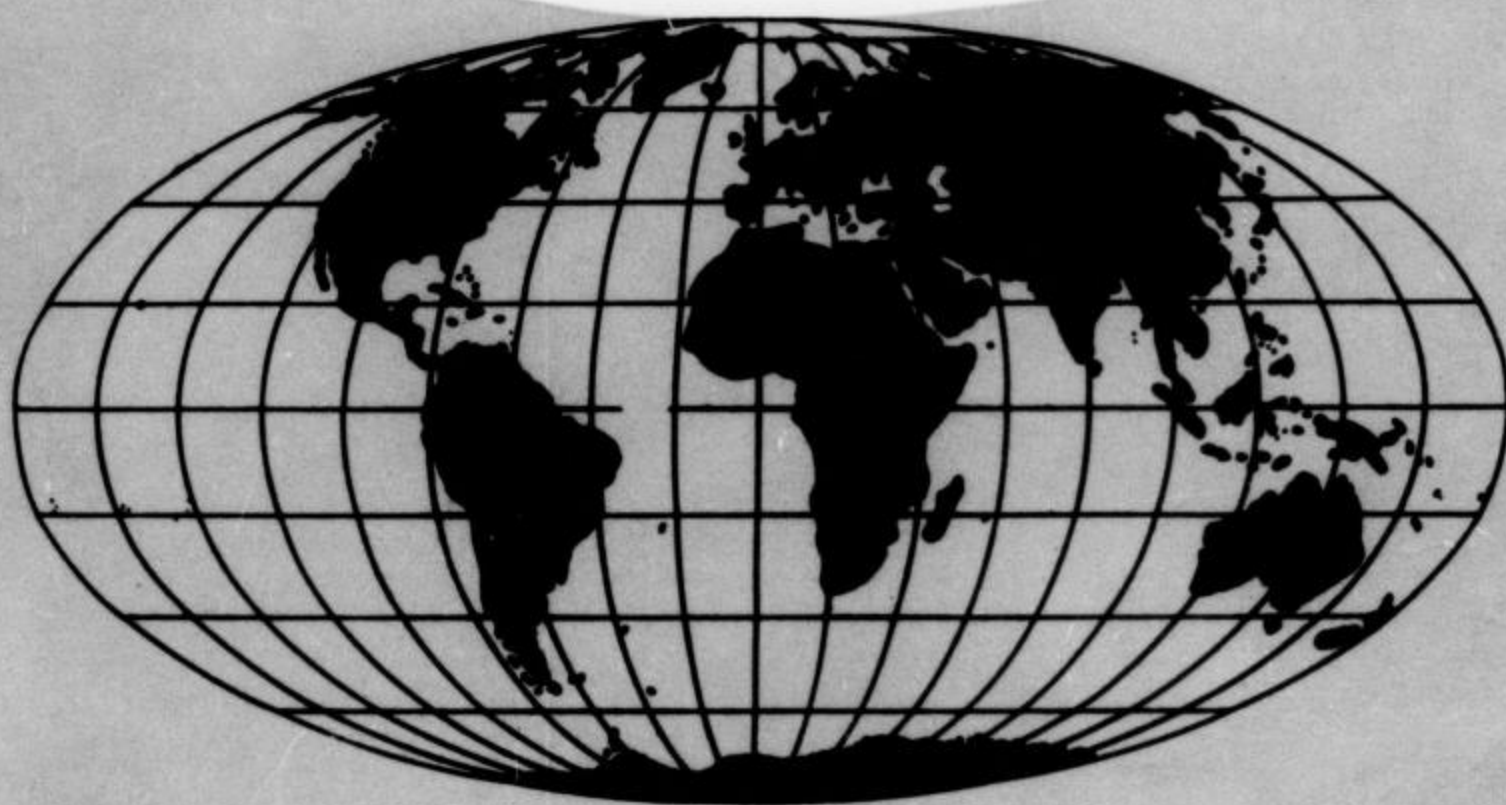


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In this issue:

Some Aspects of the Class Struggle in Cuba

—B. Roca

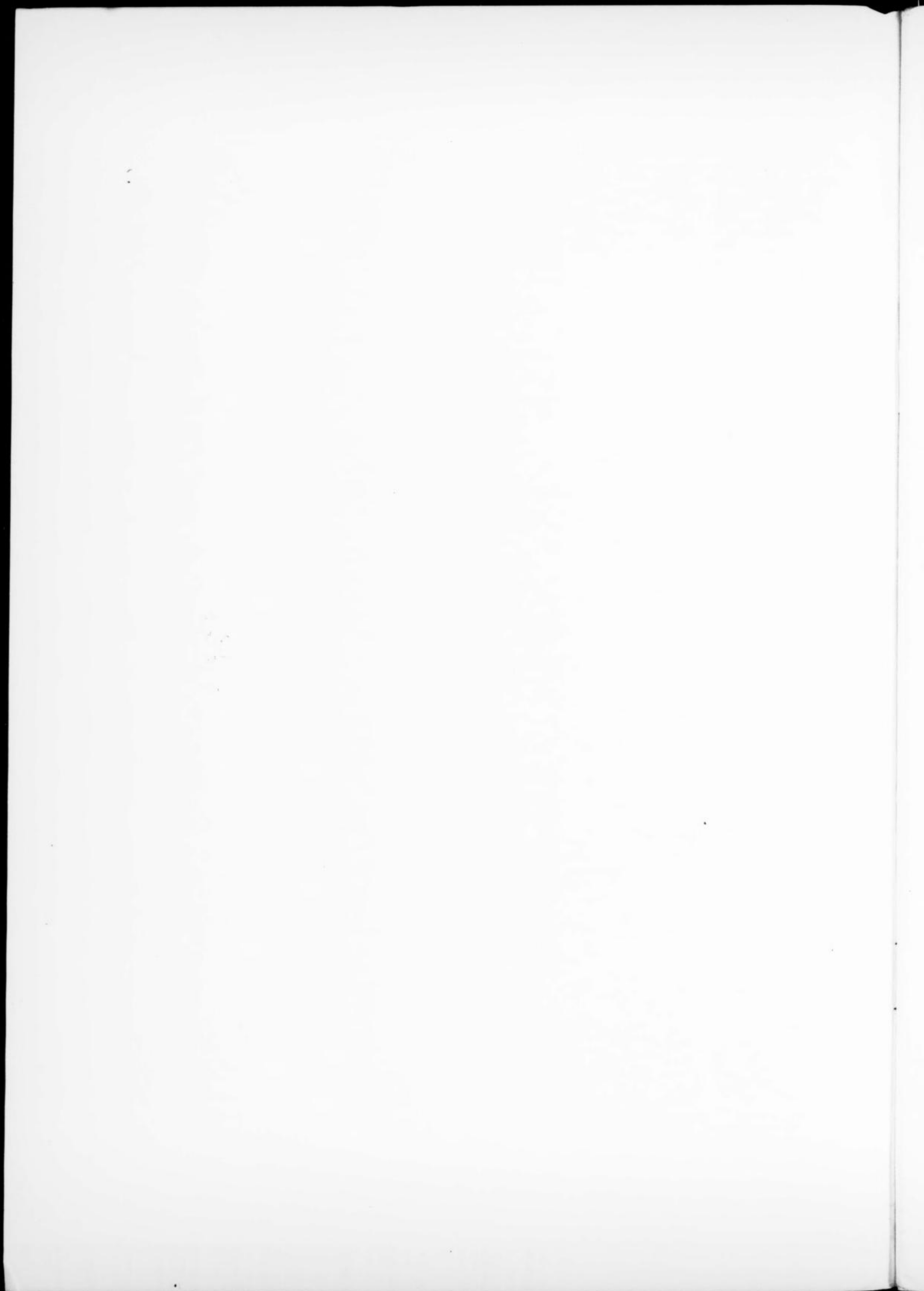
Marxism — a Guide to Action, Not Dogma

—J. Schleifstein

VOL. 8, NO. 2

February 1965

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Some aspects of the class struggle in Cuba

BLAS ROCA

I.

THE VICTORY OF THE CUBAN revolution in January 1959 was met with rare but fully understandable political unanimity.

When the Rebel Army had forced the tyrant to flee, when the powerful final blow delivered by the revolutionary general strike had foiled the backstage maneuvers of U.S. imperialism and the last strongholds of the demoralized forces of the defeated regime surrendered, the triumphant revolution was showered with praise from all sides.

January ran out and the plaudits continued. True, Jules Dubois and other CIA agents did their best to whip up a noisy anti-communist campaign designed to divide the revolutionary forces, to set one trend against another and thereby steer the revolution along a course acceptable to the imperialists. But all classes in Cuba and their spokesmen—political leaders, journalists, clergy and others—while adhering to their particular viewpoints nevertheless continued to voice their support of the revolution.

The towns, and especially Havana, the political nerve-center of the country, were flooded with handbills bearing the words, "Thank you, Fidel!" These handbills could be seen pinned up on the portals of stately mansions and in the shopping centers, on the doors of import and export firms and on the hovels of the poor; they appeared in the windows of small shops and workshops, on the windshields of de luxe automobiles and battered trucks. It seemed that poor and rich, exploited and their exploiters, latifundists

and their peons were at one in their support and loyalty to the revolution and its leader Fidel Castro.

In February, when Castro became Prime Minister, this apparent unanimity began to evaporate.

The moment a substantial reduction in rents was announced the handbills disappeared from some of the doors. Landlords who had lined their pockets by robbing the workers' families of 30 or 35 per cent or even more of their income in the shape of rent were no longer grateful to Fidel; the new rent law, while it did not affect their social status, hit their pockets.

By May, four and a half months after the revolution, the initial "unanimity" had vanished; the illusory unity of the first days of the revolution was blasted by the agrarian reform law, and the real attitude and the real ambitions of the big exploiters stood fully revealed.

The U.S. imperialists, who until then had hypocritically expressed agreement with the political changes brought about by the revolution, now came out against the new law and declared their opposition to the revolution and its leaders.

The latifundists, estate owners and merchants, who had publicly promised 10,000 calves, hundreds of thousands of sacks of sugar and hundreds of tractors to "help" the revolutionary government carry out an agrarian reform, went back on their word and resorted to feverish activity against the revolutionary Government and its leader.

The change in the avowed attitude of the

exploiting classes, both U.S. and Cuban, towards the revolution and its leaders was to be expected inasmuch as the agrarian reform law was the first step revealing the true social and economic content of the revolution and the class character of the revolutionary government, of which Urrutia, although he held the presidency at the time, and his handful of supporters were by no means the real spokesmen. It now became clear that the revolution which had so triumphantly come down from the hills was a real revolution, that it would not be confined to political changes alone but would go ahead with a far-reaching reconstruction of the socio-economic structure of the country. It became clear that the revolutionary government, now the real power in the country, represented the interests of all the exploited, of the workers and peasants, and that it was headed by men determined to solve the tasks posed by the revolution.

This explains why the agrarian reform law accelerated social and ideological polarization, with the forces working for the aims of the revolution (national sovereignty, independence, socio-economic reconstruction leading towards socialism) concentrating at one pole and the forces of counter-revolution (supporters of neo-colonialism, of subordination to the USA and the bourgeois-latifundist system) at the other.

Workers, peasants and the less well-to-do urban middle strata remained with the revolution and consolidated their forces. The U.S. monopolists, latifundists, estate owners, big capitalists and their hangers-on joined the camp of counter-revolution. Purely party differences receded to the background and classes came into direct, open, frontal collision, the big exploiters opposed to the revolution, on one side, and the exploited masses fighting to carry it forward, on the other.

After a brief period of relative calm when the exploiters pretended to support the revolution in order to find ways and means of paralyzing it, diverting it from its true path and reducing it to "purely political" changes and minor reforms, the class struggle around the decisive socio-economic problems of the revolution flared up with renewed violence.

II.

Needless to say, the victory of the revolution completely changed the conditions of the class struggle in our country.

Yesterday our workers and peasants were exploited, ground down by hardship and want, persecuted and deceived; today they are in

power, they are armed, and they are the owners of the basic means of production.

Before the revolution the government, army, law courts and the entire machinery of state were in the hands of the latifundists and the capitalists, politicians and swindlers, and were used against the people. The state upheld the interests of the exploiters and a social system under which a handful of rich men exploited the millions of working people. Now, after the revolution the machinery of state, taken over by the revolutionaries representing the workers and peasants, was turned against the exploiters; it became the instrument with the aid of which the old system was abolished and with which the new system, bringing complete emancipation from exploitation, is being built.

For a long time before the revolution the class struggle mainly took the form of direct encounters between the classes for primarily economic reasons: peasant actions against evictions or to regain possession of land of which they had been deprived, actions that brought them into direct conflict with the latifundists; strikes for higher wages, job security, better working conditions, etc., in which the workers directly faced the employers; to these should be added the actions fought by workers, students, professional people, etc., against U.S. imperialist designs, against unemployment, the high charges for public services, against racial discrimination, for the rights of students, women, etc., in which the people in a sense pitted themselves against the ruling classes as a whole. The government intervened against the workers, peasants, students, etc., camouflaging its active defense of the exploiters by an occasional minor concession to the exploited. This policy of minor concessions tended to blind the working people to the need for united action to put an end to the political power of the exploiters and to establish their own revolutionary government.

Such forms of class struggle waged around political demands as the fight for trade union freedoms, democratic rights and the right to contest elections were aimed directly against the government of the exploiters. But in these political actions, too, the people were not guided by a conscious resolve to oust the reactionaries; as often as not they regarded the limited immediate demands as their ultimate goals.

But for all that the problem of power was, objectively, the decisive issue in all these actions.

In exactly the same way every move the exploiters made after January 1959 pursued

the ultimate goal of overthrowing the revolutionary government and replacing it with their own reactionary, anti-national regime.

The highest form of the class struggle—armed action against the reactionary, pro-imperialist putschist government—was initiated and led by Fidel Castro. Supported by unarmed mass actions, this struggle culminated in the achievement of the basic aim: the overthrow of the reactionary government, abolition of the bourgeois-latifundist-imperialist state machine and the establishment of a revolutionary government, the state of the workers and peasants.

Today, all sections of the working people, backed by the state and the revolutionary government, are waging a class struggle against the remnants of the exploiting classes which, though defeated and deprived of the basic means of production, have not yet been completely overcome. This struggle takes three main forms:

1. *Building the economy* on a socialist basis utilizing the latest technology with a view to increasing output, raising productivity of labor and improving quality. Every worker and peasant who wishes to get rid of the exploiters once and for all should do everything in his power to advance agricultural production with maximum speed, increase the number of livestock, expand the output of sugar and livestock products, increase mineral extraction and manufacturing to the maximum, contribute through his labor at the newly-built factories to the promotion of our industry. Every worker, peasant and student should work to acquire the knowledge needed to advance our industries and raise our economy to a higher technological plane. The duty of every office worker and executive is to organize his work and the functioning of the area entrusted to his guidance in the most efficient way so that not a particle of effort is wasted, so that every machine works to capacity and that planned targets are always met.

2. *Ideological struggle* against trends alien to Marxism-Leninism, a struggle to shape the revolutionary, proletarian, socialist consciousness of the masses, to overcome all manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, to eradicate all the hang-overs of this ideology which are constantly fostered by the imperialists, local exploiters and their agents—this is a precondition for final victory over the enemies of the revolution, for the realization of the socialist and, later, communist ideal in all of its grandeur. Important aspects of this struggle are the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, the functioning of revolu-

tionary schools, the building of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution and its ideological and political work.

3. *Armed defense* of the socialist homeland, of the revolutionary rule of the workers and peasants. This form of struggle applies not only to the moments when the guns speak; it goes on constantly in strengthening our security bodies, in our work to heighten the combat efficiency of our armed forces and people's defense detachments, in everything we are doing to foil the enemy's plans for armed aggression.

By enumerating the forms of struggle in the above order we do not suggest that they develop consecutively, one after the other. On the contrary, they develop, and must develop, simultaneously, in close interaction with one another. What form emerges in the foreground at any given moment depends on the circumstances, but at no time can any one of them be neglected.

On their part the exploiting classes, which formerly relied mainly, though not exclusively, on the state to keep down the working classes, now stop at nothing in their efforts to overthrow the revolutionary government and to halt or retard the building of socialist society. Moreover, we cannot regard class struggle in our country as limited to the bounds of Cuba alone. On the contrary, it is largely an international struggle. At the stage of monopoly capitalism the class struggle in general is bound to assume an international character expressed, on the one hand, in the solidarity of the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries with all counter-revolutionary movements, and, on the other, in proletarian internationalism, the solidarity of all the peoples of the world with the revolutionary struggle in each country, in the fraternal aid with no political strings which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are extending to the peoples that have overthrown the imperialist yoke and taken the road of independent development, the road of non-capitalist or socialist development. Further, the class struggle in Cuba is international in its connotations because the United States has assumed the role of world policeman, and even more because the *U.S. imperialists were part of the Cuban exploiting classes* whose interests were directly hit by the very first socio-economic measures of the revolution.

U.S. companies operated in Cuba as latifundists, bankers, estate holders, cattle ranchers and owners of industrial and commercial enterprises. The agrarian reform impinged not only on the property of the semi-feudal latifundists who plundered the peasants through

exorbitant rents but also on the U.S. monopolies which owned roughly one-third of the best land. With the nationalization of the banks, oil and sugar refineries, transport, electric-power plants, the telephone system, port installations and shops and stores, the numerous U.S. companies and monopolies were dispossessed of these means of production.

These companies and monopolies directly hit by the revolution, like the local latifundists and capitalists, declared war to the death on the revolutionary power. And since their owners are members of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, the class which controls the U.S. Administration, their struggle against the working classes of our country acquires the nature of an international struggle waged by the USA against revolutionary Cuba.

