These new countries, playing a growing role in international affairs, are influencing the solution of world problems. Most of them support the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems and actively support the movement for general and complete disarmament.

The growing role of the national-liberation revolutions and their further advance in breadth and in depth bring to the fore the place of the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process, the inter-relationships and interaction of the basic revolutionary forces of our time, the character of the liberation struggle of the formerly oppressed peoples and its prospects.

I.

What are the basic features of the national-liberation movement at the present stage?

Firstly, the movement having outgrown national boundaries has acquired an all-embracing, global character. It is no longer directed against any one colonial power but against the *entire colonial system*. The disintegration of the colonial system has entered upon the final phase. Nothing can hold back the rising tide of liberation revolutions. Vast areas of the world, formerly considered the colonial "periphery" of imperialism, have become fronts of active struggle against imperialism and, as a result, imperialism is rapidly losing ground. The political emancipation of most of the former colonies and semi-colonies from a direct colonial yoke and the formation of independent sovereign states has stimulated unprecedented political activity on the part of the masses who are emerging not as the "objects" of history, but as its active makers.

Secondly, the distinctive feature of the present phase of the national-liberation movement is the remarkable diversity of the

forms and methods of the struggle, depending on the conditions in the particular country, on the alignment of class and political forces in the country, on the level of its socio-economic development and of mass action. It would be wrong therefore to regard the armed struggle as the only revolutionary form and to write off all other forms as "reformism and capitulation." Each people chooses the ways and means best suited for solving the problems confronting it. In the course of their development the newly-emergent countries have to combat imperialist conspiracies and intervention and to wage a struggle against domestic reactionaries. Essentially, this struggle is a national and class struggle even if it does not always assume the form of armed action or civil war.

The revolutionary struggle of the peoples cannot be reduced to a single pattern. Only by using the various forms of the struggle, depending on the situation in the particular country, can effective development of the national-liberation revolution be ensured.

Thirdly, the national-liberation movement at the present stage is not restricted to struggle for the abolition of national oppression and direct imperialist rule, it goes farther, advancing tasks whose realization should help in clearing the way for the subsequent advance to socialism.

Although the imperialist powers have been forced to renounce direct rule over former colonies and semi-colonies, they still dominate the latter's economies. These countries, still agrarian appendages of the capitalist world economy, belong to the sphere of the capitalist division of labor. This is true of many of the countries that have won political independence. Hence the freeing of hundreds of millions of people and whole continents from the backwardness and poverty inherited from colonialist rule is one of the basic problems facing the new countries.

Economic emancipation is, as Lenin stressed, the paramount task of the peoples in the struggle for their national freedom. Bourgeois ideologists, Lenin said, "harp on national liberation . . ., brushing aside economic liberation. In reality, the latter is the main thing."*

The peoples who have freed themselves from colonialism, who are now tackling the job of achieving economic emancipation, are waging a resolute offensive against the economic base of colonialism. The significance of this struggle is that it carries the national-

liberation revolution to the very threshold of social revolution. In some cases, as, for instance, in Algeria, Burma and elsewhere, the struggle for economic emancipation is accompanied by deep-going changes which, overstepping the boundaries of capitalism, pave the way for the transition to socialism. Needless to say, the struggle on the economic front is inseparable from the political struggle, from the struggle to end the remaining colonial regimes and the new forms of colonialism—SEATO, CENTO and the other aggressive military blocs—or struggle against the diverse alliances imposed on the peoples in the guise of "aid" by international imperialism headed by the USA.

For example, the nationalization of the Suez Canal which belonged to international capital can hardly be separated from the struggle waged by the people of Egypt against the armed aggression of Britain, France and Israel in November 1956. Nor can the nationalization of oil companies in Burma and Ceylon be divorced from the struggle against the neo-colonialist policy pursued by the imperialists in these countries. In the present phase the national-liberation movement not only has to cope with armed resistance on the part of the colonialists, it also has to combat the new forms of indirect control employed by foreign monopoly capital and the new methods used to maintain this control.

Winning economic independence is indissolubly linked with the choice of paths of development. In the course of the anti-imperialist revolution some countries—China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba—completely freed themselves from all forms of imperialist exploitation and took the path of building socialism. But the majority of the former colonies, even though they have rid themselves of the political rule of imperialism, still remain within the orbit of capitalist economy. In these countries the question of what road to take poses itself with growing urgency as the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement grows.

The deepening of the national-liberation revolution in a number of countries leads to a situation in which these countries advance with seven-league strides in the socio-economic reshaping of society, passing over from semi-feudal and semi-capitalist, and in some cases from primitive tribal social formations, to non-capitalist lines ultimately leading to socialism.

These distinctive features show that the national-liberation movement has grown from

*Lenin, *The Social Meaning of the Serb-Bulgarian Victories*.

a "reserve" of the socialist revolution, into one of the vital components of the world revolutionary process. The one-time possibility has become inexorable reality, confirming Lenin's prediction that "the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the oppressed colonies and countries, of all the dependent countries against international imperialism."*

II.

The historic victory of the national-liberation movement made possible by the existence of the socialist world system and by the revolutionary struggle of the international working class helps in turn to further the struggle of the forces of peace and socialism against imperialism.

One result of this victory is that the sphere of direct imperialist rule in Asia, Africa and Latin America is now restricted to what is left of its colonial possessions and to the small number of countries entangled in its aggressive blocs and alliances. Another result is that the sphere of imperialism's economic domination in the newly-emergent countries is shrinking. The foreign monopolies can no longer dispose at will of the vast material and human resources of the former colonies and semi-colonies. The spread of the national-liberation revolutions weakens the positions of imperialism also in the metropolitan countries, thus aggravating all its contradictions.

The emergence of the new sovereign states has changed the world balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism. Most of these states belong to the group of so-called neutral, or non-aligned countries which stand together with the socialist world on the fundamental issues of our time (prevention of war, general and complete disarmament, prohibition of nuclear tests, abolition of foreign military bases, etc.). Together with the socialist countries, they form a vast peace zone opposed to imperialism, aggression and war.

The significance of the national-liberation movement for peace and socialism is, therefore, tremendous. But it would be theoretically incorrect, and dangerous in practice, to overestimate its role. However, of late currency has been given to the so-called theory of the "three continents." According to this theory, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the focal point of the world contradictions,

the main arena of the revolutionary struggle upon which depends almost exclusively the success of the world revolutionary process. This concept revises, in effect, the general line of the international Communist movement jointly elaborated at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties. It is claimed, in particular, that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as the Communist and Workers' parties in the developed capitalist countries have adopted a "passive," "negative" and even a "scornful" attitude towards the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

In order correctly to assess the role and place of the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process it is necessary to understand first why this movement triumphed after World War II.

It is common knowledge that its victories were won in conditions of peaceful coexistence, thanks to the firm support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and also of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and their Marxist-Leninist parties. It was only when socialism emerged beyond the bounds of one country and became a world system that the liberation of millions of people from the colonial yoke became possible.

This junction of the socialist world system and the national-liberation movement is a solid base for the fight for the new tasks facing the national revolutions. The socialist world system and its vanguard—the Soviet Union—stand guard over the gains of the new sovereign countries and shield them against any attempt by the imperialists to export counter-revolution.

The struggle of the Egyptian people against the tripartite aggression in 1956 was resolutely supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Similar support was rendered to Syria when the imperialists threatened to attack it in 1957, and when they threatened Iraq at the time of the revolution of July 14, 1958.

The foiling of the aggressive designs of the USA against the revolutionary gains of the people of Cuba was striking proof of the role of the Soviet Union in upholding the people's revolutions and their gains.

The objective basis for a close alliance between the forces of world socialism and the national-liberation movement as components of the world revolutionary process is found in their emancipatory, anti-imperialist content, in their joint struggle against the common enemy—imperialism. Lenin saw in the

*Lenin. Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East.

fusion of socialist revolutions with anti-imperialist, democratic revolutions in the colonies one of the chief factors making for the success of the world liberation movement. The "revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East," he wrote in 1919, "can now develop effectively, can triumph only in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism."*

It is an historical fact that the liberation struggle waged over the years by the oppressed peoples could not triumph so long as world imperialism had not been weakened by the socialist revolutions, so long as capitalism remained an all-embracing world system. It was only after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, that is, when imperialism ceased to be an all-embracing system, that colonialism entered the stage of profound crisis. Then with the rise of the socialist world the colonial empires began to disintegrate.

The socialist world system in addition to being the principal ally of the national-liberation movement is also the guarantor of the independent development of the new countries.

Ben Bella expressed this idea in these terms: "One cannot deny the role which the socialist camp has played in supporting the national-liberation movement in our Arab homeland and in other countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. I have said, and I repeat, that if there were no Soviet Union with its power and influence in the world, it would be necessary to invent it."

The growth of the national-liberation movement is facilitated by the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the main capitalist countries, a struggle which weakens the positions of imperialism at home thus hindering monopoly capital from exercising its colonial policy in the crude forms of the past. The contribution made by the French working people to the liberation of Algeria, and the resolute stand taken by the British working class in support of Egypt at the time of the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression, and other similar instances, are well known.

Thus, the revolutionary liberation of the peoples of the colonies and dependencies is a result of the pooling of efforts of the oppressed peoples and all the anti-imperialist forces headed by the socialist world system. It follows then that the attempts made by the leaders of the Communist Party of China to counterpose the national-liberation move-

ment to the single current of the world revolutionary forces, to isolate it from its natural allies—world socialism and the international working-class movement—to see it as a thing in itself and to proclaim it as practically the sole factor leading to the collapse of imperialism can but divide and weaken the forces fighting against imperialism.

Views of this kind have nothing in common with a correct understanding of the basic contradiction between the two world systems: capitalism and socialism. The character of the national-liberation movement cannot be understood if regarded in isolation from the struggle between the two world systems. Hence the idea that the basic contradiction of our time is the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism is a thoroughly mistaken one. The conclusion drawn from this idea is that the national-liberation revolutions alone deliver blows to imperialism. But to regard this contradiction as the main contradiction of the times is tantamount to taking the leadership of the world revolutionary movement out of the hands of the working class and its offspring, the socialist world system, is tantamount to leaving it in the hands of the national-bourgeoisie which in most countries heads the liberation movement. This, evidently, explains the attitude taken by the Chinese leaders who attack the principles of peaceful coexistence; in their view the stress should be not on the differences between the social systems but on the contradiction between the developed and underdeveloped countries.

There are, of course, many contradictions in the modern world. Besides the contradiction between world socialism and world capitalism there is the contradiction between the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the monopoly bourgeoisie, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, between the imperialist powers themselves, etc. The important thing is to be able to grasp which of these contradictions is decisive for the march of history. Lenin repeatedly stressed that the focal point of world politics is the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet republic, around which the militant workers and the national-liberation movements in the colonies, as well as all the movements of oppressed peoples are uniting. Today it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which are the objects of attacks launched by the world bourgeoisie.

*Ibid.

The basic contradiction of our times, the contradiction between the two opposed systems, is being solved not only, and not so much, on the arena of the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. Of course, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are weak links in the imperialist set-up. But does this imply that the struggle of the oppressed peoples alone can abolish world imperialism? According to the Chinese comrades this is not only possible, it is perfectly feasible. "The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world," they write, "are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centers of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism."

The assumption that the national-liberation movement has become the main factor in the downfall of imperialism presupposes that the latter can be overthrown by the efforts of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples alone. But while it is true that former British, French and other colonies have gained political independence, this does not mean that British, French and Belgian imperialism has ceased to exist. Experience, far from confirming on the contrary refutes the idea that the center of the revolutionary movement has shifted to the area of the three continents and that, consequently, the national-liberation movement is the principal and determining factor of world revolution. Is it not clear that in the decisive conflicts that have taken place of late between the forces of imperialism and the oppressed peoples the ultimate outcome of the struggle has been decided by the might of the socialist camp combined with the valiant struggle of the oppressed peoples? Was it not the struggle of the Cuban people, firmly supported by the entire socialist camp, which, during the Caribbean crisis, forced the United States to abandon the idea of exporting counter-revolution to Cuba? "Had it not been for the Soviet Union," said Fidel Castro, "the imperialists would not have hesitated to launch an armed attack against our country. It was the might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp that prevented imperialist aggression against our homeland."

Without taking into account the main contradiction of modern society, without taking into account the role of the international working class and the socialist world system it is impossible correctly to understand the place occupied by the national-liberation movement. "... International relationships,

and the entire world system of states," said Lenin, "are determined by the struggle conducted by a small group of imperialist countries against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able correctly to pose a single national or colonial question, even if it concerns a very remote part of the world. For only if they make that their starting point, can the Communist parties, both in civilized and backward countries alike, correctly pose and solve political questions."*

In its program documents the international Communist movement, developing Lenin's thesis on the basic contradiction of the epoch as applied to the present situation, has stressed that the struggle of the international working class and the socialist countries against imperialism for the triumph of socialism throughout the world determines the main trend of world development. "The central factors of our day," stresses the 1960 Statement, "are the international working class and its chief creation, the socialist world system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress." Merging with the international working-class movement and the national-liberation revolutions into a powerful revolutionary stream, world socialism determines the main direction of historical development.

The socialist system, for objective reasons, emerges as the principal factor in the world revolutionary process. This in no way minimizes the importance of the other components of this process, including the struggle of the oppressed peoples. All aspects of the revolutionary process intertwine and interact, merging into a single anti-imperialist current. The greater the advance of the socialist world system and the more intensive the struggle waged by the working class in the developed capitalist countries, the more favorable are the conditions for the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the bigger their contribution to the common anti-imperialist struggle.

Events of recent years fully bear out the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties that the alliance and interweaving of all the revolutionary forces is the principal motive force of the world liberation process.

*Lenin. Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions to the Second Congress of the Communist International.

"All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation," says the 1960 Statement. "The peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system."

III.

The significance of the alliance of the international working class and the socialist world system with the national-liberation movement is that it helps the struggle for the complete abolition of colonialism, and at the same time creates the conditions for national-liberation revolutions to grow over into socialist revolutions. In other words, at the present stage, *the alliance of world socialism and the international working-class movement with the liberation struggle, in addition to consolidating the gains won by the hitherto oppressed peoples, opens to the emergent countries the prospect of further development and deepening of the national-liberation revolutions.*

Decisive for the successful consummation of the national-liberation revolution are the combined efforts of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples themselves, their active struggle to abolish the remnants of colonialism and feudalism and to achieve economic independence. The winning of political independence by the majority of the former colonial countries created the basic condition for solving these problems. Many of the new states have made good headway in the struggle to overcome their backwardness and to build an independent national economy. The productive forces in these countries are growing faster than they did under colonial rule. For example, before the Second World War the average annual growth of output in the colonial and dependent countries was roughly one per cent, but at present it exceeds four per cent. According to U.N. statistics, average annual industrial growth in the underdeveloped countries is 7.9 per cent, while in the developed capitalist countries it is 4.2 per cent. And in many of the new countries industries essential for building an independent national economy show a marked growth.

Development in these countries in the past ten years shows that in order to carry out the tasks of the national-democratic revolu-

tion it is essential to strengthen democracy. Democracy is a powerful weapon in consolidating national independence, frustrating neo-colonialist maneuvers and carrying out such effective and radical measures as agrarian reform, industrialization, the abolition of foreign monopoly domination, etc.

Suppressing democracy, depriving the working people of political rights and preventing their active participation in economic and political life divides the patriotic forces and, in the final analysis, plays into the hands of the imperialists and ultra-reactionaries. This can be seen from the example of a number of Arab countries whose governments have made anti-communism and suppression of democracy official policy. For example, the anti-communism which was used to justify the fascist coup of February 8, 1963, in Iraq, and which is the keynote of Baath policy, signified an offensive against the national and democratic gains of the revolution of July 14, 1958. The policy of anti-communism opened the doors to imperialist intervention, to the plunder of the country by the oil monopolies, to CENTO intrigues.

The social gains in the UAR, too, will be in constant danger unless political democracy becomes firmly established and the working class and all working people and progressives are ensured the opportunity to play their part in public life. All-round help to the struggle for economic emancipation, from nationalization of foreign monopoly property to the creation of a state-cooperative sector in the economy and democracy in public life, are basic to the transition of the new countries to the non-capitalist road.

Will the economically underdeveloped countries be able to end poverty and backwardness in a brief space of time? Will they be able to achieve rapid economic progress by relying solely on their own forces? Computations show that despite the economic progress made by some of these countries the gap between their economic level and that of the developed capitalist countries is still very big. For example, the share of the underdeveloped countries in world manufacture in 1958 was only 8.5 per cent, and specifically in the metal-working industry 3.2 per cent. Although their economies are predominantly agrarian, the former colonies and semi-colonies on the whole cannot feed themselves and are forced to import food. It has been estimated that with the present rate of growth in these countries they will need at least 60 years to achieve the present level

of production in the developed capitalist countries.

The obvious impossibility of achieving rapid expansion in the economy and eradicating backwardness and poverty while remaining within the capitalist orbit makes it imperative to turn to non-capitalist ways of development. And more and more people in the new countries associate their hopes for rapid economic progress with the non-capitalist road. Today, in a situation marked by the growth of world socialism and an expanding national-liberation movement, the opportunities favor the adoption of this course, a course which, eventually, will lead these countries to socialism.

This depends to a great extent on the economic progress of the socialist countries in the peaceful competition with the capitalist states and on the growing aid rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist states to the liberated nations. The significance of this fraternal aid is particularly great. The socialist countries systematically extend to the new countries financial, economic, military and technical aid, and educate and train people for them. Some 500 industrial enterprises, including 34 iron and steel and non-ferrous metal plants, more than 300 machine-building factories, 20 power stations and 20 oil refineries and chemical plants are being built or are scheduled to be built with the technical assistance of the USSR. More than 400 industrial undertakings are being built or will be built with the aid of the other socialist countries. The construction of the Aswan dam in the UAR and the Bhilai steel mill in India, and the aid in industrial development to countries like Algeria, Ghana and

Mali are an example of proletarian internationalism, a symbol of friendship and fraternal alliance between the peoples of the new countries and the socialist camp.

As Walter Lippmann observed some time ago, the underdeveloped countries are no longer dependent on the USA, for they have an alternative source of capital equipment and technical aid to draw on. The emergence of the Soviet Union as a competitor, he said, is one of the most significant developments of our time, one which radically alters the position of the USA and its allies and greatly strengthens that of the local peoples.

* * *

The long struggle waged by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples shows that the national-liberation movement cannot be divorced from the struggle of the international working class, the tried and tested vanguard of which is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It cannot be regarded in isolation from the common aims of the international working-class movement — intensified struggle for world peace, to extirpate the last vestiges of the colonial system and to ensure the social emancipation of the peoples. By virtue of its nature and perspectives, the national-liberation struggle is aimed ultimately at abolishing capitalism and advancing towards socialism. To consolidate the successes and to ensure the steady progress of the newly-liberated peoples it is essential to strengthen the unity of all the national democratic forces and to cement their friendship and solidarity with the international working class and with the socialist world system.

The Revolutionary Situation and the Liberation Struggle of the People of Guatemala

Hugo Barrios Klee

THE problems of the revolutionary struggle in Guatemala should, we believe, be examined from two angles. These problems are to a large extent of a specific nature owing to the national features of the country (the same is true, of course, of other Latin-American countries with a similar socio-economic structure and political regime); at the same time, the struggle of the Guatemalan people is developing as part of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle being waged on the rest of the continent, the perspective and possibilities of which were graphically demonstrated by the Cuban revolution. The features common to the Latin-American scene as a whole determine some of the general laws governing the development of our revolutions at all their stages.

Communists realize, however, that it is a dangerous thing to generalize revolutionary formulas for the whole of the continent, that the common features of our revolutions do not at all mean that the revolutionary processes in the countries concerned are identical.

1.

A feature of the present phase of the world socialist revolution is that Latin America has become one of the main fronts of the struggle against imperialism.

Latin America which for a century, up until the twenties, had been (with the exception of Mexico) a continent of relative social-political "immobilism," has now entered the phase of revolutionary upheavals. The capitalist press abounds in comparisons of the situation in Latin America with the situation in Russia on the eve of 1917. The continent is likened to a smouldering volcano. This is not something accidental or transient. At the root of these processes is the acute crisis of the traditional socio-economic structure (based on the latifundia and the rule of foreign capital). This crisis which, begin-

ning in the thirties, became particularly sharp at the end of the fifties, is spreading. A reflection of this is the economic and political instability of the continent, the inflation, a slump in export prices and budgetary deficits. Needless to say, it is the working people, brutally exploited and deprived of civic rights, who have to bear the burden of the crisis.

What is the way out? There are three basic approaches:

1) The local oligarchies and the North American monopolies — investors, military and some political circles (the "wild men," Republican Party, etc.) are bent on maintaining the present structure of Latin-American society, on suppressing the revolutionary movement;

2) the more far-sighted leaders of American imperialism and also a large part of the Latin-American bourgeoisie advocate partial government reforms designed to avert a revolutionary explosion from below (Alliance for Progress);

3) patriotic forces, growing sections of the people, see the solution in *fundamental* economic and political changes, in *revolution*.

In recent years (1962-63) the revolutionary process has been marked by contradictory features: offensives launched by the revolutionary forces and counter-attacks by the reactionaries, by successes and reverses, by periods of revolutionary upsurge followed by periods of consolidation of the pro-imperialist regimes. But from all these processes the contours of a revolutionary situation are emerging in a number of countries.

The situation now taking shape poses before the revolutionaries as practical issues many problems which formerly were largely regarded as belonging to the realm of theory. For instance, can revolution be begun under present conditions and carried to its victorious conclusion; the character of the revolution and paths of development. Guided

by Marxist criteria in assessing the situation in the country concerned, the Communist Party assesses the possibilities and ways of revolutionary development and acts accordingly. The historical responsibility of Communists lies in their ability to know just when to make the decisive turning point in the life of the people, in the ability to lead them to revolution.

2.

Let us examine, in general outline, the dynamics of the revolutionary process in Guatemala.

In 1960 the country witnessed an upsurge of the liberation movement. This was reflected in the higher level of the organization and increased activity of the working class, in the actions of the peasants for land, in the militant trends among the middle strata. The following year, 1961, was a year of intensive social and political actions, a year of sounding the ground, so to speak. The political forces in the country split up into two main groups; the government forces who sought at all costs to cling to power, and the opposition forces who aimed at bringing down the government. A mass protest movement, sparked off by the election swindle of December 1961, accelerated the revolutionary struggle which reached peak in March-April 1962 in the form of strikes, demonstrations and clashes with the police in the towns and in rural areas in the south and north-east of the country. A month earlier the democratic group of the military had begun an armed struggle.

In 1962-63 the situation was as follows:

The economic crisis continued to spread; the first to feel its consequences were the non-propertied classes, but it was not long before the bourgeoisie too began to feel its effects, especially those sections associated with the home market and with coffee growing.

The political crisis, temporarily checked by a maneuver of the U.S. Embassy which in April 1962 forced the Ydigoras camarilla to form a military government flared up with renewed intensity. A fresh blow was struck the government by the strikes of civil servants and other working people who took advantage of the weakening of the dictatorship to take action for their demands.

In accordance with the Constitution the presidential election was scheduled for the end of 1963. The election campaign could have given further impetus to the movement, could have led to a realignment of political

forces and, what is more, in a situation that was not at all favorable to the reactionary clique whose forces were scattered. The non-Communist democratic forces supported Dr. Arevalo, although Arevalo had made numerous concessions to imperialism in recent years.

The reactionaries, realizing that they would be defeated in the election, felt that they could no longer maintain the mask of legality. The Communists warned that the prospect of an election would be used as a pretext for a coup, that the "transfer" of power, begun in April 1962, would be consummated.

That is exactly what happened. The military coup of March 30, 1963, was supported by all the reactionaries in the country. The rule of the oligarchy was saved. But the political crisis deepened, for any possibility there may have been for resolving it constitutionally had been scotched by the action of the military clique. Even the democratic parties which had pinned their hopes on the election, now realize, as the Communists had foreseen, that democracy in Guatemala will hardly be won without the support of an armed struggle.

A revolutionary situation is, then, taking shape in Guatemala, and it is becoming more pronounced as a result of the acute economic crisis. Take the mass actions mirroring the unwillingness of the people to go on living in the old way, and the crisis of the reactionary "upper strata." The objective situation puts before revolutionaries, and in particular Communists, the task of organizing revolution in the given concrete situation. Here it will be appropriate to recall Lenin's words that not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution, but only a situation when in addition to the objective changes there is "... the ability of the revolutionary class to carry out revolutionary mass actions strong enough to break (or to undermine) the old government which never, not even during a crisis, 'falls', unless it is 'toppled'."*

3.

Rapidly developing objective factors are making it both possible and necessary to find a revolutionary way out of the crisis in a number of the Latin-American countries. We are more and more frequently witnessing the appearance of these factors in the life of one or another country, how they are depriving the rulers of the opportunity of "ruling in the old way," and discrediting the various bourgeois-reformist programs. These factors

*Lenin, *Collapse of the Second International*.

are the general crisis in the traditional socio-economic structure and political superstructure of the Latin-American states, the extremely acute nature and variety of the social contradictions, the growth of mass actions in the most diverse forms, the isolation and wavering of the ruling circles; and last but not least, the impact of the Cuban revolution and the new balance of forces in the world. All this shows that in most of these countries the basis for revolutionary action is expanding, that the objective conditions for revolution are taking shape.

But this does not at all imply that revolution will sweep the continent in no time, that its victory is a foregone conclusion. And this is so not only because the revolutionary forces are opposed by a powerful, strongly entrenched and alerted enemy, and because the level of maturity of the objective factors of the revolutionary movement is very dissimilar in the different countries. Even more important in my view is that the subjective factor of the revolution is still weak in the majority of the Latin-American countries.

The masses no longer want to go on living in the old way; tired of being fed with promises, they are demanding fundamental changes and they are awakening to active struggle. This mass movement is indicative of a revolutionary situation. But for it to end in victory, more than growth in depth and breadth is needed; needed is the readiness of the overwhelming majority of the people to wage a long and bitter political struggle; needed too is class consciousness on the part of the working people; an understanding in general outlines of the ways and means of gaining emancipation; good organization; unity of the revolutionary forces, a correct tactical and political line on the part of the revolutionary leadership and, lastly, the leading role of the working class in the movement. In other words, what is needed is the maturity of the subjective factor of revolution.

At this point the question is sometimes asked: to what extent did these conditions obtain in Cuba at the time of the revolution there? The question is a legitimate one, for when tackling the problems of revolutionary development on our own continent we cannot but take into account the lessons of the first successful social revolution in Latin America. Unless a profound and critical examination of these lessons is made the revolutionary forces cannot hope to work out a correct political line.

The Cuban revolution demonstrated the

importance of taking into account the specific national features of one's country, demonstrated that this was an indispensable condition for victory. Loyalty to the spirit of the Cuban revolution, as to any other great revolution of the times, does not mean mechanically copying its experience. Taking the Cuban way does not necessarily mean following the exact pattern of events on that island.

Cuba's development up to 1959, although in essentials it coincided with the general trends on the continent, had its specific features and objectively these features explain why Cuba became the "first free territory of America."

But it is not only a matter of the specific features of a country, but also of the times. It is not only revolutionaries who benefited from the experience of the Cuban revolution. Imperialism, the oligarchy and big bourgeoisie, too, have drawn lessons from their defeat. They are hardly likely to repeat their fatal mistakes of 1956-59. They have intensified their resistance and they are doing everything to consolidate their forces.

In order to immobilize this resistance, to breach the enemy's new lines of defense, greater maturity of the subjective factor of revolution is needed. In other words, larger masses of people must be drawn into the movement under a more united social and political leadership; we must not allow any narrowing of the social base of the democratic revolution; we must enlist the support of those sections which did not play a big part in the revolutionary struggle in Cuba (for example, progressives in the armed forces). We must use even more effective, flexible and diverse forms and methods of struggle. In our conditions this is what we mean by "taking the Cuban way."

Let us briefly examine each of these tasks.

4.

Guatemala is an agrarian country with an essentially single-crop system. The national economy is in the stranglehold of North American imperialism. U.S. capital is entrenched in public utilities, on the plantations, in the processing industry, and it has tightened its financial grip in the shape of loans. U.S. companies and the latifundists own 70 per cent of the land, whereas 70 per cent of the peasants suffer from land hunger.

The nature of the economy and of the political system determine the nature of the revolution. At the present stage it is a de-

mocratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution.

What is the attitude of the classes that form the objective basis of the future social army of the Guatemalan revolution?

In the events of March and April 1962, as in most of the other actions against the dictatorship, the leading role was played by the *urban middle sections*. This is understandable; it was the intellectuals and students, that is, the intellectual stratum of the middle class, who were most conscious of the need for change in Guatemala. Because of the weakness of the working-class movement and of its narrow craft sentiment, these groups were able to head the struggle against the oligarchy. In a way they became the detonator of the revolutionary movement not only in Guatemala but also in those countries of Latin America where the working-class movement is still weak. Marxist ideas are gaining ascendancy among these sections in all parts of the continent. Many intellectuals and students have become communists. Others are arriving at scientific socialism through other political movements.

The struggle waged by the progressives is having a revolutionizing effect on all sections of the middle class with whom they are connected by family, political or social ties and who, as Lenin pointed out, are very sensitive to the question of democracy and national independence. The urban middle sections who are petty-bourgeois in thinking and in status will, evidently, as the Cuban experience has shown, play an important revolutionary role in Latin America, and not only in the anti-imperialist stage of the revolution.

Their participation is, unquestionably, an important factor accelerating the revolutionary process. But along with revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative they bring with them some of the negative concepts and methods of action characteristic of the petty-bourgeoisie. While they are capable of battling heroically against police and troops on the streets, or in partisan units, they tend to fall into despair when victory is not within reach, and what is even more important, they have a dislike for the necessary day to day mass work. When the revolutionary fervor of the intellectuals is out of all proportion to the class consciousness and activity of the main mass of the working people sentiments of this kind can lead to Left extremism.

The parties of the working class consider it to be their duty to help overcome these

tendencies. But when debating with revolutionaries from among the petty bourgeoisie the Communists do not lose sight of the fact that they are arguing with allies in the battles of today and tomorrow, that the ideological struggle is for them and not against them, that their mistakes are due to certain objective factors which perhaps we have not fully grasped. The Communist parties align themselves with these groups politically, and in discussions with them do not lay claim to a monopoly of the truth. The political influence of the Communists is gaining ground among the middle strata. The parties of the working class are beginning to play a bigger role in their struggle, imparting to it a more conscious and consistent character. Participation by the basic sections of the working people, and particularly by the working class, in this struggle is the best cure for the "infantile disorders" of the movement.

Guatemala is among the economically less developed countries of Latin America. The *working class* and the working-class movement therefore play a lesser role in the revolutionary struggle than is the case in the south of the continent.

At the same time the development of the struggle in Guatemala shows that even if the working class is numerically small, it can play a major role in the revolutionary movement even in its early stages. Take the strike of railwaymen, electricians, social insurance and utility workers, bank and other office employees in the spring of 1962 when they joined the students in street fighting. Alarmed by this action the U.S. embassy, the oligarchy and the military junta feverishly began to look for a way out of the crisis.

But it must be admitted that the working people in other branches of the economy were not drawn into the revolutionary actions. Is it because their wages and conditions are better? Or is it that the reactionaries do not encroach on their democratic aspirations? The reverse is the case. The workers want freedom and democracy every bit as much as do the other sections of the population. Instinctively they are revolutionary. But poverty and hunger often blunt their thinking. The basic weakness, however, is that they are not organized; there are no trade unions in most enterprises, even in big ones, and where there are unions, the employers and government try to place their people in the leadership or, failing that, they corrupt the leaders. Instead of a single trade union center for the 500 odd unions with a membership of over 100,000, there are three

centers besides numerous autonomous unions.

The revolutionary forces must, and can, change this state of affairs in the trade union movement. Of course, not by arbitrary actions divorced from the aspirations of the masses; the working people can be brought into action first of all for their specific and immediate demands. This is one of the main spheres on which the Party is now concentrating. Realization of its plan for union work will enhance the political activity of the entire working class, enabling it to take effective steps towards its hegemony in the anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist movement.

It is also important to draw the *peasantry* into the struggle. At the time of the anti-imperialist revolution the peasants set up their own unions and their own national confederation. An agrarian reform was introduced. But the counter-revolution reversed all this. The land was taken away from the peasants, their organizations were prohibited and a reign of terror established in the countryside.

The present conditions favor a new upsurge of the peasant movement. But this will not come of itself. It is necessary to organize the peasants, to rouse them to action and to direct their protest along the proper channels. At the moment the peasant movement is developing extremely unevenly. While in the south and northeast of the country, for example, peasants were active in the anti-government actions of 1962, the backward sections, particularly among the Indians, are still strongly influenced by authority and by the Church.

The terror may temporarily intimidate the peasants and paralyze their actions. But the murders and arrests are boomeranging. The guerrilla operations against the punitive expeditions are inspiring the peasants with faith in the ultimate triumph of justice, in the possibility of change. They are beginning to see in the guerrillas the force that will settle accounts with their oppressors. But this is only the first step in rousing the peasants to political activity. The next step is that *they themselves* should be conscious of the need to take part in the struggle, that the guerrillas are more than just their "guardian angels," that they are their allies and leaders.

It must be admitted that the events of 1962-63, and the extent to which the workers and peasants participated in them, show that on the whole the main forces of the working people are not as yet ready for decisive action. The Party should concentrate

on stimulating their political activity. At present this is one of the links in its preparatory work for revolution. We must warn the masses that the struggle will not be an easy one, but at the same time we must bring home to them that only through revolution will they win their liberation.

5.

An analysis of the alignment of forces shows that the revolutionary struggle will be long and intense, in the course of which it will be necessary to draw into democratic actions all who subscribe to the view that an end must be put to the reactionary dictatorship and to the social and political base of imperialism and the oligarchy. This in turn raises the question: what will be the position of *the national bourgeoisie and the army* and the attitude of revolutionaries towards them.

The political struggle of recent years has shown that in most Latin-American countries the big bourgeoisie—the most influential section of the capitalist class — is an active counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist force, and that the position of those sections which we usually describe as the "national bourgeoisie" is most inconsistent. The socio-economic and political crisis impels certain sections of the bourgeoisie to join the anti-oligarchy and anti-monopoly struggle, but scared at the prospect of radical changes and the "Cuban variant," they tend, as a rule, to come to terms with imperialism and domestic reaction. Only in a few countries has part of the national bourgeoisie declared its readiness to fight by revolutionary methods.

Still, experience has shown something else—that contradictions exist between the national bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the foreign monopolies and oligarchy, on the other. Meanwhile, a large part of the peasantry, of the urban middle sections and the working class are still under the influence of the bourgeois-reformist parties, and in some of the republics in the south, the influence wielded by these parties is due largely to the development of the revolutionary struggle (or the difficulties of this struggle).

The objective character of the revolutionary struggle at the present stage makes possible participation in it of some sections of the bourgeoisie against the dictatorship, corruption, the survivals of feudalism, the domination of U.S. monopolies and sometimes even against imperialist domination as such.

Revolutionaries seek to enlist the support of the national bourgeoisie in this struggle.

They are therefore looking for forms that will enable them to link this struggle with the broad front of the democratic forces whose mutual interests could be realized in a common program, even a relatively moderate one.

The leaders of the Cuban revolution, it will be recalled, were able to form a broad front against the Batista dictatorship and to draw a large part of the bourgeoisie into this struggle in one way or another. The importance of this for the victory of the revolution was very great. Even though subsequently, in the course of the frontal attack on imperialism, the greater part of the bourgeois allies of yesterday deserted to the camp of the counter-revolution, this does not detract from the importance of this fact.

In the light of the situation that has arisen on the continent since the Cuban revolution, with the reactionary forces much more wary, it will not be amiss to recall the Marxist-Leninist thesis that "victory over the more powerful enemy is possible only by exerting the utmost effort, and *above all*, by thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies" In these conditions the establishment of a broad and stable anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy front is essential if the revolution is to be victorious. We therefore aim at drawing into the struggle all who for reasons of their own subscribe to the aims of the struggle, even though they support *reformist methods of action*. The contradictions in the Alliance for Progress make it easier to win over to this front the more progressive forces among the bourgeoisie, those groups and individuals dedicated to democracy and the well-being of the nation. By way of the struggle against the imperialist dictatorship many of them—and this refers mainly to bourgeois intellectuals—will come to fight for genuine and complete national emancipation.

In Guatemala, after the military coup, which took them by surprise, the liberal parties that had supported Arevalo completely lost their heads. Arevalo abandoned his supporters and left the country. His Right-wing supporters ignored the masses and sought their own way out. His Left supporters however, especially the youth, drew closer to the revolutionary positions. As a result five parties, including the Party of Labor, created the United Resistance Front, the aim of which is

to overthrow the dictatorship and form a government of democratic unity.

* * *

As in most Latin-American countries, the armed forces in Guatemala are headed by corrupt and reactionary elements. This military caste is the main instrument through which imperialism as a whole — or its more reactionary circles — exercises its rule, crushing popular movements, bringing pressure to bear on governments and overthrowing those of them which no longer serve its purposes or which demand a certain measure of independence. The oligarchy also uses the army not only against the masses but also against bourgeois reformers.

Still, it would be a mistake to regard the armed forces as being entirely reactionary, immune to democratic influence and permanently hostile to revolution. As a result of the growth of the liberation movement a process of differentiation is beginning in the armies which, depending on national conditions, is proceeding more quickly in some countries than in others.

The second Havana Declaration states that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement can win over "forward looking people in the armed forces who likewise find the North American military missions humiliating and who bitterly resent betrayal of the national interest by the feudal oligarchies, and the fact that national sovereignty is sacrificed to the *diktat* of Washington." The mutinies of Venezuelan marines, the democratic stand taken by some branches of the Brazilian army, the processes taking place in the armed forces of Peru, warrant this conclusion as do developments in Guatemala.

On November 13, 1960, a large group of men and officers of the most diverse political trends openly opposed the dictatorship. Since then democratic people in the army have joined this struggle. In February 1962 they began guerrilla operations in the mountains in the northeast of the country. Today the young officers and men of the "Alejandro de Leon — November 13" movement (which has been purged of Right-wing officers who sought to betray the movement) are, together with students, workers and peasants, playing their part in the revolutionary struggle.

This is but the first step. The Guatemalan army, like most of the armies on the continent, is made up mostly of peasants and urban poor. The people's aspirations are therefore not alien to it. The democratic

*Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder.

movement is making headway among the younger officers. Hence imperialism's growing alarm, its efforts to keep the armed forces under its constant control and to compromise them as much as possible in punitive actions so as afterwards to be able to frighten them with the bogey of "reprisals after the victory of the revolution." Clearly, the task of the revolutionary forces is to foil the maneuvers of the oligarchy and imperialism, to encourage the process of differentiation in the armed forces so that it spreads to the men and officers who are still fettered by army discipline. This is all the more important because the enemy preparations for the decisive blow (against the guerrilla movement) call for new ways and means of armed struggle.

6.

Essential for expanding and strengthening the anti-imperialist front, for building up a widespread movement of the working people under revolutionary leadership are sound tactics by the revolutionaries, correct forms of struggle and organization.

It is an open secret that there are differences on this score among revolutionaries on the Latin-American continent. These differences are associated with the influx of new sections and groups into the revolutionary movement, with the new — and in many respect original — experience of the Cuban revolution, which is assessed differently by the different trends in the revolutionary movement, and especially with the sharp changes that have taken place on the continent in recent years, changes that pose a number of questions in a new way and, what is most important, call for their immediate *practical* solution.

Revolution is not synonymous with armed struggle. Essentially, it is a question of the transfer of power and the ownership of the basic means of production from one class (or classes) to another. This may be achieved in a peaceful or in a non-peaceful way. Communists, having at heart the interests of the people whose happiness is the purport of their life and struggle, will always prefer, all other conditions being equal, the peaceful way. And in some countries of the continent there is a real *possibility* of non-violent revolution, that is, of the anti-imperialist forces coming to power without an armed insurrection and of retaining power without civil war (or a national-liberation war against the exporters of counter-revolution).

In other countries, however, the situation

is comparatively less favorable for the peaceful path. At one of the stages of the revolutionary process in the countries concerned — before the transfer of power to the anti-imperialist forces, or immediately afterwards, or in the course of the socialist revolution — the reactionaries will in all likelihood compel the masses to resort to arms in one way or another.

This is due to a number of factors of an internal and external nature. Unlike many of the countries of Africa and Asia, the countries of Latin America have for years been ruled by exploiting classes, by the traditional machinery of coercion. Unlike many of the countries of developed capitalism, most of the countries of Latin America have no constitutional democratic traditions, no bourgeois democratic institutions. The geographical proximity of the United States, the close contact between domestic reaction and U.S. imperialism, the pro-American system, etc., — all facilitate export of various forms of counter-revolution to the continent.

On the other hand, the Cuban experience has shown that when a revolutionary situation is fermenting the armed struggle can, *under certain conditions*, become a powerful lever of the revolutionary process. (The armed form of the anti-imperialist struggle, *provided it is successful*, creates favorable conditions for completely smashing the old military and police machine and for the development of revolution.)

All this shows that no matter how preferable the peaceful path of revolutionary development, the Communists of Latin America should be prepared for the two kinds of struggle, for a rapid change of forms and methods. For the Communists of Guatemala this is the main lesson of the heavy defeat suffered by democracy in 1954. The Communists, like the other political forces which supported the democratic regime, believed in a "normal constitutional" way out of the situation, and hence entrusted the security of the country to a military leadership which had already taken the way of treachery. We did not organize the necessary mass pressure on the army and secure the arming of the people. Another mistake was that we did not foresee the possibility of defeat and hence were not prepared for what followed.

In the present situation we cannot afford to confine ourselves only to legal forms of mass struggle, to repeating the theoretical truth about the possibility of the two paths of development of the revolution, to addressing "serious warnings" to the reactionaries

about our determination to overthrow their dictatorship or about our resolve to frustrate their designs. Confident of ultimate victory and in order not to be taken unawares by the violence of the reactionaries, the Communists are preparing themselves and the masses for armed struggle, for action when the times comes. They are intensifying their work in the *countryside* (the possible future base of the armed struggle), among the *youth* (the principal force of this struggle), and in the armed forces. The Cuban revolution is a striking example; it has shown us the possibility of victory along these lines.

But it by no means follows from this that the revolutionaries of the continent should set out for the mountains and the countryside at once and organize guerrilla detachments there. Such a decision, we believe, would be a grave error, for it underestimates the forces of imperialism and reaction and overestimates the degree of readiness of the masses for struggle; it does not take into account the national features in the various countries of Latin America.

In some countries the practical possibilities for peaceful development of the revolution already exist (Chile is a case in point). In other countries where the peaceful path is less probable, there is a possibility of passing through the early stages of the revolutionary process "peacefully," that is, through the development of legal forms of mass struggle. It is fully in the interests of the revolution in the countries concerned to make the most of this opportunity for it enables it to rely on constitutional legality (and hence on a wider social base), even in the event of violence by reaction compelling the masses to take to arms in the subsequent stages of the revolutionary struggle.

Then there are countries where organizing the armed struggle can, objectively, be the immediate task of the revolutionary struggle at the present stage (for example, countries with dictatorial regimes). But in this case too it would not be right to assume that guerrilla warfare, which relies on the rural areas, and not other forms of armed struggle (armed insurrection in the towns, actions by the democratic elements in the army, supported by a general strike, etc.), will be the main form of struggle everywhere. For guerrilla warfare to become the most effective form of the armed struggle definite natural conditions and specific historical traditions are required. Failing these requirements other forms of struggle will, evidently, become the principal "motor" setting the revo-

lution in motion. All the more so since the oligarchies and imperialism are fully alive to the threat of guerrilla warfare and are taking counter-measures. Second, the general thesis about the inevitability and necessity for armed struggle against reaction in one or another country at the given stage of the revolutionary process does not at all mean that this struggle must be started immediately.

To know just when to take to arms is not a simple matter and in order to do so properly it is necessary, as Lenin has taught us, to master politics not only as a science, but also as an art, to be able to sense when the moment is ripe for armed struggle. On the one hand, the revolutionaries realize that Latin America has entered a period in which months and years are equivalent to decades of tranquil development, when the time has come for action, when any slowing down, or opportunity missed, especially at times of reactionary coups, can have dire consequences. On the other hand, the consequences may be just as adverse because of a mistake due to ill-considered haste (after all, it is a question of a whole historical period and from this point of view there can be no excuse for emotional precipitancy).

In the present situation the character of the struggle and the scale of its impact on the masses should be decisive when choosing the form of struggle (provided there is a choice). Should the switch to armed struggle isolate the vanguard from the masses and reduce their political activity the result would be a slowing down of the revolution. The experience of revolutions shows that the transition to armed action brings success only when it is supported by the masses, when it is linked with their daily struggle and stimulates this struggle.

We believe that these conditions exist in Guatemala. Our Party therefore supports the guerrilla actions now taking place in the country.

The armed struggle began in February 1962 as one of the forms of democratic action. The mass actions in the towns played the main role in the events of those days. The guerrilla movement shifted the center of its activities to the towns in order to protect the popular demonstrations and to combat government repressions.

Flaring up anew after the March coup, guerrilla warfare is now the main form of the democratic struggle. Guerrilla units actively support the resistance movement in the towns and rural areas where armed ac-

tion is the answer to repressions. The success of the guerrilla movement in the north-east, the participation of farm laborers and peasants in it, the beginning in the south of an armed struggle having a similar social base, are signs of the progress being made in forming a revolutionary army. These guerrilla actions will gradually become more and more organized and consistent. By striking at the regime's machinery of violence they will thereby help to smash it.

But at present the guerrilla movement does not, by itself, determine the political situation in the country. If the democratic forces are effectively to shape the course of events it is necessary, as was said earlier, to form a broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal front relying on the actions of the masses, on their growing consciousness and organization. The United Resistance Front can become such a coalition; furthermore the main political trend in developing the armed struggle should be to turn the Insurrectionary Armed Forces into the armed forces of this broad anti-imperialist front. This calls for strenuous efforts on the part of the Party of Labor and the Patriotic Youth League. The Communists realize that their organization will grow and gain in strength only in the crucible of struggle, that they will be able to win the confidence of their people and the respect of their allies only if they will be consistent to the end in the battle for the liberation of their country.

The Party realizes of course that the guarantee of victory lies not only in the heroism of its members, but in their flexible tactics, in their ability to make the most of every legal opportunity to multiply and strengthen the forces of revolution. It would be absurd, to say the least, were the Communists to confine themselves solely to the armed struggle, were they to renounce legal solutions "on principle," were they to refuse to participate in the legal actions to foil the designs of reaction.

Neither the best of programs, no matter how theoretically sound, nor any isolated actions by a band of courageous men, no matter how courageous they may be, can take the place of long and painstaking work to organize the social army of revolution, the struggle of the masses, including the most diverse social strata, led by the working class, and which has mastered all forms of struggle, not only in theory but also in practice.

7.

The struggle of the people of Guatemala

is developing not only within the boundaries of the Latin American continent which is being shaken by revolutionary explosions, but on the scale of the world, which has changed greatly from the world of 1954 when the democratic system in our country was destroyed as a result of imperialist intervention. The tragedy of Guatemala took place at a time when the cold war was at its height, when imperialism was revelling in its nuclear superiority. This enabled it to ride roughshod over our country. Aggravation of the international situation made it much easier for it to carry out its provocations and to "triumph" in Guatemala.

A comparison of these events of a decade ago with the events in Cuba today helps us to see the full importance of the present balance of world forces for the destiny of the revolutionary movement on the continent. We do not want to say that it is thanks only to those conditions that the peoples of Latin America can now wage a struggle for their liberation. Before that, many of them had battled heroically for their independence. But today, in the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, with the socialist camp gaining in strength and influence, with the working class of the capitalist countries winning more and more positions from the monopolies, it is easier to wage the revolutionary national-liberation struggle. The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed; but it is possible today, thanks to the superiority of the forces of democracy, socialism and peace, to thwart imperialism's plans spearheaded against the victorious revolutions, to impel it to pursue a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, of respect for the right of peoples to self-determination. In the conditions of peaceful coexistence and the relaxation of international tension it becomes more difficult for imperialism to export counter-revolution.

Our confidence in the ultimate victory of the Guatemalan people therefore springs not only from the success of its own struggle, which, of course, is the decisive factor, but also from the progress of the socialist world system, the actions of the working class in the capitalist countries, the liberation struggle of other peoples oppressed by imperialism. The unification of these revolutionary forces is, as the representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties unanimously stated in 1960, "the earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress."

New Trends in Catholicism and the Policy of the Chilean Communists

Orlando Millas

THE upsurge of the national-liberation movement in Latin America has had repercussions in Catholicism, which is quite influential on our continent. Traditionally, the Catholic hierarchy has always been an enemy of progress. In the first half of last century when the rising tide of the independence struggle swept away Spanish colonial rule, the Catholic church anathematized and excommunicated the men who founded the Latin American republics. Like the bourgeois-democratic movement of that period, the popular movement of today, headed by the working class, has always regarded the clergy as diehard opponents. From this standpoint the emergence of a new Catholic trend presenting the "Christian view" on revolution and revolutionary reform in Latin America is worthy of attention.

Christian-Democratic Organizations

Take, for example, the Christian Democratic Party whose activities vary from country to country. Whereas in Venezuela Christian Democrats, (the Copei Party), cooperate with Betancourt and share responsibility for his crimes, their counterparts in the Dominican Republic supported the military coup which overthrew President Bosch; in Peru the Christian Democratic Party acts as the Right-wing in the Belaunde government which is fairly progressive; in Bolivia it takes a Right attitude vis-a-vis the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement; in Argentina the Christian Democrats resist the government's measures to nationalize the country's oil wealth; in Chile they join the People's Action Front in opposing the reactionary policy of the Alessandri government with the obvious intention of being the alternative in the bid for power and engaging in a sort of contest with the more resolute anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy forces.

The position of the Christian Democratic parties differs in each Latin American country depending on the internal alignment of forces and other circumstances, but it is never genuinely Left. The social policy of the Catholic church on our continent extends

beyond the framework of these parties, although they are the chief exponents of Church policy on the political arena.

The policy of the Catholic hierarchy is evident in such organizations as the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (LACCTU) and in the research organization known as DESAL (which studies social and economic developments in Latin America). The LACCTU is trying to divide the working class by winning over the mass organizations where Catholic influence predominates, or at any rate to build up cadres who can be depended upon to pursue a pro-Catholic line in some trade unions and in the peasant movement. As to DESAL, in President Kennedy's time it dedicated its efforts to exploring more effective ways of carrying out the Alliance for Progress.

An attempt at a systematic exposition of the Catholic view was made in two special issues of *Mensaje*, a Jesuit journal published in Santiago, the first of which appeared in December 1962 under the heading "The Revolution in Latin America," and the second, in October 1963, headed "Revolutionary Reforms in Latin America." DESAL, in turn, issued a preliminary report on "The Alliance for Progress and Social Development in Latin America."

The New Type of "Model Christian"

A feature of the new Church policy is that in the sphere of philosophy and theology (where there is plenty of room for speculation) they venture farther afield than in political matters or in economic and social problems. This may be attributed in large measure to pressure from the Catholic masses who have joined the popular movement, and also from the many rank-and-file priests who are more closely acquainted with the lives of the peasants and workers in their parishes or in industrial and mining areas. And while the Church has no practical solution to offer for the problems of the parishioners, it can afford to make concessions in the realm of theory.

Jesuit theologians who write for the *Men-*

sage have broken away from the spirit of Pius IX's *Syllabus*, from the inquisitorial intransigence of the Middle Ages reaffirmed by the First Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, and have discarded their anti-communist invective. They have replaced the concept of moral individualism with a social concept, the humility of man with the exaltation of man, the anti-historical absolute criterion of divine revelation with the historical criterion of development.

In an article headed "Religion and Development" published in *Mensaje* (October 1963) Mario Zanartu, a Jesuit lecturer at the Catholic University of Chile, admitted that "because many religions either actually or apparently adopt an 'obscurantist', 'traditionalist' position of resistance to change, individuals, groups or ideologies most sensitive to the need for change take a critical attitude to such religions. The Catholic church has been and still is accused of this 'crime'."

Elsewhere in the same article Zanartu attacks a "certain Catholic spiritual tradition now current in Latin America," which, he says, is characterized "to some extent by adherence to the following concepts which can be regarded as examples of attitudes inimical to progress:

"1) acceptance of the existing social and economic structure as 'God-given', sanctified by divine will—an attitude which condemns any more or less 'radical' change;

"2) disdain for material things; preoccupation with life in the hereafter to the virtual exclusion of the present;

"3) resignation toward poverty, one's own and that of others, as the inevitable consequence of original sin;

"4) fatalism with regard to man's ability to order and transform his environment, coupled with a disregard for practical activity, for the value of labor and good intentions;

"5) charity understood as 'benevolence' toward individuals by virtue of their need, or for personal considerations;

"6) insistence on Christian cultural, spiritual and 'human' values, and scorn for the more 'earthly' occupations."

What have the Jesuit theologians to offer in exchange for these concepts? Zanartu sums up his ideas by making a plea for "a new type of saintliness which would give us the model Christian, one whose whole dynamism would be placed in the service of his fellowmen, whose life would be dedicated to revolutionary reform."

This, it should be made clear, is not the

view of a single isolated churchman. It was voiced more or less simultaneously by some of the most prominent Chilean Jesuits after years of consultations with their colleagues in other Latin American countries. It was to this idea that they devoted the two special issues of their theoretical journal referred to above. Moreover, they claim that the joint pastoral message, "A Political and Social Duty," issued on September 18, 1962 by the Catholic hierarchy of Chile and signed by all the bishops in the country, bears the imprint of their ideas.

The Chilean Jesuits are by no means the vanguard of Latin American Catholicism. The Peruvian or Brazilian priests who have joined the liberation movements, with all that this implies, have proved more consistent and have gone further. As a matter of fact the spirit of change emanates from the parish priests who live with their parishioners in the mining villages and working-class districts and among the peasants in the villages. The case in point is that the Catholic hierarchy is afraid, not without reason, that what happened in 1789 in France, when the rank-and-file clergy sided with the third estate thus ending the unity of the Catholic Church, might be repeated in Latin America. Large numbers of Catholics in Chile vote for the Communist Party, many prominent Catholics are leaders of parties and organizations allied with the Communists in the Popular Action Front, hundreds of thousands of Catholics are members and even leading functionaries of trade union federations, peasant organizations, and organizations of intellectuals, women and youth.

This contact at lower levels on major issues of a national and international nature has made possible united action between the Left—the Communists, Socialists, members of the National Democratic Party and other circles—and the center, consisting mainly of Catholics from the Christian Democratic and the Radical parties, on such vital questions as the fight against the denationalization of oil, defense of social freedoms, restoration of the constitutional rights of the Communist Party, the struggle for a more democratic electoral system, solidarity with Cuba, regulation of wages, action against inflation, etc.

It is also true that the new policy of the Catholic hierarchy creates a favorable climate for a dialogue between believers and non-believers with a view to extending co-operation for joint struggle wherever agreement exists: for peace and against war, for national independence and against imperial-

ism, for agrarian reform and against latifundism, for social freedoms and against fascist coups, for satisfying the demands of the working people, against impoverishment, etc. Experience shows however, that this cooperation is not the result of the efforts of the theologians. It is the fruit of the concrete, persistent and persevering efforts of the Communist branches which organize working-class unity and help to develop mass actions.

. . . and, of Course, Anti-Communism

It is noteworthy that alongside gropings toward humanism the *Mensaje* theologians, seeking to revive the old theocratic concept of the "Christian State," fall back on pure clericalism. In practice this boils down to an effort to segregate the Catholics, to isolate them organizationally from the popular movement, to create an exclusive movement which would take over some of the classical traditions of European Social Democracy. The idea, clearly, is to establish under the banner of reformism a multi-class party to include capitalists, petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, workers and peasants, thereby capitalizing on a long-standing trend in Latin American politics. The leadership of this party would be assumed by bourgeois groups inclined to compromise with North American imperialism in the guise of a demagogic "new deal," "good-neighborly relations" and, now, the "Alliance for Progress."

The joint pastoral message of the Chilean bishops contained justified attacks against latifundism and the policy of the reaction, to which they counterpose (to use their own words) "the spirituality of economic development." The same message, however, included some crude anti-Communist sallies. We Chilean Communists reacted immediately to this message by initiating a debate which raised questions of general interest. Comrade Pablo Neruda issued a public challenge to the bishops in a speech in the Caupolican theatre in Santiago, which attracted an audience of some seven thousand people. The speech was subsequently broadcast and circulated widely in pamphlet form. Before long, the whole country joined in the discussion. The Church hierarchy, realizing that its attacks against communism were damaging its own prestige, abandoned the field.

It did not, however, abandon its far-reaching political activity. Quite the contrary. The question of the political activity of the Church was discussed at length at a meeting of the Central Committee of our

Party last June. "We deplore the need to concern ourselves . . . with another extremely subtle and treacherous maneuver which is being employed against the candidacy of Salvador Allende," states the report of the Political Committee. "We refer to the interference by the Church, an abuse of privilege on the part of some church dignitaries. Several years ago, the Church, through Archbishop Crescente Errazuriz and Cardinal Jose Maria Caro, proclaimed its political neutrality. Unfortunately, this view is not shared by Cardinal Silva Henriquez, President of the world charity organization "Caritas" which extends charity in anything but a Christian spirit. . . . It is possible that the renunciation by some circles of secular activity has caused a revival of clericalism. The first indication was the appearance of the pastoral message with hints of partisanship and with attacks on the Communists. Then it became clear that the head of the Chilean Church reserved to himself the right to pontificate on all "temporal" matters, and that this, to his own detriment, is stimulating a singular activity on the part of some parish priests.

"Until recently world reaction made use of the anti-communist anathemas contained in papal encyclicals in its efforts to isolate the Communists; in reality these anathemas weakened Catholic influence in the popular movements. The recent 'Pacem in Terris' removed the barriers. Of course, the ideological differences remain, moreover the determination of the Vatican basically to uphold the system of capitalist exploitation is reaffirmed. Nevertheless this encyclical does expound the idea of cooperation between Catholics and non-Catholics without discrimination in such an important issue as the defense of peace. Moreover, it opens the door to collaboration for other vital aims. In our country these can and should include the removal of obstacles to a far-reaching democratic regeneration. We Chilean Communists revere the memory of the 'Pope of Peace,' John XXIII. We would wish that his wisdom, his understanding of the changes taking shape in our times, and his courageous fight for peace would be an inspiration to the Church hierarchy in our own country. This could only be welcomed.

"Addressing the Twelfth Congress of our Party Comrade Luis Corvalan said: 'As regards religion we must say once again: Communism as a scientific doctrine is atheistic, but at the same time it deeply respects all religious faiths,' and, summing up our viewpoint on this score he added: '. . . Above

all we desire that the popular movement in Chile and its future government should have no difficulties in its relations with the Church.'

"The unity of Catholics and non-Catholics may well become an important factor of national democratic development. This requires that the clergy refrain from interfering in politics and attend to their own affairs. In order to justify some forms of interference it is usually claimed that the interests of the Church are threatened. But that is not the case; we are not against the Popular Action Front, which includes a large number of Catholics, making it still more clear that even on such matters as Church property and public education the Left offers no threat to its legitimate interests."

Many priests interpret the appeals of the bishops and theologians for social progress and humanism as the most effective form of combating the genuine forces of progress and humanism. For they believe that nothing has changed, except the forms. This is an old Latin-American Catholic tradition which dates back to the time of the Spanish conquest.

In a study of American folklore by Arguedas, Lira and Furfan, the authors, referring to the Catholic hymns sung in the Cuzco region, observe that "they were written for the Indians with the object of providing a religious basis for the new social order imposed on the colony" and to imbue them "with obedience through the assimilation of elementary religious principles and beliefs." This applies in equal measure to all Church activity in Latin America for more than 450 years. Experience, however, often frustrated these designs, and there have been instances (e.g., in Mexico and other countries) of priests taking up arms to fight for independence. In Chilean history a place of honor is occupied by the monks Camilo Henriquez and Antonio Orihuela who at the beginning of the last century fought with courage and resolution against reaction. And it is by no means excluded that in the new conditions the example of the Cuban priests who during the Batista regime withdrew to the mountains to join the struggle under Fidel Castro's command may be repeated in Latin America.

Not Anti-Imperialists but Pro-Imperialists

In an article headed "The Challenge of Marxism" published in the December 1962 issue of *Mensaje*, Juan Pablo Terra examined the four possibilities which the Jesuits believe may emerge in Latin America: "(a) our

own revolution, i.e., a revolution initiated by the Christians; (b) a revolution started by others but which can be guided; (c) a Marxist revolution which can be defeated, and (d) a successful Marxist revolution."

The Jesuits explain all their actions from the standpoint of the contest with Marxism. By "revolution" they imply revolution of a different kind, which they define as "revolution of the individual" for the sake of the individual. Translated into the election language of the Christian Democratic Party this is expressed in the slogan "change plus freedom."

What is the real difference between the Marxist concept of revolution and the Catholic concept?

To begin with, the churchmen and their Christian Democratic political spokesmen stand for capitalism—but for a capitalism dressed in a different garb, a disguise which they call "partnership" the object of which is to give workers, office employees and technicians an interest in the affairs of the enterprise, on condition, however, that the system of private ownership of the means of production remains unchanged.

In an article on the subject of "drawing the individual into the economic process" in the October (1963) issue of *Mensaje*, Gerardo Claps, a Jesuit priest, and Julio Basan, leader of the Catholic Action organization, describe their ideal in the following terms: "Theoretically the enterprise is an association for the production of goods and services comprising capital, labor and authority." The authors counsel the manager to conduct himself as "the person responsible for the common good, common both to capital and to labor." Their watchword is "involve the working man in the activity of the enterprise." They say they are enemies of trade union action for "demands." Clearly, these ideas are utterly alien to the working class, inimical to its interests and to its immediate and long-range objectives.

As to the basic contradiction in Latin America—that between U.S. imperialism and the national interests of the Latin American countries—here too the position of the Jesuit theologians has been clearly defined. In President Kennedy's time they identified themselves to some extent with the first Catholic President of the United States. In a lecture delivered at a seminar on Alliance for Progress problems in the Federico Santa Maria University of Valparaiso in January 1963, Roger Vekemans, a prominent member of the Catholic reformist group, recommended to

the North American capitalists to make concessions, to yield on the less vital issues.

"Why should we have a long-term strategy of victory," he said, "when we have so little time at our disposal?"

The essence of this lecture, which subsequently became a kind of bible for the reformist Catholic group, is that "the concepts and principles of the popular organizations at the base and of efforts to promote the full realization of the Alliance for Progress should be defined just as precisely as the principles and concepts of the planned achievement of necessary reforms and the coordination of foreign capital investment with private enterprise."

The object is to obtain lavish aid from the Alliance for Progress and also directly from Wall Street for the subversive, anti-communist "organizations at the base," namely, organizations led by the LACCTU and obedient to the Church.

Representatives of the new trend in Catholicism are critical of the Alliance for Progress, not because they object to it in principle but because it is being realized too slowly. On the whole they support the program. Moreover, they have, in effect, joined those who are opposed to the nationalization of the natural resources usurped by the U.S. monopolies. The above-mentioned article by Julio Basan and Gerardo Claps proposes "just and equivocal legislation protecting the interests of both sides in equal measure," the two sides being the U.S. firms which are plundering Latin America and the countries that are being plundered. Their arguments are a model of hypocrisy: "The weight of this capital in the national life justifies its nationalization. But to be fair, it is our duty to pay compensation. And if we want to be sensible we cannot deprive our country of the opportunity of obtaining the investments it needs. On the contrary, investments should be encouraged. But the income should be divided equitably among the foreign investors and the country which opens its doors to them." In a word, for the sake of "fair play" and "common sense" one should act as unfairly and senselessly as Frondizi and Betancourt have done. Senator Eduardo Frei, Chilean Christian Democratic candidate for the presidency, used this Jesuit phraseology to justify his opposition to the nationalization of the Anaconda and Kennecott copper-mines.

Bourgeois Reformism Still Holds the Field

Why is it that despite its opposition to the transition from capitalism to socialism

and its resistance to the anti-imperialist impulse of the Latin-American people, the Catholic ideology nevertheless appeals to broad sections and influences large numbers?

Apart from the advantage it enjoys of invoking a long-standing religious tradition and the immense resources at its disposal, the new Catholic trend is making headway because of its anti-oligarchic positions and its dynamic reformism.

One of the new features of this trend in our country is that it dissociates itself from latifundism and the landed aristocracy. Of all the articles published in the above-mentioned October (1963) issue of *Mensaje* the only one wholly consistent with the revolutionary perspective is that dealing with the agrarian problem. Its author, Jacques Chonchol, is a Chilean technologist who helped to carry out the agrarian reform in Cuba and who speaks of it with undisguised enthusiasm.

It is precisely on the question of land reform that there is most disagreement between the Conservative old Catholic Party with its feudal ties and the Christian Democratic Party, the new Catholic party linked with the bourgeoisie. The latter oscillates between agrarian capitalism modern style, a new version of the old Prussian model of which Lenin spoke, and extension of the so-called "partnership" solution with a view, as Chonchol proposes, to providing for the "wholesale, rapid and drastic redistribution of the rights to the land and water" which would involve "substantial changes in legal formulas and existing institutions."

This would lead to three possibilities which, in Chonchol's opinion, could be realized simultaneously depending on the region and the crops: retain some of the "dwarf farms," preserve the big estates while carrying out reforms to give the organized workers an effective say in income, capital and management, and unite the family farms on a cooperative basis.

The peasant movement, combined with the general upsurge of the liberation movement headed by the working class, will be the determining factor in these solutions. The important thing is to find a common language both with the Catholic peasants and with some of the prominent Catholic intellectuals. The Christian Democratic leaders are hesitant and generally speaking their policy prevents them from realizing the objectives they have proclaimed in the question of agrarian reform. Nevertheless the peasant movement is growing.

Another thing. Social-Christian reformism

does not confine itself to general slogans, it also supports many of the demands advanced by different sections of the population, and participates, though not consistently, in mass actions for the more pressing demands and advocates progressive changes. In *Mensaje*, for example, we find articles on "social reform," "reform of the political system," "administrative reform," "financial reform," "social welfare," "the economic integration of Latin America," "international integration and cooperation," "democratic planning," "the state and revolutionary reforms," "reforms and customs," etc. Each of these studies is a serious attempt to find a solution to the particular problems, albeit from the standpoint of Catholic reformism and with limited perspectives. And it must be said that the adherents of this trend are active in the trade union movement at all levels and in all other democratic organizations.

Predominant Role of the Popular Movement

From what has been said it will be seen that a reformist movement of a new type is taking shape, a movement with a religious and theological tinge and designed to divert the Latin American revolution and frustrate it. The emergence of this movement is an indication of the deep-seated revolutionary process now under way. But it is an indefinite movement and not very firm. It has appeared on the scene somewhat late, in response to the mounting struggle of the working class, the peasantry, and other sections of the population, in response to the spread of Marxism. The realities have tossed aside the old formulas of the clergy and brought them face to face with the new phenomena. And as the popular struggle develops the realities will isolate and sweep aside the neo-colonialist brand of pro-imperialist policy.

We Communists are taking up the challenge, armed with a powerful weapon which, if properly used, can lead only to victory. In the sphere of ideological struggles the superiority of Marxism-Leninism is obvious. It is equally obvious that in the face of an adversary who lays claim to a monopoly of humanism and who has appropriated such fundamental Marxist watchwords as revolution, freedom and progress, the ideological struggle assumes first-rate importance.

In the realm of politics the adherents of the new Catholic trend turn a blind eye to the Cuban revolution, and foster illusions about a "Latin American integration" based on liberalization of trade within the framework of our continent—a policy which can

only isolate our continent and give the Wall Street monopolies a free hand. They advocate sacrificing national sovereignty to the supra-national bodies of the OAS and the Alliance for Progress, and refuse to participate in the great anti-imperialist struggle of our peoples.

The debate on these issues will help to expose the danger of reactionary attitudes of this kind. As far as we are concerned this debate by no means signifies a defensive attitude. It is a militant offensive against imperialism.

In the sphere of social struggle the most class-conscious and revolutionary working-class and other popular leaders of the people, above all the Communists, should act with the maximum vigor and effectiveness, displaying firmness but without using pressure tactics. They must unite the people, strengthen every trade union and all other organizations of the people by extending the struggle for their demands, with structural reforms in the spirit of anti-imperialism, anti-oligarchy and genuine democracy as the perspective.

The old image of the Catholic Church as implacable, intolerant and inflexible is gradually changing. The Church, increasingly, is engaging in a dialogue, proclaiming its own rights to such values as justice and compassion, respect for human beings, for equality and progress. That there is an element of inconsistency and even some petty calculation on the part of many priests should not surprise us. It was noted, for example, that Father Ignacio Vergara's book *Protestantism in Chile*, which breaks with a whole century of fanatical hatred for Protestants, was well received in some high Church quarters on the grounds that Catholics and Protestants should join forces against the Communists.

The advent of new trends in Latin American Catholicism is highly significant. This is not simply a new move on the part of the adversary, it is an indication of adaptation to the new conditions that have emerged as a result of decades of work carried on among the masses by the Communists. There are elements, too, of the influence exerted on the Catholic hierarchy by those Catholics directly involved in the social and national-liberation movements. In the new conditions this dialogue will be carried forward, the ideological struggle will grow in intensity and joint actions will become more frequent and on a bigger scale. And this will be accompanied by denunciation of the reactionary maneuvers of the Catholic hierarchy. For the initiative belongs to the working class and its allies.

Philosophy and Politics

John Lewis

THERE is no philosophy that is without political implication and significance. And, since man began to philosophize, no social order without some kind of philosophical justification. Yet the connection between philosophy and society is seldom clearly realized, for an ideology is as a rule conceived as having an independent, rational justification; as deriving, no doubt with some change, from previous conceptions. In short a philosophy is usually seen as an intellectual construction standing in its own right. "Because it is a process of thought he (the philosopher) derives its form as well as its content from pure thought, either his own or that of his predecessors. He works with mere thought material, which he accepts without examination as the product of thought, and does not investigate further for a more remote source independent of thought."*

If we go back to the year 1690 and pick up John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which appears to be no more and no less than an investigation of the theory of knowledge, we may find in the same library, but on the shelves devoted to "Political Theory," another book by Locke, also published in 1690, entitled *Two Treatises of Government*, which is an essay on constitutional government "to justify to the world the people of England whose love of their just and natural rights, with their resolution to preserve them, saved the nation, when it was on the very brink of slavery and ruin." In other words, it was a justification for the English Revolution of 1640 and 1688, with the expulsion of the Stuarts and the overthrow of absolute monarchy. And what connection could there be between Locke's theory of government, the doctrine of natural rights, and his theory of knowledge? Simply that he insisted that "there is nothing in the mind that was not first in the senses"; that all general ideas are built up from the data of factual experiences; that no truth therefore derives its authority from innate ideas, from ecclesiastical dogmas, or the authority of tradition. It followed that the whole theory of the "Divine Right of Kings" fell to the ground; that "No Government can have a right to

obedience from a people who have not freely consented to it."