In the overall framework of this struggle, the remnants of the Cuban exploiting classes which have found shelter in Miami with a motley retinue of confidence men, assassins, thieves, hack writers, prostitutes, political hucksters and drug addicts have been put on the payroll of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists and their government are the chief organizers and financial backers of all anti-Cuban aggressive actions, of all the activity of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries who have made a business of treason, placing themselves in the service of a foreign power against their own country. These elements demand that the USA invade and occupy Cuba, for they have no other means of overthrowing the revolutionary rule, abolishing its laws and restoring the old system of exploitation.

The counter-revolution, headed by U.S. imperialism, stops at nothing in its efforts to gain its ends. In point of fact a country with which Cuba is formally and juridically at peace has been waging war against us since mid-1959 in violation of all standards of international law.

This is a war economic and military, psychological and diplomatic, overt and covert, a war waged inside our country and beyond its boundaries.

Every means is used in this war—economic blockade and landings by mercenaries, attempts at diplomatic isolation of Cuba and predatory attacks on the ships of countries trading with her, smear campaigns and infiltration of spies and saboteurs, supplying arms and ammunition to squads of killers and unceasing U-2 flights over Cuban territory, incessant provocations by the U.S. military entrenched in Guantanamo and the establishment of training camps in Nicaragua, Costa Rica and elsewhere to train mercenaries for

another invasion, banning of visits by U.S. citizens to Cuba and intimidation of U.S. allies to force them to stop trading with Cuba.

Supported by oligarchic regimes and military camarillas which by virtue of their class origins fear and hate the Cuban revolution because of the example it offers the peoples, the USA has embroiled the Latin American countries in this war against Cuba.

With the exception of Mexico, one after the other these countries severed relations with revolutionary, anti-imperialist, socialist Cuba. This, too, underscores the international nature the class struggle has acquired in the given case. For it is the exploiters, the reactionary classes, that have broken off relations with Cuba, whereas the people — workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals — are standing solidly by us and taking militant action (as, for instance, in Uruguay) in support of normal relations.

U.S. aggression against Cuba is aggression against all the peoples of our continent. In pressuring the Latin American countries to break off relations with us, Washington not only sought, and actually obtained, the backing of the various local oligarchies, it also organized military coups in countries where the oligarchy did not hold undivided sway. In the latter the "gorillas" were placed in power, and repressive action taken against workers, peasants, students and professionals.

While constituting part of the struggle against Cuba, these manipulations are aimed against the revolution throughout Latin America. In the light of the overall situation and of the situation in the particular countries it can be said that the grand task of winning political power, of establishing a revolutionary worker-peasant Government is now on the agenda for the people of Latin America.

When they attack the Cuban revolution the U.S. imperialists are also attacking all the Latin American peoples, waging war against their aspirations for full sovereignty, economic independence and freedom to pursue their own way, to put an end to unemployment, poverty, ignorance, disease and discrimination.

And, conversely, when the Latin American people rise in defense of the Cuban revolution, rebuff its calumniators, support the measures it is implementing and fight for restoring diplomatic relations with Cuba, they are upholding their own rights, their own countries, their sovereignty and future, their own inevitably approaching revolution and the anti-imperialist government they will establish tomorrow.

The international character of the class struggle waged in Cuba is expressed also in the fact that, while having to cope with naked hostility and aggression on the part of the U.S. imperialists, we enjoy the solidarity and fraternal aid of the socialist camp and primarily of the Soviet Union.

The fact is that the resolve of our revolutionary government and the staunchness of our people in face of the imperialist aggression have always been backed by international solidarity, by fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, cooperation based on equality, mutual aid and respect for one another's sovereignty.

When the imperialists cut off our oil supplies, the Soviet Union fully met our fuel needs; when the Cuban sugar quota on the North American market was illegally cancelled, the socialist countries bought all the sugar we had to sell; when the imperialists laid an embargo on Cuba, trade with the socialist countries grew rapidly with the result that many of the capitalist allies of the USA realized the senselessness of the blockade and began to buy our sugar and to sell their goods to us; after the criminal provocation involving the freighter *La Coubre*, the Soviet Union, China and other countries supplied us arms which in the hands of our army and militia are a safeguard of our sovereignty, of our revolution, and of peace.

The relationships shaping in the socialist camp are part of the struggle waged on the international arena between revolution and reaction; between colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, on the one hand, and anti-imperialism, the national-liberation movement, on the other; between the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples, on the one hand, and the monopolists and their servitors, on the other; between the forces of war and the forces of peace, between socialism and capitalism. The struggle for socialism in Cuba, to defend our socialist homeland, is part of this worldwide battle. No aspect of this common struggle develops in isolation from the others; they all are interlinked.

III.

A feature of the Cuban revolution is the solid support accorded it by the people — workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, the enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit displayed by the people in carrying out their duties, and the trust they repose in the revolutionary government, in the United Party

of Socialist Revolution and in its leader Fidel Castro.

The magnitude of this support and trust stems from the way the revolution has developed.

The dictatorship established by the military coup of 1952 had no mass support. Its alliance with the clique of Mujal and his henchmen not only failed to win Batista the workers' support, it actually deepened their hatred for the dictatorship and its strong-arm men who raided their trade unions, plundered the union treasuries and murdered their leaders.

The massacre of July 26, 1958, and the subsequent reprisals and murders, far from cowering the people as Batista had hoped, made the regime still more odious. In the course of the guerrilla struggle the dictatorship became so isolated that it could no longer count even on the men it had placed at the head of the army. The people in their mass were either actively or passively opposed to Batista and his camarilla. This explains in part that remarkable unanimity in the country immediately after the revolution.

The revolutionary changes so desired by the working people, who wanted to be the masters of their country and of its destiny, who yearned for complete independence and for the abolition of latifundism, unemployment, poverty and ignorance, put an end to the unanimity of the initial weeks. At the same time the changes united the workers, peasants, students and all other sections of the working people as never before behind the revolutionary government and Comrade Fidel, its leader.

Another factor cementing unity and sustaining the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people is the relatively large proportion of urban and rural proletarians in the population and their political consciousness and revolutionary traditions.

The agrarian reform, the abolition of the latifundia, the ending of rent slavery and sharecropping, and the policy pursued towards the small peasant proprietors secured the firm support of this part of the peasantry for the revolutionary government and cemented the worker-peasant alliance for building socialism.

The unity, enthusiasm and revolutionary consciousness of the people found expression in their unhesitating resolve to make any sacrifice needed to ensure progress along the road of revolution and socialism and became the decisive internal factor in the defeat of the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists and their agents were

unable to set one part of the people against another, to unleash civil war.

The conspiracies aimed at undermining and defeating the revolution were easily dealt with, for the ring leaders could not enlist any appreciable support.

When the Bay of Pigs invasion came the people rose to the occasion and won a resounding victory, inflicting on U.S. imperialism its first military defeat in the Americas.

The small but well-armed group of counter-revolutionaries which the imperialists sent in to infiltrate some sections of the country and which sought by means of deception, intimidation and terror to turn certain sections of the peasants against the revolution met with utter failure; they were completely isolated and gradually wiped out.

Confronted with the imperialist blockade, the united people girded their loins for battle against the economic difficulties and shortages, redoubled their efforts to overcome these difficulties and to ensure as speedily as possible an abundance of prime necessities.

Whatever the scale of the imperialist attacks and threats we have had to deal with, the working people and the nation as a whole have always firmly stood behind their revolutionary government, carrying out their duty to the revolution with fervor and enthusiasm.

IV.

Marxism-Leninism is striking deeper roots among the working population and primarily in the working class. And this is one of the prerequisites of successful struggle against the enemies of the revolution on all fronts.

Clearly it is on the ideological front that the most difficult and protracted class struggle is being waged, a struggle which assumes now sharp, now more subdued, forms. We are faced with the double task of helping to mould a socialist consciousness among millions of people brought up in a capitalist society, as well as among hundreds of thousands whose outlook is being shaped in the complex transitional period, and at the same time unceasingly combating the spread of hostile ideologies which seep in through the most diverse channels.

The condition for victory in this ideolo-

gical battle is raising the general educational level of the populace, whom imperialism would prefer to see doomed to ignorance and whom it seeks to deceive by means of religious, philosophical and literary propaganda, all manner of prejudices, etc. Announcing a mass mobilization without precedent in history, the revolutionary government organized and headed the drive to abolish illiteracy in Cuba within one year. Not even the invasion of the mercenaries could halt the campaign.

This was followed by a movement to deepen the knowledge of those who had learned to read and write, and now 800,000 men and women are taking part in a drive for universal six-year education.

Nor has ideological education lagged behind. One hundred thousand people have already finished revolutionary schools in which political and ideological instruction is combined with technical training. Numerous classes in which people study mainly ideological questions are functioning throughout the country.

And this is only part of the ideological education carried on in different ways and in the most diverse areas.

Successful building of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the United Party of Socialist Revolution, which is called upon to play the leading role in our country, is an important aspect of this struggle. We now have Party units, consisting of dedicated revolutionaries who have distinguished themselves in labor and in defending the country, in most industrial enterprises and on the publicly-owned estates, in many army units and in other organizations. They help to strengthen the socialist spirit among the masses, to disseminate Marxism-Leninism, popularize the policy of the Party and government, and set the example at work, at study and in national defense.

The revolution is thus effectively combating the hostile classes on all fronts.

The six years since January 1959 have proved the viability and firmness of purpose of the revolution and the correctness of the road it chose. The events of these years have reinforced our conviction that any attack made by imperialism, its mercenaries and agents will end with their defeat, and that socialism will triumph in Cuba.

The new economic system in the GDR — its essence and problems

WOLFGANG BERGER

CONSISTENT ADHERENCE to the general line of the world Communist movement as set forth at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 is the guiding principle of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. And one of the tasks posed by this line is economic competition with imperialism with a view eventually to defeating it in the most important sphere of social endeavor—the sphere of material production.

Until steps were taken to ensure the security of our frontiers at Berlin, the GDR was greatly handicapped in this competition since the West German imperialists took advantage of the open border to undermine our economy. With the security measures of August 1961, however, a turning point was reached in this struggle. The enemy was deprived of most of the opportunities it previously had to damage our efforts. The normalization and stabilization of the economy of the GDR now became a top priority.

RELEASE THE SOCIAL DRIVING FORCES OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY

The Central Committee of our Party set about creating the conditions needed for the republic to bring its full weight to bear in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. A critical examination was made of the previous planning and management practices, since during the period of the open frontier the economic laws of socialism had often been violated both due to the manipulations of the West German monopolies and through our own fault.

The conclusion drawn from this re-examination was that the system of planning and management did not ensure full harmony

between the requirements of society as a whole and the interests of the publicly-owned enterprises, the separate enterprises and the individual workers. Thus, one of the main driving forces of our economic and social development was not fully utilized. The task was, then, to create a system of planning and management that would make for harmony of interests which is an intrinsic requirement of socialist society.

The Party had two considerations in mind: first, the need under all circumstances to eschew fruitless discussion of past mistakes since such mulling over of bygones was fraught with the danger of all previous experience being discarded as useless, and, second, the need to develop new lines of thinking as a comprehensive whole, with a view to creating an integrated system of planning and management.

The previous planning and management methods originated at a time when socialist production relations were still inadequately developed and the level of productive forces was relatively low. They were the inevitable corollary of a situation when raw materials were in short supply and had to be distributed among the key enterprises mostly by administrative methods, when the balance of class forces was not as favorable as it is today, and when the average level of managerial training and experience still left much to be desired. To a greater or lesser extent this was the case in all the European People's Democracies.

The old methods used in the GDR could also be traced to the glaring disproportions in the economy inherited from German imperialism or caused by the war and the division of Germany.

It can be said, then, that with the maturing of the new, socialist mode of production it is objectively necessary for every socialist country to introduce radical changes in planning and management in order to bring them into agreement with the changed conditions.

Hence the importance of the decision taken in the GDR not merely to refurbish the old system of planning and management, to introduce some isolated innovations or to correct one or another mistake, but to build a new, integrated system. As a result it became possible to concentrate the forces of the Party and state bodies on implementing the new system comprehensively, from top to bottom, and to give thousands of executives the professional and ideological training needed to carry out the new tasks.

In self-critically examining our previous practices we proceeded from what Lenin said about the importance of the proper use of material incentives for the victory of the new system in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. The form in which this basic idea should be realized in a developed socialist society such as ours is implicit in the formula: "What is good for society should be good for the enterprises, for their personnel, and for each worker." We still have instances of this precept being underestimated, of a lack of appreciation of the nature of the publicly-owned enterprises and their amalgamations as working units of a special type. The heads and personnel of these units have their specific interests the harmony of which with the interests of society should be constantly ensured.

Formerly this was not always done. Suffice it to recall that although the interests of society demanded that each enterprise should have its optimal plan, the interests of the managerial and executive personnel at the point of production prompted them to keep their programs down so as to ensure bonuses for overfulfilment of plan. Close study of the reasons for this attitude revealed economic levers which have helped to bring about a substantial measure of harmony between the interests of the amalgamations, enterprises and the workers both collectively and individually, on the one hand, and the interests of the economy as a whole, on the other.

This conformity can be ensured only if the results of productive labor are accurately measured. In other words, *the motive forces of the socialist system fully assert themselves only if due account is taken of the law of value.* We hold that value is an economic law of socialism operating on the basis of, and giving expression to, the socialist relations

of production, and we reject the Stalin view that the law of value is, in effect, a survival of capitalism and hence essentially alien to socialism. The law of value exists and operates in a reciprocal relation to other economic laws of socialism. But it is no longer the elemental regulator of production it is under capitalism. It provides a precise yardstick for measuring the expenditure of social labor and, together with incentives, tends to lower cost of production.

Practical measures were devised to draw the maximum benefit from the operation of the law of value. Cost accounting is now consistently employed to regulate and plan the process of reproduction and, as a prerequisite, prices of all manufactured goods were related to the actual socially necessary expenditure of labor. (Retail prices for consumer goods were not affected.)

For the same purpose fixed capital has been re-evaluated. Formerly it was often undervalued and the depreciation rate was too low. This could not but encourage wastefulness. For instance, funds were far too often sunk in machinery and equipment which was used only a few hours in the course of the working day.

The wholesale price reform and revaluation of fixed capital provide the conditions for accurately ascertaining the actual cost of production.

Such economic categories associated with the law of value as price, cost of production, profit, wages, credit, etc., can be used as economic levers owing to their bearing on the material interests of the enterprises and of the workers. Decisive here is profit. When the system of economic levers is properly used high profit is an indication of excellent performance in the interests of society.

It was essential also to devise new levers. The tax on production funds, which in effect amounts to interest on the funds supplied by society to an enterprise, is a case in point. The absence of this lever involved the economy in substantial losses in the past. Now, with production funds subject to taxation, it is in the interests of the enterprise to acquire only the plant and equipment needed to fulfil the plan with an eye to net income. The underlying premise is that the tax will prompt the amalgamations and enterprises to be guided in planning their production and investment programs by strictly economic considerations so as to increase their profit and bonus funds.

In all this we are acting in accord with the views of the late Academician V. S. Nemchinov, the Soviet economist, whose works are highly esteemed in the GDR. "The basic

and most important thing is to combine the mechanism of planning with cost accounting and the system of public funds at the enterprise," he wrote in one of his last works. The "cost accounting system of planning" which he advocated is now being realized in the GDR.

The new system calls for the use of the latest electronic computer equipment. This is an area in which we are taking only the initial steps. However, the theoretical and organizational groundwork is being laid to make the most effective use of this equipment.

It should be said that the amalgamated enterprises are an essential link in the new system. These amalgamations of key public enterprises operating on a self-supporting basis are the directing bodies in their respective branches of industry. This horizontal structure of publicly-owned industry (in some cases vertical integration is also practised) guarantees a unified economic and technological policy.

The GDR has about 80 of these amalgamations consisting of some 1,500 enterprises, mostly big ones. This relatively small number of amalgamations and enterprises accounts for roughly two-thirds of the total industrial output. The high degree of concentration, naturally, has made it easier to introduce the new system. With considerable experience already accumulated in using the system in centralized industry, it is being extended also to local industries.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND THE NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In working out the new economic system of planning and management, the fact that science is, increasingly, becoming a direct productive force in its own right, and the growing impact of the technological revolution had to be borne in mind.

The Central Committee of our Party long ago pointed out that one of our main political tasks was to overtake West Germany for the rate of growth as well as the absolute level of labor productivity. We in the GDR have been working towards this end in direct contest and confrontation with the West German concerns. The task, however, has proved more difficult than many comrades assumed at the outset.

The big efforts made by the leading West German concerns to capitalize on the technological revolution obviously have not made the task easier. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that these monopolies were able to restore their old positions and gain economic

preponderance in Western Europe largely because they gauged the implications of the technological revolution and acted accordingly.

Britain is an instructive example in this connection. Top Labor politicians have pointed out that Britain has not kept in step with the technological revolution. The present economic difficulties of that country are common knowledge. And by no means the least of the reasons is that technological progress in a number of key areas has been far slower in Britain than in the USA, West Germany, Japan, France and Italy.

Although no direct parallel can be drawn in the case of the socialist countries, underestimation of the significance of the technological revolution or tardiness in carrying it out obviously does not facilitate realization of the general line of the world Communist movement.

Not only our political tasks but also economic factors underscore for us in the GDR the necessity of measuring up to the objective dictates of the technological revolution. Owing to the structure of its industry, the GDR is in vital need of extensive international trade to provide an outlet for the export of machines above all. It already is a big supplier of machinery to the fraternal socialist countries and also to capitalist states.

Since the imports of the socialist countries, understandably, tend to consist more and more of the very latest in machinery, our engineering works have had to keep up with the most up-to-date products offered on the world market. Thus from the foreign trade angle, too, it became clear that our output, both means of production and consumer goods, had to measure up to world standards. Much effort was needed to achieve the necessary level as regards quality, durability, technical performance and supply of spare parts. This was not easy if only because prior to August 1961 the imperialists had been able to lure away many of our technicians.

The point, then, was what conclusions should we draw from the technological revolution in working out the new economic system. Merely to do away with old administrative practices was not enough. *The important thing was to incorporate into the new economic system in the most rational way the entire sphere of research and designing.*

Here, too, economic levers had to be devised which would ensure harmony between the interests of society and the interests of researchers, designers, planners, engineers and technologists, levers which would give the maximum impulse to technological progress.

Moreover, and this was most important,

planning had to be put on a qualitatively new basis. Planning in two phases was made the guiding principle in drawing up long-range plans, the first phase outlining the development of the productive forces, with due regard to the main directions of scientific and technological progress, over a period of 15-20 years, and the second phase consisting of detailed planning for five to seven years ahead.

Hence planners—and these include also the heads of the amalgamations and of the enterprises and the personnel of their planning departments—are expected to be guided not so much by the level achieved to date but by the top technological level likely to exist on a world scale at the end of the period for which the plan is drawn up. A big role is played by long-range planning to lay the groundwork for production programs in the leading branches.

The first research plan in the field of natural science and economics has been drawn up for 1965. Since this is an entirely new area much of the groundwork still remains to be done.

The general managers of the amalgamations have at their disposal considerable funds for financing research and development programs, the application of the results of this research and the introduction of the latest technological processes. Substantial credits have also been made available for these purposes.

In brief, the new system is designed to ensure technological progress and complete integration of investigations in science and technology, in research, development and designing.

The science of socialist management helps to strengthen the objective basis for deepening socialist democracy in the economic sphere, stimulating creative initiative, heightening people's sense of responsibility and doing away with petty tutelage from above.

The transition to the new system necessitates considerable effort to cultivate a new way of thinking and to give economic cadres the training necessary to ensure success.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the technological revolution could not but prompt a re-examination and reorganization of our educational system; and the new system, though it has no direct bearing on the educational system as a whole, tends to make for further advance in this area.

To sum up: although the full magnitude of the tasks involved in creating the new economic scheme became clear only in the course of the work, *the object from the very beginning was to advance planning and management to a qualitatively new plane, to make*

them more effective than ever for promoting the economy of an industrially developed socialist country engaged in solving problems of the technological revolution. It is a question of applying the principles of the political economy of socialism, which has been developed further and freed from dogmatism.

It can be assumed that sooner or later similar problems will arise in all the industrial socialist countries. Hence the importance of theoretical discussions and exchanges of views on these questions between representatives of the fraternal socialist countries.

THE FIRST RESULTS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The introduction of the new system began in mid-1963, and by 1964 all the amalgamations had begun to work according to the new principles evolved at that time. Cost accounting asserted itself and profit became the touchstone of performance.

The progress made in the past 18 months shows that we are going in the right direction. The 1963 output plan was fulfilled, the increase over the previous year amounting to DM 3,500 million. Profit grew by 37 per cent and production costs were reduced as planned. Satisfactory results were also achieved in improving quality. In 1964 the showing was as good or even better. Profits rose and production costs were lowered more than planned. More than two-thirds of the enterprises reached their profit target. This success contributed in the broad sense to raising the standard of living (by providing better and more durable consumer goods, for instance). Moreover, bigger profits meant bigger bonuses.

Here is one of many examples: expenditure of electric power in the second and third quarters of 1964 was six per cent less than in the same period in 1963—partly due to the fact that the new fuel and electricity rates, related to actual cost, prompted executives to use them economically and rationally.

In 1964 many industrial amalgamations considerably increased (in some cases by more than 50 per cent) the output of top-quality goods.

In agriculture the new economic scheme is less widespread than in industry, but the purposeful application of effective economic levers, especially the substantial bonuses for selling to the state produce obtained as a result of increase in output, have had a good effect and the upward trend has been sustained by placing greater responsibility on the boards of the agricultural cooperatives. Never before has agriculture been so close

on the heels of industry as regards growth of production and efficiency. The members of cooperatives have put their shoulder to the wheel and are proving their ability to conduct intensive large-scale farming.

The results of the new thinking on the part of thousands of executives are perhaps as important as the economic results. The new system calls for managers of a higher caliber. *It is advancing to the fore enterprising, energetic executives aware of their responsibility and ready to take the initiative once matters have been thoroughly thought out.* It encourages executives to use their powers to organize and inspire the workers to make an exemplary showing.

A variety of motives prompts managers to strive for the best results. Many respond to the dictates of their communist conscience; their class consciousness impels them to advance production in the interests of socialism, of the people's well-being. Executives of this type are now, thanks to the policy of incentives, in a better position to carry with them the non-Party people as well.

There are also managers who attach importance to the size of their own incomes, and this is all to the good. *The decisive thing is that correct combination of personal and public interests impels them to work for the good of society.* This is bound to influence their political consciousness, especially when the Party organizations carry on effective political and ideological work.

The process of reappraisal has been by no means smooth. Many executives wholeheartedly welcomed the new economic system and began working in the new way. Others adopted a passive, wait-and-see or even negative attitude. They shied away from the new and were reluctant to reassess their attitudes. Some of them clearly will not be able to live up to the new requirements and will have to be given other work.

It is gratifying to see energetic, capable young people coming to the fore. Graduates of the technical and economic colleges, too young to have been bogged down in the old administrative practices have shown themselves capable of coping with challenging problems. They believe in teamwork, for they have seen in the course of their training that complex technological and economic tasks can be solved only through cooperation among specialists in different fields. There has been a notable rejuvenation of executive personnel since the Sixth Congress of the Party and especially since the introduction of the new economic scheme, and many of the newcomers have already reached a standard of per-

formance equal to that of the seasoned executives. This is a guarantee of still better results in the future.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

An idea of the problems involved in introducing the new system can be gained from the example of the comprehensive modernization now under way on the rail and highway networks of one of our densely populated industrial regions. Inefficient steam traction is being replaced with electric and diesel traction. Fully automatic signal and traffic control systems are being installed. Some of the smaller wayside freight stations are being closed and road transport expanded. New roads and bridges are being built to cut down on distances. Permanent way and tracks are being improved to increase speed and haulage capacity. But the scale of the reconstruction notwithstanding, there is no interruption of traffic.

With the new ousting the old on such a grand scale one can hardly expect the new system to assert itself everywhere at once.

For one thing, thousands of executives are readjusting themselves to the new methods, and the thinking and action of the people generally also needs readjusting. Complete transition is clearly a matter of several years, so far we are still mid-way. While some important measures have been carried out, others, such as the reform of wholesale prices, will have to be implemented in a series of stages. There are, moreover, important measures which still have to be worked out and tested, such as long-term norms of utilization of profits and price control independent of the enterprises and the amalgamations.

The problems involved are highly interesting. For instance, in order to get rid of the obsolete bureaucratic practices in planning, economic levers enabling us to plan and guide the process of reproduction by non-bureaucratic methods had to be devised.

Our Party has always stressed that planning on the scale of the entire economy is one of the great achievements of the socialist revolution which should not be relinquished. Now that planning is being properly related to economic levers, the enterprises and amalgamations will be able to do much of the planning independently. They have, in addition to the right to do their own planning, also the economic means with which to do it. Besides deepening socialist democracy in the economic sphere, the new system gives a powerful impetus to socialist democracy generally. Moreover, the central planning

bodies are relieved of much routine work hitherto done by inefficient administrative methods.

In the future the central planning bodies will be able to concentrate on their main task—elaboration of a balanced long-range plan conforming to the objective needs of society and based on the decisions of the Party and the Government, a plan which will accelerate technological progress and set the enterprises and amalgamations realistic tasks in keeping with their interests and with the interests of society.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

Our Central Committee and its Political Bureau guided the elaboration of the new economic scheme right from the beginning, for the task was too big and important to be shouldered by any single ministry or other state body. The basic line was laid down under the guidance of the Party, realization of its various aspects was carefully prepared and the results were thoroughly analyzed.

The Party leadership enlisted young economists and practical workers in studying the basic theoretical problems involved. Every opportunity was provided for fruitful research and results were not slow in coming. Apart from anything else, the entrusting of this important work to the young specialists has added to the prestige of the Party leadership.

A big role was played also by those directly responsible for giving effect to the new scheme. For instance, large-scale experiments were conducted, chiefly in those amalgamations where the general managers were aware of the need to strike out along new lines and who possessed the necessary competence and experience.

At the same time the leadership urged all the Party organizations in industry, agriculture and building to improve their work, with emphasis on political, ideological and organizational work to ensure scientific and technological progress and the introduction of the new system. The Party helped the people to give due heed to the economic laws of socialism, to raise their educational level, master the new technology, improve quality and lower production costs. *The initiative belonged to the Party organizations, which saw to it that the introduction of the new system did not remain the concern of only a relatively small number of specialists.* The character of political work among the masses changed. The propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideology

was linked with the dissemination of technical knowledge and the skills demanded by the new system. Abstract generalities were eschewed.

Guidance of Party work along production lines bore its fruit. Bureaus were established in the regional committees for industry, building and agriculture, and representatives of the Central Committee were appointed to the amalgamations of public enterprises.

The Party had to clarify a number of new ideological questions that came to the fore in connection with the new system. As soon as the aims of our new measures became known, the West German imperialists seized on them to claim that the Communists in the GDR were reverting to capitalist economics, that they were copying the capitalist experience, that socialist planning was in a state of crisis and that the new measures would not improve things since they did not allow for a free commodity-money economy and private ownership. They claimed that there were differences of opinion between the Party leadership and the younger economic executives, whom they hoped to impel toward so-called liberalization. This, of course, was wishful thinking.

There is complete clarity in our Party on the essence of the new economic scheme. This system is not a shift to capitalist theory and practice; it is designed to develop and concretely apply the political economy of socialism in an industrial People's Democracy, where the state determines the main proportions in the national economy and is engaged in carrying out a technological revolution. For us the new system is a powerful weapon in the struggle against imperialism in the sphere of material production. Ideological clarity on this score has left no soil for reformist ideas. The reservations of some comrades who found it hard to measure up to the higher demands were rather of a dogmatic character. Besides, we had to convince some executives who took a narrow, one-sided view of the new tasks and ignored ideological work.

The West German imperialists have little influence on our young executives, and no wonder. After all, they tried their hardest to subvert economic development in the GDR, and this has not been forgotten. If anything it has spurred on our executives to greater efforts in building a highly-developed economy. And they are firmly resolved to show the West German imperialists that the new economic system will yield even more impressive results.

The revolutionary process in Latin America

Some lessons of the liberation movement in Argentina

ERNESTO JUDISI

1. THE NATIONAL FEATURES OF THE CONTINENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

THE VICTORY OF THE Cuban revolution inaugurated in Latin America a new stage in the revolutionary process—the stage of victorious revolutions, of national and social liberation. Socialism had come to America!

The revolutionary process on the continent has posed new problems which will have to be tackled and resolved by creative Marxism. They are problems connected with the specific conditions of Latin American reality and the new balance of world forces; they can be correctly interpreted and solved only if we proceed from these conditions and from the universality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine at the present phase of its development.

It is obvious that the countries which until recently were considered simply in the aggregate, and were defined as dependent or semi-dependent countries, are not alike in every respect. This is true of the distinctions between countries of Asia and Africa, and especially between them and the countries of Latin America. Latin America is a continent with features of its own. Its problems do not fit into the pattern of Europe. They spring from the specific alignment of classes, and the specific level of development of the continent.

In assessing the overall picture of the Latin American scene it is necessary to take into account also the differences in the level and character of socio-economic development of the respective countries, the degree of their dependence on foreign capital, and the source of the latter, the alignment of the class forces (the proportion of the proletariat, national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie), the level and the character of political development and the various ideological trends. In some countries, for example, the two principal opposing forces are the local oligarchies linked with North American imperialism on the one hand, and the working class and the Indian population on the other. In others, the Argentine for one, the working class plays quite a considerable role, and the same can be said for the national bourgeoisie and the middle classes.

Thus, although some features coincide, the revolutionary process in the different countries is developing in diverse forms. The Marxist-Leninist parties in the different countries, familiar with the conditions and possibilities, are best qualified to define the ways and means of the revolutionary struggle in their countries. On them, therefore, devolves the responsibility for the development of this struggle. This, far from denying mutual respect and mutual aid between the fraternal parties of the different countries, presupposes such aid and respect. Whatever

the tactical differences, these call for still greater solidarity, for strategic unity.

While in Cuba the revolution was carried out in the specific conditions of that country, its development, nevertheless, embodied many trends characteristic of Latin America as a whole. The revolutionary movement led by Fidel Castro has performed a great historical service: it developed and won victory—boldly, resolutely and heroically—by relying on the social forces which under the Batista dictatorship were best prepared for the struggle, and choosing the most opportune moment and the most effective forms of struggle. The Cuban revolution showed that a breach can be made on a continent dominated economically and politically by the USA. It showed that the steady development of the revolutionary process in conditions of the existence of the socialist world have made it possible here, too, to pass on rapidly to the stage of building socialism. The success of the people of Cuba, the country's entry into the socialist camp, the aid rendered by the USSR and the other socialist countries, and also the solidarity of other peoples have given the Cuban revolution its present strength.

Cuba has opened new revolutionary vistas to the countries of Latin America. With the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the role of the working class in history and the need to fight for its hegemony remaining universally valid, the Cuban revolution like the other revolutionary processes now under way in Latin America, has pinpointed the role that can be played by the middle sections, by groups of the national bourgeoisie, the peasantry, students and intellectuals at certain stages of the movement. Another theoretical and practical lesson of the Cuban revolution is to avoid any mechanical repetition of the methods used in some other country. Whereas in some countries the revolutionary situation might be similar to that in Cuba, in others it might be totally different. In Argentina, for example, it is the proletariat, and not the petty bourgeoisie, that heads all important and decisive actions. In Cuba, for that matter, it is the growing role of the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, that today ensures the victorious development of the revolutionary process.

At the same time we must not fall into the error of idealizing the working class. We must approach it concretely in each instance, seeing in it the labor aristocracy and the sections influenced by bourgeois ideology. This holds true not only of the developed capitalist countries. In the Latin American

working class, too, there are groups which are under the influence of the bourgeoisie, and even of imperialism, whose interests they uphold.

In the transition from capitalism to socialism the basic contradiction is that between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The democratic stage of the revolution should therefore be viewed from this standpoint, and with due regard for the revolutionary aims which the proletariat has set itself. The proletariat is waging the struggle against feudal survivals from positions of its own revolutionary interests. Hence, we believe that the national bourgeoisie should act as an ally of the proletariat in the struggle, and not vice versa. This is all the more true since the bourgeoisie is becoming more and more incapable of revolutionary action.

In these circumstances every intermediate stage is a component of the single historical process. But just as we must not lose sight of the general, ultimate aim because of the purely specific, so the general, ultimate aim should not be allowed to overshadow the peculiarities, the "local features," of the intermediate stage of the struggle. The important thing is to know just how far these peculiarities can be generalized, for excessive generalization can turn an anti-dogmatic proposition into a new dogmatic postulate.

Nor should we confine ourselves to examining only the universal, rather we should try to see it in all its components and to understand their place in the overall picture. Creative Marxism manifests itself in an increasing variety of ways and forms, without seeing any one of them as an absolute. In Latin America the possibilities exist for waging an armed struggle and also for taking the non-violent way. The *forms* of the movement cannot be separated from its *content*. The important thing is the revolutionary goal, proper organization, and developing the struggle around the basic contradictions, relying on the forces which are most progressive and which carry the most weight at the given moment and in the given circumstances. In other words, it is a matter of "operating" not so much with the forces of our choice, but with those actually available at the moment.

The new possibility for peaceful development in the world arena and in the revolutionary process in the different countries is a new feature of *worldwide* significance. But it does not necessarily mean that the peaceful way is the only way. The question of the peaceful way of revolutionary development confronts every country. The possibility of this path should not be rejected *apriori* in

any one of them, but neither should it be made a dogma, a hard and fast rule applied irrespective of the actual conditions in the country concerned.

Dogmatists make absolute the possibility of the non-peaceful path and the corresponding forms of struggle. The Marxist-Leninist parties, while rejecting this dogmatic approach, do not when speaking of the general possibilities of peaceful development reject the armed struggle in certain concrete conditions.

The sectarians and opportunists exclude the question of the colonies and semi-colonies from the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and imperialism, thus aligning themselves with bourgeois nationalism, and with the advocates of a "third way." They swing from absolute rejection of the national bourgeoisie as an ally of the proletariat to absolute subordination of the revolutionary movement to the ideology of the bourgeoisie, including the ideology of those of its sections closely associated with the landowning oligarchy and the imperialists. Argentina is a case in point. This sort of thing makes for an unprincipled alliance between Left extremists and Right nationalists who attack Marxism-Leninism and the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The numerous examples of betrayal by the bourgeoisie do not necessarily mean that treachery by the entire national bourgeoisie is a foregone conclusion. The question of alliances should be decided concretely in each given instance, with due regard to basic principles and ultimate aims, and after correctly assessing the social and political forces involved, their attitude to the revolution and to its main enemies. If this is done from a class standpoint there will be no danger of opportunism.