If we go back some 2000 years earlier to Athens in the 5th century B.C., we shall find a philosopher who has generally been regarded as more important for his metaphysical idealism than for his political theories. But of recent years his political significance has been brought out by Professor Popper, Professor Winspear and R. H. S. Crossman.*

Crossman declares that "Plato's philosophy is the most savage and most profound attack upon liberal ideas which history can show." He continued, "Plato was rarely condemned outright as a reactionary, resolutely opposed to every principle of the liberal creed. Instead he was elevated to a higher rank, removed from practical life, dreaming of the transcendent City of God."

In what way does Plato's idealism function as a reactionary political philosophy? Popper points out that Plato was alarmed at the beginnings of equalitarian theorizing and the criticism of slavery which he found in certain democratic circles. He therefore proceeded to discover certain absolute, unchangeable principles of social organization, existing above and independently of experience and known only by the rational intuition of trained philosophers. There were two such principles upon which the State must be based if it is not to decline into anarchy: (1) The principle of *caste*—of the rigid division of men into three categories: the men of gold who alone should rule, the men of silver who are soldiers and officials, and the men of iron and brass who work and must on no account be allowed to rule. (2) The principle of *justice*—which means "keeping one's place." "When each class in the city attends to its own business . . . then this will be justice." In Plato's view, as the famous Duke of Cambridge once said: "Any change, at any time, for any purpose, is highly to be deprecated."

And thus it might be shown how in every age philosophy and politics go hand in hand. The whole medieval social system of rigid classes and subordination, the principle of

*Engels to Mehring, July 14, 1893.

*K. R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, Alban Winspear, *The Genesis of Plato's Thought*, R. H. S. Crossman, *Plato Today*. (Crossman is a member of the Labor Party "Shadow Cabinet" (1963).)

"degree" so well expressed in the plays of Shakespeare, was reflected and stabilized by the hierarchical Church with its strict delimitation of status, function and privilege. Only the priests having the divine authority "to bind and to loose," each subordinate bound to fealty and absolute obedience to his divinely ordained superior.

But again let it be remembered, these philosophies were not deliberately constructed to defend class privilege. They appeared to all who held them to be justified in themselves as theoretical principles, religious dogmas, or divine commands. Yet their basic dependence upon social and class needs is clearly shown by the fact that, however strongly held and securely established, once social necessity brings a new class and a new form of social organization forward, the old authority decays, a new ideology suddenly seems convincing, logical, completely rational.

But this is by no means the whole truth. For it would be erroneous to dismiss any previous philosophy as though it were nothing more than an ideological defense of some class interests, of some indefensible form of society, as if history went forward rejecting all in earlier manifestations. At every stage there is achieved some positive understanding of permanent value, which is carried forward with succeeding ages. Negation does not mean destruction, but involves along with the negation the lifting up of the old and its preservation in a new form and a new relationship. "It is both overcome and preserved." Hegel regarded the systems of his predecessors as different stages in the development of a "single philosophy." Every particular philosophy is the daughter of its own time and "in philosophy the latest birth of terms is the result of all the systems that have preceded it and must include their principles." Translate this into materialist terms and we see the positive contributions of each social system in economic advance, in social organization, and in human understanding (philosophy).

We are less disposed to grant any measure of truth to those contemporary philosophies which seem at first sight to be no more than the ideological defense of a moribund capitalism. We may find however that while these philosophies must be radically opposed, nevertheless they still contain elements of considerable significance.

Philosophies may be generally accepted as part of the ideological heritage, as obvious and necessary, recognizably providing the

categories of everyday thinking. But this is not always so. With the ever-growing separation of intellectual and manual activity, of the theoretician and the man of action, we see the retreat of philosophers and thinkers into their ivory towers, and the appearance of an intellectual élite out of contact with the masses. Then a philistine practicality denies all theory, including philosophy.

This, however, is deceptive. We have no choice whether we shall have a philosophy or not, but only the choice whether we shall form our theories consciously and in accord with critical thought, or unconsciously and at random. When the practical man, or the scientist, or the administrator, does not bother about philosophy, or even if he thinks he is a Marxist because once upon a time he listened to lectures and read some of the Marxist classics, then he too will find his thinking guided, whether he knows it or not, by rags and tags of commonplace ideas and he may well become "a slave to the most vulgarized relics of the worst philosophies."*

For it is a mistake to imagine that even in socialist countries the relics of old thinking have all been swept away. They linger on. They have considerable survival value. Give them a chance and the dregs of the old philosophies will make their influence felt.

The socialist worker must not be supposed to be immune to a bad philosophy simply because he is a socialist. There is no such thing as an ideology independent of both the past and of Marxism—just plain common sense. The only choice is: the remnants of the old bourgeois ideas or Marxist thinking. If one attempts to do without modern scientific philosophical thinking one will inevitably fall under the mental domination of the effete but none the less confusing and misleading remnants of capitalist thinking.

NON-MARXIST IDEOLOGIES TODAY

Both outside and inside the socialist world non-Marxist ideologies are to be found. No frontier can keep them out. The germs remain from earlier years or find their way in. He is a smart policeman who can arrest the spread of ideas!

There are perhaps three main ideological forces with which we have to reckon.

a) *Liberal Idealism*

This ideology exalts as absolute principles, to be adhered to regardless of conditions and consequences, "freedom," "democ-

*Engels—*Dialectics of Nature*.

racy," "the sacredness of the individual," "non-violence," "free speech."

In fact these principles are interpreted in special ways though they are regarded as existing in themselves. By "freedom," they mean the freedom of certain people to do certain things—of capitalists, to own and control industry in their interests; they do not mean the freedom of the masses from the restriction of poverty and unemployment, or the freedom of the people to own, plan and organize the means of production in their own interests.

Similarly one could quickly discover the strange limitations of capitalist "democracy"; the emphasis on "non-violence" only when it threatens privilege and autocratic power, never when it is built into the structure of a class society to maintain class rule. There is no such thing as "democracy" in itself.

But another characteristic of Liberal Idealism is its blatant hypocrisy. The ideal is loudly proclaimed. A holier-than-thou attitude is taken to those "lesser breeds without the law," who are Marxists. But look behind the facade of skyscrapers and wealthy private houses in Buenos Aires or Bombay and see for yourself how sacred are the individuals, millions of them, living in unutterable filth and squalor. Liberal thinkers sentimentalize a great deal about the individual, his sacred person, his freedom, at this point they are thorough idealists, and then they turn him loose to devour or be devoured in the ruthless rat-race of modern capitalism.

The plain fact is that either these principles are distorted by being interpreted to suit class interests, or it is found to be impossible to practise them and hypocrisy results.

Let us at once say, however, that we should be ill advised to consider these principles as negligible. They are not absolute, but they have arisen in social development not primarily to defend the privileges of the rich, but as basic principles of normal human relationships. This is an excellent example of carrying over the valuable ideals of pre-socialist society into socialism, and fulfilling them, as they cannot be fulfilled under capitalism. If we neglect *freedom, the individual, democracy*, our society will become tyrannized and impersonal. Socialism, even more than earlier forms of democracy, demands the whole-souled cooperation of the masses. What we build cannot be built with passive people.

Is this a philosophical question? Most certainly—the great philosophers, Plato, Spenser, Kant, Hegel, Marx were all concerned

with the philosophy of freedom. It was the key concept of the Utilitarians Bentham and Mill. This is not a problem that needs no thought or that can be answered negatively by showing where other people are wrong. Like the problem of the individual and society it needs fresh penetrating, philosophical treatment to show precisely how freedom is found through *certain forms of obligation* but not in others, and the individual finds and fulfils himself in *certain forms of society* — and not in others, which destroy him. Modern philosophy has got to face this question. It cannot be said that this has been done as yet in full measure.

b) *The Life Force Philosophies*

Many people who see in science and in Marxism only a mechanistic philosophy, which reduces the highest to the lowest and sees in man "nothing but" particles in motion, resort to mysticism, supernaturalism and theories of the life force, of vitalism, to account for movement, evolution and the spiritual faculties of man.

This is quite as often because materialism has been stated in a mechanical fashion as for less excusable reasons. Marxism in some of its philosophical aspects has to be restated, rephrased, brought in line with modern science and social practice, but not basically revised! The doctrine of successive levels, the idea of which we find in Engels, is needed here; and a very clear understanding of the importance and effectiveness of mind, of courage, of will, of the spiritual life of man, in Marxist terms. Ignore this responsibility, and as night follows day, what we ignore, or seem to regard as unimportant, will be sought even by our own people, in irrational and mystical forms.

c) *Empiricism*

Marxism is concrete, not abstract, theorizing. It is therefore empirical. But it is not empiricist! Empiricism means limiting oneself to plain facts as they appear, without seeking explanation, law, the theory that interprets. This is the most widely prevalent philosophy in the western world, especially among professional philosophers. It is characteristic of an age without purpose and direction, without understanding of its own law of motion or the forces, destructive and constructive, at work within society. Empiricism has its origin in Locke. Here it serves a socially useful purpose. Its purpose is to purge the mind by the elimination of notions and beliefs derived not from facts but from intuition, religious authority, tradition, or pure

reason. Thus the first task of philosophy in the period of enlightenment was held to be the elimination of superstition and prejudice. Later it became the elimination of meaningless terms and unreal problems, of metaphysical speculation. It became the philosophy of hard facts, and nothing more.

But this is too often a case of "emptying out the baby with the bathwater." Truth is much more than the accumulation of facts. Rational mastery of nature and society presupposes knowledge of the truth, and truth is a universal, a general idea, a basic theory or scientific law, as contrasted to the manifold appearance of things or to their immediate form in the perception of individuals. Pure empiricism regards law as no more than statistical generalization. It takes all facts as they come and sees them unrelated, disorganized, inexplicable and essentially lawless. Its basic conception is that of *contingency*. Everything just is. Nothing is necessary.

Now this philosophy is characteristic of a disintegrated purposeless world, in which no historical progress, no law of social development is discerned. It explains why capitalist sociology, history, economics, are increasingly becoming purely *descriptive*—mere catalogues of inexplicable and unrelated facts.

This affects even some Communist students in our capitalist universities who may be heard to say—"To introduce any conception of law, or direction of development, or purpose, any standards of value, into social science is to destroy its pure objectivity. We are concerned with what is. The question of *what ought to be*, the question of purpose and goal is a disturbing factor which we must exclude from all scientific treatment of such topics."

According to this theory not a single concept of law or reason can lay claim to universality, consequently man's material existence is surrendered to the blind pressures and processes of the prevailing empirical order of life. Clearly this is no mere question of abstract philosophical truth but concerns the historical destiny of humanity. Reason's right to shape reality depends upon man's ability to discover and develop generally valid truths.

We have an urgent task to combat this profound scepticism. But to be effective it requires a very thorough analysis of the empiricist claim that any step beyond the factual data is metaphysical, that no verification can be found for any theory of history. It is not enough to refute these statements by showing their consequences to be un-

desirable or incompatible with socialism. The theory itself must be combated; and it may be found that its exponents in Britain and America are not chickens, but among the toughest and most logical minds of our time.*

Nor should it be supposed that empiricism is unlikely to find any hold in socialist societies. On the contrary, people immersed in day-to-day facts, occupied with statistics, concerned with production quotas, and endless practical problems, especially if they have not been taught to avoid metaphysics, can easily become oblivious of laws and tendencies behind phenomena, and lapse into philistinism—keeping their "Marxism" for high days and holy days, as Christians keep their ideals of brotherhood.

Empiricism has two unexpected consequences: Pragmatism; Pessimism.

Pragmatism as a theory is dead. There are no pragmatic philosophers in America or England today. "Pragmatism is dead. Long live Pragmatism!" For, of course, it is alive in a somewhat unusual form. Pragmatism in the original form, as a form of empiricism, declared that since we could not know the truth, all we could do was to find what program of action secured success in overcoming the immediate obstacle. It was therefore anti-scientific—irrational. It was also subjective in as much as it had no criteria of progress other than our satisfaction for the moment. While James talked of satisfaction "in the long run," in practice men sought for the quickest, the most immediate escape from the problem before them. This was enough.

This is the philosophy of all Western politicians, of all economists, of the "businessmen's governments" that run the capitalist world. It was the philosophy of Roosevelt, of Kennedy, of Macmillan. What it amounts to is a policy of pure expediency. What was said of Roosevelt and his New Deal is true of all of them: "I guess he plays by ear."

This philosophy has received forceful and persuasive support from some of our most distinguished philosophers. Professor K. R. Popper calls it "piecemeal social engineering" and advances it in opposition to what he calls Marxist historical determinism. Professor Oakeshott of the London School of Economics, and a considerable proportion of his colleagues, argue that since no valid sound or political theories are possible, all

*The easy refutation which identifies empiricism with subjective idealism is quite inadequate. Most modern empiricists are not idealists.

we can do is "to use the resources of a traditional manner of behavior."

"Men sail a boundless and bottomless sea: there is neither harbor for shelter nor floor for anchorage, neither starting point nor appointed destination. The enterprise to keep afloat"* excluding any vain anticipation of future betterment—or any desire to find guidance for the future.

Another empiricist, Bernard Crick, asserts that politics has nothing to do with principles or theories but is "simply the activity by which differing interests within a given society adjust themselves." Free men should not allow themselves to be "corrupted by any crusade for an ideal or defense of moral principle." Self-interest is the sole law of human action.

It may not already be realized that even in a socialist society empiricism may take the place of a dialectical approach to current problems. Contradictions arise in every society and can only be overcome by discerning the moments of radical reconstruction, the emergence of new properties, the obsolescence of formerly useful concepts, rules and procedures. Dialectics is not merely a theory once held by Karl Marx, but the only way of understanding and grappling with problems, from those of collective farms to those of international politics.

The Philosophy of History

What lessons for us? The empiricists have rejected a philosophy of history. This, they say, is impossible. This imposes on us two demands: (1) to make sure that we have a philosophy of history: (2) to advance it on a world front in vigorous confrontation of capitalist scepticism.

What of our own philosophy of history? Marxism, of course, has such a philosophy, and it is valid in every respect. But it lives only if it is frequently re-thought and re-stated. Marx himself would be angry and contemptuous at the indolence and spiritlessness which in many aspects of the philosophy of history allowed itself to go no farther than his own foundations of near a century ago, or Lenin's of half a century. They were both men who were intensely alive to contemporary thought. Engels plunged into controversy with the popular and impressive figure of Duehring and enormously enlarged and sharpened Marxism in so doing. Mere repetition of past truths spells boredom and fossilization. Truth is kept alive by constantly

adapting itself to new situations and new enemies, constantly finding new insights, new facts to support it, constantly re-stating and re-forming its approach. Only by facing and refuting the whole range of anti-Marxist criticism on its own field, by patient and understanding analysis, only by becoming acquainted at first-hand with the solid works of these critics and learning from them even as we refute them—refute them with patient and exhaustive learning and argumentation, cogent, forceful but never abusive—will our own Marxism come alive and be convincing, illuminating and inspiring to ourselves and our own people, as well as to the troubled and confused multitudes of the capitalist world.

Can a Correct Policy Be Deduced from General Philosophical Concepts?

The formulation of this question itself reveals a misapprehension. That "philosophical concepts" stand over against a reality to which they have to be applied suggests the opposite error to empiricism, which was concerned only with the facts, or pragmatism, which only wants devices to surmount the immediate difficulties. Indeed one could well say that each false theory calls for and brings into existence its equally false opposite! In opposition to empiricism the opposite error is to demand an idea, a concept, that truly explains the facts, but belongs as it were to a realm of theory and is part of an abstract system of doctrine. This falls too easily into the view which Marx so strongly opposed, which made the facts or their mode of behavior an expression and manifestation of a law governing them. The most complete exposition and refutation of this way of thinking is in the *Poverty of Philosophy* where, replying to Proudhon, he describes the distorted form of Hegelian dialectic which Proudhon was using, and then proceeds to criticize it on the grounds that the system of dialectical laws, as Proudhon held them, appeared to have been "freshly hatched in a head of pure reason, so much as these categories seem to engender one another, to enclose and entangle the one in the other by the sole labor of the dialectic movement." From this point of view the behavior of things is determined by abstract laws and principles, and Marxism with its dialectical laws comes to have a reality of its own as if it legislated for science and history and social development.

The error of empiricism, in reaction from this conceptual view of truth, rejects the

*Oakeshott, *Political Education*.

notion of truth, of law, of systematic theory, and will not move an inch beyond "instrumental" thinking, ideas becoming merely instruments for the solution of practical problems, devices for manipulating the present to open the way forward. Ideas, for this empiricism, are true *in the sense that they work*—truth itself being unattainable. The fact being that the idea works *because and in so far as it corresponds to objective reality*. What empiricism is afraid of, and rightly so, is the notion that in knowing we are little more than spectators. Whereas every actual case of knowing is one in which we are involved with what we know. We must do something with the object of knowledge for it to *become* known. Manipulate it. Take it apart, or *make* it. We know only as the outcome of our doings.

This is thoroughly Marxist, provided it goes on to say that what we know in this way is a veritable aspect, a partial revelation, of objective reality—is truth; relative truth, but none the less objective truth.

There is an inseparable dialectic between theory and practice, knowing and making, and the moment we think of Marxism or any other science, as an abstract system of doctrine, of philosophical concepts, we have broken the unity of the two. That was why Marx never wrote a book about dialectical materialism, he only examined reality dialectically and thus saw more of its real nature than in any other way. And so we find him objecting to anyone who "feels himself obliged to metamorphose my historical sketch of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophical theory of the general path of social development imposed by fate upon every people . . . one will never arrive anywhere by a general historio-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being super-historical!"*

We have to take very seriously Engels' warnings about general truths. It is difficult enough to formulate these in the natural sciences; much more difficult in the humanistic sciences. When we do so they turn out to be too general to be much more than platitudes or guiding principles lacking in precision. "Anyone therefore who sets out in this field to hunt down final and ultimate truths, truths which are pure and absolutely immutable, will bring home but little."**

There are two more specific difficulties about Marxist general concepts: First, they

obviously arose from the consideration of events a century or half a century ago. Are we sure that they are applicable to the present situation, in which so much has changed and the balance of forces is so different? And if the principle is general enough to cover every conceivable situation is it, in itself, very much use? Does not everything depend on its application? And does that not depend on a dialectical interaction of theory and practice, compelling us to adjust and to qualify and extend the theory as we move ahead?

Surely the most fatal errors of certain so-called "Marxists" arose precisely because they persisted in using the concepts of the past as if the whole situation remained substantially the same. And are not current controversies with Peking Marxists rooted in the same sort of error? Concepts stand for something different to different people, different classes and different occasions. Peace, War, Freedom, Democracy—have these concepts one unchangeable significance? This is why we have to keep our thinking concrete, and never let it become abstract. Marx explained in his Introduction to the *Critique of Political Economy* that the concrete is concrete by virtue of the fact that it combines within itself a multiformity of definition, because it is "unity in multiformity." As Lenin said "concreteness is the spirit and essence of dialectics. . . . There is no abstract truth, truth is concrete." Reality demands clear and precise replies to the concrete problems that arise in the course of historical development. One must always do full justice to the full complexity of the concrete conditions of the given phenomena.

Second, the use of general principles inclines one to prediction; it suggests a concatenation of forces in which we know all the factors and can calculate their force. In fact there are many imponderables, many independent variables, a multitude of extraneous factors. "World history would have a very mystical character if there were no room in it for chance.*"

Of these factors, the most important is our own participation in events. Conceptional thinking tends to be astronomical. It thinks it has the law which controls events and that these events follow a determinate and predictable course which we observe. Hence it is frequently asked whether events will issue in a certain conclusion or not—Is war inevitable? Will capitalism come to its final

*Marx to the Editor of *Notes on the Fatherland*, 1877.

**Engels' *Anti-Duehring*.

*Marx, Vol. XXVI.

crisis? Is socialism inevitable? As if these things have to be determined irrespective of our participation, in terms of the working out of pure Marxist principles. Then having been convinced that war is not inevitable, for instance, we support the peace movement. But in fact whether it is inevitable or not depends on the activity and organization of the masses in the fight for peace. This is an excellent example of the dialectic of thought and action, of prediction and freedom. Now it is because causes are *not* determinate forces, but involve our own participation, that conceptional thinking is liable to error.

There can be dangers in the academic pursuits of even Marxist philosophers. The endless conning over classical texts; the scholastic refutation of long dead philosophers. There can actually arise a preoccupation with Marxist principles as embodied in a system that has a terrifying likeness to medieval scholasticism.

Philosophy is a guide to daily living, corrected and enlarged not as the result of pure thought, but of being used and lived by. Philosophy ceases to be profitable unless it is kept as close to present needs as Lenin kept all his thinking and speaking and writing. The philosopher must live and work, and keep close to people and events. All his thinking must be a perception of external reality with a view to decision and active intervention. The moment, however, he intervenes with only a concept to guide him and not a perception illuminated by a concept, he becomes totally ineffectual and a dangerous dogmatist. Percepts without concepts are blind, concepts without percepts are meaningless.

General philosophical concepts have not only to be altered and enlarged by being used as working tools, which are constantly modified and improved under the stress of action, but they must never be isolated from the wider fields of culture and knowledge. Marxism is not an enclave within culture, cut off from it, independent of cultural development. Nor, of course, has it the right to dictate to culture or to science as though it were in itself a complete repository of eternal truth and a final arbiter in all matters.

Marxism grew out of the full cultural achievements of the 19th century, and it only keeps its vitality if it continues to interact with advancing science and widening culture. It is only as an integral part of culture, participating, influencing and being influenced,

that Marxism ceases to be a dogma and becomes a living appreciation of life.

"To acquire the whole sum of human knowledge," said Lenin, "and to acquire it in such a way that communism will not be something learned by heart, but something which you have thought out for yourselves, something which forms the inevitable conclusion from the point of view of modern education,"* is the only way in which Marxism becomes a living thing.

To keep it alive Marxism must do two things: it must be continuously used, and it must be continuously enriched. "Marxism," said Lenin, "made its own and worked over anew all that was of value in more than two thousand years of development of human thought."**

And further: "We do not want anything to be accepted with the eyes shut, to be an article of faith. Everyone should keep his head tight on his own shoulders, and think out and verify everything for himself."

Marxism is not a separate system of sociological, historical and philosophical principles, but an understanding of life, a method of thought and action. The vitality and continued truth of Marxist concepts depends on an infinite capacity to learn from experience, from the people, from controversy, from the presentation of theories to which are opposed, from new knowledge, new theories, not only in our own society. The mind closed to knowledge and truth from unwelcome sources is a dead mind.

Perhaps of all the methods of keeping thought alive the best is honest and understanding controversy, coupled with something more difficult than the refutation of error, the discerning of the modicum of truth in every position we criticize. As Marx was never tired of saying, "We must recognize the good there is in our opponents." This implies no lack of discernment, pungency and trenchant dealing with what is bad, for Marx also said that "To leave error unrefuted is to encourage intellectual immorality." There is no facile eclecticism about Marx!

The Manner in Which Politics Enriches Philosophy

This question also seems to assume that philosophy is brought out of storage and then *applied* to politics. There is a suggestion of two compartments. It is as though beliefs

*Lenin. Address to the Third Congress of Communist Youth, 1920.

**Lenin, Draft Resolution on Proletarian Culture, 1920.

are developed by reflection and argument and then subsequently applied in politics. Is that how ideas and reality are brought together? In fact we cannot split the unity of thought and action in this way. There is no philosophy that is not a deeper understanding of politics—and of science—and of psychology—and of history—and of art and literature—and of the common life of ordinary people. It is not merely enriched by it; it grows out of it; and having done so at once reacts back on what gave rise to it *to change it*. Life, the world, the problems are thereby altered. Immediately theory must adjust itself to changed reality, make itself effective in the understanding of events by radically revising its concepts, its laws and rules, its categories. Having done so, and not before it has done so, it becomes effective once again and from it flow new kinds of action, not possible before this new thinking, to change the world once again. This is the dialectic of theory and practice, of the growth and power of knowledge, of the changing world and changing man.

Thus in the present period of history Marxism orientates itself to face three special conditions: firstly, to refute the ideology which seeks to halt social development in the present, which it regards as the expression of absolute social, economic, legal and ethical principles. Secondly, to combat the decadent forms which philosophy, and also literature and the arts, take in the period of capitalist decline. Thirdly, within the socialist world Marxism has to reckon with the problems that arise in the course of socialist construction, which are by no means independent of the ideological and political pressures of the non-socialist world. Marxism will continuously guide the ever-changing structure of its own society, and at the same time be modified by these changes. It will watch for and work for qualitative changes in organization and in men's conceptions. It will rapidly adapt its policies to such changes. It will concern itself more and more with the ethical

problems of building socialism and with ethical guidance and education. It will be deeply concerned with the powerful influence of the arts, of literature, and the drama. In every field the falling back on concepts appropriate to a pre-socialist stage, to the stage of *internal class war*, to the stage of revolutionary war, or even concepts operative in the early stages of socialism, will prevent effective action.

Finally, many urgent problems will arise and are arising which particularly demand a considered philosophical investigation under the changing situation of developing socialism. These are the relations of the individual to society—which urgently demands new thinking; the question of intellectual liberty, open discussion, and cultural expression, the question of moral responsibility in work; the question of democratic participation in administration; the numerous ethical and social problems concerning the family, sex relations, the training and education of youth.

Nor are these problems to be solved by rule of thumb, by "piecemeal social engineering," by the pragmatism that simply copes with each new difficulty by taking the expedient course. Nor can they be solved by invoking the principles and concepts, the rules and dialectical factors, which belonged to the Marxism of a different situation. *The concept changes, even though there is continuity in the change.* Every Marxist principle and insight needs radical development, fresh application, new formulation, to cope with these new problems. And they will not be solved apart from philosophy, apart from Marxism.

Hence the exacting role of the Marxist philosopher in the present situation. He must emerge from his lecture room, the library and his study, to bring all he knows of Marxism to bear on these problems, to *make his Marxism work*, and in such working to come to life, to grow, to proliferate, to become sharp and enlightening.

Tunisia a Year Later

FOR A GENUINE AND FRUITFUL DISCUSSION

Ibn Chaldoun

ONE YEAR ago, on the pretext of combating a conspiracy which everybody knew was organized by the reactionaries, the Tunisian government launched an offensive against the Left democratic opposition. Communist newspapers and the progressive press generally were banned, and on January 8, 1963, the Communist Party was ordered to cease its activities. Leaders and activists of the Party were subjected to persecution. Legal proceedings were instituted against *At Talia*, the national paper of the Party, and *Tribune du progres*, whose editor, Dr. Sliman ben Sliman, is chairman of the Committee for Freedom and Peace.

This was the beginning of a witchhunt. Communists and other progressives were denied passports, they were subjected to a third degree sometimes for days on end, placed under surveillance, and subjected to other police niceties. Hassan Sadaui, a veteran trade unionist who had been in concentration camps together with Bourguiba before the war, died in a police station from a heart attack. Lecturers and teachers were victimized on charges of being supporters of communism; they were reinstated only recently.

The proceedings against *At Talia* were seized upon as a pretext for jailing Mohammed Kharmel, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Abdel Hamid ben Mustafa, a member of its Political Bureau, and Mohammed Al-Hadi Jarad, the editor. Kharmel had to be released owing to a heart condition after two months, but the others spent six months in preliminary detention. Despite his ill health and doctors' recommendations, the authorities have denied Kharmel permission to go abroad for treatment.

The repressions caused deep anxiety among the people, especially among the students. Democrats throughout the world expressed solidarity with the victims. People were outraged by the brutalities against the Communists and alarmed by the danger of democratic rights being completely wiped out and a police regime installed; they felt that it was imperative to ease the tensions caused by the conspiracy, to restore demo-

cratic rights and to create a new political climate, all the more so since discussion and cooperation are perfectly feasible between the various trends in the national movement, and in particular between the Communists and the Neo-Destur.

Throughout 1963, especially during the summer, the leaders of the ruling Neo-Destur Party kept on repeating the accusations against the Communists. Had the situation been normal and the Communists in a position to reply, a fruitful discussion might have ensued. Needless to say, the Communists have always been ready to listen to criticism of their views and activities and they have never made complete agreement with their ideology a condition for joint action. It is common knowledge that the Tunisian Communists have always supported causes capable of uniting patriots — yesterday it was the fight against colonial oppression, today it is the building of an independent Tunisia. The accusations made by the Neo-Destur leaders require closer examination in order to establish whether they are in any way justified or whether they are the result of lack of understanding and one-sided interpretation of the political positions which the Communists have publicly upheld in their press and documents.

A One-Sided Interpretation of Communist Criticism

In their public declarations the Neo-Destur leaders claim that the Communists were involved in the December 1962 conspiracy. But what proof do they offer for this outrageous accusation? They advance the completely unfounded argument that the Communists, by criticizing government policy, supplied grist to the plotters' mill. Yet anyone who followed the trial could not fail to note that not one of the defendants associated himself with the Communist Party or cited the political positions upheld by the Party. Nor could they do so, for, as the Neo-Destur leaders and the government know perfectly well, the aims of the plotters were completely different. The Communist Party made it perfectly clear that the charges laid

against it were trumped up charges. The day after the disclosure of the conspiracy the Political Bureau declared: "The Communists condemn political assassination as a criminal act; they reject conspiracy as being alien to their outlook and their policy of democratic and national opposition. They hold that the problems confronting Tunisian society today can be solved through a genuine national alliance based on democracy and respect for the legitimate interests of all patriotic classes, through political mass struggle to influence the march of events and to impart a progressive democratic and social content to the independent Tunisian state."

The initial charges levelled against the Communists in the tense atmosphere created by the abortive conspiracy impelled the Neo-Destur leaders to pursue a line of one-sided interpretation of criticism of the government by the Communists and to ascribe to them views they never expressed and never upheld. How do things stand in reality?

The Communists do not close their eyes to the progressive aspects of the policy pursued by the leaders of the Neo-Destur. Their opposition to President Bourguiba's government is of a national democratic and constructive nature; they support and help carry out progressive measures, without, however, concealing their opinions regarding negative aspects of official home and foreign policy. And although the Communists have engaged in a polemic with the Neo-Destur leaders, they have always conducted it with decorum, striving to arrive at positive conclusions aimed at facilitating a solution of the many problems confronting the people and the government.

The leaders of the Neo-Destur Party, however, took Communist criticism as an affront. They saw in it an expression of venom, of negative and destructive intentions. Yet they are well aware that, discussion and controversy notwithstanding, the Communists have always stood by them in the fight for national liberation. For instance, during the French aggression in Bizerta the Communists sided with the government against the aggression. They also know that while criticizing the negative aspects of official policy, the Communists supported it generally against the opposition of the reactionaries, some of whom, incidentally, belong to the Neo-Destur Party. On this question the Communists clearly stated their attitude in a letter to President Bourguiba on January 4, 1963. "Our Party, said the letter, "has criticized certain

aspects of the policy of the government which we consider negative. The Tunisian Party has expressed the dissatisfaction of the masses with these negative aspects. But this in no way means that we have evinced animosity towards the government or a desire to discredit it. We have merely performed our role, exercised our rights as a party of national democratic and constructive opposition . . ."

It will suffice to recall a few generally known examples to appreciate the true nature of Communist criticism. When the government steered a course towards planned development with state participation, the Communists were the first to welcome it. When assessing the ten-year plan submitted by the government, the Communists stressed primarily its positive aspects voicing their agreement with it, whereas even in the Neo-Destur Party there was opposition to any intervention by the state in economic life. During the public discussion of the plan, the Communists also criticized some points, substantiating their arguments and making constructive suggestions. Judging by the amendments introduced in the initial draft (in particular as regards the agrarian question) some of our points were accepted.

It is held against the Communists that they criticize "Neo-Destur Socialism" and have reservations as to whether it really is socialism. But, apart from the fact that criticism can hardly be ruled out when assessing contradictory ideas, how can the Communist assessment in the given case be regarded as completely negative? True, the Communists feel that the concept of socialism formulated by the Neo-Destur leaders is not their concept of scientific socialism, and they have frankly said so. The Communists are concerned with ideological clarity, and want to help in elaborating more consistent concepts according with the interests of the country and its normal development into a society of the socialist type, since this is the avowed goal. The Neo-Destur leaders have conceded that their "socialism" stems from concepts other than those of scientific socialism; they repudiate the scientific principles of socialism which have passed the test in other countries and represent themselves as champions of exceptional national features. The Communists, while they do not deny the need to take full account of the specific national features and the possibility of the people taking their own road to socialism, underscore the universality of Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the theoretical

foundation of scientific socialism. But not confining themselves to theory, they have repeatedly made constructive suggestions and declared their intention to assess without bias the achievements of the government in the economic and social spheres. Are they not entitled to voice their views on these issues instead of giving unqualified support to the government?

The Agrarian Question

Misrepresenting the position of the Communists on the agrarian reform — one of the main prerequisites for building up the national economy — the Neo-Destur leaders allege that the Communists want to parcel out all land and to take revenge on the big landowners by "hanging them on the lamp-posts." One has only to read the Program of the Communist Party to realize the utter absurdity of this allegation. The Program makes it clear that the Communists, far from proposing to "hang the big landowners," want to restrict their holdings in the interests of those peasants with little or no land, in some cases with compensation in treasury bonds. As regards the big estates where agriculture is already conducted along modern lines, the Communists say: don't break them up but establish agricultural cooperatives on them in the interests of the agricultural laborers and poor peasants. And in point of fact, the government, after long hesitation, has agreed to settle the question of the land expropriated from former French settlers precisely in this way.

Why then ascribe to the Communists positions they have never held? Such methods can only distort any useful discussion, whereas a properly conducted debate can bring viewpoints closer and help solve the problems facing both sides.

Classes and Class Struggle

A similar lack of understanding is evident in the Neo-Destur leaders' criticism of the Communist position on classes and the class struggle. The Communists are depicted as zealots advocating violence who are out to whip up hatred among Tunisians and artificially to foment class struggle. But this has nothing in common with the Communist stand.

Needless to say, the Communists do not share the views of those Neo-Destur leaders who, boasting of their knowledge of Tunisian reality, claim that Tunisia has no classes, only social groups. This is a purely subjective viewpoint which contradicts the real

state of affairs. Actually, Tunisia is one of the new African states in which class differentiation is clearly defined. The fact that classes have not crystallized to the same degree as in the developed capitalist countries does not mean that they do not exist.

The Communists agree with President Bourguiba and other leaders of the Neo-Destur when they say that in Tunisia there are different classes, that there is exploitation and there are exploiting classes. Speaking on July 29, 1963, Bourguiba, although he did say that "we do not propose to divide the nation into antagonistic classes," admitted that "actually this antagonism exists between employers and workers" and that "we have exploiters . . ." Commenting on this speech, the newspaper *Accion* said on August 6, 1963: "We do not deny the existence of classes. We have never claimed that there is no antagonism between the interests of the different social classes."

The existence of classes and class contradictions in Tunisia is, then, an objective fact conditioned by history. And the Communists have pointed this out time and again.

But how can the class contradictions be resolved? The Neo-Destur leaders claim that the sole aim of the Communists is to sow hatred among Tunisians and to foment class struggle.

The Communists represent the interests of the working class and the working peasantry, but they also bear in mind the legitimate interests of the national bourgeoisie which takes part in the fight against imperialism and for the country's economic independence. Their program shows that they uphold the solidarity achieved between the different classes in the course of the national-liberation struggle, a solidarity which is essential today too in the struggle for economic independence. The extent to which this anti-imperialist and democratic solidarity is maintained and cemented will determine the extent to which it will be possible to solve the class contradictions by peaceful means, without violent collisions. The Communists can be relied upon not to underestimate or to reject this possibility in the event of it arising. They have always stood for a national alliance founded on respect for the lawful interests of all classes. And this involves taking steps to curb the appetites of the exploiting strata. Moreover, the trade unions should play their part as champions of the working people whenever their interests are threatened by those who place their particular aims above the national interest. The

Communists fight for the workers' demands, for this is in the interests of economic up-building. They want the state to serve not one class at the expense of the others but to give effect to a democratic alliance of all patriotic classes.

It is therefore easy to see that the charges levelled against the Communists by the Neo-Destur leaders have no foundation in fact. They are the fruit of a subjective and one-sided approach. The impression is that they are designed to justify the repressions. The injustice of calumniating the Communist position in order to justify the ban on the Party and its press and the persecution and arrest of its members is obvious to all thinking people. All the more so since the criticism made by the Communists has been constructive criticism. For it is a fact that the government has taken this criticism into account and, the profound theoretical and political differences between us and the Neo-Destur leaders notwithstanding, has revised its policy on numerous occasions precisely in the direction we have suggested.

A Single Party vs. a United Front

The Communists and the Neo-Destur differ on many issues but there are also many points on which their views coincide. While the Communists appreciate and support the progressive undertakings initiated by the Neo-Destur Party, in particular by President Bourguiba, many members of this party, especially the youth, tend towards Marxism and draw on it in their efforts to solve the complex questions of economic development.

In view of this, the Communists have always worked for a united front based on a program of common aims. While opposing the reactionary trends in the Neo-Destur, they have always supported the progressive trends.

The Neo-Destur leaders, however, regard the Communists not as a political movement with which issues can be discussed, agreeing on some and disagreeing on others, but as adversaries to be removed from the scene. Because of this they take every opportunity to charge the Communists with harboring animosity towards them. They do not concede that the Communists adhere to Marxist ideology because they want to serve their people and to put an end to exploitation. The Neo-Destur leaders go so far as to describe adherence to the universal scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism as allegiance to a foreign party, as evidence that the Commu-

nists are not working in the national interest but for some foreign power.

These are things which prevent understanding and obstruct fruitful debate which the Communists have always wanted in the interests of the people, with a view to releasing the energies of the entire nation. The crux of the matter here is a trend toward a one-party system. Hence the intolerance of criticism and the attempts to monopolize the political scene and to abolish genuine freedom of the press. This trend made headway especially after the disclosure of the conspiracy.

The supporters of this trend hold that there is no room in Tunisia (the admitted existence of different classes notwithstanding) for any other political party than the Neo-Destur, inasmuch as the people, it is alleged, will not vote for other parties. But the Communist Party did not come into existence artificially; it was a legally functioning party with roots going far back into the history of the national movement, in which the Communists have been the most active participants. The Party has made a big contribution to the solution of the problems facing the country. Why the violence against it if, as is claimed, it carries no weight among the people? Why not let citizens choose the political party they want and join it in accordance with the proclaimed constitutional rights? Why prevent the Communists from stating their case?

The advocates of the one-party system claim that democracy is a luxury which an underdeveloped country with backward masses such as Tunisia cannot afford — and this despite the fact that they used to brag of its being a progressive democratic country where elections are contested by rival tickets and where the Communist Party and opposition press are legal. These elements of democracy, limited though they were, in no way prevented progress; on the contrary, they accelerated it. Assuming that the masses are not yet mature enough (a debatable point), they should be taught to make use of their rights and democratic freedoms. They should be taught to give thought to the country's problems rather than let others do the thinking for them.

The struggle to abolish backwardness and to build up a national economy requires united, organized efforts on the part of the people. Lack of a critical approach, intolerance and the monopoly of the political scene which accompany the one-party system tend to stifle initiative, while authoritarian deci-

sions taken without genuine democratic participation of the people are likely to jeopardize the best achievements and to sow scepticism and indifference.

The supporters of the one-party system also argue that all members can freely voice their opinions in the Neo-Destur Party. But what about those who are not members? What grounds are there for depriving them of their civic rights? In the present circumstances the matter of free expression of opinion cannot be solved within the bounds of one party. Even a cursory acquaintance with reality leaves no doubt that the people interpreted the banning of the Communist Party and the Left press and the establishment of a one-party system as suppression of all criticism, as a ban on any attempt to exercise democratic rights even within the framework of organizations controlled by the Neo-Destur.

The true solution is a united front of all the national forces. This is borne out by the experience of other countries. The organization of political parties by the different

trends should in no way hinder the achievement of a united front. The existence of a legal Communist Party alongside the Neo-Destur Party, the trade unions and other organizations representing various sections of the population would in no way prevent their active cooperation in a united front. Why should they fight one another when there are common aims capable of bringing them together and serving as common ground in building the national economy and ensuring social and cultural progress?

The Communists have always held that co-operation is possible, that it accords with the specific conditions of an independent Tunisia. Despite the repressions levelled against them, they have never adopted a narrow sectarian position. They have never ruled out the possibility of building a united front. Ending the persecution of their leaders and lifting the ban on their Party and their press would have a salutary effect on the situation; it would benefit the people and it would be welcomed by Tunisia's many friends all over the world.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

On Arab Unity

CONTINUING discussion of the problem of Arab unity raised by Fuad Nassar in his article in the February issue of the magazine, I should like to touch on the political aspect of this subject which is important to the Communist parties in the Arab countries in working out their strategy and tactics. I do not propose to examine this question from the traditionally academic aspect, as has usually been the case, to make an excursion into the history of the origin and development of the slogan of Arab unity (unless absolutely necessary). What we are concerned with is to give an objective analysis of the problems that arise in the course of the liberation struggle of the Arab people. The situation calls for a basic, theoretical understanding of the perspectives of the national-liberation movement in the Arab East. This can be achieved only if we are guided by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, and if we apply the Marxist dialectical method which enables us to examine the nature of the given phenomenon in its development and in relation to its environment.

It is understandable that there should be different views on the question of Arab unity; these views reflect the position of the different social classes. The revolutionary content of this slogan has always given expression to the understandable desire of the Arab peoples to join forces in the struggle for national liberation and independence. They know from experience that revolutionary solidarity is essential if they are to achieve unity.

Imperialism and its agents in the Arab countries are, of course, trying to deprive the slogan of Arab unity of its revolutionary content and thus prevent the peoples from waging their struggle. They are trying to use this slogan to split the national-liberation movement of the Arabs. To this end they sought, in collusion with the reactionary forces at home, to form a "Great Syria," a union of the countries of the "Fertile Crescent," and an "Arab Union" between Iraq and Jordan.

The viewpoint of the bourgeoisie regarding the slogan of Arab unity has always been shaped by its class interests. It used this slogan when it sought to smash the fetters of feudalism which prevented it from developing as a class and freeing itself from the domination of the Ottoman Empire, and later from British and French rule. The big bourgeoisie always, even before it seized political power

and established its dictatorship, exploited the slogan of Arab unity to further its expansionist aims and to establish its domination over the other Arab countries. It pursued a similar policy in relation to Sudan even before Egypt won its independence. The Egyptian bourgeoisie sought to establish its rule over the Nile valley and thus to subordinate Sudan to the Egyptian crown when British troops were still on the territories of those countries. A compromise was reached on that issue: Egypt made certain concessions to British imperialism, which, in return, recognized the authority of the Egyptian king over the Nile valley (the Sidky-Bevin protocol of 1946).

The ultimate purpose of the bourgeoisie in advocating Arab unity is to expand its markets and spheres of investments, to strike a blow at the growing progressive movement and, in the final analysis, to prevent the Arab people from advancing towards democracy and socialism. To this end it is using those sections of the intelligentsia that have sold out to it, and of course the propaganda media controlled by it.

Progressives should objectively appraise the slogan of Arab unity, which is an effective weapon in the common struggle of the Arab peoples against the combined forces of imperialism and the pro-imperialist sections of the domestic bourgeoisie.

That the Arab peoples realize the need for anti-imperialist unity is evidenced by the revolutionary solidarity which they displayed every time one of the Arab countries was attacked, overtly or covertly, by the imperialist powers. This was the case, for example, when the peoples of South Arabia pressed for unification, when Syria became the object of intrigues on the part of the Baghdad Pact countries, and at the time of the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt which evoked a powerful protest movement in all countries of the Arab world.

The bourgeois concept of Arab unity, its narrow class approach to this issue, could retard the growth of the national-liberation movement in this area. Its wrong concept of unity has, as a matter of fact, weakened the ties between the people of Egypt and Syria (there was very nearly an armed conflict when relations were broken off between Syria and Egypt). It has enabled the Right Baathists, agents of imperialism, to seize power in Syria,

to nullify the gains of the Iraq revolution of July 14, 1958, and thus prepare the ground for putting CENTO back in the saddle.

The desire to achieve unity at all costs, even if the conditions for this are not yet ripe, is preventing the struggle of the Arab peoples for democracy and socialism gaining ground. Once the slogan of unity is deprived of its revolutionary content, Arab unity is bound to be regarded as an end in itself, and not as a means for giving expression to the revolutionary solidarity of the Arab peoples, without which the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism cannot be successful. In that case the upshot would be a formal union between the governments who, in one degree or another, would be subservient to the imperialists, and the slogan of unity would, as a result, serve the ends of imperialism. The attempts of the Right Baathists in Iraq and Syria to bolster the anti-democratic regime in these countries bear this out.

Noteworthy too are the results of the policy pursued by President Nasser and his supporters in Egypt.

It was clear to many progressives that Nasser and his supporters incorrectly interpreted the slogan of Arab unity and that their attempts to give effect to this slogan before the Arab countries had taken the socialist path were doomed to failure. Nasser's attempts simply led to a temporary conciliation with the kings of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Yemen who used this slogan to bar the road to democracy and socialism in their countries. Thereupon Nasser advocated a slogan of unity of aims; the end result was that this enabled the Right Baathists to establish their power in Iraq and Syria. The tripartite talks in Cairo that followed the coups of February 8, 1963, in Iraq, and of March 8, 1963, in Syria, and subsequently the violation of the Cairo Declaration of April 17, 1963, by the Baath show that they had no intention of forming a union with Egypt. Their aim was to strengthen their own positions with the help of Egypt, and they temporarily succeeded in this. They even connived with the imperialists when the latter intrigued to abolish the gains of the Egyptian people won by them after the 1952 revolution.

But this does not mean that the leaders of the Arab states should not meet to work out common decisions. Only recently the heads of 16 Arab states met in Cairo in connection with the threat by Israel to divert the waters of the Jordan to its territory. This conference helped to improve relations between the Arab countries and to strengthen the ties of solidarity between their peoples in the fight against

imperialism and neo-colonialism. Therein lies its significance. The conference was called on the initiative of Egypt. This is another instance of the role it can play in the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

Misinterpretation of the slogan of Arab unity has cost the Arab peoples a heavy price. Arab patriots should, therefore, revise the concept of Arab unity so that this slogan could be used as a powerful weapon in the liberation struggle against the imperialists, and for progress and well-being for the Arab peoples. Development of cultural and economic relations on a basis of equality, closer contact between the Arab peoples — it is along these lines that genuine sovereignty, democracy and socialism can be achieved. This, in turn, will serve as a good basis for the political unification of the Arab countries, for as long as exploitation of man by man exists there can be no unity based on real equality. History teaches that this can be achieved only under socialism.

The experience of Soviet society bears this out. The Soviet people have turned the equal union of peoples that arose as a result of the victory of the October Revolution into a powerful state — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a bastion of peace and national independence for all oppressed peoples, and which shows in practice how the national and colonial questions should be resolved.

When we say that political unification, which the Arab peoples desire, can be achieved only under socialism, we must bear in mind at the same time that the struggle for Arab unity and the struggle for socialism are inter-related, that the one influences the other. Unless we take a definite scientific stand on this issue, unless we take into account all aspects of the struggle of the Arab peoples and the different forms this struggle takes, it will be very difficult indeed to achieve socialism, and the slogan of Arab unity might even become an obstacle to the establishment of the socialist society to which the Arab peoples aspire.

Because of mistakes made when applying the slogan of Arab unity, the revolutionary struggle for freedom and socialism suffered decline in a number of countries. We also feel that Egypt's role in the Arab national-liberation struggle was not correctly understood. This slogan can be properly assessed only on the basis of a comprehensive study of the historical and economic development of Egypt, of its ideological and cultural influence on the Arab peoples, and its role in international politics.

Due regard for these objective factors would help, on the one hand, to avoid underestimating Egypt's influence on the national-liberation

movement in the Arab East and, on the other, to eliminating the negative features in Egypt's home and foreign policy, especially in its policy in relation to the other Arab countries. The need for a comprehensive critical examination of Egypt's role in the Arab national-liberation movement, of the positive and negative aspects of its policy, is dictated by life itself, for unless this is done it will be impossible to clear up the confusion and to eliminate the tension in the ranks of the national-liberation movement. There is no need to underscore and exaggerate the negative features; this might not only add to the confusion and vacillation among those sincerely striving for independence, democracy and socialism, but also throw the doors open to new intrigues by the imperialists and, what is more, intrigues directed against Egypt (Communists and other progressives have more than once warned of this).

It is not enough to see only the influence of the international situation on Egypt's development and the role played by the extensive aid rendered by the Soviet Union in building up the country's economy. The progressive forces of the Arab world should promote the progressive development of Egypt and accelerate the pace of this development. We should, therefore, emphasize also the positive aspects of Egypt's policy. An objective approach to the measures introduced in this country could be the starting point for reaching mutual understanding and for coordinating efforts, and also for strengthening the solidarity of the Arab peoples in the fight for liberation and to foil the designs of the imperialists. The progressive leaders of the other Arab countries would also benefit from such mutual understanding, for none of them can hope to counter the machinations of the imperialists singly. All progressive Arab leaders, therefore, taking into account the main contradiction in this area of the world—the contradiction between the Arab peoples and imperialism—consider it necessary actively to support the positive anti-imperialist aspects of Egypt's policy. We fully agree with Fuad Nassar when he says that the positive economic, social and political measures carried out in Egypt have not weakened the contradictions between the Egyptian people and imperialism. On the contrary, the contradictions have become more pronounced. (See *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1964.)

Egypt occupies a progressive position on

many issues. In the sphere of home policy the positive measures included nationalization of the Suez Canal and the foreign banks and companies, the weakening of feudal and semi-feudal relations and the positions of the big bourgeoisie, extension of the state sector in the economy, the decision to build the Aswan Dam, the laws regarding trade union participation in the management of enterprises, etc.

Egypt helped the Sudan to secure the complete withdrawal of British troops from its territory; it was one of the first to support the Algerian revolution, supplying the Algerian people with everything they needed to wage the armed struggle; it sent its troops to defend the republican system in Yemen against the secret agents of the former royal regime and its allies who had taken refuge in Saudi Arabia. Egypt rendered and is continuing to render extensive moral and material support to the peoples fighting against the colonialists in South Africa and Aden. Egypt's support of the African people's struggle is seen in its condemnation of the Verwoerd government's policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, in its stand at the conference in Addis Ababa, in its support of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Angola, in the assistance it rendered to Lumumba, and later to his party. It plays a significant role on the international scene — its policy of peace and friendship with all peoples enjoys the wide support of the peoples of the non-aligned countries.

But an objective assessment also requires stressing that the shortcomings in Egypt's policy should be eliminated, particularly in the sphere of home policy which is still largely anti-democratic. For the economy to develop and become an independent economy the people should have broad democratic rights. This will make for all-round political and economic development. The participation of the masses helped to maintain the independence of Egypt at the time of the triple aggression in 1956 when the people defended the sovereignty of their country.

Today, as never before, it is necessary to combine the efforts of the people in the fight for the independent development of Egypt. This can be achieved only by extending democracy, by giving the people broad democratic liberties.

A. SULEIMAN

Trade Union Unity Is the Key to Unity in the Greek Working-Class Movement*

OUR COUNTRY figures prominently in the economic, political and military plans of NATO. The imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, jointly with the local plutocracy are doing their best to crush the popular movement which acquired immense scope during the anti-fascist resistance and is deeply rooted in our country to this day.

Their main object is to divide the people and prevent unity of the working class and of all who gave battle to German and Italian fascism during the war, to this end they are employing every conceivable means, from the ideological offensive, with anti-communism as the main weapon, all the way to naked terror.

The work is hampered by the fact that the Communist Party in Greece has been outlawed. More than 500 patriots have been held in prison for 15 years and more. Moreover, the reactionaries have ample funds and a well-organized machine of fabrication, slander, bribery and blackmail to make the struggle for unity and democracy extremely difficult.

The advantages, however, are not all on one side. In the first place, the basic contradiction in our society, that between the local oligarchy and foreign imperialism, on the one hand, and all the other social classes and groups including the national bourgeoisie, on the other, has been greatly exacerbated. The changed balance in favor of socialism, the economic, technological and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have made a powerful impression on the working people in our country. The policy of peaceful coexistence and the let-up in tension thanks to the consistent pursuit of this policy by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have created a favorable climate in our country for the growth of the democratic movement, particularly in view of the fact that it was the war hysteria and the cold war that brought the reactionaries to power in our country.

* * *

A feature of the Greek working-class movement is that *politically* the influence of the Communist Party and the Left predominates. This was seen in the results of the general election last year, when in the towns, and especially in the electoral precincts in the working

class districts, nearly half the electorate, and in some cases as much as 70 per cent, voted for the EDA, the United Party of the Democratic Left. In the *trade-union* movement, on the other hand, the leadership is largely reformist and reactionary.

One of the weaknesses of the Greek bourgeoisie and its foreign patrons is that no party of any significance of the social-democratic type has been able to take root in Greece, although not a few attempts have been made in this direction. (Much effort is being exerted now to create such a party artificially with the aid of the Socialist International and with the strong support of German Social Democracy). We have only one working-class party in Greece, the Communist Party, which although functioning illegally nevertheless exerts a considerable ideological and political influence on the working class. Communists are working together with Socialists and other democrats in the EDA, the legal democratic party of the people, and hence it may be said that politically the working-class movement in our country is united.

In the trade-union movement the situation is quite the reverse. Besides the General Confederation of Labor there is the New General Confederation of Labor, the All-Greek Confederation of Workers affiliated to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, the Committee of democratic organization which functions as a separate body and is working to establish a new general confederation. All these organizations are run by Right-wing reformists. The division in their ranks is a reflection of the conflicting currents within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Besides these national unions there are unions (in the enterprises and at city and provincial level) in many industrial federations.

Most Greek workers are unorganized, although some progress has been made in this respect in recent years.

The situation in the trade-union movement is due to police terror and coercion by the employers and their interference in trade union affairs, to the policy of class collaboration adopted by the reformist bureaucracy, a policy which has alienated the bulk of the workers from the unions (the smaller unions are run exclusively by reformists), to the fact that

*Continuation of the discussion of working-class unity in the developed capitalist countries (see **WMR** Nos. 1-2, 1964).

defeat in the armed struggle of 1946-49 and the sectarian course of our Party up to 1956 enabled the reformists to strengthen their influence in the working class in recent years owing to the influx of peasants and urban middle sections.

Another reason is that there is still a wide gap between the substantial political influence of the Lefts and the relative weakness of their political organization in the enterprises, despite measures taken to remedy this. There are still Party members and sympathizers who do not belong to the trade unions in their industry or who do not work in the unions.

This makes the restoration of united trade-union action and organizational unity of the trade unions a matter of first-rate importance for the unity of the working class movement; unity would enhance the role of the working class in political life and enable it to wage a successful struggle.

The obstacle in this respect is the infringement by the oligarchy and the government of elementary democracy and trade-union rights, the anti-communism of the Right-wing union leaders, their policy of class collaboration, and violation of democracy in the unions.

It should be borne in mind that Greece has a powerful police apparatus with special trade-union departments: the secret police get unions banned, persecute active trade unionists (especially in the big enterprises), interfere in strikes and divide the unions, spy on their leaders, and even resort to violence to prevent united action.

Moreover, the reformist bureaucracy, using the bogey of anti-communism, has established the most undemocratic regime in the unions. In the name of "unity" the membership and all the unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Greek Unions are obliged to subscribe to the theory of class collaboration. All unions and union officials are urged to sign an "oath of allegiance" to the principle of class collaboration and "free and democratic syndicalism," and to renounce any organization that stands for class struggle. Trade Union officials who refuse to submit to this blackmail are either expelled or denied admittance to local trade union centers.

Here is an example showing the dependence of the Trade Union Confederation on the oligarchy and the government. In the period between its 13th and 14th congresses, the expenditure of the Confederation amounted to approximately 8,800,000 drachmas. To cover this sum the board of the Confederation accepted 7,400,000 drachmas from the Ministry of Labor, 550,000 from the employers (compulsory

contributions from the workers) and 200,000 from the ICFTU. Membership dues totalled only 450,000 drachmas. Thus, nearly 95 per cent of Confederation expenditure was covered from the Ministry treasury and deductions from the workers' wages.

The struggle for working-class unity and for trade-union unity is tied up with the struggle for democracy. Persistent and systematic work is needed to organize and direct workers' actions on a united front basis. The day-to-day actions should be closely linked with the struggle for democratic and trade-union rights, for ending the dependence of the trade unions on the employers and on the state, and for democracy in the unions. At the same time it is necessary to step up the fight against the ideology of class collaboration and anti-communism.

* * *

In our efforts to organize mass actions and to link them with the struggle for democratic rights we have encountered two erroneous concepts. The first is that in Greek conditions, where trade-union and democratic rights are trampled underfoot and where the General Confederation is run by the reformist bureaucracy, it is impossible, we are told, to organize and carry out effective actions. The second is the assertion that working-class actions should be limited to purely economic matters, and the consequent underestimation of the possibilities of combining economic action with the struggle for democratic rights.

Experience has proved the groundlessness of these views. Of late popular actions, and especially the working-class struggle, have been growing in scale.

The total number of workers involved in strikes and stoppages in 1963 was close to one million, as against approximately 450,000 in 1962. Moreover, the strike movement, which formerly showed a tendency to decline temporarily during election campaigns, gathered momentum at the time of the 1963 elections. Of the 500,000 workers who went on strike in the first nine months of 1963, 300,000 downed tools after the fall of the Karamanlis government (July-September, 1963).

This struggle has yielded some tangible results. The workers won a wage increase and defended their trade-union and democratic rights. And what is most important, the rise of the struggle, and primarily working-class action, in 1963 was decisive in bringing about the fall of the government of the Rights and the defeat of the reactionaries in the November general election.

The continued concentration and centraliza-

tion of capital and the growing exploitation of all sections of the working population provide an opportunity for cementing the unity of the working people. There is a definite striving in this direction in the lower trade union bodies. But the reformist bureaucracy with its policy of dividing the working class and preaching "class collaboration" prevents the working-class centers of the Confederation, the craft unions under its control, and indeed the Confederation as a whole, from fulfilling their mission to unite the working class as a counterweight to the combined forces of the oligarchy.

In these circumstances the workers and their trade unions at the lower levels, without withdrawing from the union centers and resisting attempts of the bureaucracy to isolate these organizations, are taking the initiative in conducting coordinated actions. They are setting up coordinating committees in one or another branch of industry; between various branches where the workers have common demands; on the scale of towns, and between the lower working-class organizations in the towns. The coordinating committee of the building workers unions of Athens, Piraeus and Elefsis which, in its turn, cooperates closely with building workers' unions in other cities (Volos, Patrai, Salonika and elsewhere) was set up in this way.

In the course of the fight for an earlier pension age (without increasing social insurance payments) a broad front was formed of organizations in industries where the work is especially arduous and harmful. A coordinating committee of urban bus workers has been formed and the idea of coordinating the actions of all the transport workers' unions is gaining popularity. The struggle for higher wages and salaries and against the anti-labour legislation which the Karamanlis government tried to put

through led to the cooperation of 115 lower trade unions in Athens, Piraeus and Patrai. This cooperation took organizational form in the election of a permanent Executive Committee called the "Coordination Movement of the 115." After the victory of the democratic forces in the November 1963 elections this movement was joined by another 108 lower trade unions. This was a big success for our trade-union movement, involving as it did mass organizations uniting more than half of the organized workers in the three towns.

Greece's entry into the Common Market poses new problems before the trade unions. Our workers are beginning to be conscious of the need for the trade unions of the member-countries of the Common Market to work out a program of necessary joint action to curb the domination of the monopolies in the economic, political and social life of the countries of Western Europe. For the Greek working-class movement the immediate task is to join with the trade-union centers in other countries to prevent discrimination against Greek workers who have migrated to West Germany and Belgium.

* * *

These are some of the specific problems and difficulties confronting the working class of Greece in its struggle for unity. The situation in our country following the overthrow of the ten-year rule of an ultra-reactionary government is rapidly changing and is marked by instability. But, no matter how things go, the unity of the working class and the fusing of the democratic forces remains the essential and vital prerequisite for the defense of peace and national independence, for the restoration and development of democracy and for the advance to socialism.

N. KALOUDIS

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

New Measures to Advance the Soviet Economy

MEASURES taken of late in the Soviet Union to give a new spur to the economy cover a wide area; the basic purpose is to improve the structure of industry with a view to putting it on a more intensive footing. The new levers are designed to raise output and ensure increasing returns.

The December 1963 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU posed the accelerated development of the chemical industry as the key task at the present stage in the building of the technological base of communism in the USSR. All the things — the financial means, the industrial groundwork and the personnel — needed to ensure a rapid increase in chemical production and the extensive use of chemical products in all branches of the economy have been provided.

The past ten years have been marked by a steady advance of the Soviet economy. Last year gross industrial output amounted to 2.7 times, and per capita output to 2.3 times, the 1953 figure. In the same period per capita output in the USA went up only 15 per cent. Soviet industry as a whole systematically overfulfilled its plans. In the first five years of the seven-year plan gross industrial output increased by 58 per cent as against the projected 51 per cent. The growth in 1963 alone was 8.5 per cent. (Last year's growth rate in the USA, the highest for many years, was only five per cent.) Moreover, while expanding heavy industry, the Soviet people are living better. Suffice it to mention that in the past ten years nearly half of the entire population moved into new homes.

The level of industrial development achieved to date makes it possible to channel vast resources to all-round chemicalization of the economy. In the next seven years (1964-70) more than 42,000 million rubles will be invested in the chemical industry and in providing chemicals for agriculture. Chemical output is to increase in this period 3—3.3-fold and its share in the gross industrial production will be nearly doubled.

Rapid economic progress enables the Soviet Union steadily to widen the range of industries in which it leads the world. In a number of branches it has overtaken or outstripped the

United States. The annual growth in the output of steel, cement and other items, including oil extraction, has exceeded the corresponding U.S. levels. In the past 10 years the per capita electric power output in the USSR increased 2.6-fold. The Soviet overall industrial output was about 65 per cent of the U.S. figure in 1963, as against 47 per cent in 1957 and 33 per cent in 1953. The USSR is thus steadily overtaking the USA.

The changes projected in the structure of the Soviet economy will affect all areas of life. Both heavy and light industry will be provided with raw materials making for bigger returns, agriculture will have more fertilizers and other chemicals at its disposal, and as a result the country as a whole will have more consumer goods and food to meet the growing requirements.

The Soviet people are faced with big tasks in another important field of endeavor — agriculture. The rate of agricultural development has considerably increased since 1958. In 1954-62 the average annual rate of growth of farm production was 3.5 per cent. Last year the exceptionally bad weather conditions affected the harvest of a number of crops, above all grain, but for all that state purchases of both grain and livestock products from the farms were considerably greater than in 1953.

In February the Central Committee met to examine ways and means of improving farming. In particular, emphasis was placed on the extensive use of mineral fertilizers, the annual output of which is to reach some 70-80 million tons by 1970. Chemical herbicides and pesticides will be extensively used. Irrigation is to be promoted with a view to substantially increasing the share of irrigated farm lands in the total cultivated area. Much attention will be paid to comprehensive mechanization and introduction of the latest scientific methods. The initial results of this program will make themselves felt this year.

The Soviet economy is well equipped to cope with these complex tasks. For the socialist system ensures a high rate of production growth and technological advance.

V. GUSEV

Mexican Communist Party Convention

THE FOURTEENTH National Convention of the Mexican Communist Party, held in Mexico City in December, 1963, approved the report of the Central Committee, adopted a resolution on the election campaign and the Program and Rules of the Party, and elected a new Central Committee. This was announced by the Central Committee in a statement issued after the Convention, which was held secretly because of the terror and the absence of constitutional guarantees.

The Convention, the statement says, was marked by enthusiasm and a lively exchange of views by delegates representing 20 states of the country. Its features were unity and solid support of the political line elaborated by the Central Committee, optimism reflecting the growing popular struggle and the progress made in building independent mass organizations, and creative examination of the political situation and the Party's tasks.

Continuing the line charted at the previous Convention, the delegates assessed the changes that had taken place in the national and international political scene and outlined a further course of action with a view to making full use of the new opportunities.

The Convention was a landmark in the growth of the Party into the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class, with deep roots among the masses and pursuing a correct tactical and strategic line.

While splinter groups claiming to be Marxist-Leninist fall apart and disappear and while their following is increasingly beset by doubts and confusion, the party of the working class is growing. The wavering and opportunist Left elements are becoming more and more isolated, whereas the Party is gaining strength and preparing to carry out new tasks.

The Convention unanimously condemned the stand taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of China on the basic problems of the time, such as the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. The position of the Chinese comrades, it declared, runs counter to the general line of the international Communist movement. The Convention reaffirmed the Party's support of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, and urged that the public polemic between fraternal parties be stopped and a conference of all Communist and Workers' parties convened.

In the light of the international situation, the Convention posed the tasks of rallying the

masses in the fight for world peace, of upholding the unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; it called for struggle for an independent Mexican policy of peace, trade with all countries and diplomatic and trade relations between Mexico and the Chinese People's Republic, solidarity with Cuba and other peoples fighting against oppression, especially in Latin America; it urged redoubled efforts to combat neo-colonialism in Latin America and especially the Alliance for Progress, the Security Committee set up by the Organization of American States and the Rio de Janeiro pact of 1947.

On the home situation, the Convention noted that in the past 25 years capitalist production relations had become dominant in both town and countryside. The bourgeoisie had cashed in on the progress made in agriculture and industry and had brought the movements of the peasants and the workers under its influence; this was the basic reason why the Mexican working-class and peasant movement had been in the doldrums for years. But this period is over, as can be seen from the big trade union and peasant actions of 1958-59.

In recent years the economy has entered a critical phase. The international and national factors which accounted for the expansion of 1940-57 have largely expended themselves. There are unmistakable signs of stagnation and living conditions are again becoming intolerable. Yet the bourgeoisie, despite lip-service to "fair distribution of incomes," has made only insignificant concessions which cannot appreciably alleviate the plight of the masses.

The capitalists will not agree to any distribution of income in favor of the working people. The exploiters will not voluntarily relinquish their privileges. The only reliable guarantee of improvement in the conditions of the people is mass struggle, independent action on the part of the trade unions and peasants and other public organizations.

U.S. imperialism remains the most dangerous enemy of the Mexican people. But the victorious spread of the national-liberation movement and the heavy blows rained on the imperialists by the people of Mexico have compelled it to resort to more insidious neo-colonialist devices to gain its ends.

Capitalist development has not freed the country from imperialist oppression and exploitation which penetrate all areas of the national life.

Recent governments, and in particular the government of Lopez Mateos, have been pursuing a policy of conciliation and compromise with the U.S. imperialists, an anti-labor and anti-democratic policy aimed at strengthening capitalist rule.

On the other hand, the masses are awakening to the need for far-reaching change, for radical solutions to the problems facing Mexico.

Despite the efforts of the ruling big bourgeoisie to perpetuate conditions ensuring the relative security of its rule, the objective trend is towards polarization of political forces.

The contradictions between the different sections of the bourgeoisie are growing away from capitalist influence.

From this the Convention concluded that the conditions are becoming more favorable for the democratic national-liberation revolution through which the people of Mexico will advance to socialism.

This, however, does not mean that the situation is already ripe for the democratic national-liberation revolution. This revolution — the only way left to the people to strike a crushing blow at the reactionaries and to end the plight of the masses — must be prepared by fighting for immediate demands and for an alliance of democratic forces. Firmly adhering to this course, the Communist Party is working to win over the masses and to build a democratic front through which unity of action can be achieved by all the forces striving for liberation and for a democratic political system. In view of this, the Convention characterized the present period as the period of gathering strength. The day-to-day activities of the Party are aimed at promoting the struggle for a program of immediate demands and far-reaching reforms reflecting the aspirations of the vast majority of the population. The basic elements of this program are:

—effective curbs on infiltration by foreign monopolies; regulation of foreign investments and nationalization of the principal foreign monopolies; control over the exchange rate; an immediate radical agrarian reform; respect for the rights and guarantees proclaimed in the Constitution; an independent and peace-loving foreign policy; a democratic political regime, strict observance of the Constitution, and release of political prisoners.

The Convention endorsed the participation of the Communist Party in building the National-Liberation Movement and approved of the role it has played in the development of this organization and the efforts it is now making to transform it into a genuine instrument of unity and joint action. The Convention noted that

some of the leaders of the Movement are undermining unity and seeking to divert it from the line charted at the National Assembly which inaugurated it; these leaders, trying to turn it into an organization of one trend only, are discriminating against other trends. If the National-Liberation Movement is to develop, it must use all avenues to build a broad alliance of political forces, parties and groups sharing the common goal of liberation and national independence.

At present the leaders of the Socialist People's Party headed by Lombardo Toledano reject united action with the Communists and are conducting a smear campaign against various democratic forces on the pretext of "organic unity" and a "united working-class party."

The stand taken by some of the leaders of the National-Liberation Movement during the election campaign and the old attitude of Lombardo Toledano towards the Communist Party impede the unity of all champions of national liberation and democracy. The Communists, however, will continue to work for the unity of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces as the prime prerequisite of progress.

The Convention pointed out that the founding of the Independent Peasant Confederation accords with the situation in the countryside and opens a new stage in the struggle waged by the agricultural laborers and peasants for their demands.

It is the Party's task to further the struggle for independent trade unions and democracy, for workers' rights, against unemployment and for more jobs. The Party should pay special attention to such long-standing tasks as achieving unity among all trends working for independent working-class action and seeking to build revolutionary trade unions.

The Presidential election campaign now under way, the statement says, is the most undemocratic election campaign in the country's history.

But there are also new elements in the present campaign: the government is experiencing difficulties, the masses are swinging to the Left, and new opportunities are opening up for their independent organization.

The Convention called on the democratic forces to enter the electoral lists with a revolutionary program capable of hastening unity and accelerating the polarization of forces, a program which would help to organize the masses and lead them to independent action.

In view of this it was decided to join with other democratic bodies in an election alignment of the most consistent Left forces — the

Popular Election Front. Although the government has refused to register the Front as a contestant, it is conducting an energetic, militant campaign. The Convention decided that the Party would join in this campaign and support the Front's Presidential candidate, Ramon Danzos Palomino, as well as its other candidates.

Adoption of the Program of the Party was a landmark in its ideological and political development.

The Program is based on an analysis of the socio-economic development of the country and the victories won by the international working class and by the peoples fighting for national liberation, especially the Latin American peoples. It defines the objectives which the Party offers the people at successive historical stages—the aims of the people's revolution and the democratic national-liberation revolution, as well as the ultimate aims of the Party and the working class—socialism and communism.

The Program shows that far-reaching changes

are needed in the economic and political structure of the country, changes which can be achieved only through revolution.

The course of this revolution and the forms of struggle needed to carry it out will depend on the conditions at the time of the maturing of a revolutionary situation.

A central place in the Program is devoted to establishing a powerful democratic national-liberation front, the motive forces of which should be the working class, the peasantry, the revolutionary intellectuals and students and the national bourgeoisie.

The basic prerequisite for the victory of this front is the participation in it of the working class as the basic and leading force, inasmuch as it is the most militant and revolutionary class in Mexican society.