The peoples of Latin America have a common task—to defeat U.S. imperialism on the continent, which would be a big step toward ending its world domination. Our joint support of the Cuban revolution unites our common efforts in this struggle.

What is the predominant trend in Latin America today — the advance of the liberation struggle of the peoples or the counter-offensive of the forces of reaction? It is evident that the latter have stepped up their activities; this has found theoretical expression in the aggressive, interventionist Mann doctrine. Since the victory of the Cuban revolution U.S. imperialism has been more wary of the popular movement in Latin America, using every means against it. Take the

haste with which the United States acted in the Brazilian crisis. This might lead one to think that imperialism's increased aggressiveness, which should not be underestimated, excluded the possibility of victory by the people. Of course U.S. imperialism is strong, but it cannot do whatever it likes. It was unable to crush Cuba, for instance. It cannot prevent the working class and the people as a whole, from intensifying the struggle, and this applies to Brazil as well. It cannot prevent the development of the democratic forces, cannot impose or preserve a state of lawlessness wherever it chooses.

The counter-offensive launched by the forces of reaction indisputably creates difficulties for the revolutionary movement. But by intensifying persecutions these forces are narrowing their social base. The revolutionary process is gaining momentum. More and more working people are beginning to realize that they must free themselves from imperialist rule, must change the existing socio-economic system as soon as possible. Although some of the bourgeoisie give way to imperialism, others are finding it necessary in their own interests to increase their resistance to it.

In this situation it is important that all the peoples of the continent should confront the temporary and partial victory of imperialism with their solidarity and thereby inflict a decisive defeat on the enemy. As the alliance of the anti-imperialist forces grows in each of our countries the conditions will be created for organizing a liberation front stretching across the entire continent.

2. ARGENTINA: DEVELOPMENT, STAGE AND FORM OF THE REVOLUTION

The keynote of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina was: "For mass actions to win power." The Party thus clearly formulated the aim and the ways of achieving it.

Argentine reality has its peculiarities and poses problems of its own.

Like most of the countries of South America, Argentina experienced the sway of British imperialism in the 19th century. This sway held until after the First World War when it had to yield to U.S. imperialism. To this day there are strong antagonisms between these two imperialist powers in the Argentine. Unlike the countries where a chiefly mining industry developed and big U.S.-owned plantations were cultivated, Argentina was always a ranching and later a

crop- and ranching country. Industry developed here earlier and on a larger scale than in many other countries of the continent, although in a deformed, restricted way owing to the preservation of the semi-feudal latifundia and dependence on foreign imperialism. A numerous small, and a rich national bourgeoisie came into being. Capitalism entrenched itself in agriculture as well. With the growth of industry the urban working class became the numerically strongest class in the country; there was simultaneous growth in the agricultural proletariat.

In its economic development, class structure, cultural level and forms of political life Argentina was the most "European" of the Latin American countries.

With the rise of the bourgeoisie and its advent to political power the previously specifically landowner governments were replaced by bourgeois-landowner governments. The institutions of bourgeois democracy attained a marked degree of development. By the close of the last century political parties had appeared representing the interests of definite classes: the Conservative Party, the interests of the landowning oligarchy; the Radical Party, those of the small and national bourgeoisie; the Socialist Party and later the Communist Party, the interests of the working class. Formally, the army remained aloof from the political struggle; there was political stability, the relative character of which, however, was shown by subsequent events.

The political pattern changed perceptibly from 1930 onward. The Radicals, who had been in power since 1916, established a formal democracy in the country, but did not change its backward and dependent economic structure. When the crisis in this structure intensified and it became clear that it could be preserved only by force, dictatorial regimes began to replace formal democracy. The bourgeoisie, including industrialists, established closer relations with imperialism and the landowning oligarchy. Big industrial and financial companies now became landowners. American capital began to penetrate also into ranching.

New economic groups made their appearance, uniting the separate industrial, landowning and financial circles linked with imperialism and the oligarchy. This impelled those of the national bourgeoisie not connected with imperialism to take a more pronounced anti-imperialist and democratic stand. The two bourgeois groups clashed in the fight for power. And it is this jockeying for power that explains the succession of different governments after 1930.

The former political stability disappeared. Governments representative of the different classes and parties were now replaced by dictatorships of different groups. This aggravated and added to the social and political contradictions. The traditional political parties (with the exception of the Communist Party) broke up into splinter groups. A Left emerged in opposition to the Right groups; the polarization of the political forces reflected the process of social and economic differentiation. New parties were formed, including the Peronist and Christian Democratic parties. The crisis spread to all spheres of life: economic, political and ideological. The mounting anarchy was held in check and camouflaged by dictatorial regimes which had, however, a certain social and political base. The working people, middle classes and the uncommitted part of the national bourgeoisie began to take a more vigorous stand against the oligarchy and imperialism, and also against the capitalist group associated with them. The struggle thus became an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and *anti-capitalist* one. The traditional socio-economic pattern was upset.

Socio-economic polarization engendered repeated attempts to form Right-wing coalitions in or outside the government that would offset the emerging unity of the democratic forces. Fascist groups made their appearance under the aegis of the state and its organs of coercion. However, the reactionaries were unable to create anything like a strong fascist party.

Simultaneously a process of militarization of the state began. The ultra-reactionary groups of the military set up their own "parallel power." They advanced the theory of the "internal front," which gives the army the right to act directly in the name of the state, to exert pressure on the government and even to carry out coups in the event of a "communist danger" or a popular movement threatening the interests of the ruling groups. The army was primed politically and ideologically for actions against the people. To this end a special course of anti-Marxist lectures was read to the officers and men. The army thus became the political mainstay of ultra-reactionaries.

It is against this alliance of the reactionary military and civil forces that the democratic front should, in the opinion of the Communists, be spearheaded.

At first sight the army seems a relatively monolithic body. In reality, however, it is rent by group rivalries. Furthermore, a process of political and ideological differentiation is taking place: here, too, there are democratic

supporters, and the number of "nationalist" groups opposed to the caste spirit in the High Command is increasing. The army, it should be borne in mind, is not something homogeneous; the bulk of the men come from the ranks of the people, they are not mercenaries. Lastly, the anti-Marxist indoctrination of the military can be a double-edged weapon: it often engenders a special interest in Marxism.

This process of differentiation between the forces of reaction and democracy, between Right and Left, has extended to the Catholic Church.

Argentina has a long tradition of liberalism, and this tradition is supported and respected by the many democrats among the Catholics. They are opposed by the reactionary section of the hierarchy. In working for unity with the Catholics, we should not lose sight either of this tradition, of the existence of the new democratic and anti-imperialist trends in the Catholic movements, nor of the attempts by imperialism to use certain reactionary Catholic circles against the national-liberation movement.

We see, then, that the country's social forces are becoming more and more political—from the working people to the army and the clergy. The working class and the people as a whole are counteracting the reactionaries with growing militancy. The increasingly revolutionary character of their actions is explained by the present stage of our economic development.

Argentina is a country not only of landowners, allied with foreign imperialism, but also of capitalism. Not only the conservative parties, representing the old landowning oligarchy, but also the parties of the bourgeoisie have been in and out of power. The progressive sections of the bourgeoisie have no political forces of their own and vacillate under the pressure of the two main political groups, which are becoming more and more polarized throughout the country.

Although the national bourgeoisie includes many progressives who take an anti-imperialist, democratic stand, it cannot by itself be the base for a democratic government. Hence the need for a broad proletarian and popular front to include also the national bourgeoisie, with the working class, however, acting as the leading force.

In the present Illia government the national bourgeoisie is represented by its democratic elements. The reactionaries inside and outside the government are hostile to these people. The government is under continuous pressure from the "parallel power," and is constantly threatened with a coup. Caught between the

working class and the people as a whole, on the one hand, and the ultra-reactionaries, on the other, it wavers between a democratic policy more or less independent of imperialism and a policy of concessions to the "parallel power." Its slightest measures of a democratic or progressive social character are sabotaged by the reactionaries, who fear that the tide of popular actions might burst through the smallest crack. Tension between the two social and political poles is rising, excluding any possibility of a middle course.

In sum, it can be said that capitalism has developed in Argentina notwithstanding all the limitations, contradictions, deformation and even relative stagnation. Capitalism brought with it the rise of the working class, which is now the main revolutionary force in the country.

In circumstances of bourgeois-landowner forces of reaction deploying the military and police organs of coercion, and now that the liberal bourgeoisie having suffered defeat has demonstrated that it is powerless to act as the government, the working class is resolutely heading the struggle fighting for its own socio-economic demands and upholding democratic liberties and democratic progress generally.

Thanks to this struggle parliament was compelled recently to annul the laws banning the Communist and Peronist parties.

The recent mass actions organized by the General Confederation of Labor (GCL) showed that the working class is beginning to link its economic demands with political demands, and the two sets of demands with the struggle to change the social system. This is indicative of the growing political maturity of the working class in its struggle for leadership in the revolutionary process.

The GCL plan of action, which culminated in the workers taking possession of enterprises throughout the country demonstrated the strength of the working class, its high level of organization and discipline. (The entire urban working class is united in the GCL unions, which have a membership of 4,000,000. The peasants and agricultural laborers also have big unions.) The seizure of the enterprises was a direct challenge to private capitalist property. For many months this movement was the central event in the political life of the country. Many of the political parties supported the Confederation's plan. Simultaneously, major actions were initiated by the students, peasants, and women, thus demonstrating the massive scale of the democratic movement.

The leading role of the working class is

gaining wider recognition. The student movement no longer lays claim to being "above" the working class, and is developing in unity with the latter, recognizing its leading role. The students drew up their social and democratic demands in accordance with the plan of the General Confederation of Labor.

The popular struggle is spearheaded against imperialism, the landowning oligarchy and against those capitalists linked with them. The agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution is extending and is directed also against some capitalist circles. The more closely the latter are linked with imperialism and the oligarchy and the more dependent they are on imperialism, the more pronounced the anti-capitalist trends in the revolutionary process. Along with nationalization of the basic economic levers now in the hands of the foreign monopolies, and the carrying out of an agrarian reform, measures of an anti-capitalist nature will also be introduced; this will enable the revolution rapidly to advance towards socialism. This is why the Twelfth Congress defined the revolution as a "democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution having socialism as its perspective." And the more the revolution is "overdue," the more mature and deeper the revolutionary process and the greater the extent to which objectively it will be confronted with the tasks characteristic of its later stages. At present, besides the traditional oligarchy, some capitalist circles are dependent on imperialism. If economic independence is to be won this sector of capitalism must be abolished, for only then will it be possible to abolish the landowning oligarchy and with it, all survivals of feudalism.

Thus the revolutionary process in Argentina is merging with the struggle of the international working class for socialism through the struggle for national and social liberation.

The growing role played by the working-class and trade union movement indicates the likely course of the revolutionary process and its main force, the force which forms the core of the popular and democratic movement and around which a united front is taking shape against the main enemy.

3. SUCCESSES AND WEAKNESSES OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT FOR UNITY. ITS CONTENT AND ITS FORM

If the drama of Argentina is that, beginning with 1930, every time the working-class and popular movement thrust forward it was repulsed by a reactionary coup d'état, its tragedy is that despite success in the struggle to unite the Left, the unity did not take the form of

a solid and organized front capable of defeating the reactionaries.

The principal and immediate aim of our struggle is to achieve real unity of the working class.

Any delay in this matter plays into the hands of the reactionaries, gives them a chance to stage new coups, to keep the country in a state of backwardness and dependence on imperialism.

As the revolutionary process develops the idea of unity acquires an essentially anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic, national-liberation, democratic and popular content.

The unity movement should proceed in keeping with the requirements of the changing situation. Its content and form will change accordingly. There was a good chance at one time of achieving unity as a result of the combined actions of several parties and the working-class and student movements, but this did not materialize, mainly because of the stand taken by the Peronists. Now, however, contacts are being established not only at the "top." Unity is being effected primarily from "below," due to the differentiation between Left and Right forces in the various parties and movements. Hence the process of unification of the Left is directly connected with the process of differentiation, with its successes and reverses. This explains why the process is a continuous one, with a diversity of forms.

Although some actions by other social forces coincided with the plan of action of the GCL, there were no joint actions. The GCL leadership confined itself to carrying out the first stages of its plan, and kept out other social forces which, like the proletariat, had been hard hit by the economic crisis. Nor did it draw the peasantry into these actions. It also rejected the proposal of the Communists to form a united leadership of representatives of the democratic parties and mass organizations. Whatever was accomplished in this direction was accomplished solely on the initiative of the Communist Party and the Movement for Trade Union Unity and Coordination, and without the participation of the GCL leadership.

Meanwhile the Peronist leaders in the GCL sought to exploit this plan in their own narrow interests (to bring Peron back). Some of them were associated with the ultra-reactionaries who were plotting a coup on the grounds that the government had ignored the demand of the "parallel power" that the workers' struggle should be forcibly suppressed.

The Peronist leaders want to subordinate the working-class and popular movement to

Peronism, the ideology essentially of the conciliatory bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie associated with the oligarchy and imperialism. The working people and a large number of the middle-level Peronist officials are anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and, to a large extent, anti-capitalist; they favor the idea of united action with the Communists. Not so the top Peronist leaders, some of whom are in the services of U.S. imperialism. Some of the trade unions are headed by corrupt elements of the type that thrived in Cuba under Batista. They are resisting working-class unity because of their bourgeois ideology and also because of fear of losing the positions usurped by them.

Along with the "bring Peron back" slogan the top Peronist leaders are again parading their notorious "Third Force" idea, which has nothing in common with the stand taken by the non-aligned countries fighting for peace and democracy.

The present leadership of the General Confederation of Labor was formed as a result of a compromise with the Frondisi government, and includes only Peronists and "Independents." This notwithstanding, there is a united center of the working people, and the Communists, despite the fact that they have been expelled from the GCL leadership, support this center, and are doing all in their power to prevent a split. But there is no united leadership in the GCL as yet.

Knowing that they stand to lose from working-class and popular unity, the reactionaries are doing their utmost to prevent or distort this unity. They are wooing the Peronists and are trying to use them for provocations against the Communists. However, as a result of the growing ground-level unity of Communists and Peronists, anti-communism is losing ground among the people.

Another obstacle to unity is the attitude of the "ultra-Left" who vacillate between the extremists and pro-Peronists. These groups underestimate and ignore the mass movement, placing themselves "above" it and lauding "direct action." Thus, whether they like it or not, they are doing a good turn for the reactionaries who have every reason to fear the growing movement of the masses and their unity.

Those Peronist leaders and "ultra-Lefts" who concentrate their fire on the government and on the bourgeoisie as a whole and forget about the main enemy—imperialism and the landowning oligarchy—are thereby not only distorting the actual state of political affairs in the country, they are, objectively, making things easier for the ultra-reactionaries who,

relying on the "parallel power," are only too glad to act the gendarme not only in Argentina but in the neighboring countries as well.

Because of lack of unity the working-class and popular movement missed the opportunity of taking power at times of crisis. This enabled the forces of reaction, then in disarray, to regroup and retain power.

The existence in the country of the objective conditions for unity—conditions which have matured in the course of the long crisis—particularly forcefully poses the question of developing the subjective conditions through mass struggle and ideological struggle.

However, the general task of achieving unity should be specified in some respects.

To begin with, since 1930 the concept of unity has changed in content and form, in keeping with the growing structural crisis of capitalism. Capitalist development proceeded partly within the framework of the traditional structure of society, based on landownership and dependence on imperialism, and in a way helped to shatter this structure. Be that as it may, the result was socio-economic crisis including the elements of a crisis in capitalist relationships. It should be borne in mind that some bourgeois people who would be ready to join with us in upholding democratic freedoms, might oppose working-class and popular actions of a more far-reaching social and national-liberation character. It should likewise be borne in mind that the democracy itself, for which we are fighting, has acquired a more profound social content in our time, and that its development is bound up with the socio-economic demands of the working class, of the peasants who are being ruined and of the middle sections of the town, as well as with the struggle for economic independence. All that has been said here does not justify attacks on the bourgeoisie "in general"; what it does show is the need to take advantage of the contradictions between the conciliatory bourgeoisie and that part of the national bourgeoisie not associated with imperialism and which stands for the independent development of the country, with the object of drawing the latter into the struggle against the reactionaries.

We therefore support the democratic groups in the government, with a view to providing them with a base on which they can rely and which will enable them to get rid of the "parallel power," and repulse the attacks of the reactionaries both in the government and outside it. At the same time, however, we are for intensifying the mass struggle and winning over that part of the bourgeoisie not tied to the coat tails of the oligarchy and

imperialism. We favor the simultaneous development of socio-economic actions by the working people and of mass actions to forestall any coup.

We favor different forms of unity depending on the concrete situation: broad democratic unity, a national-liberation front, or unity of the Left. Thus, in the event of reactionary extremism we stand for democratic unity on a broad basis, but while doing so we emphasize the need for other, more concrete forms of unity of the forces fighting for fundamental changes in society. In the political sphere, we stand for unity not only with the Left Socialists, but also with the new parties which have come into being in recent times and are chiefly made up of new "recruits" — workers who only yesterday were peasants, and with the politically active middle sections. This applies to the Peronist movement and the Democratic Christian Party with its contradictory ideology.

Secondly, when developing the subjective prerequisites for unity, account should be taken of the present difficulties and the circumstance that the peaceful way might again be obstructed by a reactionary coup or blocked altogether. The united movement should be prepared for any of these contingencies, so as to be able immediately to counter a coup and direct the struggle along the required path. The point is not mechanically to oppose the peaceful way to the non-peaceful

path, but to define the aims and achieve them through mass struggle on the basis of unity of action, using the means best suited to the circumstances. Our Party, which is prepared for both paths of struggle, visualizes the possibility of the peaceful path now, after a long period of reactionary violence. But what path the revolutionary process will ultimately take does not depend solely on the understanding and desire of the Communists: it depends primarily on the results achieved in organizing unity.

It would be illogical, in the face of mass actions rallying millions of people, to give priority to isolated guerrilla actions. The struggle against the military machine can be effective and decisive only in the course of working-class and popular actions on a scale that this machine has not been trained to cope with. By the same token, if it comes to an armed struggle in countries like ours, victory is possible only if the people are properly prepared for action.

This is how the Party is working to pave the way to unity in Argentina and to achieve its revolutionary aim — the realization of structural reforms. The all-important thing is that the broad and diverse movements in the country should merge into a single united movement that will be able to cope with swiftly changing situations and engage in the different forms of struggle.

Marxism — a guide to action, not dogma

Socio-economic changes and the new tasks of Marxist-Leninists in the FRG

JOSEF SCHLEIFSTEIN

... It is essential to realize the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of actual events, of the precise facts of reality, and must not cling to a past theory, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, and only approximates to an overall view of the complexities of living reality.

V. I. Lenin, **Letters on Tactics.**

A CORRECT ASSESSMENT of the changes that have taken place, especially in the past few decades, in the economy and the class structure and political and ideological life of society is of the utmost theoretical and practical significance for the struggles of the working class and all the progressive forces in the capitalist world generally and in the highly developed capitalist countries in particular. Unless these changes are taken into account full use cannot be made of all the opportunities for bringing about democratic and social changes, for leading the working people towards the socialist revolution, utilizing all the openings provided by the shift in the balance of forces in favor of socialism. Hence for Marxism-Leninism, a living, creative teaching which abhors stagnation and dogmatism, a scientific examination of the objective social reality and its dynamics is a precondition for the elaboration of the correct strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party of the working class. Lenin wrote:

"Only an objective consideration of the sum-total of reciprocal relations of all the classes of a given society without exception, and consequently, a consideration of the subjective stage of development of that society and of the reciprocal relations between it and other societies, can serve as a basis for the correct tactics of the advanced class."* Marxism, then, is a guide to action for the working class and the people.

I. CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY AND CLASS STRUCTURE IN FEDERAL GERMANY

Which of the changes that have taken place in the economy and class structure of Federal Germany — changes unquestionably in evidence in other highly developed capitalist countries as well — do we consider the most

V. I. Lenin, **Karl Marx.**

important from the standpoint of the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist Party?

First, the changes in the economy attending the growth of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. Second, the changes in the class structure stemming from the expansion of the productive forces due to the technological revolution, from the emergence of new branches of industry, and the growth of trade, transportation, and the services.

The feature of the Federal German economy today is the dominance of state-monopoly capitalism. After the Second World War, when West German capital, aided by the Western imperialist powers, regained its former might, concentration and centralization of industry and capital were greatly accelerated. Now the leading branches of industry—automobile, electrical equipment, chemicals, oil, steel and mining—as well as banking and insurance, are dominated by a few big concerns, mostly interlocking concerns. The 40 biggest concerns employ 32 per cent of the labor force and account for 42 per cent of the total turnover of West German industry. This tremendous concentration of economic power is related to the coalescence of the monopolies and the state.

The West German state performs important economic functions in the interests of the top monopolies. The state budget channels to the monopoly capitalists nearly 40 per cent of the national income (through tax exemptions, subsidies, partial financing of investments and research projects, export bonuses, etc.). The lion's share of military and other government orders goes to the big concerns. State enterprises provide them with cheap power, transport services, and raw materials. Branches requiring heavy outlay of capital are built on state funds, but as soon as they begin operating at a profit the concerns insist on their being turned over to private ownership.

The main economic reason for the particularly aggressive nature of West German imperialism can be traced to the contradiction between its economic might (economically the Federal Republic is the second most powerful imperialist country after the USA) and its comparatively constricted sphere of influence. The West German imperialists are not reconciled to socialism being built on one-third of Germany's territory, or to the loss of their influence in the East European socialist countries. And it is this monopoly capital that is behind the drive to militarize all aspects of life and suppress democracy.

Another feature of the Federal Republic is

the fusion of the monopolies and the state through what might be called "personal union"; the men at the top of the monopolies are in government posts, in the Bundestag as deputies and in the leading bodies of the ruling parties. In the Bundestag we find deputies representing the Farbwerke Hoechst (successor to IG Farben), Thyssen, Flick, Haniel, Kloeckner, Stumm, Gelsenkirchener Bergwerke and Oetker concerns and other powerful monopolies. The leading employers' organizations are represented in the Federal parliament by Balke, Chairman of the Employers' Association and former nuclear-industry minister; Menne, Vice-President of the Federal Industries Union; Loehr, business manager of the Federal Chemical Industry Union. Of the 251 Christian Democrats in the Bundestag 17 are directors or managers of big concerns or plants, and 20 act as advisers to the concerns. According to incomplete data, 55 Christian Democrat Bundestag members hold 148 places in supervisory councils of firms. The leading employers' associations boast that not a single bill goes before the Bundestag without their advance endorsement. An important role in this state-monopoly capital set-up is played by supra-national bodies, especially those of the Common Market, which the West German monopolies, being economically more powerful than their partners, use as instruments for economic expansion and as a means for attaining their aggressive ends.

State-monopoly capitalism aggravates all the contradictions of capitalism. For the interests not only of the working class but of other sections of the people conflict with the interests of the small but powerful group of monopolists whose sole concern is profit and power. Not long ago the newspaper *Christ und Welt* (September 4, 1964) admitted that thanks to their controlling positions on the boards of directors and supervisory councils of the biggest concerns and companies, 94 tycoons dominate the West German economy, and consequently, exert tremendous influence on the policies of the Federal Republic and on all aspects of social life.

The changes in Federal Germany and in the developed capitalist countries generally confirm Marx's predictions regarding the class structure of capitalist society. Marxist-Leninists should take cognizance of these changes and draw the power conclusions. "A Marxist," Lenin said, "must not abandon the solid ground of analysis of class relations."*

The facts point to a steady polarization of

*V. I. Lenin, *Letters on Tactics*.

the capitalist class structure. At present Federal Germany has about 21,500,000 factory and office workers and civil servants who, together with their dependents and with pensioners belonging to this social group, make up nearly 80 per cent of the population. Even if we include in the middle strata the more highly-paid groups of clerical workers and civil servants, roughly three-quarters of the population belong to the non-propertied sections, the proletariat. Of the remainder of the population about two-thirds are self-employed, belonging to the urban and rural middle sections.

Considerable changes are taking place in the composition of the working class too. It is noteworthy that while the number of workers has grown in absolute terms, the number of office employees has grown much faster: in 1950-61 the share of manual workers in the total labor force fell from 50.7 to 48.7 per cent, while the proportion of office employees rose from 16.1 to 22.6 per cent and civil servants from four to six per cent. (It should be borne in mind that some concerns classify part of their employees as clerical workers even though they continue to do the same work as before.)

Other structural changes in the working class which should be noted are:

- a relative growth in the numbers engaged in trade, in the services and in government employment compared with the labor force in the production spheres;

- an increase, as a corollary of the technological revolution, in the percentage of the labor force engaged in electrical engineering, machine building, transport and the chemical industry; in some of the older branches, for example textiles and mining, the trend is the opposite. Especially notable is the decline in the number of agricultural laborers, who now account for only 3.2 per cent of the total number of workers;

- an increase in female employment in both absolute and relative terms; one-third of all wage and salary earners and half of all clerical workers are women;

- the labor force has been augmented also by hundreds of thousands of formerly "independent" small farmers and handicraftsmen; proletarianization has been particularly marked among the formerly "independent" settlers (among whom the proportion of workers has risen from 38 to 70 per cent). Lastly, there are more than one million foreign workers in the Federal Republic, most of them unskilled;

- more pronounced wage differentials, between industries, between different groups of

skilled and unskilled, and especially between men's and women's wages;

- the effect on the structure and social status of the working class of the new developments, especially automation, both partial and full. Associated with these factors are an intensified production pace and a greater nervous strain on the worker, and also mass layoffs which so far have been camouflaged by the demand for labor elsewhere.

These changes greatly influence the thinking of the workers, their attitude to the employer and the state, their readiness to join trade unions and their response to the traditional demands and methods of working-class struggle.

Sociological research conducted by the trade unions and by bourgeois investigators throw interesting light on the current outlook of workers, despite the propaganda to the effect that classes and class antagonisms are "disappearing." Indicative in this respect are the answers given by workers in a sociological poll published in the trade union journal *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*: "So long as capitalism exists the worker will not benefit from automation, he will lose by it"; "if an end were put to this confusion in the economy we might get the share of the social product due to us"; "what freedom can there be when your everyday life depends on others, when you are not treated fairly on the job"; "we know every screw and bolt in the place, we have worked in it for years, but what, say, have we got, we're just coolies".

An interesting comment is made by two young clergymen who worked for some time in a factory and related their experience in a book: "Class struggle has not been abolished. The worker today, just as 50 years ago, is forced to wage a class struggle even when he himself is not aware of it. This struggle is forced on the working class by capitalism."*

Unquestionably the historical tendency implicit in these changes is in the direction of extending and deepening the class struggle, towards accelerated progress by the working-class movement. But this tendency does not manifest itself as a smooth process, without zigzags. Social changes are bound to be accompanied by the emergence of new problems and difficulties in the anti-capitalist struggle. For instance, the most rapidly growing section of the working class—technicians and commercial employees, women, workers in the services — are not organized in trade unions to the same extent as the industrial proletariat, the core of the working class, and their

*See H. Symanowski and F. Vilmar. *The Workers' World*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1963.

level of political consciousness is lower. They are most susceptible to illusions as regards capitalism, the possibility of "social partnership" and "individual solution" of problems without trade unions and political struggle. The difficulties and tasks stemming from this are complicated by the fact that the workers and office employees who have entered the economy of the Federal Republic in the past 10-15 years have so far experienced the operation of capitalist economics only in conditions of relative stability.

The structure of the urban and rural middle sections has also undergone significant changes. As a result of the rapid concentration accelerated by the economic policy of the government, 945,000 independent farmers and their families left the land between 1950 and 1961. Today West Germany has only slightly more than three million working peasants, roughly 12 per cent of the total labor force. Still, peasants represent a substantial social force, and one with which, as recent events (Common Market farm price negotiations) have shown, the Bonn government has to reckon.

The social status of the peasants and the urban middle sections is marked by a growing dependence on monopoly capital. The farmer is paid a low price for his produce whereas the prices he pays for machines, implements and fertilizers are being steadily hiked up by the big industrialists. And since the bulk of the farmers need substantial credits in order to modernize their farms, they find themselves heavily indebted to the banks. At the same time the government, through the Common Market, is sacrificing the interests of the small cultivator to the export interests of the big industrial concerns, as was seen once again during the recent negotiations on grain prices. It should be added that the tax system weighs much more heavily on the middle strata than on the big enterprises.

Although formally independent, the small proprietors in the sphere of services and trade are dependent on the big concerns, for example, the oil companies and big breweries, or act merely as suppliers for the automobile and electrical engineering firms, etc. Commercial concerns are squeezing out large numbers of small shopkeepers, whose share in the total trade turnover is steadily declining. The turnover of 13 leading commercial concerns is as great as that of 250,000 small retailers. Further, according to official statistics, in 1950-61 the concentration put about 200,000 handicrafts and other small manufacturing enterprises out of business.

The changes in the economic structure and

the social status of the middle sections undoubtedly afford the working-class movement new opportunities to enlist these sections in joint action. This is facilitated also by the discontent, especially among farmers, caused by the economic policy of the government, discontent which on more than one occasion found an outlet in vigorous protest movements.

An increasingly important social role is being played by professional people, whose numbers are steadily growing, especially by technicians. The proportion of engineers and technicians of all gradations to the total labor force in industry averaged 7.6 per cent, and in some of the leading branches reached 11.1-18.3 per cent in 1962.

By virtue of their social status a substantial part of the so-called white collar employees belongs to the working class even though they are still separated from the latter by the traditional barriers and prejudices. Of particular importance from the standpoint of the political development of these strata is the fact that capitalism, with its immense waste of money and means on military purposes and its inability to use the scientific and technological progress for the well-being of the people as a whole, is revealing itself more and more as an impediment to progress.

Significant changes are taking place also in the structure of the West German bourgeoisie. Many of the small and medium-sized enterprises now operate as suppliers for the big concerns and are largely dependent on them. The rising cost of modernization reduces the competitive capacity of the small and medium-bracket industrialists. To this should be added the disregard of their interests in allocating government orders, in taxation and credit policy.

The result is a discontent among the non-monopoly bourgeoisie arising from the stranglehold of the monopolies and their government, and to a certain measure, from the armaments and foreign policy of the Government.

All these processes now under way in the developed capitalist countries aggravate the old and engender new economic and class contradictions.

II. NEW FEATURES OF THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE CPG

Awareness of the changes in the economy and the class structure of developed capitalist society is of the utmost importance in working out the strategy and tactics of the Communist parties. Proceeding from these changes the

parties are elaborating new forms and methods of activity conforming to the concrete historical and national conditions.

Uniting the popular and democratic forces, charting ways and means of winning these forces for the revolutionary socialist outlook, the possibility and the necessity of working for profound democratic social changes as stepping stones to the socialist revolution are problems of major importance today. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that there is no insurmountable barrier between the democratic and the socialist revolution, especially when the working class exercises leadership in the revolutionary democratic movement.

The Communist Party of Germany hinges its policy today on the principal contradiction in Federal Germany — the contradiction between the monopolies and all other sections of the people.

The working-class movement and all the democratic forces in the Federal Republic should make it their immediate aim to remove monopoly capital from power, to abolish militarism and build a peace-loving democratic system supported by all who suffer from the monopoly yoke, beginning with the working class, the farmers, professionals and urban middle strata and ending with the forward-looking sections of the bourgeoisie. This would not yet be a socialist government; it would be a new type of democratic government in which the decisive say on all issues would rest with the masses led by the working class. The program statement adopted by the CPG at its 1963 Congress envisages this new system as being based on the present Constitution and as bridging the gulf between the democratic principles proclaimed in the Constitution and the actual socio-political state of affairs. "The Communist Party of Germany," the statement says, "advocates the implementation under such a new democratic system of far-reaching social changes with a view to uprooting the big capitalist monopolies and their power. This system would give effect to the social reforms which the overwhelming majority of the people demanded after 1945 and which are proclaimed in the program of the trade unions and also recorded in the Constitutions of some Länder. The big industrial, banking and insurance concerns would be nationalized, placed under democratic management and democratic control. In conformity with the demands of the trade unions, factory and office workers and their factory councils and trade unions would be given full rights to take part in the management of production and the economy generally."

The CPG is aware that the struggle for a program and a democratic system of this kind supported by the working class and all other progressive forces is bound to pass through definite stages, that it implies working-class united action and a broad alliance of the anti-monopoly forces fighting for their immediate democratic and social demands.

In our conditions, extending and deepening this struggle will pose the following problems.

Most important from the standpoint of giving effect to a truly national and democratic alternative in the Federal Republic is the struggle against militarism and its revenge-seeking policy which is as dangerous as it is futile. Not a single vital problem can be solved or a single serious step taken towards the reunification of Germany unless the aggressive imperialist forces are prevented from unleashing a new war. This issue lies at the heart of the national question in Germany.

As is known, West German imperialism has acquired considerable weight and is laying hands on more and more of the top posts in NATO. At present its main ambition is to get a finger on the nuclear trigger through the medium of the MLF. The West German rulers have not given up hope of being able to involve their allies in a colossal gamble aimed at seizing the GDR and the Western territories of Poland. With this in view they are seeking to demonstrate their reliability as partners by taking an active part in the colonial adventures of U.S. imperialism in the Congo, South Vietnam and elsewhere, and to win the favor of the U.S. war-industry concerns by placing huge armaments orders with them, all in the hope of being given access to nuclear weapons as a reward for their "loyalty."

Besides presenting a growing threat to peace in Europe and steadily deepening the gulf between the two German states, the revanchist policy of the West German imperialists is at the same time the main obstacle to democratic development in the Federal Republic.

The question of the ways and means of German reunification has come into the foreground in combating militarism and the policy of revenge. The positions-of-strength policy pursued by Adenauer and Erhard has proved futile. The plan for the reunification of Germany on Bonn's conditions, i.e., by annexing the GDR, met with failure. The socialist GDR, stronger than ever, is forging ahead. It recently concluded an important treaty on friendship and mutual aid with the USSR, and its international prestige is growing. People in West Germany are beginning to realize that, if anything, atomic armament and the revanchist campaigns are raising more

barriers to reunification. The monstrous plan devised by Trettner, the former Nazi general who now heads the Bundeswehr, to sow a nuclear mine-field all along the eastern frontiers of the Federal Republic, horrified people and exposed Bonn's reunification plans as brazen deception. It is becoming more and more obvious that the way to reunification lies only through relaxation of tension, disarmament and negotiations between the two Germanys. The many constructive proposals made by the GDR government to establish businesslike relations and achieve mutual understanding between the two states find a growing response.

Today the forces in Federal Germany standing for a policy of peace are still divided. Only a minority is waging an active struggle, for example through the Easter Marches and other peace demonstrations. As in many other areas of political and social life, we can see here a discrepancy between positive decisions and readiness to translate them into practical actions, a discrepancy fraught with dangerous consequences for the progressive forces.