The National Convention elected the new Central Committee, which in turn elected Comrade Arnaldo Martinez Verdugo as its First Secretary.

Forthcoming National Conference of the Italian Communist Party

IN PREPARATION for the national conference on organizational questions due to be held in mid-March, the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party has published in *Unita* a document outlining measures for adapting the Party organizationally to current requirements.

"The problems confronting the Party," states this document, "its character, its role in the life of the nation and its organization should be examined in the light of the big political problems with which we are confronted today, and the far-reaching economic, social and political changes that have taken place and are still taking place in Italy. In keeping with the decisions of the Tenth Congress and the directives subsequently issued by the Central Committee, particularly those concerning the struggle for socialism in the countries of advanced capitalism, and also the differences in the international Communist movement, the national conference sets itself the following aims:

a) to analyze the organizational strength of the Party, perspectives of growth, the effectiveness of its influence and development in recent years;

b) to study the contradictions, discrepancies, shortcomings and mistakes in the organization-

al work of the Party, especially in connection with the new economic and political situation in the country;

c) to ascertain what can be done to ensure that the Party is organizationally equipped to cope with the political tasks facing it, and submit corresponding proposals to the leading bodies.

Analyzing the changes that have occurred in Italian society, the Central Committee noted that in recent years Italy has been changing from a predominantly agricultural into a predominantly industrial country along lines bearing the imprint of modern capitalism, a process which far from having solved the historically-conditioned structural contradictions in Italy has, on the contrary, aggravated the contradictions.

"The whole of Italian reality," the document goes on, "makes radical changes in the system imperative. At the same time, it has become increasingly difficult to organize and give leadership to the actions needed to bring about these changes."

The monopoly structure and the lines of social development imposed by it give rise to all kinds of attacks and pressures designed to prevent democracy for the people, and to pre-

vent democratic institutions from functioning.

The Central Committee holds that all parties wishing to resist attempts to minimize their role in democratic society, all parties striving for a form of social development other than that which is determined by the rule of the monopolies, should become the avenues for the independent organization of the popular masses. Independent public activities and the political voice of ever bigger sections of the working people will find independent expression through these avenues. For every democratic party, and primarily for the Communist Party, this calls for more effective ideological work, a broader and more independent view of society and its objectives and the organization of the Party on a firm democratic foundation.

Pointing out that the strengthening of the democratic institutions and the complete autonomy of the mass organizations are essential to democratic development, the Central Committee draws attention to the fact that such autonomy and all-round development of the democratic movement heighten the role of the Party.

The Central Committee further points to the need to establish a system of new contacts between all forces which accept the socialist perspective, without any loss of traditions or organization, and with the long-range prospect of overcoming the division between the various political organizations of the working class and laying the foundation for a unified organization. "The problem of relations and dialogue with the political and democratic Catholic movement, another major force whose contribution is essential to the building of a new society in Italy, should also be examined from this standpoint," the document states.

The Party, it declares, must strengthen its image as a powerful, mass militant organization in order to measure up to its increased political influence, to be in a better position to pursue its positive policy, and "... to combat the sectarian position which denies the revolutionary significance of the struggle for economic and political structural reforms in Italy and underestimates the mass character of the Party, maintaining that it would be better to have a smaller party but one that would be better 'prepared' for the 'revolutionary moment'."

The Central Committee calls for a struggle against any attempt to underestimate the importance of mass struggle and day-to-day work by attaching undue significance to the fact that although Party membership had declined at the time of the 1963 elections, its vote increased.

The Central Committee points out that the further development of democracy in the Party is a vital condition for strengthening the Party, that the principle of democratic centralism must be consistently carried out, and that basic political issues should be constantly debated with a view to arriving at definite conclusions and being guided accordingly in working toward the planned objectives.

The drop in the membership of the Party and the Communist Youth organization—which has widened the discrepancy between the number of Communists and the number of those voting for the Party—has caused difficulties for the Party. "In 1953 the Communist vote worked out at 2.3 votes per Party member, in 1958—3.6 and in 1963—4.8. This discrepancy shows, on the one hand, that there are good opportunities for expanding the ranks of the Party, and on the other hand, it highlights the shortcomings apparent in recent years in the work of maintaining and strengthening the mass character of the Party.

The Central Committee stresses the importance of overcoming such shortcomings as the drop in membership in the youth federation, the weakening of the Party branches in industry, violations of the territorial allocation of the Party's forces, inadequacy of work among working women, etc.

"The alarming tendency (which began approximately ten years ago and which ceased only recently) toward a weakening of Party organizations in the factories and in the enterprises generally should be carefully studied.

"This is not only a matter of organization. The Party and the youth federation are still finding it difficult to establish permanent contacts with young workers who, although they are in the vanguard of the trade union struggle and often vote Communist, have not yet been won over ideologically. The difficulty is frequently due to insufficient knowledge of the actual production, social and political conditions and the class conflicts at the point of production; political work in this area is still inadequate. The Party branches in the factories still tend to be appendages to the trade unions and their role reduced to that of conducting propaganda on general questions. These shortcomings are interlinked with objective difficulties due to arbitrary actions of the management and to pressure exerted by reactionaries in the factories, to the rapid industrial development and the changes taking place in industry and in society. Reactionary pressure and the paternalism of the employers are still widespread in the enterprises, but the growing activity of the workers in recent years, the drop in unem-

ployment, the influx of large numbers of new, class conscious workers from among the youth and returned emigrants, the electoral success of our Party, the elements of crisis in the other party blocs—all this has created new conditions making it possible to step up our initiative in the plants."

The document speaks also of the need to improve the training of members. "In the present situation a new type of Party functionary is needed, one who can combine a firm Communist consciousness and correct general political orientation with a wider concrete knowledge of the economic and social problems which must be solved if our policy is to be successfully carried out. . . ."

It is proposed, among other things, to alternate the functionaries in charge of the different branches of Party work "so as to give them an opportunity to gain experience on a national scale, at the periphery, in parliament and in journalism, and to ensure the steady growth and harmonious education of all leading functionaries."

The new political problems facing the Party require not only new methods of work, but also new forms and methods of organization. To this end it is proposed to decentralize the organizational structure of the Party at all levels in order to bring it close to the local conditions and better to equip it to solve the basic problems of the Party.

"Today," says the document, "we have 11,120 sections and groups, 37,994 branches, 5,917 of them in the enterprises. The branches and sections are the basic structure of the Party. . . . However, the political life of many of these organizations is negligible and their development is slow, especially in the factories." It is proposed that the conference discuss measures aimed at revitalizing the factory organizations, linking the work in the factories with the struggle of the Party for economic, social and political regeneration on the scale of the whole country; to form Party organizations in enterprises where as yet they do not exist; to link the factory organization with the territorial section or with the district or municipal committee, and also if necessary, directly with the leading bodies of the federation depending on the size, the political and economic weight of the enterprise; to establish also direct contact between factory organizations concerned with the same political problems; to enhance the political weight of the factory organizations and of the leading Party workers in the factories.

The document draws attention also to the difficulties encountered in the political work of the territorial branches and suggests discussing measures to create a more widespread Party network in the towns, villages and communities.

The Central Committee considers that in elaborating a line of action for various large-scale industrial sectors and on major questions of reform of the political and social structure, it is advisable to generalize the experience of the working groups at all levels. The groups should not consist only of experts engaged in the study of specific problems. They should unite all comrades who can contribute some share to drawing up a line of action and implementing some particular aspect of Party policy.

The document notes that the town and district committees should be regarded not simply as liaison bodies between the branches but as militant political centers of leadership. It is further stressed that in carrying out the decentralization it will be necessary to enhance the role of the regional committees. To exercise political leadership the committees must have at their disposal working commissions and groups.

The Central Committee suggests further that the Conference examine also the work of the top bodies of the Party, both from the standpoint of the content of their work as well as possible suggestions for revising and improving their structure.

Pointing out that the conference should devote special attention to propaganda, the document stresses that the popularity of mass media, mainly television, highlights the need to use radio and television for democratic purposes and not to allow these to be monopolized by the Christian Democratic Party; to learn to make better use of these and other technical media of information (films, gramophone records, tape recorders); to combine traditional propaganda means (press, public meetings and demonstrations) with the new media.

The work of the Party press must be improved and its circulation increased.

There is a big gap between the Party's political influence, the sympathy it enjoys and its financial base, hence a nationwide campaign to raise funds is essential.

For the successful fulfilment of the tasks, the document concludes, it will be necessary to revitalize the work and ensure a higher standard for all the leading cadres.

The People of Lebanon Are Strengthening Their Independence

NOT long ago the people of the Lebanon celebrated the 20th anniversary of their independence. The decisive factor in winning this independence was the unity of the democratic forces which crystallized in the National Congress where an active role was played by the Communists. Today, too, the Communist Party is fighting to consolidate the country's independence, to extend democracy and to satisfy the pressing demands of the workers and peasants and is waging a struggle against all those who are plundering the people—the big merchants, importers and foreign companies.

A loyal champion of the people, the Communist Party expresses their dissatisfaction with the so-called "free enterprise" policy which is paralyzing the national economy and dooming the workers and peasants, as well as the middle sections, to poverty and hardship. The Party calls upon the people to resist the Right-wing Baathists and their notorious "fertile crescent" scheme fostered by the British and U.S. imperialists, a scheme which would jeopardize the country's independence and territorial integrity. The highly unpopular government policy is causing as much suffering to the small shopkeepers and the middle strata generally as it is to the workers and peasants with the result that diverse sections of the population are uniting to fight poverty, profiteering and other social evils.

The newspaper *Al Akbar* in criticizing the economic policy of the government describes it as a policy of an unrestrained drive for profit, "a policy which places all the resources of the country at the disposal of a handful of importers, bankers and big commercial firms, and spells poverty and suffering for the working masses."

According to data cited by the Minister of the Interior, 500 of the 1,600 villages in the country have no schools, more than 600 villages are without roads, and 650 without drinking water; most villages have no electricity, in Beirut 70,000 people live in overcrowded conditions, and 200,000 live in houses unfit for human habitation. Commenting on these data, *Al Akbar* writes: "The position of the people will continue to worsen so long as the general policy of our country gives priority to the interests of the big merchants and importers, the exploiters and the profiteers."

The Communist Party, marching in the van-

guard of the working-class struggle, supports the strikes of the workers and explains to them that their demands can be satisfied only if they are united. The working class has had some success of late in fighting for its rights. A social security law (true, as yet by no means perfect) has now been passed. This is the fruit of a prolonged struggle waged by the workers against the big companies and their agents who infiltrated into the leadership of some of the unions and carried on disruptive activities inside the labor movement.

Condemning such activities as damaging not only to the workers and their trade unions, but to the interests of the country as a whole, the newspaper *An Nida* points out that "only by joint effort is it possible resolutely to rebuff the enemies of the workers and those who oppose social security."

Encouraged by their success in getting the social security law adopted, the workers, stepping up the struggle, are solidly against the anti-democratic bill on labor agreements and on prohibiting strikes which the government intends to put through in the near future.

The forces of democracy and progress won a big success last summer during the municipal elections. Formerly members of these councils were appointed, but the people demanded and finally won the right to elect them. The Communist Party urged the electorate to vote for the democratic candidates, men who had shown themselves to be staunch champions of the people. The biggest successes were registered in Mount Lebanon and Tripoli, where the democratic candidates won a big majority.

These results alarmed the reactionaries. In Bekka, in the south and in other districts democratic candidates who enjoyed the support of the people were persecuted, some were even arrested.

The Communist Party has taken a firm stand against the frequent visits of the U.S. Sixth Fleet to Lebanese shores. Hardly a month passes without U.S. warships appearing in our ports. The Party has pointed to the danger with which these "visits" are fraught for our country, noting that they are a challenge to the national sentiment of the people. The Party supported the protest demonstrations against these visits.

"The U.S. Sixth Fleet, equipped with nuclear missiles, is cruising in our waters," wrote *Al Shaab*. "It comes and goes without requesting

any permission, carrying deadly bombs in one hand and distributing handouts with the other, in an attempt to cover up its crimes with a semblance of aid."

"It is no secret," observed *Al Akbar*, "that the 'visits' of this fleet have always coincided with some important event in the Middle East. . . . It comes here to make a show of strength in support of one or another regime.

But its permanent aim is to intimidate the people."

The struggle waged by the people of the Lebanon is proof of their devotion to democratic rights and of their determination to exercise these rights. The people will not yield any of their liberties, nor will they permit their freedom to be stifled.

Ali BASHIR

A Day of Celebration and Struggle

IN ALMOST every country of the world March 8, International Women's Day, has become a day of celebration and commemoration. A day of evaluating women's role in the struggle for peace and progress.

International Women's Day in Australia has become an integral part of the Labor and trade union movement as well as the women's movement.

International Women's Day Celebrations

International Women's Day celebrations in Australia, organized by broad committees of women, have been held for many decades. There are today International Women's Day committees in every state, with national coordination of their work.

On March 8 in some cities marches through the city streets and park meetings, sometimes shown on television, have made the day better known.

International Women's Day is always associated with the struggle for peace and international friendship between women.

Arrangements made for visitors from China and Indonesia in 1960 and from the Soviet Union in 1962 involved many new participants in the celebrations.

In 1964 a French woman will participate in the celebrations.

Trade Unions and International Women's Day

Besides the broad women's movement, International Women's Day in Australia is observed officially by some trade unions, holding socials and factory-gate meetings, issuing special leaflets and greeting cards on March 8, and officially participating on the IWD committees.

In many centers trade unionists represent their unions on Women's Day committees.

The development of women's committees in all-male trade unions such as the Miners, Waterside Workers, Seamen, Metal, Building and other unions has facilitated an understanding in the unions that women can and must be

drawn into the activity and struggles of the unions, and has encouraged trade-union participation in the Women's Day celebrations.

These Women's Committees are particularly active when their menfolk are on strike, organizing relief work and speaking to workers in other industries. But they are also a great source of strength to the women's movement, taking up as they do the struggles of women and the needs of children.

Their work is mostly of a social character—Xmas trees, children's parties, veterans' dinners and picnics; but visits to jobs to see how their husbands work and thus learning of the job organization helps these women to appreciate the value and role of the unions.

Many women's committees, besides participating in the official Women's Day celebrations, hold their own celebrations with their menfolk both in socials and on the jobs.

Trade union activity in connection with Women's Day has in past years been around such themes as "women and their work," involving the working class and trade unions in the celebrations. The Trade Union press features special articles during the month of March.

The struggle for equal pay for women in Australia is part of the program of the official trade union movement. Equal pay committees under the auspices of the Australian Council of Trade Unions—the National Trade Union Center—and its branches, the Labor Councils in the states, have conducted activity and propaganda for equal pay.

In 1964 the official ACTU equal pay conference will take place in March, the same month as the celebrations of International Women's Day.

Latest census figures show that the number of married women in the Australian female work force increased from 11 per cent to 42 per cent between 1933 and 1961. At the time of the 1961 census there were 444,680 married women in a female work force of 1,059,169.

In 1961 the largest number of married women in the work force—74,660—were aged between 35-39; 67,695 were in the 40-45 age group, and 4,547 married women workers were 65 and over.

These figures show the changing pattern of women staying in, or returning to work after their families grow up. They answer one of the arguments against equal pay and equal opportunities for women that women are only in industry temporarily, till they marry. The trade union movement has a big job to draw these women into active membership of the trade unions.

Communist Party IWD Celebrations

In recent years the Communist Party of Australia has actively celebrated International Women's Day.

The decision of the Communist Party to hold a conference on Work Among Women in 1960, the year of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Australia and the year of the 50th anniversary of the founding of International Women's Day, did much to lift the level of work among women and promote a deeper understanding of its significance.

This conference, which was addressed by the President of the Party, R. Dixon, was seen not as a women's conference but as a conference of men and women Communists to grapple with this important aspect of work.

The question of women in industry was one of the main questions discussed.

At the conference, besides leaders of the Communist Party at all levels, there were national and state trade union leaders.

One of the lasting results of this conference was a lift in the level of independent work of the Communist Party for International Women's Day.

Every year the Party issues a special greeting card to women members and friends; these are distributed at special social functions and open branch meetings.

Communist Party districts and branches hold socials, cottage lectures, film evenings and barbecues, and some have held street and factory meetings.

Special leaflets directed to women in factories have been issued.

The Party press features special articles in February leading up to the celebrations, and the issue of March 8 has a special feature section. The journal *Communist Review* carries a special theoretical article in the month of March.

The need to build a broad women's move-

ment based on the working class, uniting Labor, Communist and non-party women, has long concerned the Communist Party.

Today is it generally understood that a mass women's organization is necessary. An organization with close ties with the trade union and labor movement that can draw women into action and activity at the level of their understanding.

World Congress of Women Inspires Action

The World Congress of Women organized by the Women's International Democratic Federation in Moscow in June 1963, has done much to further the struggles of women for peace, the rights of women and needs of children. The Congress appeal embraces all the aspirations near and dear to women.

The appeal for 1964 International Women's Day issued by Madame Cotton at the WIDF bureau meeting in Berlin in December 1963 will be a rallying call and inspiration to women to take the opportunity of IWD 1964 for peace action and international solidarity with women struggling against aggression and oppression.

Women will take this opportunity to act in support of their sisters in South Vietnam, Iraq, South Africa, and all countries struggling for their freedom and liberation.

Build and Broaden the Women's Movement

Like all mass movements the women's movement is not the preserve of any political party, of any sect or group. Its strength particularly since the end of the Second World War has been its breadth. This is recognized in the character of the organizations born in the postwar and united internationally in the WIDF.

Because of their position in society historically women need special organizations and these organizations must be so based as to draw women into activity at different levels, providing forms of activity, action and struggles that will take women further along the road to progress.

These organizations differ from country to country, but today at the center of all such organizations is the struggle against nuclear war. This struggle unites the widest and broadest sections of women who consciously and unconsciously realize that everything in life depends on stopping nuclear war.

This is why the campaign against French tests in the Pacific will be the center of IWD celebrations in Australia.

Freda BROWN

Work Among Immigrants in France

THE Communist Party of France considers work among immigrants essential from the viewpoint of proletarian solidarity and united action against the alliance of the monopolies and the policy of the de Gaulle government, and also in view of the important role played by immigrant workers in the economic life of the country. There are at present in France more than two million immigrants of fifty different nationalities. These include 800,000 Italians, more than 400,000 Spaniards, 400,000 Algerians, and 80,000 Portuguese. In 1962 the influx of immigrants reached the record figure of 120,000. This does not include the 650,000 refugees from Algeria.

The de Gaulle government is expanding its labor force at the expense of Spain, Portugal, Morocco, and other countries. This, needless to say, is adding to the number of unemployed in France. The immigrants are employed mainly in building, in the mines and in agriculture. In many enterprises and on building sites they comprise as much as 70 per cent of the total.

In these circumstances we consider it imperative to organize the immigrant workers to take their place alongside the working class of France and to participate in their actions.

Our Party condemns the compulsory displacement of labor. This is part of the de Gaulle government's policy to secure cheap labor for the monopolies which they utilize as a counterweight to suppress the mounting struggle of the working people for better conditions, for the extension of democratic liberties and for peace. This policy also runs counter to the interests of the international working class for it encourages migration from countries whose governments do not provide their citizens with work.

But although opposed to the policy of displacement of labor, we consider it necessary to support the immigrants, as stressed in the program of democratic and national reconstruction presented by Comrade Waldeck Rochet to the Sixteenth Congress of our Party.

The de Gaulle government utilizes the immigrant labor force to carry out a more stringent policy in all directions. In the economic sphere, for example, the intolerable conditions of these workers worsen the conditions of the working class as a whole. The immigrant worker is subjected to greater exploitation than is his French fellow worker. His wages are lower, and he is hired on contracts which are based on discrimination. Most of those employed in factories

and in building have no work books. They are thus virtually modern slaves who have only one right—the right to accept the employer's terms.

Discrimination exists not only as between natives and immigrants, but also between immigrants, depending on their country of origin. This is particularly evident in the matter of family allowances which are not alike for the French and for immigrant workers who have not been able to bring their families with them, or for that matter among the immigrants themselves where again a distinction is made depending on nationality. This amounts to downright robbery of these working people since they have to make their contribution to social insurance.

Discrimination is evident also as regards the curtailed family allowances which are paid out only as long as the contract lasts. In the case of Italians contracts can be for six years; for Spaniards, three years, and for Portuguese, two years.

Our Party is exposing this policy and taking measures to remedy the situation. Our program, for example, contains the demand for better housing for immigrants, and our deputies have raised this question before the government. Our deputies have also demanded that Italian workers be granted the same family allowances as the French workers. Their initiative was unanimously supported by the General Council of the Seine and Oise departments and the CGT. As a result of this united action the demand was won.

The movement for better conditions and equal family allowances has the support of numerous municipal councils. By promoting this kind of action our Party is thereby showing that the fight for equal wages and equal social rights is in the interests of all working people. The specific demands of the immigrants should be linked with the general struggle for higher wages, higher family allowances, etc. This will make it possible to broaden the base of the struggle.

The de Gaulle government, which is encroaching more and more on democratic rights, is clamping down on the immigrant workers in an attempt to prevent them from joining hands with their fellow workers. The immigrants constantly face the danger of deportation, they are not allowed to organize or to produce papers in their own language.

Although the government facilitates the employment of immigrants in the Renault plant,

they are prevented from taking part in trade union meetings. The police drove 19 Italian workers out of the plant for downing tools in solidarity with one of their fellow workers who was injured because of inadequate safety arrangements. Our Party organization in the plant, *l'Humanite*, the Communist deputies in Parliament and the CGT denounced this scandalous act. This protest prompted the Italian Consulate to request an inquiry.

In connection with the agreements concluded between Minister Frey and the Franco government, agreements which are spearheaded against the Spanish democrats residing in France, we have called on all our organizations to do everything, as the statement of the Political Bureau of the Party declares, to get "all democrats in France, all courageous men and women to protest without delay against any measures directed against the Spanish democrats on our soil."

The representatives of Little Europe talk a lot about a parliament of Europe. Yet the immigrant cannot be elected a trade union delegate if he has no residence permit which gives its holder certain privileges. The government, it should be said, rarely issues these permits. After five years residence in the country, the immigrant worker can vote in factory committee elections, but he is not eligible for election. This sort of thing not only restricts the liberties of this category of working people; it imperils the trade union rights of all wage earners, particularly in enterprises where there is a large percentage of immigrant workers. We are fighting for the right of immigrants to be elected as delegates and have won this right on some building sites.

The Party has taken measures to help its organizations tackle the problems of immigrants, and tackled they must be if a spirit of internationalism is to be developed among the French people and among the immigrants. *Cahiers du Communisme*, *France Nouvelle*, *L'Humanite* and *La Vie du Parti* carried articles on this subject. Extensive work has been conducted among the masses. In the provinces several newspapers conducted a campaign showing how important it was in the interests of solidarity and the common struggle to uphold the interests of this category of working people. It is also important in order to foil the government-inspired chauvinistic campaign against "foreigners" which aims at proving that the immigrant workers themselves and not the government and the monopolies are to blame for the low wages.

Our Party carries on educational and political work among the immigrants. In 1962 the Cen-

tral Committee put out 700,000 leaflets, pamphlets and bulletins, mainly in the Italian, Spanish, Polish, Portuguese and Armenian languages. Some federations publish mimeographed bulletins. Sections and branches also circulate materials in various languages. At present about a dozen language papers are put out by the Party branches in the big enterprises. "As a result of this work," declared Comrade Marchais in his report to the national conference in February 1963, "the Party has been able to establish closer contact with this category of working people and has enrolled many new members from their midst. But these successes still fall below the requirements of the struggle."

We must step up our activities, for the government is exerting pressure in the effort to keep the immigrants away from the struggle of the working class. This pressure is exerted through the numerous channels at the disposal of the state, and also through the numerous language newspapers and journals in the service of the government, which plead the argument that "the immigrant should not engage in politics on foreign soil." They are supported by reactionary Italian, Spanish and Portuguese newspapers and journals which are sold on our newsstands, whereas *Unita* and *Mundo Obrero* are not.

Then there is the ideological pressure exerted by the Catholic missions. In these circumstances one can well appreciate the scope of ideological work the Party has to carry out in order to get the immigrants to realize that it is in their interests to fight side by side with the millions of their fellow workers, that only through joint struggle with all working people will they be able to win their demands, that it is in their interest to take part in the fight for peace and for genuine democracy.

In our activities we also take into account another factor, namely, the national sentiment of the immigrants. They are inspired by the struggle of their people and this gives them an added interest in politics. Spanish immigrants, for example, were kept posted on the heroic struggle waged by their people in the spring of 1962 and the summer of 1963. Italian immigrants closely followed political developments in their country, particularly since they retain their voting rights. During the 1958 and 1963 general election, for example, many of them went to Italy where they voted for the Communist Party. Our organizations give them the necessary help. Foreign workers attend meetings at which reports are made about the latest developments in their respective countries.

All our publications devote much space to life in the Soviet Union. The progress made in building socialism and the exciting perspective of communism which spells happiness and peace for the peoples are contrasted to the regime of exploitation and repressions in the capitalist countries. We have published in this connection several Party documents in the Italian and Spanish languages.

The government is aware of the impact of our political and ideological work among the immigrant workers. Immigrants are joining the Party in growing numbers. The Party opens its doors wide to these working people. If the party of the working class is to be successful in the struggle it must unite all working people, irrespective of nationality.

This principle is stressed in Article 11 of the Rules of our Party which states: "Party members of other than French nationality shall enjoy the same status as French members." Their prime duty, like that of all members, is to participate in the work of the local branch. A correct understanding of Party policy is essential if it is to be successfully applied among the immigrant workers. This principle expresses the internationalism of our Party in which all working people, irrespective of nationality, enjoy the same rights and duties.

Article 11 of the Rules also states, "For pur-

poses of agitation and propaganda in the language of the immigrants competent bodies, subordinate to the corresponding Party body, shall be formed." These bodies, called language groups, are a means of drawing the comrades from abroad into Party activities among the various nationalities, into activities of the democratic organizations of the immigrants, the organizations of the CGT and the peace committees. In their work the language groups, guided by Party policy, help the Communists to improve their work among the masses, better to organize the struggle of the immigrant workers for their economic and political demands in close connection with the struggle of the working class of France.

We demand from our organizations that they pay greater attention to the ideological and political development of the Communists from among the immigrants, that they be advanced to work in the Party committees and sent to Party schools for political education.

These are some of the tasks facing the Party in its work among the immigrants. Of course there are still difficulties to be overcome in this sphere, a very specific one for our country. However, we shall strive to accomplish our task, that of uniting all working people irrespective of their nationality.

Rochet LEFRANCOIS

Communications and Comment

Not Quite Accidental Accidents

(Rising Toll of Accidents in Capitalist Industry)

IN THE columns of the capitalist press one reads from time to time about the toll of fatal accidents and injuries in industry. Last November, for example, the newspapers reported the explosion in the Mikawa mine in Japan which killed 458 miners and injured 1,000 more.

The thought comes to mind: are happenings of this nature simply tragic accidents of everyday life? This, however, is not the case. Industrial accidents have acquired mass proportions in the leading capitalist countries and in many of these countries are on the increase. Some figures will illustrate the point.

USA. The total of injuries of all kinds annually is in the vicinity of two million, of which some 14,000 end in death and over 80,000 in incapacitation.

Federal Germany. In 1962 there were over three million industrial accidents (6,000 of them fatal) as against 1,134,000 in 1950. In the ten years 1950-60 a total of 22.7 million industrial injuries were reported. The least serious led to disablement for four days, while tens of thousands caused eventual death. To this should be added nearly 500,000 cases of occupational illness. The Federal Republic has the unenviable reputation of holding the record in Europe for industrial accidents.

France. For a labor force of 9.6 million employed in industry there were in 1961 over one million accidents, including 90,600 grave injuries and 1,821 fatal accidents. The number of accidents per 1,000 workers was 92.5 for the year, and if other categories of workers (miners among whom the rate of accidents is particularly high, railwaymen, etc.) are taken into account, the rate will be roughly 97. Over the past ten years the absolute numbers of accidents, year-to-year fluctuations notwithstanding, remain approximately at the same level; relatively, however, they show a decline because of the increase in employment.

Italy. In 1962 there were in industry 1,245,00 accidents of which 3,162 were fatal; this was, respectively, 72 and 22 per cent higher than in 1953. The increase was due not only to the growth in the numbers employed. In 1959 there were 201.1 temporarily incapacitated per

1,000 employees, and 27.5 completely or partially disabled for life. The 1961 figures were 215 and 28.1 respectively. Thus the Italian "economic miracle" takes a toll of workers' lives similar to that in West Germany or France.

Spain. The annual average of accidents in 1958-60 was in the neighborhood of one million (of which 80 per cent were in non-agricultural branches), including 859 fatalities (in 1960). In the past 20 years the accident rate has risen almost fivefold. Besides adults, 1,146 juveniles under 14 years of age and 142,300 in the 14-19 age bracket were injured in 1960.

Progressive observers have pointed out that official statistics give a far from true picture and that the situation is actually much worse. Mention should be made of another phenomenon, common in one degree or another to most capitalist countries, but particularly widespread in Spain: the worker will often conceal his injury because under the social insurance scheme injury entails the loss of not a small part of his meagre earnings.

Japan. Industrial statistics for 1962 reported 466,000 accidents, including 6,093 fatalities. This was respectively 19 and nine per cent higher than in 1957. As compared with other countries the Japanese accident rate seems fairly modest — but the figures cover only those disabled for a period ranging from eight days to the rest of their lives.

In view of the different statistical methods used, the figures for different countries cannot always be compared. But even in the most general form they are eloquent enough. In the above-mentioned six countries the yearly toll taken by industry runs at 32,000 killed and hundreds of thousands of injured and mutilated. What Marx wrote about the capitalist factory which, with the regularity of the seasons, issues its list of the killed and wounded in the industrial battle, is even more meaningful today than it was a hundred years ago.

Is this part of the price humanity has to pay for industrialization? For industrial accidents occur under socialism too. Will this not

take place everywhere and always as long as man is in direct contact with machines, until such time as a high level of automation is reached and the most dangerous jobs are done by remote control?

Doubtlessly, modern techniques do not as yet provide for complete safety. As the sphere of their application is extended and as more people are drawn into the operation of the machines, it is not excluded that there may be a growth in the absolute number of accidents. It is the fact that the root cause of the accidents derives from production, from technology, which makes it possible to understand why different branches employing the same number of workers have varying accident levels, why disparity in the economic structures of various countries also presupposes dissimilarity in their accident rates. For example, in a country with a high level of mining or building industry the total of accidents is, as a rule, greater, other things being equal. But in capitalist society the social factors intensify the operation of the occupational factors thus causing accidents where these could be avoided.

An analysis of trends in occupational traumatism in the capitalist countries shows that the root cause is not so much occupational as it is social. Let us compare, for instance, analogous figures for the two Germanys—the capitalist Federal Republic and the socialist Democratic Republic.

	Number of accidents per 1,000 workers employed in industry and handicrafts	
	1950	1960
Federal Germany	99	149
Democratic Germany	63	56

In 10 years the accident rate increased 1.5-fold in the Federal Republic; the chances of the worker suffering injury, if not death, rose in the same proportion. In the GDR, where the workers are running industry, the number of accidents per 1,000 in 1950 was 30 per cent and by 1960 2.7 times less than in the Federal Republic. This is all the more significant in view of the fact that in the Democratic Republic production is growing more rapidly, both as a whole and per worker. In the period 1950-62 labor productivity in the GDR averaged an annual eight per cent growth and in the FRG five per cent.

The sixth congress of the GDR trade unions (November 1963) pointed out that since 1952,

for the first time in German history, *the absolute number of industrial accidents has been reduced* in the Democratic Republic by the joint efforts of the unions and the state. (Between 1952 and 1962 the reduction was 17.4 per cent per 1,000 workers employed in the national economy.) The congress stressed that henceforth every accident should be regarded as an extraordinary event and should be thoroughly examined by the trade union in order quickly to remove the causes of accidents.

Let us take another industrially advanced socialist country — Czechoslovakia, where the indices of traumatism are comparable with those in France from the standpoint of statistical methods. The situation in industry and transport in this country is as follows:

	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Number of accidents per 1000 employees	69.5	70.8	71.5	68.5	64.3	59.9
Index (1957=100)	100.0	101.9	102.9	98.6	92.5	86.2
Loss of working hours (in %)	100.0	93.9	96.0	93.0	90.2	85.3

In 1961 in Czechoslovakia there were 64.3 accidents per 1,000 workers, while in France the figure was about 97. The table also shows that less working time is lost through injuries. In five years the number of deaths from industrial accidents dropped by one-quarter—from 217 per one million workers in 1957 to 166 in 1962.

These figures show that accident prevention is better organized in Czechoslovakia than in France, not to mention West Germany and Italy. But the government and the trade unions in Czechoslovakia do not believe that the limit has been reached. The signs of a certain growth in the number of minor injuries that appeared in 1958-59 (the loss of working hours caused by accidents was nevertheless lower than in 1957) served as an alarm signal for vigorous counter-measures. In particular, new safety legislation drafted by the trade unions was enacted in 1961. Developments in recent years show that the beneficial results of these measures are now being felt.

This is understandable, for a workers' state cannot react in any other way when health and life are at stake. The humanism of socialism is manifested also in another way: should anyone be injured at work he is guaranteed the necessary treatment, material aid and

moral support. But the thing which is typical for the socialist countries is the desire to reduce the accident rate to the minimum.

The example of the socialist countries confirms the truth that large numbers of industrial accidents have their source in the economic foundations of capitalist society, in the fact that capitalism is a system of exploitation. To produce more at minimum cost, to obtain more profit—such is the logic of the capitalist dictated by the laws of the market. But inasmuch as production costs include also wages and labor protection funds, employers in the drive for greater profit introduce speed-up and simultaneously display a Gobseckian greed with regard to protection measures.

The capitalists seek to shift the burden of the competitive struggle as much as possible onto the workers. Their credo was publicly stated by Richter, one of the leaders of the West German machine-building concern Pfaf, who, speaking at Marburg University, said: "Modern industry is like an arena in which enterprise fights enterprise in a sharp competitive struggle and where the question whether or not the enterprise will survive is decided by the constant readiness to rationalize, by the ability and firmness of the personnel, as well as the production pace." Small wonder, therefore, that Federal Germany, Italy and Japan, which in the past decade have made big advances in foreign economic expansion, have also "excelled" in the sphere of occupational traumatism.

The growing number of industrial accidents can be traced directly to intensification of labor and, very often, to the failure of the owners of enterprises to provide adequate safety measures. Exhaustion and the monotonous rhythm of work tend to dull the attention so that one careless movement may lead to injury or even to a fatal accident. This explains why accidents of this kind tend to occur towards the end of the working day and at night. Exhaustion also multiplies accidents on the way to and from work, for modern city traffic calls for unflagging attention. Experts rightly regard a considerable part of road accidents as a direct extension of industrial accidents.

According to West German trade union sources, nine out of 10 accidents in the Ruhr steel mills are the direct result of speed-up. For rate of accidents the iron and steel industry of Federal Germany is second only to mining, in which one out of every three workers was injured in 1962 and 796 were killed. In the past six years the extraction of coal

per miner has increased by two-thirds, and the total of accidents by one-quarter despite the fact that the number of miners has declined by tens of thousands.

In all circumstances capitalist rationalization primarily presupposes maximum utilization of the "human factor of production"; this is called "rationalization without capital," i.e., without additional investment in plant and equipment. What this leads to is shown by many facts not only from Federal Germany but other countries as well. Some years ago a presidential commission which examined industrial accidents in the United States concluded that nine-tenths of them could have been averted. And the figures show that no change for the better has taken place in the USA since then.

Ignoring safety requirements often borders on direct crime. In 1959 12 workers were drowned when the Susquehanna River flooded a mine in Pennsylvania (USA). The cause was that coal extraction had been conducted in close and dangerous proximity to the river bottom, despite the categorical objection of the safety inspector. An investigation of the circumstances of an explosion in a Saar mine in 1962, when 299 miners were killed, revealed 72 violations of the safety regulations. The true reasons for the above-mentioned tragedy in the Mikawa mine are not yet known. But one thing is known: in the course of the four-year "rationalization" campaign which practically trebled the output per miner, the mine owners fired not only miners but also the personnel catering for health and safety. It may well be that this "economy" played its fatal part. It will not be amiss to recall last year's catastrophe in Northern Italy when the collapse of the dam in the Vaiont reservoir destroyed seven villages, killing 2,500 people. The likelihood of a disaster had been foreseen by many people and the Communist newspaper *l'Unita* was even prosecuted for drawing attention to the danger. But erection of the dam promised big profits to the monopoly, and so the dam was built. The results of this greed for profits are now known to the whole world.

One would think that automation offers favorable possibilities for getting rid of industrial accidents. But capitalism is capitalism, and even this achievement of human genius turns against man. First, with the spread of automation the intensification of labor, achieved in the past by dint of physical strain, increasingly assumes the form of excessive nervous strain. Secondly, by drastically reducing the demand for labor, automation, as the

U.S. example demonstrates, becomes the source of hardships for the working people. Something like 40,000 people lose their jobs every week in the United States as a consequence of automation.

Capitalist propaganda has much to say about the "affluent society." The concessions won by working-class struggle are extolled as the natural fruits of the advance of "industrial society." Yet the losses suffered by the working class in the process of creating wealth for their exploiters are glossed over in silence.

Industrial accidents on a mass scale are concomitants of the capitalist "way of life." The capitalists, naturally, explain this as the

inevitable "cost" of technological progress. But the experience of the socialist countries shows the fallacy of this argument. Moreover, the experience of a number of countries shows that even under capitalism the working people can win important gains in industrial safety, can make the capitalists abandon the more brutal forms of plundering human lives. In this question, too, the working class has its say. Today it can fight for this more effectively than ever, relying on the example of the socialist world. As in all other areas, success in this struggle depends on the degree of organization and unity of the working people.

V. KAJE

Yugoslavia Today

*(Journalists' Notes)**

SINCE it is impossible to give a full picture of Yugoslavia in a single article we shall confine ourselves to a few basic socio-economic problems.

Industrialization and Its Results

First let us cite figures we obtained at the Federal Statistical Board. Yugoslavia's national income in 1963 was roughly \$450 per capita. In other words, it had increased, in absolute terms, roughly 4.2 times (3.5 times per head of population) as compared with prewar. According to preliminary figures, industrial production in 1963 exceeded prewar 5.23 times. Particularly notable was the increase in the output of the means of production—nearly 20-fold. Industry (exclusive of building and handicrafts) accounts for nearly half of the national income (the prewar average was 9.5 per cent). Some 62 per cent of Yugoslavia's exports are industrial goods.

The industrialization, we were told, involved no small sacrifices and difficulties. Industrialization, as everybody knows, calls for finance. How could the necessary funds be obtained in a backward country devastated by war? Mostly by putting off the renewal of old and obsolete plant, intensive rechannelling of funds from agriculture, temporarily limiting consumption, etc. The rest had to be borrowed abroad, primarily, owing to the circumstances, from capitalist countries. The loans were attended by not a few complications:

*These notes were received from a group of journalists (V. Zagladin, A. Mitil and others) who had an opportunity during a recent visit to Yugoslavia to acquaint themselves with some, mainly socio-economic, aspects of life in the country.
—Ed.

not to speak of the onerous terms, the imperialist creditors tried to force the Yugoslavs to make unacceptable political concessions.*

The achievements in industrialization are unquestionable. But, as we were told, this does not mean that all the problems in this sphere have been solved. Take, for instance, the following. Before the war levels of development in the various republics differed greatly. The industrialization has diminished the discrepancies somewhat. But for all that per capita national income in Macedonia, for example, is only one-third of that in Slovenia. Overcoming this disparity is a task of prime importance.

Public Property Is the Foundation

"Our methods of economic management are dictated by the predominance in our country of public ownership of the means of production as stipulated in our Constitution," Jakov Sirotkovic, director of the Economic Planning Board, told us. "For all practical purposes there has been no private capital in Yugoslav industry since 1948. In 1962 the socialist sector accounted for 95 per cent of the overall volume of industrial production. The remaining five per cent was accounted for by handicrafts."

Later, we visited some handicraft enterprises in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are quite a few of them in the city. One which we visited made the brightly colored Moslem fez. The "labor force"

*In 1947-60 a total of \$2,800 million was obtained from foreign sources (loans, credits and gratuitous grants from the USA, Britain, UNRRA, etc.). A considerable part of the resultant debt has been repaid.

consisted of the proprietor and his wife.

Other handicraft workshops are bigger and turn out more widely used goods. But production in these workshops is not on a much grander scale.*

Hairo Kapetanovic, chairman of the Economic Council of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, described the policy of the state towards the handicrafts.

"The handicraftsmen do an exceedingly useful job," he said. "The state and society are not yet able to supply the population with the goods and services they provide. Repair of footwear and clothing, a very necessary thing, is done mostly by handicraftsmen. To a point they are also custodians of the folk tradition in weaving, metal chasing, pottery making, etc. And far from trying to squeeze them out, we encourage them. In one respect we do 'clamp down' on the craftsmen, and shall continue to do so: we shall not allow any revival of capitalist relations; we restrict employment of hired labor in these workshops."

By and large, some 75 per cent of the national income derives from the socialist sector, including agriculture, and the figure is steadily rising. The class structure of Yugoslav society is changing accordingly.**

Jakov Sirotkovic concluded with the following words: "Our republic today is a free country of the working people. It is ruled exclusively by the working people. We have no bourgeois parties or organizations; the leading role belongs wholly to the League of Communists."

Planning

Planned guidance is the basic principle of socialist economy. The overall plan adopted by the Skupshtina (Federal People's Assembly) is in the nature of an obligatory guide to all elected bodies.

This concept has been arrived at as a result of years of development and questing. At one time (in the 'fifties) economic executives tended to eschew planning. In the overall context of the "decentralization" policy (pursued under the slogan of combating bureaucratic distortions) long-range planning was practically abandoned in 1951. Up to 1957 only

annual plans of a very general nature were compiled. In effect the enterprises were released of all control as regards production programs, fixing of prices and distribution of income. The market became the actual regulator of the operation of industrial enterprises.

In the initial period the Yugoslav comrades considered their system of "decentralized economy" to be progressive. But as time went on, it became increasingly clear that the system engendered some extremely harmful phenomena — parochialism, disproportions between branches and within them. Many plants began to duplicate and compete with one another, arbitrarily raising or cutting prices.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists (July 1962) noted extremely serious dislocations in the economy. The plans for 1961 and 1962 were not fulfilled, and the rate of growth dropped from 13.1 per cent in 1957-60 to seven per cent. Addressing the meeting, Tito sharply criticized the system of economic management that had taken shape. "In no country can the economy be decentralized, and our country, too, must have an integrated economy," he said. "The parochial trends and phenomena which we encountered stemmed from an incorrect understanding of decentralization. We decentralized that which should have been decentralized and that which shouldn't . . ."

In accordance with the decisions of the meeting the role of planning was enhanced and new planning procedures worked out. Now the overall plan is elaborated by government bodies, by the Federal Economic Council and by the trade unions. In this way the opinions of the working people are taken into account. The draft plan is first examined by the Skupshtina and only then adopted as a law. On the basis of the state plan analogous documents are adopted by the parliaments of the republics, regions and communities. In each case extensive consultation with the people is provided for. The plans of the communities, for example, are discussed at public meetings.

"The state plan defines the basic tasks of economic policy for the current year and the basic proportions to be observed in the economy; it sets forth the overall task (targets) in the key branches, and defines the general framework as well as the levels and methods of economic policy," Sirotkovic told us. "The plan does not stipulate detailed targets for all branches and republics. It is rather an overall framework which leaves much room for initiative by the local authorities and collectives of working people. The plans of the

*According to the Yugoslav Statistical Year Book for 1962 there were 115,637 private handicraft enterprises (as against some 200,000 in 1954). These enterprises, according to official figures for 1962, employed a total of 35,000 workers, or 49 per cent less than in 1958. Izet Zubovic, director of the Planning Board for Bosnia and Hercegovina, said that the maximum employed in any of them is five workers. On the average each employs three-tenths of a hired worker.

**Of the total labor force 40 per cent (3,370,000) are industrial and clerical workers engaged in the public sector, including 1,725,000 workers and office employees employed in socialist enterprises in industry, building and transport. 57 per cent of the labor force consists of peasants, half of whom are members of cooperatives of various types.

republics, regions and especially communities are, naturally, drawn up in greater detail. Frequently they provide for additional measures over and above those called for by the overall state plan. In order to carry them out the local government bodies have the right to levy special taxes and imposts.

"Needless to say, the most detailed and precise plans which directly regulate productions are those at enterprise level," Sirotkovic said. "We consider the enterprise to be the basic cell of our economic organism."

The Enterprise and the Worker

Our introduction to these "cells" began with a visit to the Ribar engineering plant in Zagreb.

"Like all Yugoslav enterprises, our plant is an independent economic unit," Momir Kusic, deputy manager, told us. "And as is the case in all enterprises our workers run it. To carry out this function a workers' council is elected once every two years by general and direct vote."

The rights of the workers' councils are covered by special legislation. As a joint organ of management, the council has the *right* among other things, to pass on production programs, intra-plant work schedules and the annual balance sheet, and to distribute that part of the profit which remains after all obligations to society have been met. On the other hand, it is *obliged* to safeguard and promote the enterprise entrusted to its care, to concern itself with increasing production and raising labor productivity, and to see to it that the interests of society are protected.

We know from Yugoslav literature on the subject that when the workers' councils were first set up some theoreticians believed that this step signified turning over the enterprises directly to workers' ownership. Aser Deleon, Secretary of the Central Trade Union Council, told us that there never was any foundation for such theories. "Socialism," he said, "presupposes social ownership of the means of production. The creation of workers' councils was a measure aimed at democratic *management* of the economy, but it changed nothing in *property* relations."

Further, Comrade Deleon stressed the untenability of another theory, which is also sometimes expressed in literature and which holds that under socialism the councils are the only legitimate form of drawing the workers into industrial management.

"In Yugoslavia," he said, "there are other forms of mass participation in administering public affairs, such as the elected skupshtinas

at various levels and the many public organizations. In the enterprises a big role is played by the *trade unions*, whose significance is in no way diminished by the workers' councils. There is a certain division of labor between the two — production problems are mostly dealt with by the workers' council while questions concerning the standard of living, democracy on the factory floor, etc., are the province of the trade union. The basic decisions in both areas are, of course, taken jointly by the councils and the unions."

At the same time many of those we interviewed stressed that in their present form the workers' councils are the product of a rather complicated process of development. In the initial stages, the functions of the councils were not clearly defined and naturally many shortcomings were revealed in practice. There were instances of the workers' councils abusing their privileges; some of them at times acted as self-appointed proprietors of the enterprises instead of custodians of a public trust.

"The entire history of workers' self-management is a record of steady improvement," was how Vlado Begovic, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists, put it. "The workers' councils changed as they developed. Their functions and role became clearer; their rights and responsibilities to society became more and more sharply defined. The Central Committee of the League and the trade unions devoted much attention to overcoming the shortcomings in the system of self-management. And I must confess that we do not consider them to be anywhere near perfect as yet. We believe that there is plenty of room for improvement..."

We recalled this when reading in *Komunist* a report of a meeting of the Ideological Commission of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists held in January 1964. Discussing the operation of the workers' self-management system and the tasks of the Communists, the commission pointed out that although the workers' councils had achievements to their credit, there still were serious shortcomings to be overcome. In some plants there is a tendency to concentrate the functions of leadership in the hands of a small group, to by-pass the workers' councils, and to strive for excessive incomes. In others a tendency can be discerned towards "levelling," due to underestimation of wage differentials as an important incentive.

The Enterprise and Society

How do the enterprises operate? How are

the functions of the workers' council and the management dovetailed?

"The principle of the personal responsibility of the manager is strictly observed in our plant," Djoka Aksentievic, chairman of the workers' council at the Ribar works, told us. "The director is most qualified to carry out the council's decisions, and on him the main responsibility devolves. The council has the decisive say in choosing the director, though he is appointed by the skupstina of the community and is responsible to it. He can veto any decision of the workers' council which infringes the laws of the republic."

"What is the role of the management in working out production plans?" we asked.

"The plan is drafted and approved by the workers' council. Of course, the director plays an important role here: he submits to the council proposals made by experts from the various departments based, firstly, on the general plans (for the Federation, the republic and the community), and secondly, on the requirements of the market which are studied by a special department."

"How do you coordinate your plan with the plans of the other enterprises in the same branch and the suppliers of raw materials and equipment?"

"Through the Economic Council. This is a public organization composed of representatives of the enterprises concerned and maintained by contributions from these enterprises. Every region and every republic has its Economic Council and there is a Federal Council for the country as a whole. Each of these bodies is subdivided according to industry and it is through these subdivisions that we coordinate our program with those of other plants within the framework of the general plan."

An important aspect of the plant's activity is marketing output and distributing income. Here is how this works out at the Nadja Dimic knitwear factory in Zagreb.

"We ourselves market our output," Jovo Vuksan, the director, told us. "Our factory contracts in advance with the trading organizations for the sale of the bulk of our output. The remainder is sold through our own shops. We consider this to be a most important channel, since through it we are able to make a careful study of the market, of the needs and tastes of customers. Prices are fixed by the workers' council. It cannot, however, raise them arbitrarily. Prices are controlled by the Federal Price Control Board set up in 1962. Income from the sale of the goods is distri-

buted by the workers' council in strict conformity with the law."

Having gained some idea of how the enterprises function and of the role of the workers' councils in their management, we returned to the Planning Board in search of answers to some questions that had occurred to us. For one thing, was there not a contradiction between the broad measure of independence enjoyed by the individual enterprise and the planned nature of the economy as a whole?

"That contradiction does exist, of course," Vuko Medenica, a spokesman of the department, replied. "But the important thing is not merely to register the contradiction but to find means of resolving it. In our economic organism there are no administrative levers that would enable us to administer the enterprises by orders or instructions from above. The State Secretariats (for industry, trade, etc.) do not enjoy the rights of ministries. Their functions are limited to inspection, control and enforcement of legislation enacted by the Skupstina. We believe that the economic organism should to some extent work automatically. The role of society, the state, consists in directing economic development, preventing disproportions from arising, etc."

"In our country society directs the enterprises chiefly by economic means, using economic levers. It seems to us that on the whole the system we have developed (a system which has to be constantly adjusted, changed and improved) makes it possible to achieve a correct balance between the interests of the enterprises and of society as a whole. Of course, some aspects of the system still have to be fully worked out, but that is a matter of time."

"What are the economic levers?"

"One important means of public supervision of the enterprises is through control of investment," Medenica replied. "According to the present system up to 70 per cent of net investments are made exclusively by the Federation; moreover, a substantial part of these are controlled by the republics and the communities. Credit policy is another important factor. Society grants the enterprises credits on terms guaranteeing the interests both of the enterprises and of society. Then there is foreign trade policy, strict regulation of imports of raw materials and manufactures, as well as of foreign currency expenditure by the enterprises which is effected through the banks, not to speak of the regulation of prices and the legislation on distribution of income."

"Everything that has been said so far has concerned the regulation of relations between

society and the enterprises as independent economic units. How are relations between the enterprises themselves regulated? Is there no unhealthy competition between them?

"Under the present conditions any competition in the capitalist meaning of the term is excluded," Medenica replied. "I have already spoken of price control; besides this, there is a law on combating unhealthy competition. The state also uses taxation as a means of preventing rivalry among the enterprises from assuming unhealthy forms. Moreover, the measures taken to 'integrate industry' also help to combat such competition. Of course, healthy competition between enterprises does exist. For example, at the beginning of the year when the general state plan is drawn up, the consumer enterprises will place their orders for raw materials and equipment with suppliers offering the lowest prices. This induces the latter to try to reduce production costs."

Thus there exists a definite system of ensuring accord between the interests of the enterprises and of society. But this is only one aspect of the matter. Another, no less important, is harmony between the interests of the enterprise and of each worker employed in it.

Living Standard, Labor and Wages

The Velenje coal mines, situated in Slovenia at an altitude of over a thousand meters above sea level, are completely mechanized and partly automated.

"As regards conditions of work our mines are, as it were, a model," we were told by Hubert Mravljak, chairman of the workers' council. "Of course, juridically we have no privileges; we have the same 7-hour day; safety regulations do not differ from those in other parts of the country. But housing here is better than elsewhere—this is one of the ways of attracting more skilled workers, of whom we are always short . . ."

At other enterprises we were also told about the shortage of skilled labor. At the same time we were told that there was a relative surplus of unskilled workers in the country, which was creating certain problems. One of them is that for a long period unskilled workers cannot find a job. In 1962, for instance, nearly 180,000 unskilled laborers applied for jobs. Of course, in the long run these people find employment (some at home, others abroad) but the fact is that for a certain period of time they are unemployed.

Our visit to the Koncar plant coincided with pay day. And the discussion, naturally, touched on this subject.

"The average wage in our factory is 25,000 dinars, i.e., somewhat higher than the average national level which is 22,000 dinars," we were told in the trade union committee. "This year the lower brackets are being raised, thanks to the good results obtained last year."

"Does this mean that the factory management itself fixes wage rates?"

"Not exactly. The basic wage ratios according to trade and skill are drawn up with the help of government bodies. Starting from these ratios, we fix the 'basic wage' for each job. The actual earnings are determined in accordance with the results of the economic year."

"And if these results are not satisfactory?"

"Society guarantees the workers 80 per cent of their average wages in the case of production hitches or failures which do not depend on the factory or the worker. Moreover, in special emergencies, for example, in cases of marketing difficulties, the factory has a reserve fund equal to a four-month wage fund. . . Besides wages in the direct sense of the word, our workers get additional remuneration at the end of the year — a certain percentage of the profits obtained by the enterprise. In 1962, for instance, the workers received an extra six-weeks' wages."

"Is the extra remuneration paid every year?"

"No, this is done only in cases when the factory fared well and netted sufficient profits. But even if the factory has enough funds (known as "personal income fund") they are not in all cases distributed among the workers. In 1963, for example, we held a discussion in the factory and decided to distribute only half of the personal income fund, allocating the other half for expanding production capacity. . ."

"Do not cases occur when the workers' council decides to distribute more than is actually possible?"

"Not in our factory. But this does happen occasionally. About two years ago in a neighboring enterprise they distributed not only the personal income fund but also part of the money earmarked for new plant and equipment. For a time everything went well, but the following year output declined and profits fell. There could be no talk of extra remuneration."

While highly appraising the system of incentives, the Yugoslav Party and public leaders stress the need to combat a narrow selfish approach to production, for which purpose the system of incentives should be augmented by measures of a moral and political order. Inadequate attention has been paid to this so

far. Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, has stressed the significance of the moral factor in socialist society and, in particular, of socialist emulation between enterprises.

At the Ribar factory in Zagreb we were told that real wages were now roughly twice as high as before the war. Personal consumption has risen accordingly.* It should be remembered, however, that for a number of postwar years, by virtue of the above-mentioned peculiarities of the Yugoslav economic system as well as a result of constant price fluctuations, real wages were not always stable. In 1962, for example, they were five per cent lower than in the previous year. In our view, the instability of the standard of living gives rise to serious problems. The Yugoslav comrades stressed that of late measures have been taken to stabilize prices and the standard of living. In 1963 price fluctuations were not as great as before and, as a result, real incomes had shown a certain increase.

Standard of Living: Public Funds

An idea of the standard of living in Yugoslavia cannot, naturally, be gauged only from the dynamics of real wages and the changes in consumption. Such factors as social security, for one thing, should be taken into account. Whereas before the war hardly 18 per cent of the population enjoyed the benefits of social insurance, today 97 per cent of the citizens are eligible for sick benefits, and 52 per cent for all kinds of social security benefits. Men upon reaching 55 years of age (35-year seniority) and women at 50 (30-year seniority) are entitled to a full pension. All receive two, three, or four weeks paid holidays.

There has been swift progress in housing. Annual rate of housing construction is roughly 100,000 flats. Rents are not high: an investigation of workers' family budgets showed that they amount to slightly more than five per cent of the family expenditure.

As we were told, big sums are being spent on education, especially professional training. Secondary school enrolment has increased

almost twofold since the end of the war. The number of students in higher schools has risen more than eight times. The enterprises take a direct interest in raising the educational standard of their workers.

However, despite all the concern for public education and the development of professional training, a considerable part — 21.1 per cent — of the population is illiterate. We were rather surprised by the fact. Illiteracy is more widespread among elderly people and in the villages (especially in the mountain areas). Illiteracy among women is, on the average, three times as high as among men. There are, particularly in Bosnia and Hercegovina, many who cannot read or write.

Why is this so? Yugoslav specialists attribute it to the extreme backwardness of the country in the recent past, difficulties in organizing schools in the mountain areas and a reluctance of elderly people to study.

In the Countryside: The Public Sector

"In the most general outline," Milun Ivanovic, Deputy State Secretary for Agriculture, told us, "the following three types of farms could be singled out in our countryside: publicly-owned estates (which in other socialist countries are commonly known as state farms), farms which practice cooperation of various types (more than half of all peasant households) and individually-owned farms of which a considerable part is of an auxiliary nature: their owners derive their principal source of income from work in the towns.*

The first publicly-owned estate we visited was the "Beograd" agrocombine. Its deputy director, Aleksandar Pavlovic, took us around the farm, which has 22,000 hectares and a labor force of 3,200 workers. The farm specializes in meat and dairy products and vegetables. It has nine branches each of which has a well-built housing estate and large numbers of machines. They deliver their products to the main estate to be processed there in the automated dairy, meat packing plant, the semi-finished meat products department and in the sausage-making department.

The production programs of the estate (which is managed like any other industrial enterprise) are drawn up by a special agro-economic institute attached to the management. The marketing of the produce and foreign relations (the combine exports part of its products) are organized through the commercial department.

*The average annual consumption of fats per head of population was 6.9 kg. before the war; in 1960 it was 13.1 kg. That of sugar was 5.2 and 14.9 kg. respectively. Between 1955 and 1961 the following changes took place in the consumption of foodstuffs: a working-class family of four consumed 436 kg. of bread in 1955 and 437 kg. in 1961; of meat, fish and kindred products—99 and 104 kg. respectively; fats—64 and 68 kg.; eggs—301 and 324; vegetables—185 and 194 kg.; potatoes—187 and 157 kg.; fruit—108 and 150 kg.; sugar—56 and 65 kg.

Along with the changes in the consumption of foodstuffs, there have also been changes in the general consumption by workers' families. Between 1955 and 1960 the share of expenses for food in their budgets declined from 55.8 to 49.1 per cent. But the share of expenses for clothing went up from 14.3 to 16.2 per cent, and for cultural needs from 4.4 to 5.4 per cent.

*According to the latest (incomplete) figures, distribution of cultivated land in Yugoslavia is as follows: publicly-owned estates—about 15 per cent; cooperatives—about 13 per cent; individual peasants—37 per cent; those who live in the countryside but owe their principal income to non-agricultural activity—35 per cent.

Volume of production on this estate — a veritable food factory — is worthy of note: it provides Belgrade with up to 40 per cent of its milk, 22 per cent of its vegetables and 14 per cent of its meat. In a few years' time the estate, together with two other agricultural enterprises being established in the vicinity, will fully meet the capital's food requirements (with the exception of grain and sub-tropical fruits).

The publicly-owned estates have a much higher labor productivity than the other types of farming. Thus, in 1963 the wheat harvest of the estates was 3.27 tons per hectare as compared with 1.42 tons on privately-owned farms. The share of the estates in the production of the basic types of output is, as a result, much higher than their share in the cultivated area: although they till only 15 per cent of the total area under cultivation they produce 55 per cent of the market grain.

We also visited an agricultural cooperative* at Grodska. The deputy chairman of the local community, Veselin Cosic, told us that the basis, the economic core of the cooperative, was the so-called "ekonomija." This is, in fact, a small publicly-owned estate the main purpose of which is to promote cooperation between individual peasant farms and the socialist sector in the village. The "ekonomija" concludes long-term agreements with the peasants of the neighboring villages. The peasants supply land and labor, while the "ekonomija" provides the machines, fertilizers, seed and veterinary service. At the end of the season the harvest is divided: the peasants receive 40 per cent, the publicly-owned estate — 60 per cent. The peasant can dispose of his share in any way he likes. As a rule, however, he sells his surpluses to the "ekonomija" which in this case acts as the purchaser of agricultural products.

We asked whether the peasants appreciated the advantages of the cooperative.

"Undoubtedly," replied Cosic. "Firstly, their labor productivity is higher than on the individual farms: in 1963 the wheat crop, for example, totalled 2.17 tons per hectare (as against 1.42 tons on the private farms). Secondly, cost of production in the cooperatives and the amount of labor spent are much lower than is the case on the privately-owned fields. In the three years of the cooperative the peasants' earnings have risen and so has

their standard of living. In 1962, for example, some 400 city-type houses were built in the villages. Electrification of our commune has been completed . . .*

Thanks to the comparatively high labor productivity the volume of production of the cooperatives is substantial. Together with the publicly-owned estates of all types, the cooperatives supply 90 per cent of the total amount of market wheat and rye, 65 per cent of maize, 100 per cent of industrial crops, 75 per cent of milk, 85 per cent of pork, etc.

The Private Sector in Agriculture

The private sector accounts for only a very small part of agriculture's market products. What does the private sector look like?

"Our individual peasants can be regarded as middle peasants," Vojn Popovic, chairman of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, told us. "There are, of course, poor farms, but there are also more well-to-do farms. These, as a rule are near the towns and trade on the market. The income of a small farm (with an area of up to two hectares) is approximately half the income of a farm of more than five hectares. The number of the former is steadily decreasing: people are settling in the towns. The number of the latter is somewhat increasing, thanks partly to the sale and purchase of land which is permitted by law, within certain limits, of course. . ."

Milun Ivanovic, Deputy State Secretary for Agriculture, told us that during 1949-60 more than two million peasants (mostly young people of the private sector) left for the towns. The result has been both an absolute and relative decline in the number of peasants. The Yugoslav comrades are not accelerating the process of resettlement in the towns (a big inflow of people from the countryside creates housing, employment and other difficulties), but they are not hampering this process. Comrade Ivanovic was of the opinion that a large number of the poor farms, especially in the mountain areas, would have to go out of existence. It would be unprofitable to form cooperatives in these areas; society was not in a position to render assistance to the private farms.

Comrade Ivanovic went on to say that a substantial part of the land of the peasants who go to the towns remains their property; the rest either becomes part of the public

*There are two types of agricultural cooperatives in Yugoslavia. The **producer** cooperatives, which are similar to the collective farms in the USSR or the higher types of cooperatives in the other socialist countries. There are only 129 of these in the country and their role in production is relatively small. The cooperatives of the **general type** (they total 3,200) are the main cooperatives in the countryside. Here and elsewhere reference is to this type of cooperative.

*Statistics show that the life of the peasantry has become more prosperous as a result of socialist changes. For example, the pattern of rural consumption has changed in a similar way to the consumption of the worker, and in some cases even more perceptibly. Thus, between the 1953-54 and 1960-61 agricultural years consumption of meat and fish per capita in the countryside increased from 13.2 to 25 kg.; fats—from 8.8 to 12 kg.; eggs—from 40 to 73, sugar—from 5 to 7 kg., etc.

sector or is purchased by the economically stronger farms.* There is a definite tendency on the part of the latter to increase their plots above the permitted ceiling. There are instances where private farmers enlarge their holdings considerably by buying or renting land from "relatives." Needless to say the state and the local authorities are combating these tendencies.

"But won't these tendencies lead to restoring capitalist relations in the countryside?" we asked.

"We don't think so. We have a number of laws restricting the blind operation of the laws of the market and private enterprise in the countryside. To begin with, the maximum land property permitted is 10 hectares. Secondly, the use of hired labor is greatly restricted; there are in all 3,500 hired agricultural workers in the countryside—mainly on the farms of war invalids and old people. Thirdly, there are restrictions on the purchase of machines and fertilizers: private farms are virtually deprived of the possibility of mechanizing their production."

The Prospects in Agriculture

Development of publicly-owned estates and cooperatives is, in the opinion of the Yugoslav Communists, gradually changing the face of the countryside. V. Vlahovic, a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists, told us:

"By concluding agreements on cooperation with enterprises of the public sector, the peasants actually join the system of socialist production in the countryside. In many places the peasants are more and more doing away with land boundaries and pooling their plots. Both society and the private producer are interested in this form of cooperation. In other words, private property in land in our countryside is no longer the classic form of private property. It can be described as a kind of transitional form."

However, the leaders of the League of Communists feel that the socialist changes in the countryside are proceeding too slowly. Speaking at a meeting in Split on May 6, 1962, President Tito stressed the need to advance more rapidly and boldly since the development of socialist relations fell short of the required level. In his New Year's message on January 1, 1963, the President returned to the subject, saying:

"The social or, to be more precise, socialist sector in agriculture has proved its worth both as regards the producer and as regards

the whole of our society. We must keep extending it so as to have enough agricultural products for our people as well as for export. We have all the necessary conditions to achieve this.

"It is not all the same to us how our peasant, our agricultural producer, is going to live. We want him to live better, to raise his standard of living quickly, and we shall work to this end. He, too, therefore must produce for the market and thus raise his standard of living. But he will be able to achieve this not on an individual basis but only by uniting in cooperatives, by participating in social production. . ."

Milun Ivanovic and Vojn Popovic told us of measures designed to accelerate the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. The *first* of these is to accelerate the development of the socialist sector, that is, the publicly-owned estates. It is planned in 1964 alone to increase the area at the disposal of the estates by 100,000 hectares (or nearly 10 per cent) by bringing virgin land under the plough, by land reclamation, irrigation, and by buying land from the peasants. It is likewise planned substantially to increase the technical equipment of the estates, to supply them with additional fertilizers and trained experts.

A *second* measure is maximum development of cooperation, meaning specifically long-term agreements between enterprises of the public sector and privately-owned farms. Of late agreements on cooperation are concluded not only with publicly-owned estates, but also with the agricultural enterprises. This makes for much greater cooperation and a higher productivity of labor in the countryside.

The policy of developing the socialist sector and extending its cooperation with the privately-owned farms has yielded positive results. The Yugoslav countryside is now able in the main to meet the country's food requirements (with the exception of grain which it still has to import, although the national grain output has long surpassed the 1934-39 level). The prewar level of agricultural production has been surpassed by more than 50 per cent. In 1962-63 the export of agricultural products was over 50 per cent of imports. By 1965 when the socialist sector will have about three million hectares of land at its disposal, the country, in the opinion of the Yugoslav leaders, will be able to meet most of its agricultural requirements, including grain (Yugoslavia will then no longer have to import it).

* * *

The socio-economic problems of Yugoslavia are complex and varied.

*In 1959-60 about 10 per cent of all the farms sold or purchased land. Since then there has been a notable drop in land purchases.

"We have been speaking much of late about our problems," Lazar Mojsov, the editor of *Borba*, told us. "What have we in mind? At first we made a rapid leap forward and then came to a sudden stop, encountering grave difficulties. We are now sizing up the situation so as to be better able to tackle the problems and to avoid making mistakes. Once we have found our bearings we shall again rapidly forge ahead."

Indeed, as one can see from the press and the statements by leaders, the sentiment in the country is one of constructive criticism. When speaking of the problems and prospects the Yugoslav comrades usually say that there are no objective difficulties of an insuperable nature and that if there are certain shortcomings they are due to subjective mistakes. President Tito, in particular, has stressed that many of the difficulties were due to the fact that the approach was not always a sufficiently scientific and Marxist-Leninist one. In a talk with students of the Higher School of Political Science in July 1962, he said, for example, "Things often happen here which were the result of an anti-Marxist view of life, and it is simply impossible to understand how they could have happened."

In an effort to overcome the negative features, and to prevent a repetition of them, the Yugoslav Communists lay emphasis on enhancing the role of the Party in the life of the country.

"We must again emphasize the Communists' responsibility for socialism in our country," Comrade Tito said. "Who, if not the Communists, must share this responsibility? The main shortcoming is precisely the lack of vigilance on the part of Communists who have somehow or other let the leading role slip away from them. If today the Communists are no longer those who give orders, as they had to do at one time, they, nevertheless, must direct the development of our country, must be an example to others."

Recent meetings of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists discussed these questions. The decisions adopted stressed, in particular, the need consistently to practise democratic centralism in the League, for more criticism and self-criticism. Communists must combat mismanagement and anti-government

practices still encountered in some economic organizations.

Special attention is paid to the ideological struggle and the work of the Party in this sphere. The Yugoslav comrades regard these questions as being urgent, especially considering, as President Tito noted at a meeting of the Executive Committee, that the young generation of Communists grew up at a time when Yugoslavia was isolated from other socialist countries. And what does this mean? That many of the present Yugoslav economists, philosophers and journalists developed, in point of fact, under the influence to some extent of fashionable Western trends and views. At a meeting of the ideological commission of the Executive Committee devoted to the activity of the Party organizations in universities (October 24, 1963) it was pointed out, for example, that the view that different ideologies could be reconciled enjoyed currency in the universities, that there had developed an attitude of indifference to deviations from Marxism in philosophy, economics, sociology, etc.

In the first six months of 1963 Executive Committee meetings were held in all republics of the country at which the situation in art and literature, in the cinema and the press was subjected to criticism. The meetings called for vigorous and persistent struggle to combat alien influences in the sphere of ideology, stressing that this must be done not by administrative orders but through persuasion, in the course of painstaking political and educational work.

Many of the recent documents adopted by the Yugoslav leadership speak of the determination to improve the forms and methods of building socialism. In this connection the need to make a more profound study of the laws of socialist society, to put an end to underestimating the experience of the other fraternal countries, is stressed more and more.

Speaking at the engineering works in Zeleznik, Comrade Tito said: "The flattery which we often hear from different sides about our specific socialism with its national characteristics, and which even the non-socialist countries find quite acceptable, should be utterly alien to us. We have no use for such flattery. We aspire to a truly socialist society, we want relations natural to socialist states . . ."

A Visit to the New Algeria

PUBLIC opinion in Italy and abroad displayed keen interest in the Algerian visit of an Italian Communist Party delegation headed by Comrade Luigi Longo, Deputy General Secretary of the Party; the joint communique on the visit, the cordial atmosphere which prevailed and the press coverage all speak of the importance of the meeting. The invitation to visit Algeria was the logical outcome of the long-standing cooperation between the Italian Communists and the National Liberation Front, a cooperation dating back to the time when Italian democrats, and the Communists in the first place, actively supported the struggle of the Algerian people.

This support reflected the deep interest of the Italian democrats and Communists in the victory of the Algerian people. It is not accidental that the joint communique stated: "The Italian Communists avail themselves of this opportunity to express the admiration all democrats have felt for their Algerian brothers ever since the time of their valiant struggle. This struggle was of invaluable help to all people, including the people of Italy, in their fight against militarism and colonialism, and against the attempts to rebuild and maintain the fascist regime in Europe. It was a valuable contribution to peace, democracy and progress, to the fight for socialism."