Our Party sees its task in overcoming this discrepancy, in bringing about a broad coalition of all peace-loving forces against the MLF, for a policy of peaceful coexistence, for disarmament and normal relations with the GDR. The Party is opening the eyes of the masses to the important link between the struggle against the policy of militarism and the struggle for the national interests of the German people.

Issues connected with the defense of the Constitution and the democratic rights of the people, with the exercise and extension of democracy, are basic to the struggle for a truly peaceful and democratic system in the FRG. Here the task of the progressive forces is to prevent what would be the most dangerous of all the encroachments on the democratic rights proclaimed in the Constitution, namely, the adoption of the emergency laws which the government plans to put through the Bundestag this winter. The ruling circles see these emergency laws as a means of arrogating to themselves dictatorial powers.

Working class and general democratic resistance to these laws is weakened by the fact that the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, flouting the opposition in its own ranks, are working with the government in this matter. They have let down the trade unions who are opposed to the emergency laws. Whether or not the Constitution will be amended to make way for the introduction of a state of emergency will depend on the Social Democratic group in the Bundestag since constitutional amendments require a two-

thirds majority. And with the Social Democrats holding more than one-third of the seats, they could easily veto the anti-constitutional measures. The important thing now is to make the numerous positive decisions on this issue passed by the big trade unions, and primarily by the metal and chemical workers' unions, the basis for powerful protest actions to block the passage of the emergency laws.

In fighting for democracy the Communist Party has put forward such demands as defense of freedom of opinion and the press, a purge of the army, the law courts, the police and administrative bodies of war criminals and people who held top positions under Hitler, safeguards for citizens against arbitrary actions by the police and judiciary, amnesty for the victims of political persecution, and freedom of action for all democratic organizations. Needless to say, an important place is occupied by the demand that the ban on the Communist Party be lifted. This demand is receiving growing mass support.

We demand the implementation, in conformity with the Constitution, of the rights of the laender, a financial reform ensuring the laender and the communities a bigger share in state revenue, an end to the press monopoly and the establishment of democratic control over radio and television. As we see it, however, the working class and the other democratic forces cannot confine themselves only to upholding existing constitutional rights or restoration of the rights already thrown overboard. They should, basing themselves on constitutional principles which have so far been ignored, work to extend democracy, and above all to fight for the right of the workers and the trade unions to play their full part in managing the enterprises and the economy as a whole. This is closely associated with the influence exerted by the working class on political life. Since the Social Democratic leaders refuse to uphold the interests of the workers and the people generally through the Social Democratic members of parliament, the trade unions should bring pressure to bear on government policy and legislation and ensure the defense of their demands in parliament. Our Party calls on the organized working class to take action to ensure that Bundestag deputies who are members of trade unions should be guided in their actions by union decisions. Moreover, the unions should support only those candidates who pledge themselves actively to uphold the workers' interests.

Another important area of struggle for a genuine democratic system in the FRG is defense of the social, economic and cultural in-

terests of the working people through the medium of far-reaching social reforms.

It would be a mistake to assume that, with the favorable economic situation and the relatively high standard of living, the general conditions for growth of class consciousness and the development of working class struggle have deteriorated. What has happened is that these conditions have changed, and this merely enhances the role of the subjective factor. New approaches likely to have a more direct appeal to the working masses should be found. Besides the immediate questions of wages, working hours, and vacations, the working people have other problems. For instance, there is widespread dissatisfaction over the unequal distribution of wealth; over the intensification of labor and the excessive nervous strain, with the inevitable rise in accidents and premature disablement; indignation at the employers' disregard of the worker's rights and dignity; growing alarm over the possible consequences of automation (unemployment, downgrading skills, fall in income). At present the wage increases won by the trade unions have been cancelled out by the rising prices, higher rents and fares. The chief cause of this "creeping" inflation is the arms drive and the monopoly control of prices.

Furthermore, the unions should not confine their activities to the core of the industrial proletariat, to the traditionally highly-organized sections of the working class. The changes in the structure of the working class make it imperative for our Party and the working-class movement as a whole to bring the new sections into the labor organizations, actively champion their interests, and find more flexible forms and methods of explanatory work.

Needless to say, the Communist Party supports all workers' demands, including trade union demands. We try to show the workers that the chief obstacle to the satisfaction of their demand for a more just distribution of income, "for a bigger slice of the cake," is monopoly domination and militarism. True, with the state revenue continuing to grow, and especially in view of the forthcoming elections to the Bundestag, the government may grant some vote-catching concessions. But such vital reforms as those necessitated by the disgraceful lag in education and public health will not be tackled until funds are released by a drastic cut in arms expenditure and by higher taxes on monopoly incomes. That is why our Party has proposed a radical change in the tax system in favor of the workers by raising taxes on the big concerns

and the millionaire fortunes. This gives a definite anti-militarist and anti-monopoly slant to the struggle for substantial social and cultural reforms.

As we see it, two demands are emerging to the fore in the struggle of the working-class and progressive forces to restrict and eventually abolish monopoly domination: 1) that the workers and their trade unions be given the right to participate in the management of enterprises and the economy, and 2) nationalization of certain key branches of industry and enterprises dominating the market. These demands have been advanced also by the trade unions. Moreover it is noteworthy that the Right-wing Social Democrats, who have jettisoned these traditional demands of the working-class movement for social reforms, have not succeeded in misleading the trade unions. Unfortunately, the unions have so far limited themselves to declarations without waging any campaign for their proposals. The urgent need for a practical struggle was demonstrated by recent events in the Ruhr where the coal barons, jointly with the government, worked out a plan providing for the closure of 36 pits, thereby threatening 60,000 miners with unemployment. Moreover, the state is to pay the coal magnates a million marks in "compensation."

This insidious plan clearly showed that nationalization of the coal and power industry is vitally necessary to keep the miners employed and to utilize the national wealth in the interests of the people. At the same time, the Ruhr events spotlighted the urgency of the workers' demand for the right to have a real say in the management of the enterprises. Formal "participation" has proved totally inadequate and ineffectual as a means of protecting even the elementary demands of the miners and placing the coal industry in the service of the national economy.

That is why our Party has proposed that the production councils and the trade unions be given a real opportunity to have a say in all questions affecting production, wages, working conditions, personnel, welfare, capital investments, dividends, etc. We believe that the union demand for public ownership of certain key branches and enterprises should include, along with the coal industry and the entire power economy, the armaments industry, the nuclear, electrical engineering, heavy, chemicals and steel industries as well as the big banks and insurance companies. At the last meeting of our Central Committee, Max Reimann, First Secretary, said: "We want nationalization in order to restrict the power of the monopolies and thus ensure

that the national wealth serve the entire nation and not the interests of a privileged minority. This calls for the removal of representatives of the concerns from the commanding posts on the boards and supervisory councils of public enterprises and the guaranteeing of democratic control and management with the decisive participation of the trade unions, parliamentary and other democratic institutions." As for compensation, our Party at its conference in 1960 favored paying compensation to private owners, especially small and medium shareholders. In this we base ourselves on the view expressed by Marx and Engels that in certain circumstances it may be in the best interests of the working class to "buy out" capitalist property.

For the middle sections, the Communist Party advances concrete social and economic demands and supports their actions against the reactionary economic policy and against the monopolies. For example, we demand for the peasants lower taxes, long-term credits on easy terms, and measures to protect agriculture from the effects of the Common Market. At the same time we recommend to the peasants to form cooperatives for joint use of machines, purchase of implements and for marketing produce, as the best way of modernizing their farms.

Much effort will be needed to awaken the working people generally to fight for these anti-monopoly demands. The prerequisite for success is *united action with the members and organizations of the Social Democratic Party*. We regard this as the duty of all our organizations and of every Communist. We believe that cooperation with the Social Democrats should be developed above all on the basis of positive trade union decisions. Guided by this desire, we shall not allow ourselves to be diverted from our purpose by the Social Democratic leaders whose policy on issues of vital importance for the West German population coincides with the interests of monopoly capital and its government.

III. THE PEACEFUL PERSPECTIVE

We maintain that the struggle for far-reaching social reforms and for a new democratic system is closely linked with the possibility of a non-violent socialist revolution in the FRG. As stated in our Program Statement, "The Communist Party of Germany believes that the change to socialism in the Federal Republic can be achieved by peaceful means. This has become possible as a result of the changed balance of forces in the world and in Germany in favor of socialism. We Commun-

ists have never advocated violence for the sake of violence. But inasmuch as the ruling classes will not relinquish their power voluntarily, the nature and forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the working class as on the resistance offered by the reactionaries, on the violence they use against the people." Addressing a meeting of the Central Committee, Comrade Max Reimann supplemented this proposition in these words: "In view of the socialist trend of development and the growing opportunities for the peaceful transition to socialism, it is conceivable that this transition will take place with opposition forces and parties continuing their existence. The socialist government, backed by the working class and the popular masses, will resolutely defend its gains against counter-revolutionary attacks. But this will not necessitate banning or suppressing the parliamentary opposition so long as it abides by the Constitution and the laws of the Socialist state adopted by the majority of the people's representatives."

We realize that the possibility of the peaceful way to socialism depends chiefly on the strength and scope of the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly movement. The stronger the popular movement and the greater its success, the greater will be the opportunities for preventing reaction using armed force against the people.

We are guided in our activity by the Leninist idea that the struggle for socialism cannot be successful unless it is accompanied by the most consistent struggle for democracy. This is the best way to facilitate united action with the Social Democratic masses and to build a broad anti-monopoly alliance, and also to help overcome the distrust we still encounter among Social Democrats. Our Party has repeatedly declared that we stand for cooperation with Social Democracy not only in the fight for peace and democracy but also in the struggle for socialism. Our Central Committee is on record as saying that both working-class parties, "even if they remain independent organizationally, can cooperate closely and, in alliance with other anti-monopoly parties and organizations, wage a joint struggle for socialist reorganization and work together to build the socialist society."

A condition for winning the largest possible sections to the struggle for socialism is a durable alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the urban middle sections, and the democratic political groups representing them; this alliance can be built in the course of the movement for far-reaching democratic and anti-monopoly

reforms. The experience of the GDR and other socialist countries shows that after the power has been won by the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people, there is no need to nationalize small and medium property. With the commanding heights in the economy in its possession, the socialist government can grant the peasants and handicraftsmen the right to decide for themselves whether to take the cooperative way, and when. Owners of small and medium-sized enterprises can also be drawn into the socialist national economy by various means (through contracts, state participation, etc.); socialist society will guarantee them a secure future and enable them to use their knowledge and abilities for the benefit of society.

It is impossible to say exactly what way

the socialist revolution will follow in the developed capitalist countries, but the choice will obviously be determined by the preceding stage of the struggle for democratic, anti-monopoly changes.

The success won in this struggle will provide the opportunity for further social changes in the FRG in the direction of socialism. Hence our Party, conscious of the magnitude of the tasks ahead, is concentrating on promoting to the maximum the struggle to ensure peace, a policy of peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding with the GDR, to uphold and extend democracy, to restrict the power of monopoly, safeguard the interests of the working people and secure united action of the working class and all the democratic forces in this struggle.

Cyprus liberation struggle and the aggressive role of Anglo-American imperialism

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

MORE THAN A YEAR has passed since the imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus manifested itself in bloodshed and suffering for the Cypriot people. The Cypriot people were forced to fight a life and death struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and Turkish chauvinist reaction, for complete independence, territorial integrity and for the inalienable right to decide their own future in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

THE IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

The culprit responsible for the bloodshed and suffering in Cyprus is Anglo-American imperialism. The aggressive role of Anglo-American imperialism in Cyprus and throughout the Middle East is well known.

The people of Cyprus and their government were confronted with the implementation of a thoroughly prepared criminal design which aimed at partitioning and subjugating the island. The design was prepared 18 months prior to the December events of 1963, but the idea itself was conceived in 1958.

Instigator and organizer of the plan is none other than Anglo-American imperialism and its main agents, the reactionary chauvinist circles of Ankara and the extremists of the Turkish Cypriot leadership. The purpose was to create through inter-communal strife a situation which would allow partition and subjugation of Cyprus so that it could be turned into a NATO base.

First victims of the design were the progressive and democratic Turkish Cypriots.

Thus, before the inter-communal clashes of 1958 Turkish progressives who were against the racial strife which followed, were foully assassinated by Turkish Cypriot terrorists in the pay of Anglo-American imperialism. The slogan of the Turkish Cypriot reactionaries during the inter-communal clashes of 1958 was partition.

In the period immediately prior to the December 1963 events, the Anglo-American imperialists intimated to the Greek Cypriot official side that they supported President Makarios' proposals for amending the Constitution. At the same time they whispered to the Turkish Cypriot side that they supported the Zurich-London agreements and the Constitution as it stood. This was the same old imperialist game of "divide and rule," played over and over again in Cyprus.

Turkish Cypriot terrorist groups actively prepared the ground for partition. Turkish Cypriots were forcibly evicted from their homes in villages where they had lived in peace with their Greek Cypriot neighbors, and were taken to Nicosia and its suburbs. This was part of the plan to enforce partition on the pretext that Greeks and Turks could not live together.

The flames of Greco-Turkish strife in Cyprus were fanned by Anglo-American imperialism with a view to exploiting the situation. A sinister role was played in Cyprus by NATO. NATO prepared the Turkish military intervention the purpose of which was to partition the island and ultimately to pave the way for its occupation by NATO troops. On March 13, 1964, when the Turkish government with

the approval of NATO H.Q. massed troops, transport and landing craft for the intervention and issued an ultimatum to the Cyprus government, General Lemnitzer, NATO Supreme Commander, advised the Greek government by cable to send troops to the island's south coast.

According to the NATO plan Turkey would invade from the North, Greek forces would enter from the South, while British and U.S. troops would intervene as "peace-makers." The island would be carved up and occupied by NATO forces.

ANGLO-AMERICANS AID INSURGENTS

The Anglo-American imperialists aided and abetted the Turkish Cypriot insurgents against the Cyprus government. Most, if not all their arms, were supplied by American and British sources. The British bases were used to maintain a steady flow of arms to the Turkish terrorists. British military were on many occasions caught red-handed doing the work of agent-provocateurs and supplying arms to the terrorists. Here are but a few of the many examples that could be cited. Shortly after the events of December 1963 when British troops took up positions in Nicosia as "peace-makers," a British officer went by helicopter to the village of Augastina, 12 miles from Nicosia, and tried to incite the Greek residents of the village against the Turkish people in the nearby village of Mora; the Turks in Mora, he told the Greeks in Augastina, are preparing to attack you. After this, the same officer set out for Mora where he told the Turkish villagers that the Greeks in Augastina were "furious" with them and that they were getting ready to attack their village . . .

The fact that the Greeks and Turks in the two villages have always been on the most friendly terms made them suspect the "information" passed to them by the British officer. And sure enough, after verifying things, they found that their British "friend" was simply a liar and a provocateur . . .

When the U.N. peace-keeping force arrived in Cyprus, which included British troops, Cyprus police on many occasions caught British personnel aiding the Turkish terrorists. On April 4, 1964, the police stopped and searched a lorry outside the town of Ktima. The lorry, driven by a Turk, was accompanied by two British patrol cars of the U.N. peace-keeping force. One of the passengers, also a Turk, was found in possession of arms and ammunition designed for the Turkish terrorists.

Scores of similar examples could be cited.

It is well known, for example, that the barbarous Turkish air-raids on Cyprus were carried out with the tacit approval of the U.S. and British imperialists. American planes and American napalm bombs were used in these raids which took a toll of Cypriot lives. Army munition boxes captured by Cypriot soldiers in the Mansoura area bore the "made in United States" trademark.

CYPRUS: A BASE FOR AGGRESSION

In addition to vested interests in Cyprus—copper mines owned by U.S. monopoly capital, oil-prospecting rights secured by the U.S. Forest Oil Corporation, asbestos and other economic interests of British capital—Anglo-American imperialism has always looked upon Cyprus as a base for imperialist aggression in the Middle East.

The British maintain in Cyprus their biggest military base in the Middle East. This base and Cyprus territory were used by the British and French imperialists in 1956 when they attacked Suez. More recently the Cyprus base was used for action against the people of Yemen and other peoples of the Middle East.

The U.S. military operate three radio stations in Cyprus, and American officials are on record as saying that Cyprus is a center for American espionage throughout the Middle East.

PLOTTING AGAINST CYPRUS CONTINUES

Confronted with the unity of the people of Cyprus and their government who had the support of powerful friends and allies headed by the Soviet Union, the aggressive designs of the Anglo-Americans and of the Turkish chauvinists came to nought.

It was made clear to them that aggression against Cyprus would not go unpunished. This compelled them to change their tactics. Acheson, self-styled U.S. mediator, was sent to Geneva in an all-out imperialist effort to prepare an "agreed solution" to the Cyprus problem. The Acheson plan envisaged a Cyprus under NATO control and ultimately used as a base for a NATO multilateral nuclear force. It envisaged also territorial concessions by Greece to Turkey, and the transfer to Turkey of 160 square kilometres of Cyprus territory in return for a union of Cyprus with Greece. Further, the British would retain their bases on Cyprus, and the U.S. imperialists, too, would acquire bases on Cyprus soil.

But the Cypriot people and government resolutely rejected this design. Not partition,

and not union with NATO, they declared, but self-determination and union with Greece. Union with Greece, yes! With Nato, No!

After this reverse and the blocking of the road to aggression, the Anglo-American imperialists set about undermining the Cyprus Republic from within.

For months their press campaigned against Cyprus. "Cyprus," they said, "may become another Cuba," "the Communists are in control"; "get rid of Makarios" was their cry.

In addition to the campaign to whip up an anti-communist frenzy aimed against President Makarios, the Anglo-American imperialists spent vast sums on bribery and corruption. They organized an espionage network and armed illegal groups ready to act against Makarios and the Cyprus government.

The Greek government recently warned President Makarios of a plot against his life, and on December 2, 1964, the President announced the discovery of conspiratorial organizations masquerading under a false name, and warned that the members of such organizations would be punished with all the severity of the law.

There is not a shadow of doubt that this conspiratorial activity is paid for by the Anglo-American imperialists. Their aim is to divide the Cypriot people, overthrow Makarios, abolish the statehood of Cyprus and clear the way for its occupation by NATO forces.

AKEL FORESAW THE IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY

The Progressive Party of Cyprus Working People (AKEL) had long ago realized the danger of an imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus and warned the people accordingly.

A resolution adopted at a meeting of its Central Committee, held shortly before the December 1963 events, stressed "there is no doubt that the intransigence of the Turkish Cypriot leadership is supported by the Turkish government and the imperialist powers. Imperialism is developing undermining activity with a view to leading the Cyprus question to a new impasse. They are pressing hard on us in the hope that they will secure the adherence of Cyprus to NATO, advancing the theory that the differences between the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus can be solved within NATO.

"The imperialists aim at alienating Cyprus from its natural allies, the Afro-Asian countries, and from the policy of neutrality and friendship with all nations, and attaching it to the aggressive NATO alliance. Were they

to succeed in their designs the Cyprus problem would be buried for years to come."

AKEL has never ceased declaring that imperialism is the real enemy of the Cypriot people. The Party's program, approved by its Tenth Congress in March 1962, underlined the following:

"Since the stage we are passing is basically anti-imperialist, the stage of national liberation, the main aim of the general policy of AKEL is to win complete independence for Cyprus; the main enemy of the Cypriot people remains imperialism and its agents. What we need in order to realize this aim is an anti-imperialist policy externally and internally, freedom of Cyprus from economic and political dependence on the imperialists, abolition of the military bases, democratization of political and social life and economic development.

"The forces to be mobilized in the struggle for achieving this aim are the workers, the peasants, the middle class, intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie, all people, Greeks, Turks, Armenians and others except those whose interests are bound with those of imperialism. All these forces should unite in a united anti-imperialist front. The base for this front is the worker-peasant alliance that will unite the overwhelming majority of the people.

"The working class will play the vanguard role in uniting the patriotic forces and will be the leading force in the struggle to win full independence. The establishment of such a front will be facilitated by united struggle of the people on the basis of their daily problems. This front could, given favorable conditions, achieve complete independence for Cyprus."

AKEL has worked consistently for national unity. And this work, coupled with the effort of all other patriots, resulted in a unity the value of which has been demonstrated over and over again during the past year of severe trials for the people.

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

AKEL is the party of the Cypriot working people and as such it is also the party of Greeks, Turks, Armenians and all minorities in Cyprus. Even today AKEL has Turks in its ranks and even on its Central Committee. Time and again AKEL has urged the Turkish Cypriots to unite against the common enemy—imperialism.

In appealing to them AKEL stressed that for centuries Greeks and Turks have lived

in harmony, and that imperialism is responsible for the conspiracy and the strife.

The spokesmen of the Greek Cypriots both of the Left and the Right wing, have repeatedly declared that the Greek Cypriots have never been hostile to their Turkish compatriots. The struggle of the Greek people of Cyprus is not directed against the Turks of Cyprus. It is aimed against imperialism and those who try to hand over Cyprus to imperialism. In this struggle the Turkish Cypriots have their part to play. Greek Cypriots would welcome the participation of their Turkish compatriots against the common enemy—imperialism, for complete independence and self-determination.

AKEL, like the Cyprus government, has always stood for equal rights for the Turkish Cypriots, for having these rights guaranteed. Equal rights yes, but not privileges. Nobody ever attempted to deprive the Turkish Cypriots of the right to be taught in their own language or to conduct their own religious and cultural affairs. But AKEL and the Cyprus government are firmly against any form of federal partition of the island.

We believe that once the island is rid of imperialism Greeks and Turks will live in harmony without any friction whatever.

THE ONLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION

The sole acceptable solution to the Cyprus problem is for all foreign troops to leave the island, for all foreign bases to be dismantled and the people to be free to determine their own political future.

AKEL, like President Makarios, sees the Union with Greece as a matter for the people

to decide through their freely expressed will after the abolition of all imperialist-imposed obligations, after real independence, and not as a result of imperialist bargaining. Neither NATO nor any foreign power has any place in Cyprus. Demilitarization of Cyprus would be the best guarantee of security for all the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, including Turkey.

The national-liberation struggle of our people has the support of all freedom-loving peoples. The substantial support and aid which have come from Greece would have been much more decisive were it not for her NATO entanglements. The socialist countries, headed by the mighty Soviet Union, and the non-aligned countries have given invaluable aid to Cyprus in her liberation struggle.

From the first days of the Cyprus crisis the Soviet Union has stood by the people of our island.

From the very beginning the Soviet Union took the stand that the Cyprus problem could be solved peacefully provided all foreign intervention ceased and the people were left free to decide their own destiny. It was thanks to Soviet warnings that Cyprus, and Greece too, were spared the horrors of war. Soviet support was not just diplomatic and political support. It extended military aid to our government to enable it to ward off any attack. The Soviet Union signed a trade agreement with Cyprus which is of great economic benefit to the country.

Conscious of this support, and themselves resolved to fight to the end, the people of Cyprus are confident that ultimately their struggle will be crowned with victory.

The multi-party system and the struggle for socialism

VICTOR JOANNES

EVER SINCE THE establishment of one-man rule in France much has been said about the alleged excessive role played by the political parties in the life of the nation. The oft-repeated charge is that the parties are adversely affecting the functioning of democratic institutions.

In his first radio and television speech delivered the day after the insurrection of the OAS conspirators in 1958, de Gaulle attempted to justify his authoritarian rule by blaming the nation's troubles on what he called "*the regime of the parties.*"

This untruth has come to be the leitmotif of his propaganda. Of course, the General has never said in so many words that the parties should be abolished. The monopoly bourgeoisie is compelled today to preserve the outward trappings of democracy. The existence of political parties is one of the elements of the democratic facade it uses to delude the people. At the same time it seeks to discredit and suppress the parties, to make it difficult if not impossible for the working class, the masses and their parties to utilize democracy for effective defense of their immediate and future interests. Moreover, the existence of parties and opposition groups is directly threatened by the introduction into the present Constitution of an article (Art. 4) which virtually gives the rulers the right to decide whether a party is constitutional or not.

There is nothing new in this attitude. It is evidence of the crisis of bourgeois democracy and of the efforts of the monopoly bourgeoisie to preserve their dictatorship. It

has always been the concomitant of fascist or anti-democratic propaganda.

But the accusation that the parties are parasitic organisms, "factors of division," is as crude a deception today as it was yesterday. In levelling this charge de Gaulle feigns ignorance of the real content of present-day French society. He tries — as others have done before him — to conceal the self-evident fact that the parties are not the cause but the result of the division of this society into classes and social groups with divergent and often conflicting interests.

People join parties only when they realize that they have interests in common and when they wish consciously and concertedly to defend these interests on the political plane. A party unites not an entire social class or group but only the more politically alert part of it which carries the others with it. And it is not the parties that cause rivalry, opposition, division and sometimes instability; this is simply due to the class struggle and the different interests existing in the capitalist system. This, of course, does not mean that all members of a party or all those who vote for it belong to the class or section of the class whose interests it upholds. Hence one should not confuse a party, its program and leadership with the rank and file membership, and even less with the masses who vote for it.

In France, for example, the Radical Party, which managed the country's affairs for a long time, represented that section of the capitalist class which the petty-bourgeoisie, owing to the benefits it obtained, regarded as its spokesman in parliament. Today this

party has lost much of the prestige and influence it once enjoyed, and the middle sections and classes influenced by it, not being an independent political force, tend to ally themselves either with the big bourgeoisie or with the proletariat. The Radical leaders reject alliance with the working class and the Communist Party, the only possible alliance for the middle classes, while the big bourgeoisie has its own class party, the RPF (Rassemblement Populaire Français) and no longer needs the Radical Party to reinforce its domination over the middle classes.

In the case of our own country, we may add that the very first parties that appeared at the dawn of democracy expressed the desire of the propertied classes, feudal and bourgeois, to consolidate their power, to maintain and augment their privileges. Later, with the rise of capitalism, the advent of new social groups and the growing participation of the masses in political life, new parties came into being which to one or another extent represented the interests of the small bourgeoisie in town and countryside, and also the interests of the working class. The multiplicity of parties of the pre-deGaullist era was due largely to the fact that the middle sections in France are extremely numerous and differentiated, that each group wanted its interests to be championed directly.

In these circumstances our Party has always held that the formation of a group uniting all trends of the small bourgeoisie and pursuing a policy of wholehearted alliance with the working class and its Communist Party would be a positive step. In his report to the National Conference in Montreuil in July 1958, Maurice Thorez said: "Being deeply convinced of the need for an alliance between the working class and the middle sections for the defense of the Republic, and its future, we can only welcome fruitful competition within this alliance." It is to be regretted that all the attempts to unite the non-Communist Left in France have not been aimed at creating an alliance of this kind.

In any case in a society where class divisions are so sharply delineated as in France the political parties are simply the most direct expression of the diverse conflicting interests. Their existence is a perfectly normal phenomenon. Moreover, if democracy consists in the freest possible expression of different interests, and combining these interests in accordance with their importance with the interests of the nation, then it is obvious that the political parties, depending on the definitiveness of their program and activities, are an important attribute of a normally func-

tioning democratic state. They clearly reflect the diverse social trends existing in the country and guide the nation's affairs on their behalf.

Of course the bourgeois parties, being jealous guardians of the economic privileges of the capitalists, are constantly striving to hamper the free functioning of democracy. Capitalism advertises its parties "just as individual capitalists advertise their merchandise," as Lenin put it. The most striking and sensational names are invented for them in order to win the confidence of the masses, divert them from the defense of their own genuine interests, and restrict as much as possible any democratic gains infringing the privileges of the capitalist monopolies.

But in a free democracy that compels the reactionary forces to reveal themselves through a definite program and definite activities, their numerical weakness as a minority opposing the masses of the population is soon manifest. Lenin, too, noted this when he said that "the more political freedom a country enjoys, the more solid and democratic its representative bodies, the easier it is for the masses to orientate in the party struggle and to learn to participate in politics, i.e., to expose the deception and find the truth." The sensational failure of de Gaulle's party founded in 1947 is striking confirmation of this.

* * *

The offensive against the political parties is, of course, directed mainly against the party representing the interests of the working class, the Communist Party.

Freedom for the parties, to the extent it exists, helps the French working class to organize, in the parliamentary arena as well, to uphold its immediate interests and hasten the realization of its aspirations for a better future. By waging class struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie the working class also champions the interests of all the oppressed sections of society and exerts a decisive influence on the destiny of the nation. In the course of this struggle the Communist Party, founded by the working class, has become the leading political party in the country, a party without which no measure benefiting the working class and the entire nation can be initiated or accomplished.

A free functioning of democracy based on the functioning of the parties, signifies the possibility for the working class and the Communist Party to continue to lead the nation forward to independence and greatness, to happiness, freedom and peace. This is something the big bourgeoisie cannot tolerate.

They cannot allow anyone to sit in political judgement upon them. And so in order to prevent the Communist Party from growing and extending its influence they denounce political parties and undermine democracy. This is a tacit admission of their inability to provide any solution to the problems confronting them, or to maintain their rule by the traditional methods of bourgeois democracy. Their own legality becomes an encumbrance, a danger, revealing their decline and the collapse of all the values on which the prestige of the bourgeoisie formerly rested. At the same time this highlights the problem which the French democrats of all trends are called upon to solve — to abolish one-man rule and secure the establishment of genuine democracy, a task which cannot be accomplished by any individual or any one party.

The working class thus has a vital interest in upholding democratic liberties, including the freedom for every citizen to join and support the party of his choice. This is a component of its struggle for respect of the popular will as expressed in elections, which must be truly democratic and in which the programs and actions of the parties must be freely contested. Respect for the popular will is the only way to ensure the formation of a stable and strong government enjoying the support and confidence of the public. This is a component of the working class struggle to observe the rules of democracy which, among other things, provide for recognition of the place of the Communist Party in the democratic institutions.

* * *

Proceeding from this appraisal of the role of political parties in a democracy, the French Communist Party has proposed that the democratic parties and organizations should agree on a common program which they would submit jointly to the people and work together to carry out. The 17th Congress of the Party noted that such an agreement is the prime condition of progress in the struggle for democracy at the present stage. The political resolution of the Congress stressed that the unity of the working class can be a decisive factor in uniting all the democratic forces, and added that the unity must go beyond that which existed in 1934 and 1945.

And indeed the changes that have taken place in France and the rest of the world in the past twenty years make it possible to visualize a fuller and stronger unity of Communists and Socialists. Incidentally, the Socialist leadership does not deny the necessity and possibility of working-class unity or "at

least loyal cooperation," as Claude Fuzier, one of the Socialist leaders, wrote in *Populaire* on September 13, 1964. Their opposition to unity, they say, arises from the ideological difference between our two parties.

These differences are indeed considerable and we have no intention of concealing them. But we are always ready to discuss them with a view to eliminating them. Moreover, a dialogue has now become possible even in this sphere. Significant in this respect was the discussion initiated in December 1963 by the Socialist Party in *Populaire* and our party's contribution to the discussion in the form of answers published in *L'Humanite*. The discussion was conducted on a serious and responsible level, without the name-calling and vituperation customary in the past.

Our 17th Congress gave further impetus to this discussion, by pinpointing some of the key issues on which the positions of the two parties are drawing closer.

For example, the Congress attached importance to Guy Mollet's statement to the effect that, to be realistic, political democracy must be combined with economic democracy. This approach to the question of democracy (not in the spirit of liberalism, of democracy as a "thing in itself," but from the Marxist standpoint, the standpoint of its class content) coincided with our own approach. Guy Mollet no longer counterposes formal democracy to the economic and political gains of socialism, and this is unquestionably a step forward. No less important and new is the recognition by the socialist leaders of democracy in the Soviet Union, although it does not function, they say, exactly in the way they would like it to. Also important is recognition of a "temporary dictatorship of the proletariat" in the transitional period, although Guy Mollet's concept is far from clear, and differs in some respects from the Marxist-Leninist concept. The possibility of rapprochement between the two parties on cardinal issues, where formerly their differences appeared to be irreconcilable, stems from the fact that because of the changes in the world today the major problems agitating both Communists and Socialists are seen in a new light.

Take the question of war and peace. Our view about the possibility of averting war in our time clearly facilitates in large measure the approximation of the Communist and Socialist viewpoints.

Another fundamental problem is that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Here, too, the Communist view on the different ways of advancing to socialism and the

possibility, given certain conditions, of a peaceful transition, can help to bridge the gap between the positions of the two parties.

Of course, when we speak of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism we do not forget that the choice of ways for the development of the revolution depends not only on the working class, but also on the extent of capitalist resistance.

We know that a peaceful way will be possible only when the working class and its allies have a superiority of strength that can compel the big bourgeoisie to think twice before resorting to civil war. And we always remember Lenin's counsel that the working class should master all forms and means of revolutionary struggle.

Nevertheless we French Communists believe that the conditions will become increasingly favorable for a peaceful transition to socialism. That is why after our Seventeenth Congress we reaffirmed our determination to ascertain and fully utilize all the opportunities for advancing to socialism in France by peaceful means, without civil war, using parliament as well.

In this respect we would like to stress that in our country parliament has always been an institution in which all classes of society have an interest. Its more than century-old tradition has been preserved, despite many vicissitudes, thanks to the struggle of the working people. It is associated with the winning of universal suffrage of which Marx and Engels, in the words of the program of the French Workers' Party, observed that the working class is capable under certain conditions of turning it "from the instrument of deception which it has hitherto been into an instrument of emancipation."

Our Party has always combated the parliamentary illusions fostered by reformism among the working people, but it has never repudiated parliamentary struggle. It has always borne in mind that all classes are obliged to engage in the parliamentary struggle because parliament reflects the class interests and conflicts. And in France more so perhaps than in other capitalist countries parliament has always been the arena of class conflicts, and the relationships of the parties in parliament are closely bound up with class relationships.

The correctness of the Leninist line adopted by our Party with regard to parliamentary struggle was confirmed by the experience of the Popular Front and the Resistance when, thanks to the support and the united actions of the working people, it became possible through parliament to effect important chang-

es and to pursue a policy of social progress and national regeneration.

The success achieved thanks to the alliance of the working class with the other sections of the nation and with their political spokesmen showed that real possibilities exist for accord and cooperation. The magnitude as well as the limitations of these opportunities helped to define more clearly the terms of a new agreement, of a new, stronger, more stable and fruitful cooperation. This experience also shows that only by uniting its forces can the working class and its allies ensure the masses fair representation in elected bodies, and subsequently enable them to exert effective pressure on the various groups in these offices. Only through working-class unity, the unity of all the democratic forces and by broad mass action can the envoys of the people make parliament serve the needs and aspirations of the people, and impose democratic and social reforms which will turn it into a revolutionary instrument of the people's will.

Hence it is from the standpoint of a possible peaceful transition to socialism as the perspective that our Party is carrying on its struggle at the present time.

In order to further the peaceful advance to socialism through close cooperation between the Communist and Socialist parties and all the democratic and anti-monopoly forces, our Party has categorically rejected the idea of the existence of one party as an essential condition for the achievement of socialism.