The relations between the Italian Communists and the National Liberation Front have become closer, especially in recent months when representatives of our Party have met and had talks with leaders of the NLF at international conferences and anniversary celebrations. As a result of these talks it was agreed to arrange an official meeting between our Party and the Front; the meeting took place in January. The fact that the Italian delegation was headed by Comrade Longo, who had been an officer in the International Brigade in Spain and commander of the "Garibaldi" partisan forces during the wartime resistance, emphasizes not only the political significance of this meeting; it also symbolizes the fellowship of arms of men who fought and who are still fighting fascism, colonialism and militarism on both sides of the Mediterranean. The visit, though brief, was most successful. This was due in large measure to the fact that the very moment the Italian Communists set foot on the soil of the new Algeria they found themselves in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality. The expression "fraternal ties" con-

tained in the communique is therefore not just rhetoric, nor is it a conventionality; it reflects our complete harmony of views on all important issues as we had occasion to see more than once during our visit. Consequently, there were no difficulties in drafting the communique.

Our delegation visited a number of children's institutions, self-managing estates and various types of "mixed" and self-managing industrial enterprises. We visited the local Front organizations in Algiers, Oran, Blida and other towns, established contact with the presidium of the National Assembly, with trade unions and other public organizations.

Besides official meetings, the members of the delegation had a number of unofficial meetings and talks with ministers and government officials and journalists, with Italian specialists and doctors presently working in Algeria, with members of the editorial staff of *Alger Républicain*, and with Algerian Communists. The delegation was received by President Ben Bella on their arrival and again before their departure. At the end of their visit the delegation held a press conference for Algerian and foreign journalists.

Although hard pressed for time our Algerian friends gave us every attention, for which we were most grateful. It made us feel more keenly our duty and responsibility to the new Algeria and its leaders. It is difficult in a few lines to enumerate the basic conclusions drawn from our visit. The main one is that we had the opportunity to see for ourselves that the Algerian leaders and the people have definitely taken the road to the socialist reconstruction of their country.

It is obvious that the decision to build a socialist society in which the main means of production will belong to the entire people, is not questioned by anybody; it is steadfastly being put into practice although the process is a difficult one. Algeria naturally is faced with a host of problems which will have to be studied comprehensively. These include, for example, the question of the forms of organization of the socialist sector; the relations between the socialist and private sectors during the transitional phase the duration and stages of which no one can foresee today; the question of the relations, and also technical and economic cooperation, with foreign capital, which still retains strong positions in some branches of production.

In the most developed area, which for share

of output, national income and foreign trade is decisive in the economic life of the country at present even though not populated by the bulk of the working people (an area of specialized agriculture and a few industrial enterprises), the matter of industrial leadership was settled by introducing the self-management system.

Our delegation also saw how vigorously other important problems were being tackled as, for instance, the agrarian reform which gives land to the millions of fellahs who had been forced by the French colonialists to live on the poor and infertile land of the interior.

The Algerian comrades made no secret of their difficulties. They are difficulties caused by the one-sided development of the country's economy in colonial times when two different societies existed in effect in the country: a highly developed one in the coastal areas and an extremely backward one in the interior where the greater part of the Algerian population lived. Matters were complicated by the flow of capital abroad, by the exodus of specialists and the European population. Hence the many acute problems facing the country—that of technical personnel, education and medical services, unemployment in the towns and the chronic and concealed unemployment in the countryside; the problems of the small trading enterprises, of the youth, etc. However, the fact that the Algerian leaders appreciate the magnitude of their difficulties, and also the fact that they were able to do so much at a time when it seemed that the country was on the verge of chaos, is, the Italian delegates believe, the guarantee of future success. Of great help in coping with all these problems is the steadily increasing aid rendered by the socialist camp, and especially by the Soviet Union. The Algerian leaders and people highly appreciate this aid.

The gravity of the problems explains why the French representatives in the Evian talks were confident that they would be able to pursue a neo-colonialist policy in the country. This also explains the confusion among some of the Algerian leaders and even among some European democrats, friends of Algeria, who lost heart in the early months after the country won its independence. When there was talk about the possibility of the "Congolization" of Algeria, they failed to see the national forces constituting the mass base of the independence struggle, forces which subsequently supplied the cadres that would give leadership to the new Algeria. It was not accidental that in those troubled times it was the Communists who were the first political force to proclaim uncon-

ditional support to President Ben Bella as the spokesman of the national forces.

The leaders of the National Liberation Front frankly told Italian comrades that they intend to turn the Front into a real party of socialist revolution. The NLF is an extremely complex organization in its composition. Its initial purpose was to head the armed struggle, which was waged in very difficult conditions, and owing to this its members were scattered in partisan detachments, prisons and in the capitals of the Arab states. The NLF is now being reorganized into a new party which will continue the work started and ultimately accomplish the socialist revolution. The attitude of the NLF comrades on the question of a united party can be summed up as follows: "We are ready to learn from all without copying anyone," "We aim, through patient work, and not mechanically, to determine the form of organization and functions of the party."

Besides participating in the special congress preparatory commission, the NLF leaders are studying the experience of other parties and revolutionary movements, and first and foremost the experience of the Communist parties, those in power and those not, and in particular the experience gained by the Italian Communist Party in organizing the masses in diverse conditions, including the armed anti-fascist and national struggle. In the light of this the forthcoming congress which will adopt the program and rules of the party, promises to be of decisive importance.

It is still too early to comment on the program of the Party. But it is obvious that much is being done to apply the laws of class struggle and of the motive forces of the socialist revolution common to every society to the conditions in a country in which the peasant masses have proved their devotion to the revolution (one and a half million gave their lives for it) and whose deep-rooted religious traditions the Algerian leaders are anxious to place at the service of the revolution; and all this is being done without any eclecticism. It is likewise difficult to foresee exactly how the different ideological trends sharing a common striving for socialism will combine in a united party. However, judging by the current situation and by the stand taken by the leaders, it is clear that they realize the need for the fundamental social changes which the socialist revolution implies. It will not be amiss to quote some passages from statements made by Ben Bella since November 1962: "We went into the fight not only to win independence and to see our national flag flying. Our revolution has a political content. We want first and

foremost to create a society in which there will not be two classes—one living in comfort and the other deprived of comforts. We want to build a revolutionary socialism that will take into account our Arab-Islam traditions"; "the conscious building of the country's life based on socialist principles and with power in the hands of the people"; "the movement towards socialism is one of the basic aims of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, and the people who paid dearly for their independence have no intention of becoming victims of a concealed exploitation and autonomous paternalism suggestive of the former colonialism." Significant too are Ben Bella's statements in which he denounced anti-communism as an enemy of the unity and cooperation of the revolutionary forces, of the Communists and the other forces in the NLF in the political and cultural fields, and in the trade unions. I think we won't be wrong in saying that Marxist thought and the experience of the Communist parties of the various countries have considerably influenced the wording of the NLF program.

The organizational problems, too, are complex. They must be solved in a way that will allow the maximum development of democracy in the party while preserving its leading role and centralization in the country, that will allow every opportunity for the national organizations of the NLF to display initiative. What makes these problems even more complex is that the party is based on the NLF's former military machinery, and it is most important that the correct relations be established between the party and the machinery of state. Of course many of these problems cannot be solved overnight, say, at the forthcoming NLF congress. But the Algerian leaders are trying to get their cadres and functionaries to display the maximum initiative in this respect; in other words, they are concerned with the problem of developing true socialist democracy.

In this respect the positive and novel experience of self-management shows that this form has helped solve the problems of organization and management, and also that the enterprises under self-management are a kind of university for training personnel, a valuable form of direct participation by the people in running the state. In one of his talks with the delegation President Ben Bella said that the cooperative movement and the self-management movement are forms of democratic organization, of broad and active participation by the people in government, and that it is on these forms that the united party of the Algerian revolution should be based.

The NLF leaders also take a positive attitude, as our delegation could see, on important issues of the international situation, both as regards their likely contribution to the national-liberation movement in other parts of Africa and as regards their relations with the working people and democratic forces in the developed capitalist countries. In his speech of welcome Ben Bella said that this meeting opens a new page not only in the relations between the National Liberation Front and the Italian Communist Party but also with all the European workers' and democratic movements.

We would like particularly to draw attention to that part of the communique where it is said "the struggle of the African peoples for the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and South Africa is part of the struggle of the European peoples to overthrow fascist regimes such as the Verwoerd and Salazar regimes." Referring to the work of the Italian Communists, the communique continues, "the Algerian activists noted the importance of the peace movement and the struggle against fascism and colonialism, and particularly the importance of the struggle in support of the Algerian revolution. By their activity and militancy the Italian Communists and other democratic forces showed that they fully appreciate the community of interests shared by the working people of Western Europe and the oppressed peoples in the fight against colonialism."

Also important in our view is the section which, in addition to stressing the need to counteract the threat of war, mentions the possibility of cooperation between the peoples of the Mediterranean who can unite and mobilize their forces in order to make this sea a sea of peace. "The Mediterranean," states the communique, "should not only become a sea of peace, an atom-free area, but above all a sea which would unite all the peoples living in this area. This union should be achieved by extending trade, technological and cultural relations. All designs of the imperialists, such as those on Cyprus, aimed at undermining the independence and neutrality of the island, must be frustrated."

As a result of their visit the Italian Communists have gained new experience and discovered new elements for strengthening international solidarity. It has, moreover, given them new inspiration. This is particularly so as regards work for peace and the effort to further the independent development of the new Algeria towards socialism. In Italy we can help in two ways:

First, by way of reinforcing the solidarity of the Italian democratic forces and their

organizations with Algeria. Solidarity with Algeria is supported by Communists and Socialists of varying trends, and also by the masses and the various democratic movements in the country. This solidarity takes the form of medical aid, child welfare, etc. The moral significance of this aid extends far beyond the framework of its immediate practical significance.

Second, it is essential to make sure that the policy of the Italian government, once it has broken away from direct and indirect depen-

dence on the monopolies, be geared to the mutual interests of our two countries and that it promote—and this is quite possible—technical, economic and cultural cooperation between our peoples, thus making for a policy of peace and detente in the Mediterranean area.

The sympathy and understanding shown by the people of Italy on these questions during the valiant struggle of the people of Algeria is the guarantee that our efforts, for which we are rallying all our forces, will be crowned with success.

Giuliano PAJETTA

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE POWER OF SOLIDARITY

Persecution of democrats and progressives, harassment of those who think differently, arbitrary arrests, imprisonment as often as not without trial, shooting of peaceful demonstrators, torture and even killing—these are practised in many countries of the "free world" of capitalism. As a rule, the brunt of the reprisals is borne by Communists, the staunch and consistent champions of the working people. In many countries anti-communism is the pretext for hounding all progressives and democrats.

But the men and women subjected to persecution and who languish in prison cells and concentration camps know that they are not alone, that they have friends and supporters in their own countries and all over the world. And this knowledge infuses them with renewed strength and courage, with confidence that justice will triumph.

International solidarity has on more than one occasion proved its worth in the struggle against despotic regimes. What Lenin said about the significance of international proletarian solidarity acquires an even greater urgency these days: "We have an international alliance, an alliance which has nowhere been registered, which has never been given formal embodiment, which from the point of view of 'public law' means nothing, but which, in the disintegrating capitalist world, actually means everything."

Hundreds of freedom fighters have been wrested from the hands of the executioners in the course of the struggle waged by the people in different countries and also thanks to the international solidarity of progressives throughout the world.

The materials printed below speak of the strength of proletarian solidarity and its significance for the struggle of the peoples for freedom, democracy and human rights.

THE Salazar fascist regime, a regime of the international monopolies and big latifundists, is experiencing the gravest crisis in its history. The Portuguese patriots have every reason to say that practically the entire population of the country is opposed to the dictatorship. With growing force the working class, the peasants, intellectuals and sections of the bourgeoisie are expressing their dissatisfaction and resentment. One anti-fascist mass action follows another. Despite the difficulties, the democratic forces have made considerable

headway in building their organizations and strengthening their unity. In Angola and Guinea the armed forces of the colonialists have been unable to defeat the national-liberation movements.

Internationally, the Salazar dictatorship has become one of the most unpopular and hated regimes in the world. Its actions are condemned by the working-class movement and progressive public opinion everywhere. Demonstrations and conferences demanding an amnesty for political prisoners and respect for human rights

in Portugal have had worldwide repercussions. Important international organizations, including those under reactionary influence, have denounced Salazar's repressions. Many governments, especially in Africa, have severed diplomatic and trade relations with Salazar. Official representatives of our country are expelled from international organizations. On more than one occasion Salazar's colonialist and anti-democratic policy has been almost unanimously condemned by the U.N. General Assembly and by the Security Council.

In a desperate endeavor to remain in power, the fascist regime is doing its utmost to buttress the two pillars on which it has always rested: 1) violence and terror, and 2) its dependence on some of the imperialist states—its allies or masters—and their aid.

In the new conditions created by the advance of the socialist system and its policy of peaceful coexistence, the Salazar regime is particularly sensitive to those campaigns which rally democrats all over the world in united actions against its crimes. These campaigns render exceedingly valuable assistance in the struggle for a free Portugal, and their significance is duly appreciated by all freedom fighters.

The international solidarity campaigns are most telling when fused with the struggle of the Portuguese people. The reprisals and violence, the pillars of the existing regime, will finally disappear only when the regime is overthrown.

Salazar and the foreign monopolists who support him are alarmed by the growth of the solidarity movement, fearing (with every reason) the development of a broad and effective international anti-fascist front. Every real success in the struggle in recent years has been the result of the combined struggle of our people and of democratic opinion in other countries.

The release in January 1964 of Manuel Rodriguez da Silva, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and trade union leader, which followed a long national and international campaign, is one of the recent and more significant results. The 24 years which Manuel Rodriguez da Silva spent in prison, the torture and humiliations to which he was subjected, show the brutality with which Salazar treats the Communists.

The fascists released Rodriguez da Silva not because they thought he had suffered enough and not because of any humanism. On the contrary, Salazar would like to bury Rodriguez da Silva for ever in his prison tombs. And if he failed to do so, we owe this to the fact that da Silva's name was mentioned thousands of

times in our underground anti-fascist press and in leading newspapers abroad; his name was chalked on the walls of towns and villages throughout Portugal; it was chanted during demonstrations; it sounded in the thousands and thousands of protests which, like avalanches, were precipitated on the fascist authorities; and, lastly, we owe this to the steadfast campaign for an amnesty which developed both in the country and far beyond its borders.

Two aspects of the international campaign for the release of Manuel Rodriguez da Silva should be mentioned. First, the campaign has demonstrated the strength of proletarian internationalism. Working-class parties and organizations, especially the working people of the socialist countries, conducted a campaign which enjoyed the support of world public opinion. The World Federation of Trade Unions and trade unions in countries of differing social systems such as Czechoslovakia and Britain, the USSR and Japan, France and Brazil, Italy and Algeria and many others, secured the effective support of hundreds of millions of working people.

Second, the campaign demonstrated that people and organizations of different social strata, political views and countries can unite, and they are uniting, to fight for the life and freedom of a Communist leader, especially when his life is an example of a fighter devoted to the cause of democracy and peace.

But winning one battle does not mean the end of the struggle. In 1963 hundreds more patriots—workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, shop-keepers, industrialists and army men—were arrested and tortured. The regime has introduced capital punishment for servicemen who refuse to fight in colonial wars. In some parts of the country the people are kept in a veritable state of siege. The police check the identity of people at roadblocks all over the country. On November 30 and December 1 more than 120,000 car drivers and 25,000 cyclists were detained for identification.

News has come from the Penixie Prison, in which Manuel Rodriguez da Silva served the last 10 years of his term, about the grave condition of 110 anti-fascists. Among them are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Pires Jorge, Blanqui Teixeira, Antonio Lourenco, Octavio Rodriguez Pato, Manuel Gedeze, Carlos Costa, Americo de Coza, José Magro and many others who in their totality have served hundreds of years in prison.

After long months of protesting against the appalling conditions, the 110 political prisoners resorted to other means of struggle.

When denied the possibility of complaining to the prison governor and when they were no longer allowed visits by relatives, the prisoners went on a hunger strike. Many of them, like Joaquim Velez, were brutally beaten by the jailers. Others, like Octavio Rodriguez Pato and Jose Carlos, were removed to dark and damp cells.

As was the case in the campaign for the release of Manuel Rodriguez da Silva, the success of the struggle of the Penixe prisoners, their safety and their release will depend in very large measure on the solidarity of the international working-class movement.

Joao VELEZ

THE PEOPLE OF GREECE ARE NOT ALONE

FOR the people of Greece the entire postwar has been a time of severe trials and struggle against the reactionary oligarchy and against foreign imperialist domination, for peace, for democracy and for social progress. In this struggle our people have won successes which they will use to consolidate and develop the gains and ultimately to take their country onto the highway of democratic progress and well-being.

The people of Greece have never been alone in their struggle. They have always been conscious of the solidarity and support, both moral and material, rendered them by their true friends—the people of the socialist countries and progressives all over the world. This support has given them added strength to continue the struggle. There is hardly an area of popular action in our country that has not evoked a warm response among the forward-looking people in all countries. The people of Greece will always be deeply grateful to the people of the world for this support.

It goes without saying that in a brief item it is impossible even to enumerate all the manifestations of international solidarity with our embattled people—for this, volumes would be needed. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to recalling a few instances of the solidarity for the release of the political prisoners and for general amnesty—a fight which is an integral part of the people's struggle for democracy.

As far back as 1949 when punitive expeditions literally slaughtered the freedom fighters, world public opinion came out in support of our people. So powerful was this support that it forced the then rulers to issue an order postponing the execution of 3,000 patriots who had been condemned to death. Their lives were saved.

We well remember the great movement that developed throughout the world in 1952 to save the life of the national hero Nikos Beloyannis. And while the movement did not save his life, it gave rise nevertheless to such protests that the government was compelled to suspend the

execution of other fighters and to improve the conditions of political prisoners.

In 1955 the National Radical Union government continued to keep behind bars 5,500 political prisoners. But by 1962 the government of the same party was forced to release Manolis Glezos.

Among the many manifestations of international support and solidarity with the struggle of our people a special place belongs to the International Conference in Paris (March 1963) for a general amnesty and for the restoration of human rights in Greece; this conference was attended by over 200 public personalities from 16 European countries. The significance of this conference for the struggle of our people can hardly be overestimated.

In the general election held on November 3, 1963, the democratic forces won a resounding victory over the reactionaries and their imperialist patrons. This victory—also due largely to international solidarity—created a more favorable atmosphere for securing the release of all the political prisoners and granting a general amnesty. In recent times several hundred prisoners, out of the total of nine hundred who have been in jail for 15-19 years, have been released. This, a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party says, is "the result of the determined battles fought over the years by our unvanquished and heroic people headed by the Communist Party and other democratic forces, as well as of the warm and vigorous support extended to us by progressive international public opinion."

However, more than 500 freedom fighters are still held in prison. Progressives in Greece regard it as a matter of honor and their moral duty to intensify the struggle for the immediate release of these people. In this, as before, they count on active international solidarity and support.

The fact that our people have seen for themselves the value and effectiveness of international solidarity has imparted to them, in addition to feelings of gratitude, a sense of

special responsibility in regard to other peoples fighting for peace, freedom, democracy and social progress, against despotic regimes and imperialist plunder. Progressives in our country are in solidarity with the people of Spain, Portugal, South Korea, South Vietnam and Iraq, who are fighting for freedom, and with all the oppressed peoples of the world.

Mass actions in support of the people of Cyprus often assumed such an acute form that the former ERE government resorted to violence, using arms against unarmed people.

Today when the Cypriots are facing severe trials, the people of Greece, led by the Left forces, are closing their ranks in defense of Cyprus.

Our people, steeled and tempered in the difficult battles for a better future, identifying their own struggle with the struggle of other peoples and relying on powerful international solidarity and support, are confidently marching forward—towards ultimate victory.

D. LAKKAS

FRANCO AXE GETTING BLUNTED

ACTIVE support for the victims of terror has saved hundreds of patriots from the gallows in many countries, while for others it has opened the doors of prison dungeons.

The most important campaign against the Franco terror in Spain in the immediate post-war years was the international movement in defense of Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Sapirain (1945). Theirs were the first lives saved from terror. At that time the progressive forces took advantage of the situation created by the defeat of Hitler, when the skies were not yet overcast by the clouds of the cold war.

Among many other examples testifying to the force of solidarity I would like to cite one of the brightest pages of the fifties, when resolute action by the working people of Barcelona saved the life of Gregorio Lopez Raimundo, leader of the strikes and demonstrations in that city in February 1951.

Solidarity with the Spanish people has grown in the past decade. Several prisoners condemned to face a firing squad were wrested from Franco's dungeons, among them Adolfo Garcia Prieto who spent 17 years in jail (completely blind at that), and the poet Marcos Ana who was kept behind prison bars for 23 years.

The continental and international conferences held in recent years are proof of the growth of international solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish people: the continental conferences in Latin America held in Sao Paulo (January 1960) and in Montevideo (January 1961), the conference in Paris "for an amnesty" (March 1961), followed by the Rome and Genoa solidarity conferences (April 1962) and the special conference for an amnesty in Paris (May 1963).

The nationwide strikes fought in April-May 1962 and the strikes of the miners in Asturias and Leon in the autumn of 1963 stimulated solidarity actions in all continents.

The three biggest international trade union centers and their affiliated national unions, as

well as independent unions, expressed solidarity with their Spanish brothers and gave them material support. The blows of the people's struggle which are shattering the political foundations of the dictatorship, and international solidarity saved the life of Jorge Conill, a Catalan student.

Today the situation in Spain is evoking still greater repercussions in the international arena. Public pressure has put an end to the conspiracy of silence with which the big capitalist news agencies surrounded the struggle of our people.

True, Franco was able to kill Julian Grimau and the young anti-fascists Francisco Granados Gata and Joaquin Delgado Martinez. The gaolers thought they had broken Grimau after the tortures to which he had been subjected in the security board. But they miscalculated. Having failed to achieve their ends and seeking to check the international solidarity movement, the Minister of Information announced only 48 hours before the hearing began that Grimau's case would not be passed to the military tribunal.

All this shows that Franco and Eymar, his security chief, prepared the deliberate murder of Grimau. We, his comrades, deeply mourn the death of this gallant fighter whose life was cut short at dawn on April 20, 1963. But Grimau's death has not been in vain. His murderers sought to frustrate the international solidarity, to confront public opinion with a *fait accompli* and to dampen the struggle of the Spanish people for their freedom. But the results of this action, as subsequent developments demonstrated, were the very opposite. Both national and international campaigns, first in defense of Grimau and then in protest against his murder, acquired unprecedented scope. The same can be said about the struggle of our people, which, increasingly, is becoming better organized and more purposeful.

The varied forms of mass struggles were most strikingly manifested in the powerful strike of the Asturian and Leon miners in July-September 1963 and in the actions of intellectuals. Arrests of miners, the usual torture, persecution of intellectuals and government threats were unable to prevent new exposures of the regime, new and still more vigorous actions. The actions of the intellectuals are merging with those of the workers who, conscious of the support of world opinion, are fighting with redoubled energy.

A special place among the miners' grievances voiced during the strike of July-September 1963 was the demand for the return of the 350 miners who were victimized for their part in the 1962 strike and exiled to other parts of the country. The struggle for this demand continued for several months. Both during the

mass actions and partial strikes in some of the mines, the workers insisted on the return of their exiled comrades. And they won their demand.

A more recent success of the solidarity campaign was the release of the 13 Asturian miners from the Carabanchel Prison in Madrid where they had been threatened with long-term imprisonment, and of five other miners detained in the Oviedo prison. This was another blow to the dictatorship and its servants, thus promising fresh victories for the movement of national and international solidarity to save the victims of terror.

The struggle against the repressions together with the solidarity movement is part of the general struggle against the Franco dictatorship, for restoring democratic rights in Spain.

Juan MODESTO

MOROCCAN PATRIOTS FREE

THE struggle waged by democrats in Morocco and by progressive international public opinion for the release of three leading Communists has had its first success—after 75 days' detention Ali Yata, Abdeslam Bourquia and Abdallah Layachi were released.

The reason for their arrest was that at the time of the Moroccan-Algerian border dispute they had advocated a peaceful solution, cessation of the fratricidal strife. The newspaper *Al Moukafih* appealed to all patriots in the country and to democrats everywhere to protest against the unlawful action of the government and to demand the release of the Communist leaders and other democrats.

Responding to this appeal the workers in many towns, including railwaymen in Rabat and Sale, university students and office employees and fellaheen in Ouled Smail, Ouled Youssef and Zerhoun, workers and peasants in Fez and Tetuan patriots sent cables and letters urging the immediate release of the Communist leaders. The newspaper *Al-Alam*, organ of the Istiqlal party, and *Avant-Garde*, organ of the Moroccan Labor Union, supported the demand. All the democratic forces of the country joined in a broad solidarity campaign.

The arbitrary treatment of the three patriots aroused considerable resentment among people everywhere. Political parties, trade unions, student and youth organizations in France, Lebanon and other countries campaigned against the persecutions in Morocco. Solidarity was expressed by the Communist parties and

working class of France, the Soviet Union, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Norway, Finland and other countries.

Ali Yata, director of the newspaper *Al Moukafih*, Abdeslam Bourquia, director of the journal *Al Mabadi*, and Abdallah Layachi, editor of *Al Moukafih*—were arrested on the night of October 25 without a warrant and taken to police headquarters in Casablanca. For days they were kept *incommunicado* in dark cells, and denied even the right to a daily walk. Their health, already undermined by the torture and imprisonment endured under the French protectorate, caused grave concern.

The success won by the Moroccan patriots and their friends abroad is only the first step; Ali Yata, Abdeslam Bourquia and Abdallah Layachi have been released on bail, but the charge of "threatening the external security of the state" still remains.

Now 102 members of the Union of Popular Forces have been put on trial in Rabat on charges of "conspiracy" against the state, and of organizing an attempt on the life of the King. In the course of the hearings it was found out that the charges were based on confessions extracted under torture.

In these circumstances the Moroccan Communists have issued a timely call, urging unity of all progressive forces to secure the release of the political prisoners, to put an end to the repressions against patriots and to step up the struggle for freedom, justice and democracy.

Ali NOURI

FEDERAL GERMANY: GROWING RESISTANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES

POLITICAL development in Federal Germany is complex and contradictory in character. The bankruptcy of the "positions of strength" policy led to the resignation of the diehard Foreign Minister von Brentano, Minister of War Strauss and Chancellor Adenauer himself. The consolidation of the German Democratic Republic is a powerful source of strength for the democratic forces in West Germany. As a result of revelations in the GDR press, Bonn had to discharge from their high posts the Nazi war criminals—Oberlaender, Fraenkel, Globke and Krueger.

Under pressure from German and world public opinion some democrats, including Communists, have been released from jail; the attempt to ban the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution has been foiled and the outrageous attack on *Der Spiegel* repelled. Developments show that the struggle for democracy in the Federal Republic is growing sharper, thus bearing out the conclusions of the last Congress of the Communist Party.*

In these circumstances the Bonn rulers are resorting to more flexible methods in prosecuting their militarist-revanchist policy. But its reactionary nature narrows the field for maneuvering, forcing them to fall back on undisguised suppression of democracy.

At the end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964 a number of trials took place which evoked the indignation of democrats in Germany and elsewhere. Ernst Aust, publisher and chief editor of the weekly *Blinkfuer*, was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for upholding the ideas of peaceful coexistence, nuclear disarmament, talks between the two Germanys and a sane policy on the part of Bonn—things which, according to the rulers, are a "threat to the state."

Almost at the same time with Aust three women were sent to prison—Lore Junge, Viktoria Kruetzner and Elsa Funke—for the sole "crime of being members of an organization known as "Happy Holidays for Children" which arranged for West German children to visit the Democratic Republic for their holidays. This, too, was qualified by the judges as "subversive anti-state activity."

Hardly had these trials ended than proceedings were instituted against Hans Fladung, publisher, his wife, K. Fladung, and G. Hofmann from Progress-Verlag (publishing house). Thirty years ago Fladung was sent to a Hitler

concentration camp also on a charge of "threatening the state." When he came out he was almost blind, deaf and practically paralyzed. His wife was arrested on seven occasions. Hofmann spent more than four years in fascist prisons. Today these anti-fascists face the same charge! Greater self-exposure can hardly be imagined.

Lawlessness is practised not only against Federal German citizens. Guenther Hofe, writer, and director of Verlag der Nation (publishing house), has been under judicial examination since last October. He was arrested on orders of the former Nazi, now Federal Judge Engelbrechten while on his way to the international book fair in Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

No less disgraceful was the trial of Horst Benz and Franz Moritz, delegates of the GDR unions, who were authorized by their congress to convey greetings to the congress of West German trade unions. Trampling underfoot elementary standards of international law and justice, the Bonn judges sentenced the GDR trade unionists to imprisonment.

In staging these trials the reactionaries hoped to intimidate and silence democrats, to create draconic precedents for stifling all opposition. But their hopes have been disappointed.

The courts, government bodies and newspaper offices were flooded with protests. In Hamburg two demonstrations in support of the *Blinkfuer* were accompanied by clashes with the police. Angry marchers chanted: "Remember—This Is How It Began in 1933!" Steps in defense of *Blinkfuer* were taken by the German Journalists' Union and the entire press of the GDR, by newspapers in the Soviet Union, by Communist newspapers in Italy, Britain and Austria and by liberals in a number of countries. And the reactionaries did not dare ban the paper. Nor could the court comply with the request of the prosecution concerning the term of imprisonment.

The arrest of the GDR trade union delegates aroused still greater indignation in Germany and throughout the world. Their immediate release was demanded by the industrial workers, government employees, trade union and public organizations in the GDR, by international working-class associations and by national trade-union centers in many countries of the world. Working-class solidarity has already yielded fruit—Franz Moritz was given a probation sentence and has already returned to the

*See World Marxist Review, No. 8, 1963.

GDR, but Horst Benz still remains in prison.

Granting an amnesty to all victimized democrats and lifting the ban on the Communist Party are the demands of the day in West Germany. In a letter to Chancellor Erhard, Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Communist Party, urged the restoration of the legal status of the Party. In the present situation, the letter stressed, it is high time to renounce

such an act of the cold war as the ban on the Communist Party.

Reimann's message is not a petition but a demand which is supported by all democrats in Germany and throughout the world. These forces, steadily growing, are influencing more and more the course of development in Federal Germany.

W. SCHULZ

SOME LESSONS OF THE "MATSUKAWA CASE"

RECENT years have seen some fine examples of how the working-class and democratic forces in Japan, powerfully supported by international solidarity, achieved successes in their struggle against domestic and foreign reactionaries.

An outstanding example of this was the acquittal of the accused indicted in the "Matsukawa case" which came after 14 years of unrelenting struggle. This success has inspired the people with renewed confidence in their struggle for national independence, democracy and peace; it is an encouragement to progressive people everywhere to go into action against repressions, for democracy.

The "Matsukawa case" dates from a train accident at the Matsukawa station, Tohoku district, on August 17, 1949, in which three engine-drivers lost their lives. The trial was a link in the chain of provocations forged by the U.S. occupation authorities and their local accomplices against the Communists and militant workers.

As culprits in the "Matsukawa case" the authorities arrested 20 Communists and trade unionists employed on the state-owned railways and in the electro-engineering factory of the Toshiba Company in Matsukawa. On December 6, 1950, five of the men were sentenced to death, another five to hard labor for life, and the remainder to long terms of imprisonment.

From the very beginning the Communist Party stressed that the "Matsukawa case" was a deliberate provocation, and that the fight to secure the acquittal of the accused was not just a fight for truth, in defense of democracy but, essentially, a fight for national independence and peace. But in view of the fact that the Party was then in a state of semi-legality, it had difficulty in mastering a really mass effort in defense of the accused.

In the conditions of the time, with practically all militants victims of "purges," and when any support for the Communist Party was used as a pretext for dismissals, the defense movement was far from being a mass movement.

In that period the accused themselves, their families, their lawyers and the Communist Party dedicated themselves to establishing the truth and proving innocence of the victims. During the eight years that followed the first trial the accused sent from prison over 130,000 letters to people in all walks of life. Members of their families toured the country, speaking at public meetings and rallying support for the victims of the frame-up.

As the Communist Party restored its militancy, more effective and varied forms were employed in the struggle in support of the victims: many meetings and demonstrations were held, and Matsukawa defense committees and committees of friends of the "Matsukawa case" victims were formed all over the country.

Beginning with 1951 trade unions and democratic organizations generally moved into action, protesting against the verdict and demanding a retrial.

In the course of time the defense movement emerged far beyond the circles usually known as democratic and progressive. Mention should be made, for instance, of the role played by Kazuo Hirotsu, one of the best known writers in Japan. After reading the letters sent out by the prisoners, and after interviewing them in prison, Hirotsu, who is not a man of the Left, wrote a series of articles on the case for the magazines *The Chuokoron* and *Sekai*. The articles established the innocence of the men and supported their claim for a retrial.

Hirotsu's articles encouraged the accused and inspired those who were working to secure their acquittal; their impact on the intellectuals—especially on writers, poets, scientists, musicians, etc.—was such that many of them joined the defense movement. This, in turn, evoked a response in other social sections, including people of conservative views.

Whereas during the first trial the accused were so isolated that not a single lawyer in the locality would undertake their defense, during the hearings in the higher court even members of the ruling Liberal Democratic

Party were ready to defend them. There was no dearth of defense counsel. Matsukawa defense committees mushroomed in all prefectures. And so it was that a movement in which at first only a few thousand people took part escalated into a powerful popular movement of tens of millions. United action by the people acquired truly colossal dimensions. Nationwide marches in which millions participated were organized in support of the accused.

From the very beginning the movement enjoyed the powerful support of the international democratic forces. Trade unions, peace committees and other organizations in all parts of the world rallied to the support of the accused and showered the government and the court with their protests. Donations were made to the Matsukawa defense fund.

The upshot was that after 14 years of unrelenting struggle a retrial was ordered, and on September 12, 1963, the court reversed the previous judgment and pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty for all the accused.

Useful lessons can be drawn from this struggle. In particular, the following factors should be emphasized:

1. In organizing the defense movement the substance of the case was correctly assessed and, on this basis, a line was worked out and steadfastly pursued. In other words, the defense movement, in addition to establishing the truth, developed as a movement in defense of demo-

cratic rights, for peace and national independence, intertwining with demands of the people.

2. Throughout the whole period of the fight, unity was the reliable foundation of the movement; the defense campaign developed as an independent all-people's movement, relying on the masses and on their initiative. Thanks to this both the publicity and the defense-fund campaigns were carried out in the most diverse forms; people from all walks of life took part in the united action.

3. The movement in Japan was closely associated with, and vigorously supported by, the international democratic forces. All too often the actions of the people in Japan remain unknown to the outside world owing to geographic and language barriers. But the Matsukawa defense movement demolished all the barriers; its message was heard by progressive people everywhere. The worldwide solidarity helped both morally and materially to overcome the difficulties that faced the movement in Japan.

The movement engendered by the "Matsukawa case" is not finished. On the day after the acquittal, the democratic forces launched a campaign to discover the real culprits and to call to account those who framed the "Matsukawa case." Thus, the movement, having entered its new phase, is forging ahead.

S. TANAKA

BROAD SUPPORT FOR OUR STRUGGLE

(Interview with Comrade Antonio Ovando Sanchez, veteran working-class fighter of Guatemala.)

INTERNATIONAL support and unity and solidarity of the forces fighting in Guatemala are the source of vitality, energy and inspiration to the people.

Since I have behind me many years as a union leader in my country, and since I also took part in founding the Communist Party, I will recall my personal experiences to demonstrate the truly great strength of solidarity.

In the year 1926 thirteen members of the Central Committee of our Communist Party were released from jail into which they had been thrown after denunciation by a police agent who had wormed his way into the leadership of the Party. The government of that time, headed by General Jose Maria Orellana, resorted to reprisals in an attempt to halt the popular movement against the enslaving agreements concluded with the imperialists. A state of siege was introduced, and we Communists were arrested and sentenced to death.

But the workers came to our defense, demanding our release and repeal of the death sentence.

Together with our own people, progressives throughout the world fought for our lives. And they won. The reactionaries had to retreat and we regained our freedom—a fact which was looked upon by many as a miracle.

A brief interlude of relative democracy was followed by the reactionary dictatorship of Jorge Ubico — 13 years of persecution and suppression of the trade union movement. In those dark days 314 active trade unionists and all the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were arrested and tried on trumped up charges of "treason," "subversion" and "insulting the head of the executive power."

On the basis of these fabricated charges the Communist leaders were condemned to death and the trade unionists to long terms of imprisonment.

And again the solidarity movement played its part. Demonstrations, petitions and protests by workers, students, professional people, including some members of the Bar, prevented the execution of the Communists. True, one of our number, our leader Juan Pablo Wanright, was shot by a firing-squad. As he lay dying, he wrote on the wall with his blood: "Viva la I.C." (Long Live the Communist International!)

True to the principles of proletarian solidarity, the working people of Guatemala have always extended aid and support to the people in other countries fighting for their rights and liberties. We have always aided the fraternal peoples of Central America in their fight against dictatorial regimes; we have expressed our solidarity with our Venezuelan, Argentine and North American comrades, with the people of Greece and Spain, Japan and Portugal. And every time we participate in solidarity movements with people in other countries we know that they are with us in our struggle.

Last year the leaders of the Autonomous Trade Union Federation (FASGUA) were arrested in Guatemala. Among them were Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, the popular leader of the working people, José Alberto Cardoza and myself. *World Marxist Review* reported this at the time, calling on world public opinion to support us. Great was our joy when we learned that the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Confederation of Working People of Latin America, the Soviet trade unions and

other democratic organizations had expressed solidarity with us, condemned the arrests and called on the dictator Ydigoras Fuentes to release us immediately. This time, too, the reactionaries had to retreat.

Then came the case of Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, General Secretary of the Party of Labor, who, together with Armando Castillo, leader of the FASGUA, and Lionel Roldan, student leader, were wrested from the hands of the military dictatorship of Colonel Peralta Azurdia.

Hence, conscious of the moral and political significance of solidarity, I address myself to all workers, to all revolutionaries and to all democrats with the call to win yet another victory over the Guatemalan reactionaries—to secure the release of Carlos Alvarado Jeréz and the other patriots now in prison. I ask too for support to the partisans in Guatemala who are presently battling against the despotic regime imposed on us by imperialism.

The unity of the progressive forces in different countries and their mutual support help the struggle against foreign imperialism and the domestic reactionaries, for genuine political and economic emancipation, for peace and democracy. Single-handed, not one nation will make headway in the matter of winning its rights unless it has the fraternal solidarity of the other peoples of the world.

I call for solidarity, for solidarity spells victory.

CALL TO SOLIDARITY

(Appeal of the Central Committee, Dominican People's Socialist Party)

AFTER the coup effected by the military on September 25, 1963, the government elected by the people was overthrown and the democratic Constitution annulled. Never-ending reprisals are the order of the day in the country.

The Left parties have been outlawed, offices of the independent trade unions have been raided, the people's press has been driven underground, democratic radio broadcasts have been stopped, legislative assemblies dissolved, and all members of the Supreme Court dismissed.

In recent weeks the reactionaries have become even more brazen.

Below are some facts which show how they are trampling on human rights:

—There are over 250 political prisoners in the country; about 300 people have been de-

ported.

—Large numbers of partisans captured in action have been murdered. Among them were the prominent democrats Dr. Manuel Tavares Justo, Rafael Faxas Canto and Luiz Ibarra Rios, leaders of the political organization known as the June 14 Revolutionary Movement.

—A state of emergency was introduced on September 25. Besides, the ruling triumvirate recently adopted Law No. 99 according to which political prisoners are denied *habeas corpus*, and the right to be released on probation or on bail.

—Francisco Socias, charged with being in opposition to the government, died on December 29 in Monte-Cristi after manhandling by the police.

—Benedicto Acevedo, leader of the smelters' union in Central Romana, was found dead from knife wounds in a street of La Romano.

—Some time ago Maximiliano Gomez, a mechanic, was murdered in Santo Domingo.

The list could be prolonged, but even the above will give an idea of the crimes perpetrated by the "gorillas" — the group of military who usurped power.

The people, however, are fighting back. The murder of Socias, for instance, gave rise to a powerful protest demonstration in Monte-Cristi. Both trade and industry were paralyzed by a 24-hour strike. The police were compelled to express "regret" and to remove from their posts the immediate perpetrators of the crime.

Student, trade union, women's and other organizations are taking an active stand against the police reprisals, supporting the call for a general amnesty for those in jail or who have been banished from the country for political reasons. Taking advantage of the restricted legal opportunities, the struggle is being waged

everywhere for a return to the democratic Constitution.

This struggle of the Dominican people is in urgent need of the active solidarity of the democratic forces on our continent and throughout the world. For this reason we address ourselves to all democratic parties, to all trade unions and students' organizations, to the organizations of professional and cultural workers, to all fighters against despotism, to express their solidarity, to condemn the crimes examples of which are given above, to picket Dominican consulates, to send protest telegrams to the Dominican government and the UN Human Rights Commission and to make these protests widely known to the public.

Cables protesting against the brutalities of the Dominican government should be sent to: Government Triumvirate, National Palace, SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic. January 1964.

Reviews

The One-Party System and Democracy in Africa

(Press Review)

ALTHOUGH the political scene in the new African states is highly variegated, the general tendency of late in many of them is in the direction of eliminating all organized opposition or preventing the emergence of an opposition.* The trend is often seen in the beginnings of one-party systems of government. For example, in January this year the Convention People's Party in Ghana was proclaimed the sole party in that country. And the last annual conference of the Tanganyika African National Union recommended to the government officially to institute the one-party system.

The origin and nature of the parties establishing control over the life of their countries are as varied as the conditions in which they function. Some of them are fronts of patriotic forces headed by the Left wing of the national bourgeoisie and the revolutionary-democratic intellectuals. Others represent the interests of the tribal elite and the bureaucratic and com-

prador bourgeoisie associated with imperialism.

The trend towards one-party systems, with the party frequently merging with the machinery of state has engendered much discussion and sharp controversy both in Africa and beyond its bounds.

The Ghanaian journal *Voice of Africa* has featured articles on the subject by African leaders, including Sékou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, and Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of the national-liberation movement in Southern Rhodesia. An article by Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika, appeared in *Spearhead*, a journal published in Dar es Salaam. *The Spark*, a Ghanaian weekly, has carried articles by Madeir Keita, the Mali Minister of Home Affairs, and Kofi Baako, one of the leaders of the Convention People's Party of Ghana.

The Marxist press, too, has dealt with the subject. The South African journal *The African Communist* printed an article by B. Pela on the one-party system and the struggle for democracy and socialism. The French Marxist Paul

*The reference here is to the countries of Tropical Africa, where conditions differ considerably from those in North Africa and the Republic of South Africa.

Delanoue raised the question in *Democratise Nouvelle*, and the *British Marxism Today* carried an article by Jack Woddis headed "Africa's One-Party System."

The United Front and the Fight Against Imperialism

Why has this question become so pressing in Africa? The articles mentioned above show that the answer should be sought primarily in the specific features of African history and social development. A feature of African society is the relatively slight differentiation of the main social strata, which are closely knit and continue by and large, even after political independence, to be oppressed by foreign imperialism. The social structure in the countries of Tropical Africa generally speaking is this: a numerically small working class, exploited mostly by foreign capital and frequently retaining its links with the land and the tribe; a peasantry among whom there has been little differentiation and who mostly adhere to various forms of communal land tenure (its main adversaries are the foreign monopolies and merchant capital); a considerable stratum of small business men and handicraftsmen whom it is often difficult to include in the exploiting classes and who themselves experience all the "blessings" of imperialist oppression; an embryonic national bourgeoisie (the biggest role here is played by a segment of the local bourgeoisie, imperialist by nature and foreign in origin, though it includes also Africans holding administrative positions with foreign firms); tribal and religious leaders who differ from the classical feudal chiefs in that most of them are not landowners; and, lastly, a young and numerically small intelligentsia which is an active factor on the political scene, mostly homogeneous as regards social origin but subscribing to a wide range of social views and exposed to the most diverse ideological influences; this last factor explains why, in some cases it produces revolutionary democrats and in others people who degenerate into a specific type of bureaucratic bourgeoisie associated with the machinery of neo-colonialism.

For many decades policies based on the "divide and rule" principle helped the imperialists to retain their positions in Africa. They divided the enslaved peoples by creating a privileged elite. The monopolies corrupted a chosen few in order to carve out a foothold for themselves in the colonies.

Hence one of the tasks of the leaders of the postwar national-liberation movement was to unite the national forces against the main enemy—foreign imperialism. In addition to the

peasants and the workers, the religious leaders and that part of the bourgeoisie which counted on political independence giving them greater privileges and a bigger share in the profits accruing from joint exploitation with imperialism of the African people had a stake in this struggle.

It was of such heterogeneous elements that the independence movements were built up, in most cases under the leadership of nationalist intellectuals, movements united by a common immediate program but not by common ultimate goals. As Pela shows in his article, the working class did not occupy the leading place in any of these movements or parties; and "although many of the mass parties in Africa are under bourgeois leadership, they are not typical 'capitalist' parties in the sense we have come to know such parties in Europe and North America. The African mass parties, besides reflecting the interests of certain local capitalists, also express the interests of workers, peasants and intellectuals in the common struggle of all these classes against their common enemy — imperialism" ("The One-Party State in Africa," *African Communist*, April-June 1963).

"Thus," Jack Woddis points out, "all the patriotic, anti-colonial classes in African society come together and unite around the common aim of overthrowing the rule of the colonial power. It is the common experience, the common suffering, which drives all these class forces to merge their strength in one mass organization, in a single national party" (*Marxism Today*, August 1963).

The mass parties took in not only the most advanced and politically conscious sections of the people but everybody active on the political arena. This is how the Convention People's Party in Ghana, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Sudanese Union in Mali and the Tanganyika African National Union, for instance, came into being. These parties, as President Nyerere of Tanganyika points out, "were formed to challenge the foreigners who ruled over us. They were not, therefore, political 'parties' . . . but nationalist movements. And from the outset they represented the interests and aspirations of the whole nation" (*Spearhead*, January 1963).

But not everywhere in Africa was independence followed by the advent to power of truly national parties led by revolutionary democrats. In a number of countries the imperialists succeeded in ousting the freedom fighters and handing the reins over to their puppets, who, relying on the foreign monopolies, have set up dictatorial regimes and are suppressing the patriotic forces and organizations. The imperialist

stooges Ahidjo in the Cameroun and Tombalbaye in Chad also extol the one-party system as a factor of progress, but their prime concern is not the national interest but how to cling to power in order to serve their imperialist masters.

The one-party regimes in these countries are vigorously opposed by the people and are condemned by progressive world opinion. These regimes are extremely shaky; here conspiracies and coups, mostly engineered by the reactionary military, are common. But fast though these regimes spring up with neo-colonialist support, they fall apart equally rapidly under pressure from the masses who are carrying on an unceasing struggle for democracy and rights. The French imperialist puppet Abbot Youlou, for example, who thought that the popular discontent could be erased by banning all parties but the government party, was overthrown in Brazzaville. The same fate overtook Hubert Maga, the Dahomey dictator who was overthrown by the people in October 1962.

Bourgeois Democracy Is Not the Model

Instead of exposing the reactionary one-party regimes set up with Western blessing in a number of countries of the African and Malagasy Union, the spokesmen of "Western democracy" accuse progressive African leaders of assuming dictatorial powers when they reject the vaunted Westminster model with its loyal Government and equally loyal Opposition.

Nyerere answers these charges in his article in *Spearhead* where he compares the two-party system with a football game in which the sole issue is which side will win the cup.

The Spark has denounced the mendacity of bourgeois democracy: "The only evil the African has known is imperialism which came from the so-called democratic countries and champions of freedom of the West . . . Western democracy has no meaning to the African. Any African who prattles about the virtues of Western democracy is talking about what he does not know because he has never enjoyed it; all his experiences with Western democracy have been bitter ones" (*The Spark*, December 29, 1962).

Many African leaders hold that democracy can obtain even when there is no organized opposition. "Does democracy necessarily imply more than one party?" Madeira Keita asks. "We say no" (*The Spark*, February 8, 1963).

Ndabangingi Sithole notes that neither the one-party nor the two-party system can in themselves guarantee democracy to the peoples of Africa and the world. It is "not the form but the content that counts," he says, pointing out

that the principal determinant of the nature of a system is "the will of the majority" (*Voice of Africa*, September 1961).

In the opinion of President Sékou Touré, genuine democracy is based exclusively on upholding the popular interest. "This is the only democratic form we recognize, the only interpretation that we give to the word 'democracy'," he says (*Voice of Africa*, July 1962).

Many African national-liberation leaders believe that the political forms accepted in the West are not suitable for the Africans also because of their traditions and customs. Kofi Baako writes: "In the society which existed before the impact of Western civilization the members of this society regarded themselves as a family led by one man and assisted by a council, the members of which represented not class, economic or social, but lineages; matters affecting the welfare of the community as a whole were openly discussed by the chief and his elders and the decisions taken were always made known to the entire community. If any person or persons disagreed with the decisions they made known their views to their representative elders, who in turn discussed those matters at their daily meetings" (*The Spark*, March 15, 1963).

Classes and Class Antagonism

While painting this picture of the traditional African society, Baako realizes that it no longer corresponds to the realities of the day. Colonialism, he said in a lecture on "African Socialism" in January 1963, left numerous scars on the fabric of communal society. He concedes that the colonial era and the changes it wrought in African society cannot be forgotten like a "bad dream."

This is understood also by other African leaders whom the facts of life have compelled to renounce, if only in part, the concept of the classless African society. Hardly anyone now speaks of the perfect homogeneity of this society.

But while admitting the contradictions between "social strata" (Sékou Touré) or "technical and professional groups" (L. Senghor), all African theoreticians deny out of hand the existence of antagonistic classes, i.e., of the class struggle. The absence of a working class is explained by Senghor in his lecture "Theory and Practice of Senegal Socialism" (Dakar, 1962) by the absence of a bourgeoisie, while Sékou Touré holds that all Guineans are workers. Baako considers the class structure of African society to be a "vertical" and not a "horizontal" one, i.e., free of antagonistic contradictions.

The views of the Mali leaders on this question are formulated by Madeira Keita as follows: "We also say that if a political party is the expression of a class, which itself represents certain interests, we obviously cannot assert that Negro African society is a classless society. But we do say that the differentiation of classes in Africa does not imply a diversification of interests and still less an opposition of interests" (*The Spark*, February 8, 1963).

The consensus of opinion among African leaders is that there is class differentiation but no class antagonism in the Africa of today. Consequently, the interests of the incipient classes can be represented by a single ruling party. Moreover, they believe that in the underdeveloped countries these interests not only can but should be represented by one party. Upholding this viewpoint, Nyerere declares: "This is our time of emergency, and until our war against poverty, ignorance and disease has been won, we should not let our unity be destroyed . . ." (*Voice of Africa*, May 1962). Madeira Keita holds that the one-party system helps to combat regionalism or "what we have called internal racism." And Ndabaningi Sithole says that the danger of the emergence of a hostile counter-revolutionary opposition which "may have its remote controls in London, Washington, D.C., or Paris" is a factor speaking in favor of a single party.

Africa's Future Is in the Hands of the Working Class

If the facts are faced squarely, it will be seen that the claim that there is no class struggle in African society is totally unfounded. It will suffice to recall the recent strikes in Rhodesia, Nigeria and Ghana. In the opinion of a number of Marxist researchers, the supporters of the absence-of-conflict theory either forget or ignore the existence in the new countries of an "internal colonialism"—the imperialist or pro-imperialist bourgeoisie which continues, sometimes with the blessing of the national governments, ruthlessly to exploit the former colonial peoples.

"Yet, however embryonic modern class society is in Africa—and it is more developed than some theorists are prepared to admit—classes are in a process of formation in Africa and conflicting class interests exist," Jack Woddis writes. "But once independence has been won and the battle is unfolded to reconstruct the economy, to carry through fundamental land reform, to uproot the imperialist monopolies, and to decide whether the path of development should be capitalist or non-capitalist, divergence of class interests is bound to grow and

sharper class conflict is inevitable" (*Marxism Today*, August 1963).

Paul Delanoue notes that however small the working class, and whatever the degree of unity achieved on the basis of a broad program of struggle for independence and to build a national economy, the interests of the working class cannot wholly coincide with the interests of the bourgeoisie. The working class and its allies will, naturally, seek to complete the national-democratic stage of the revolution and then press on to socialism. The pro-imperialist bourgeoisie is bound to resist and to strive to win over the numerous, vacillating small bourgeoisie.

The outcome of this struggle will be decided by him who holds the reins of government. African leaders admit that under the one-party system the party often controls the state machine, which, as Lenin said, is always an instrument of the dictatorship of a class or classes. "The party in power is the government," Nyerere says (*Spearhead*, January 1963). Sékou Touré declares forthrightly that the state is a dictatorship. "If the authority of the state, the powers it holds, in a word, if the dictatorship exerted by the government emanates directly from the whole of the people, dictatorship is of a popular nature and the state is a democratic state—democracy being the exercise of national sovereignty by the people" (*Voice of Africa*, July 1962).

When the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard have to choose between taking part in a mass party and building an independent working-class party, problems arise which cannot be resolved from dogmatic positions, as most of the authors of the articles reviewed emphasize. The basic conclusion drawn by the Marxist writers as regards the nature and role of the one-party system in Africa is, perhaps, that these depend entirely on the sum-total of specific socio-historical conditions in the given country. The one-party system as such has no inner logic of its own which would inevitably, under all circumstances, lead to the same socio-historical result irrespective of the nature of the classes involved, of the social alignments, their trends and programs, and their relative weight in a particular national party. The essential thing is to ascertain whether a given party emerged as the organized expression of a common popular striving towards national liberation or whether it crystallized as a convenient way to preserve colonial oppression; whether it is the basis and vehicle of genuine unity and community of interests among all the progressive forces involved in the national

movement at the given stage, or whether it tends to obstruct progress.

In some of the former French colonies the one-party system is an instrument for suppressing the working class and other democratic forces in the interests of the ruling bureaucratic bourgeoisie which collaborates with imperialism and seeks to turn the achievements of the national-liberation movement to the advantage of its own class.

"... In those African states where the working class is excluded from all influence in the state, where imperialist puppets or reactionary local capitalists rule, the one-party system becomes a serious threat to the people and to their endeavors to complete their national liberation," Jack Woddis writes.

But in the countries where the state directed by a single mass party represents the revolutionary dictatorship of the people and seeks to suppress the anti-national elements, the party may become the arena of ideological struggle between the heterogeneous elements of which it is composed. Given broad intra-party democracy, the working class is in a position to retain its ideological independence and to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in these parties, gradually bringing their ideological platforms closer to scientific socialism.

This is a difficult task requiring much effort and patience. But, as Lenin said in his *Left-Wing Communism*, "the whole task of the Communists is to be able to *convince* the backward elements, to work *among* them, and not to *fence themselves off* from them by artificial and childish 'Left' slogans."

Jack Woddis observes that "in the conditions of present-day Africa, and because of the favorable world situation in which the forces of socialism are, increasingly, determining the direction of the march of all mankind, it is possible that in a number of African states we will see the emergence of a new type of mass revolutionary party, anti-imperialist in inspiration, embracing all the progressive forces of the nation, and progressively being won for the ideology of scientific socialism."

There are at the moment mass ruling parties in Africa in which dissemination of scientific socialism is not only permitted but also practised. The last congress of the Sudanese Union in Mali urged its members to study scientific socialism. Schools for party and trade union functionaries have been established in that country with curricula including the study of Marxist economic theory, the laws governing the transition to Socialism in different countries, and the basic laws of socialist society.

Wherever there is democracy and the ideas of scientific socialism are freely disseminated, the ideological platforms of mass parties will approximate to the Marxist-Leninist positions. This does not mean that their present leadership will be ousted by the Communists, as those who dread communists like the plague say in order to frighten the African leaders. What is more likely is that the revolutionary democrats will gradually go over to the positions of creative Marxism, convinced that the Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true."

W. SHEPPARD

Some Problems of the Algerian Revolution

TWO years ago the long and valiant armed struggle waged by the people of Algeria against French colonialism was crowned with victory. On March 18, 1962, France signed the Evian agreements recognizing the sovereignty and political independence of Algeria.

When they affixed their signature to the Evian agreements the French imperialists were confident that they would remain in Algeria, that without them the people would be unable to cope with the difficulties which beset the new state. And indeed colonialism and the many years of war left Algeria an unenviable legacy of devastation, unemployment and famine. Added to this were the fettering conditions imposed by the imperialists under the Evian agreements.

At first an acute crisis in the ruling FLN (Front of National Liberation) party threaten-

ed the people's gains. Thanks, however, to the political consciousness and vigilance of the masses who gave their wholehearted support to the revolutionary course steered by the Ben Bella government, Algeria managed to weather the initial storms and to make rapid progress in building national life.

In March 1963, exactly one year after the Evian agreements were signed, the famous decrees were published officially turning over the property formerly owned by the French settlers to the working people, who toward the end of 1962 had already, on their own initiative, set up numerous committees for management of the land and enterprises abandoned by their former owners. These decrees, to quote President Ben Bella, were the "concrete expression of the principle: the land to those who till it." This was the beginning of an agrarian

reform which by the end of 1963 gave to the tillers 3,700,000 hectares, or 70 per cent of the total arable land.

The next landmark was the adoption of a Constitution which prohibited all forms of exploitation of man by man. This was followed by the nationalization of various enterprises, the means of transport and the colonialist press, restrictions on the export of capital from Algeria and the conclusion of agreements for cooperation with a number of socialist countries.

These government measures, carried out with the enthusiastic support of the masses, showed the world that Algeria was fully determined to build a new life. As Larbi Bouhali, leader of the Algerian Communist Party observed, these revolutionary measures "are taking the country along the road of non-capitalist development and creating favorable conditions for the peaceful transition to socialism."

The leaders of Algeria, for their part, have repeatedly affirmed that the country will take the socialist road. For millions of people the slogan "Al Ishtirakiya" (socialism) has replaced the slogan "Al Istiqlal" (independence). For the unemployed, the landless peasant or the widow of a patriot killed in the war of liberation, socialism means social justice first and foremost. Many of them associate socialism with rejection of the old capitalist regime which brought the people so much suffering. The relatively wide currency of socialist ideas does not, however, exclude an incorrect understanding and at times a deliberate distortion of the concept of socialism and the meaning of the revolutionary processes at work in Algeria today.

In these circumstances particular interest attaches to a series of articles written by a group of writers on the staff of the newspaper *Alger Republicain*; the articles appeared in the latter part of 1963 under the heading "Algeria on the Road to Socialism."*

Giving a popular exposition of the theory of socialist revolution and the basic laws governing the transition to socialism in various countries, the authors analyze the socialist society in general outline, drawing on the experience of the USSR. The elements of Marxist-Leninist theory are combined with a creative attempt to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in Algeria, to explain from the standpoint of theory the complex processes under way in the country. Much in these articles is controversial, but as a whole they are unquestionably of interest to Marxists in all

countries who are following the progress of the Algerian revolution with sympathy and understanding.

The national-democratic phase of this revolution is developing on the basis of the program adopted by the National Council of the Algerian Revolution in June 1962 in Tripoli. The Tripoli Program, which was supported by all the anti-imperialist forces including the Communists, is, as the authors of the articles point out, "the type of program that corresponds to the urgent tasks confronting states which have won political freedom and which are anxious to steer their countries onto the road of progress."

The Tripoli Program set the tasks of achieving complete economic and political independence, safeguarding the people's gains, implementing agrarian reform, nationalizing the basic means of production, and laying the foundation for a national industry. In the sphere of foreign policy, it recommended that the country should be oriented on the socialist camp, on the world movement for peace and disarmament.

The articles draw a parallel between the state established in Algeria in accordance with the Tripoli Program, and the concept of a state of national democracy set forth by the world Communist movement as one of the best forms of state power during the transition from the national-liberation revolution to the socialist revolution.

A feature of the Tripoli Program, in the authors' view, is that besides anti-imperialist and general democratic tasks "it clearly proclaimed the political choice in favor of the principles and perspectives of socialism . . . , outlined some of the tasks which must be accomplished in order to pave the way to the socialist revolution."

The national-democratic revolution is not separated from the socialist revolution by a Chinese wall. The dialectical transition from the first to the second can be effected with both processes taking place simultaneously. In Algeria the tasks of the national-democratic stage have not been completed as yet. The shackling conditions of the Evian agreements continue to weigh on the country. French troops are still stationed in Mers El Kebir. But the Algerian state, resolutely smashing the positions of the imperialists, is doing everything in its power to prevent the Algerian bourgeoisie from impelling the country onto the road of capitalism.

"The irrevocable choice made by our people in favor of socialism," writes *Alger Republicain*, "has involved our country in an historical

**Alger Republicain*, Nov. 17-Dec. 18, 1963. The articles will be reprinted as a booklet.

process which is constantly growing in scale and intensity." The national sector of the economy, with its system of self-management, to which the March 1963 decrees gave the force of law, "is the prototype of the collectivized sector of the future socialist society." It signifies, the newspaper continues, the beginning of the socialist revolution which will have many difficulties to overcome and some bitter class battles to fight, but which "in the end is bound to win, especially in view of the present international situation, despite the obstacles and temporary setbacks that are always possible."

The transition from the national-democratic stage of the revolution to the socialist stage in Algeria depends on a number of objective and subjective conditions. Among the specific features of the Algerian scene, *Alger Republicain* singles out the revolutionary consciousness of the masses formed during the long battle for independence, the weakness of the national bourgeoisie and the flight of the bulk of the foreign capitalists. Combined with the powerful mass movement barring the way to capitalism, this has made it possible to build up a substantial non-capitalist sector in the economy, an important place in which is occupied by enterprises managed by the workers themselves. Other features are a relatively numerous and class conscious rural proletariat closely linked both with the industrial workers in the towns and with the peasantry. The influence exerted by socialist ideas not only on the working class and peasantry but also on the revolutionary-inclined sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and the large numbers of national cadres who led the war of liberation is another factor contributing to the success of the socialist revolution. Highly important are the close ties with the powerful world system of socialism the very existence of which facilitates rapid transition from the national-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

Under no conditions, however, can the victory of the socialist revolution be automatically assured. As the authors of the articles stress, it will be the result of a bitter class struggle in which the working class and its allies will defeat the forces of counter-revolution.

Historical experience confirms that the working class is the most revolutionary class of our time. It alone is capable of carrying the socialist revolution to a successful conclusion. Replying to those who believe that in the conditions obtaining in the underdeveloped countries the leading role in the socialist revolution should be played by the peasantry, *Alger Republicain* quotes Lenin's observation that the peasantry

by its very nature cannot be a consistently revolutionary class because "as a toiler the peasant gravitates toward socialism and prefers the dictatorship of the workers to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. As a seller of grain, the peasant gravitates towards the bourgeoisie, towards freedom of trade, i.e., back to the 'habitual', old, 'time-hallowed' capitalism."*

Algeria today offers numerous examples testifying to the revolutionary consciousness of the working class which is pointing the way for the peasantry. It was the agricultural workers, organized in the General Union of Algerian Workers, who decided to pool their efforts and till the land abandoned by the settlers. It is they who are explaining to the peasants the advantages of uniting in cooperatives. After the cease-fire in Algeria the workers on their own initiative and without any orders from the top stopped trucks on the roads carrying away equipment from the factories dismantled by the French colonialists on orders from the OAS. Algerian workers were able to get production going again in the plants and on the construction sites abandoned by their former owners.

Railway workers in Algiers initiated a movement for voluntary work on Sundays, which was subsequently taken up by other workers in Algiers, Constantine and in many other towns. Members of these volunteer brigades go out to the villages to help the peasants, showing them an example of the socialist attitude to labor.

As the vanguard of any socialist revolution, the working class must carry the poor peasantry with it if it wants to win. For a country like Algeria, more than 80 per cent of whose population lives in the country-side, this is a vital necessity.

Dealing with the question of proletarian dictatorship in Algerian conditions, *Alger Republicain* states that this dictatorship should not be understood as the exercise of leadership exclusively by the workers in the direct sense. "It is not a question of all proletarians (and not only proletarians) as individuals, but of their class as the conscious majority, of all men and women who adhere to class positions and who are equally dedicated to the cause of the socialist revolution. In a word, it is a question of the best and most progressive representatives of the people."

Most timely, in the light of the forthcoming congress of the FLN, is the attention devoted in the article to the significance of revolutionary ideology and the leading role of the party in the socialist revolution.

*Lenin, *Greetings to the Hungarian Workers*. May 29, 1919.

The revolutionary ideology of the working class is gaining ground among all sections of the population, and particularly among the revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia who in the specific conditions of former colonies like Algeria play a very important role. The bearer of this ideology must be the revolutionary vanguard party. *Alger Republicain* expresses the view that whereas a mass party like the FLN answered the needs of the struggle at its anti-colonialist stage, today Algeria needs a strong vanguard party armed with the theory of scientific socialism. The Algerian Communists believe that conditions in Algeria favor the formation of such a party. "All sincere revolutionaries, all patriots dedicated to socialism," writes *Alger Republicain*, "must set themselves the common aim of creating a vanguard party."

Concentrating on Algerian problems, the articles at the same time defend the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the correctness of the line pursued by the international Communist movement on a number of general theoretical and concrete political questions.

Above all the authors give an unambiguous reply to the adherents of diverse brands of "national" socialism. "There is only one socialism, whatever national garb it might don in each country." Everything that is not scientific socialism, they point out, is not Algerian, not African and not Arab socialism either. It is

not socialism at all they declare, it is petty-bourgeois nationalism.

The authors of the articles reject the claim that revolutionary fervor is always directly connected with the standard of living. "It is by no means paradoxical," they write, "that the industrial worker is revolutionary whereas the fellah or the unemployed worker, living in worse conditions but left to drift and to fall under the influence of non-proletarian, non-socialist political or ideological trends, falls prey either to petty-bourgeois illusions or to anarchistic rebelliousness."

Analyzing the socialist society, the authors uphold its basic principle, "to each according to his work" against petty-bourgeois attacks, noting that it is observance of this principle and not the levelling of incomes that ensures equality under socialism.

Of major significance for Algerian independence, in the opinion of the authors, is the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. "This policy," they write, "is an active anti-imperialist policy which is in the interests both of preserving peace and of upholding independence and national sovereignty. This policy has helped and will continue to help consolidate the initial victories of our socialist revolution; it will frustrate any attempt on the part of the imperialists to interfere in African affairs in the guise of either 'cold' or 'hot' war."

M. AHMADI

Which Way U.S.A.?

THE people of the world and the people of the U.S.A. in particular are deeply concerned about the direction of U.S. policy following the shock caused by the assassination of President Kennedy. This concern arises from the growing conviction that what is at stake is their present and future well-being. Peace or devastating atomic war, social advance or continued decline of the hard-won living standards, democracy or ultra-Right reaction are the choices before the American people. It is to the credit of the American Communists and particularly to the credit of their leading spokesman, Gus Hall, that they have made a valuable contribution, setting forth the Communist view on the process of assessment and adjustment now taking place in American political life.

In the introduction to the pamphlet *Which Way U.S.A. 1964** Gus Hall makes it clear that

the main purpose of the Communist contribution is to influence the course of events.

The pamphlet is based on the comprehensive political report made by Gus Hall to leading American Communists, following the assassination of President Kennedy.

In dealing with the events in Texas the author sees no useful purpose to be gained by indulging in speculations, even though most of the key questions involved in the murder of President Kennedy have as yet not been answered. He rather calls for a thorough study of the implications of the tragic events.

The author deals with the process of soul-searching and self-examination that is taking place among the people. This process is essential and beneficial. But he warns against the trend that is developing of turning the soul-searching into a cry "against the fanatical Right and the fanatical Left." This "curse on both houses" can be dangerous and only benefit the ultra-Right. The author draws on the lessons

*Gus Hall, *Which Way U.S.A. 1964*. The Communist View. New Century Publishers, 1964. 31 pp.

of history, particularly on the emergence of fascism in Germany, to prove that it has always been the tactics of reactionary movements "to utilize seeming neutrality as a cover for their attack on progress and democracy." The author counsels the people not to fall prey to the tactics of the Goldwaters, Hoovers and the FBI, and the ultra-Rights who deliberately equate fascism with communism as constituting two extremes that need condemning. He points out that "this same misguided logic is extended to equation of the crimes of the racial dynamiters of small children with the actions of the heroic Negro American struggling for equality, on the ground that both are extremes."

Hall refutes the accusation that Communists stand for individual terror; terrorist acts have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, with the practice of Communists. It is capitalism, he writes, moving to its end as a social system "that has made it in ever greater measure the fountainhead of bigotry, racism and hate." The Communists condemn individual acts of terror because these serve the interests of the class which history is forcing off the stage of life.

The author convincingly deals with the Big Lie of the anti-communist hysteria and proves from experience that this is based on a caricature of the warped, degenerate minds of the Goebbels' and their kind. It is a weapon used to undermine and sap democratic rights and institutions, to prepare for atomic war. The greatest crimes in recent history have been committed under the slogans of anti-communism. While reaction has suffered a setback in its attempts to whip up another witch-hunt it will undoubtedly continue to make use of anti-communism to further its sinister aims. The struggle against the ultra-Rights must therefore be continuous and long-range in character.

The problem facing the Left forces is properly to assess the new Johnson administration.

In doing so it is essential in the first place to take into account the present balance of forces in the world. Comparisons are being made between the Truman and Johnson administrations; it is pointed out that both were elevated from vice-presidents, both came from agricultural sections of the country, both had a record of political horsetrading; therefore, some people say, their policies are likely to be of a similar nature.

This line of reasoning is at best superficial. When Mr. Truman became President, U.S.

imperialism was at its apex. It had a monopoly of atomic weapons. The objective conditions in which Mr. Johnson was elevated to the Presidency are fundamentally different. The USA is losing its dominant position in the capitalist world. It has lost its monopoly of atomic weapons. And, most important, it is the world system of socialism that is now becoming the main factor determining the course of world developments. During the Truman administration most of the people of the world were still living in colonial servitude. Today colonialism has almost been brought to an end. Drunk with power, Mr. Truman launched the "cold war," the "rollback of communism." Today significant steps have been taken to end the cold war. President Johnson too in his speech at the U.N. called for ending the cold war. The author correctly draws the conclusion that "an assessment must be based on the underlying relationship of forces and on the direction in which this is moving." It is necessary to develop those movements and initiatives likely to influence the course of events in a progressive, democratic direction.

Turning to the 1964 elections, to the policies and tactics to be pursued, the author points to this "everchanging landscape" as the framework in which the elections will take place and which will influence them. "An election is a continuation and extension of the preceding mass struggles and movements," he stresses. The impact of the civil rights revolution of the 20 million Negro Americans will have a profound effect on the 1964 election. It was the most significant domestic development during the Kennedy administration. The mighty movement of the Negro people, the peace movement, the struggle against the threat of the ultra-Right—these are the movements which should find organizational, electoral expression in 1964. They must acquire independent forms of expression and move from the gravitation from individual spokesmen towards political actions around specific programs and outlooks. The program and outlook are being forged in the fire of the mass struggle of the people.

The American Communists foresee promising developments based on the realities of the rapidly changing political scene. The author concludes with the words: "Such are the levers of the movement which, if we apply ourselves to them, will enable us to become truly a factor in the political life of our country in these momentous days."

Norman FREED

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