The resolution adopted by our Seventeenth Congress leaves no doubt on this score. It unequivocally affirms that "it (the French Communist Party) rejects the idea that the existence of a single party is an indispensable condition for the transition to socialism. This idea, upheld by Stalin, was an erroneous generalization of the specific conditions in which the October revolution took place. Further experience has shown that the common aims of parties representing the working classes of town and country lead to the greater unity needed for the transition to socialism and the building of a socialist society. There is no doubt that as more and more countries go over to socialism new specific forms of unity and alliance will emerge."

This by no means implies minimizing the role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle for building socialism. Quite the reverse. This point was emphatically stressed by Maurice Thorez in his concluding speech at the Congress. "We are living in a time of great battles," he said. "This makes it all the more imperative that our Party be strong ideologic-

ally, well-grounded in revolutionary theory, that it be steadfast, always combining fidelity to principle with the bold and flexible tactics that can convince and win over the broad masses. At the same time, the Party must be solidly organized on the basis of democratic centralism. . . . As in the past, it will continue to spare no effort to fulfil its mission, namely, loyally to serve the cause of the working class, of the people and the country. It will fight with all its strength to accelerate the big democratic changes, to establish a regime of progress and freedom which in our time can only lead to the socialist perspective."

We have no intention either of discontinuing our criticism of the Right-wing ideological positions and practices of Social Democracy, or relaxing the struggle against the opportunist and revisionist distortions of the concept of the revolutionary working-class party of the Leninist type. In all spheres—ideological, political and organizational—loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism is the sole guarantee of a correct policy and the success of that policy.

Nor do we maintain that the propositions we have advanced should henceforth be regarded as the only correct ones. To do so would be to fall once again into the errors of the past. But that which in all circumstances is basic to the socialist revolution and the building of socialism is the existence of a powerful mass movement and a Marxist-Leninist Party which assists, directs and guides, which plays a decisive role; but it can play that role, as we have already pointed out, in cooperation and alliance with the other parties and the other democratic groups.

It is this cooperation that we seek, cooperation with the democratic parties, and primarily with the Socialist party, which represent and express the aspirations of social strata to which the ideas of socialism are becoming increasingly attractive.

This of course, we repeat, presupposes the existence of large parties or groups well organized and fully aware of their responsibility to the nation, capable of expressing in clear-

cut programs and concrete actions the interests of the diverse social trends in the nation even after the conquest of power, in order to be able really to participate on their behalf in conducting the country's affairs. This means that our Party should make use of all forms of cooperation with representatives of these parties and groups: parliamentary struggle, debates, elaboration of joint platforms, united actions in the country and in governmental bodies for achieving one or another objective; this means also the right freely to criticize in order to develop and constantly to expand the united front of the whole people against the class enemy.

In this way the democratic forces will, as it were, discover one another. Our experience has shown that when Socialists and Communists act together many prejudices disappear. Extremely valuable in this respect are the numerous agreements concluded between Communists and Socialists in preparation for the municipal elections this year. The first and most important of these is the agreement between the Communist and Socialist Federations in the Paris and the Seine department whereby the two parties will submit joint lists in the towns and electoral areas. Agreements of this kind are the guarantee of victory in the elections, but their significance extends beyond purely tactical considerations, for they contribute to unity in the struggle against one-man rule.

Awareness of the need for joint struggle to achieve the common aims of the parties—"the conquest of power and the socialization of the means of production and exchange"—as is stated in the program documents and rules of the two parties, will make clearer the need for the two trends in the working class movement to merge in a single working-class party. This will create a firm foundation for the necessary alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the intellectuals and the urban middle classes, will accelerate the final victory over the capitalist oligarchy and facilitate a more rapid advance to socialism.

Democratic and national struggle in Brazil and its perspectives

LUCAS ROMAO

I.

THE REACTIONARY CLIQUE in Brazil is trying to represent the political set-up in the country as a constitutional one, even more, as a regime of the "democratic revolution." But few people are taken in by this. As a result of the April 1964 coup, a dictatorship of tyranny and terror was established. With the promulgation of the so-called "Institutional Act," the Constitution was made null and void, and democratic liberties were abolished. Persecution became the order of the day. Hundreds of people of different political views were deprived of their rights; the mandates of many state governors, senators, congressmen, prefects and municipal councillors were annulled. The trade unions, student, cultural and other mass organizations were placed under government control. Thousands of citizens were thrown into prison without trial, dismissed from their jobs and their homes were raided and ransacked. Newspapers were banned, libraries were ransacked and books confiscated and burned. There were wholesale dismissals in the army of soldiers, officers, generals and even one marshal. Parading under the banner of anti-communism the leaders of the coup attacked moderate statesmen like ex-President Kubitschek.

The new rulers announced their intention of declaring war on corruption, but many of them are notorious for their shady machinations. It will suffice to mention the names of Carlos Lacerda and Ademar de Barros. Power is in the hands of men who on repeated occasions attacked democratic rights, who in 1954 drove President Vargas to suicide, who in 1956 tried to prevent Kubitschek from becoming president and who, beginning with

1961, staged one military coup after another, only to be defeated by the resistance of the people.

The coup d'etat against the Goulart government was engineered by U.S. imperialism. It was carried out with the obvious support of President Johnson, the International Monetary Fund, the Alliance for Progress, the Pentagon, FBI and CIA. The dictatorship represents the interests of the anti-national and anti-progressive forces headed by the ultra-reactionary military clique (Generals Costa e Silva—War Minister, Mamede, Mourao, Cordeiro de Farias, and others). Their aim is to crush the mass movement, scuttle the structural reforms and safeguard the interests of U.S. imperialism in home and foreign policy. According to dictator Branco every country must choose between one of the two great powers standing at the head of the opposite camps into which the world is divided. It is only natural, he went on, that Brazil should choose the anti-communist power — the United States.

Instead of championing the slogan of independence, the leaders of the new regime have advanced the slogan of "interdependence" of the countries of the "free world," thereby betraying the interests of the nation and switching over to the concept of the "progressive alienation of national sovereignty," formulated in Bogota by Neves da Fontoura, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs; in other words they have descended to the shameful position of admitting their downright dependence on the United States. This policy has found concrete expression in a series of measures taken by the dictatorship, such as the decision to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba, support for the U.S. intervention in Vietnam,

voting for all the U.S. proposals in the United Nations and actively upholding U.S. imperialist interests in the Organization of American States.

II.

The struggle between the forces of democracy and reaction has become sharper in recent years as a result of the growing contradictions. The exploitation of the masses, whose conditions are going from bad to worse, is being intensified; the ruling classes meanwhile are unable to halt the chronic inflation, to balance the budget or overcome the deficit in the balance of payments.

After the resignation of President Quadros and the mass actions of 1961 which enabled Vice-President Goulart to come to office, headway was made in creating a united national and democratic front. The level of organization, unity, political consciousness and militancy of the working class rose considerably. This was seen in the big strikes and other struggles of the workers which won them certain gains and enhanced the prestige of the General Confederation of Labor. The peasant movement reached unprecedented scope. Recognition was won for agricultural workers' unions, including 30 regional federations and the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers, affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor. The working people of the countryside also won among other gains the demand that social legislation be extended to agricultural workers, and grants of land to peasants within a 20-kilometre-wide area along federal railways, highways and rivers. The National Student Union and the Union of Secondary School Pupils led the struggle of the student youth for their specific demands, a struggle which, thanks to a number of agreements with the workers' and peasants' unions, and the active participation of the youth in the United Front, became part of the national and democratic movement. In the sphere of the arts many fine works were produced, including paintings, sculptures, books, music, films, and radio and TV programs of a deep social content. Outstanding representatives of both the older and younger generations joined in the General Confederation of Professional Workers which is also affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor.

More than a hundred deputies and senators of different parties formed the National Parliamentary Front. Mass organizations made their appearance which, working with government bodies, began a nationwide campaign to abolish illiteracy.

The democratic upsurge found a ready response also in the army: United Front organizations were formed among officers and NCOs. Indicative of the new outlook of the armed forces was the revolt of the air force in Brasilia and of the marines in Guanabara, although, it is true, the risings were premature and isolated, not having been properly coordinated with the mass actions for national and democratic aims.

It follows, then, that on the eve of the coup the conditions favored the establishment of a patriotic and progressive front government.

It should be noted, however, that the 1961 political crisis ended not with the defeat of the reactionaries but in a compromise. As a result of the Goulart government's conciliatory policy the reactionaries retained the key positions in the civil and military administration. The Party's attitude was, relying on the mass movement, to expose this policy of compromise and ensure the continued development of democracy and the process of rallying the revolutionary forces.

Under pressure of the mass actions, the Goulart government revised its policy in some respects. Thus, a law was passed controlling the outflow of the profits of foreign investors, the compensation claims of the U.S. Bond and Share Company for nationalization of their enterprises were turned down, as well as the demand of the Hanna Company to be granted concessions. The government began to pursue an independent foreign policy. It supported the right of Cuba to self-determination, took measures aimed at promoting peace, disarmament, banning nuclear tests. At a public meeting held a few weeks before the coup, President Goulart signed a decree nationalizing the privately-owned oil refineries and endorsed the draft program submitted by the Agrarian Reform Administration and the decree on rent control. He sent a message to Congress containing constitutional amendments to facilitate the agrarian reform and to extend the franchise to the armed forces and also to the illiterate. Goulart hoped by these measures to win greater support for his government and to prepare the conditions for remaining in office.

His policy encountered, however, fierce opposition on the part of the reactionaries and caused sharp contradictions in the United Front. Realizing that their privileges were now threatened, the reactionaries rallied their forces. Backed by U.S. imperialism, they also enlisted the support of people who had been formerly favorably disposed toward the Goulart Government and the United Front; they

exploited the fact that the risings of the soldiers and marines had somewhat alarmed influential sections of the public, the political parties and particularly most of the officers who during the 1961-63 crises supported the government and the people. This combination of forces facilitated the victory of the extremists.

III.

It is pertinent to point here to some of the factors underlying the weak resistance offered to the coup. To begin with, the United Front lacked an organized base in the mass movement. The situation in the Front was complicated by differences and conflicting opinions concerning the prestige and attitudes of the political and mass organizations affiliated to it, between leaders like Dantas and Brizola. The differences arose from personal and group interests, and from manifestations of Right and Left opportunism to which the dogmatism and activity of groups who were ignorant of the national scene, contributed in large measure.

Despite the important gains of the working-class and peasant movement, the level of organization and political development of the national and democratic forces were still inadequate. Although the working class had increased its influence in the United Front the bourgeoisie continued to be the dominant force. The Front was largely unity at the top, and for this reason it was an unstable union. This explains its unpreparedness to take the necessary action to foil the coup. That part of the bourgeoisie which backed Goulart preferred capitulation to resistance. The Government could have forestalled and defeated the putschists. In a number of cities strikes were called and mass demonstrations held in which the workers and student body actively participated; for three days large military forces awaited orders. . . . Instead, the Goulart Government continued its conciliatory policy on the grounds of "avoiding bloodshed." Where this led is now common knowledge; blood was shed in the towns and villages, thousands of citizens were tortured to death, peasant leaders were murdered on the orders of the latifundists, and the public was told that political prisoners had "committed suicide."

IV.

The United Front gravely underestimated the strength of its adversary; it was taken for granted that the military forces supporting

Goulart far outnumbered those of the conspirators. The masses had not been prepared for the emergency which necessitated the use of all forms of struggle, including armed action. Like the other forces in the United Front, the Communist Party was taken by surprise. We realized that we had underestimated the enemy's strength in claiming that we could foil any plot. This was due, on the one hand, to the illusions we entertained regarding army support for the government. On the other hand, we did not perceive that a political realignment was taking place in the enemy's camp, that he was winning over people associated with the Front. We failed to realize that the policy pursued by the United Front and the relative strengthening of the popular forces had alerted the reactionaries, prompting them to unite and accelerate preparation for the coup. Although we sensed a certain tension, we failed to act accordingly, to take the appropriate measures.

The Party as a whole, and the leadership in particular, living in illusions, placed too much reliance on the command of the army, in its ability to resist the coup. In point of fact, we failed to understand that victory over the enemy depended largely on mass action throughout the country. As a result we did not take the independent stand that was absolutely necessary at the moment the Right leaders of the United Front wavered and began to pursue a policy of compromise. In the same way we failed to combat the reckless adventurism of some groups of the radical wing in the Front. Thus, we were unable to take a correct class stand, to influence events at the moment of danger.

The program approved by the Fifth Congress of our Party in September 1960, and defined more precisely in the documents circulated in preparation for the Sixth Congress (it was postponed in view of the new situation), noted the possibility of the peaceful and non-peaceful path of development of the Brazilian revolution, of armed action being one of the possible forms of the struggle. However, we tended to see the peaceful way as the sole way and, consequently, failed to prepare for the eventuality of armed struggle. This called for a critical reappraisal of our policy if we were to cope with the demands of the situation, to avoid going from one extreme to another, to denial of the role of the Party. Our present line has been defined in the Political Notes adopted by the Executive Commission in October 1964. We hold that the dictatorship will not be able to resolve the contradictions. It has deeply wounded

the feelings of the nation whose anger is mounting. Its economic and financial policy, imposed by the International Monetary Fund, is worsening the conditions of the working people and also of the national bourgeoisie. Wage cuts, abolition of the gains won by the working class and the peasantry; unemployment, wholesale dismissals and growing economic difficulties for the middle sections; increased income tax and indirect taxes, cuts in credits; a ruinous policy in the sphere of coffee production; an anti-national economic plan which serves the interests of the North American imperialists; a rising cost of living, inflation, commitments connected with compensation payments to the Bond and Share company and payment of debts to the U.S.—such is the grim picture of the economic situation in the country today. As a result some of the influential economic and political circles who had supported the coup in the hope of receiving certain advantages are beginning to change their attitude.

Among the reactionaries there is disagreement on economic and political issues, and especially on the election issue. Hence the constant friction in the government between the extremists and the demagogues who try to disguise the usurpation of power and tyranny in the threadbare cloak of "constitutional law." We, naturally, take cognizance of these contradictions, bearing in mind of course that these are contradictions inside the enemy camp and not the main contradiction, namely, that between the dictatorship and those who want to see the country return to the pathway of democracy. Only through organization and unity, through greater militancy on the part of all the opposition trends, through powerful mass actions will we be able to bring the country back onto the pathway of political and social progress. Our aim at the moment is to set up a national and democratic government. In present conditions this means a struggle to overthrow the dictatorship, to oust those who seized power through a military coup. The main form of the struggle will be determined by the course of events, but irrespective of what this form will be, the overthrow of the dictatorship can be secured only through mass actions by the working people. Our efforts are concentrated on setting up a united front of struggle against the dictatorship, a front which will include all the forces opposed to reaction. The steps already taken in this direction are encouraging.

In stepping up mass actions against the dictatorship we are fighting first and foremost for the restoration of democratic liber-

ties, legalization of the mass organizations, release of the political prisoners, annulment of the "Institutional Act," for a broad solidarity movement in support of the victims of persecution and their families. We are also fighting against the economic and financial policy of the dictatorship, the high cost of living and rising taxes, for higher wages and restoration of the labor gains recorded in social legislation, against concessions to the North American monopolies and in defense of national industry. Mass actions of this kind will enable us to accomplish these tasks. Combining legal with illegal activity the forces opposed to the dictatorship must make the most of the possibilities of working in the various mass organizations.

Our Party is preparing for the struggle in all its forms. The mood of the masses is beginning to change. The confusion that followed the April defeat is disappearing. Resistance to the dictatorship is mounting; the fight for democratic liberties is spreading; even some of the Centrist papers are beginning to urge a return to constitutional law. The opposition is beginning to voice its protest even in parliament. Goulart's appeal to the people in which he denounced the meddling by North American imperialism in our internal affairs and called upon all patriots and democrats to fight against the dictatorship was read in the Chamber of Deputies and afterwards printed in a number of newspapers. The trade union meetings in which up to 5,000 and more people took part, the strikes, the vigorous action taken by students, the statements by intellectuals and influential Catholic circles—all these facts indicate that the conditions are maturing in the country for waging a struggle against the dictatorship and for carrying on active Party work among the masses.

True, there are still difficulties in the United Front where influential trends favor plots and military actions instead of mass struggle; there are, too, extremist views concerning the decisive importance of desperate actions by small groups. This, naturally, hampers the work of uniting the entire opposition for joint struggle to restore democracy, a restoration which would enable the national and democratic forces to continue the process interrupted in April 1964. In its discussions with representatives of these trends our Party upholds the view (which is shared by most of the opposition) that isolated reckless actions should be avoided since they can only prejudice the mass struggle. It is not a matter of choosing one form of struggle, but of correctly combining the different forms,

peaceful and non-peaceful, with the object of organizing more effective self-defense of the masses, uniting the many different actions to defeat the usurpers of power.

The Party is working to overcome these difficulties. It is carrying on its organizational and propaganda work to meet the requirements of illegality. It is putting out literature explaining its policy, making use of all forms of contact with the masses; it is consolidating

its positions organizationally, politically and ideologically, and is steadily increasing its membership.

The document adopted by the Executive Commission in October is a guide to action for all Party organizations, for all our members; it is designed to rally the masses, to unite the actions of all patriots and democrats against the dictatorship and, ultimately, to overthrow the power of the conspirators.

Imperialist expansion in Asia and Africa

THE SUCCESS OF THE socialist world system, which has changed the correlation of world forces, and the victories of the national-liberation movement have struck heavy blows at imperialism and colonialism. Colonialism, while retreating, has not given up the ghost. The imperialists are trying to replace the old colonial policy with indirect subordination of the developing Afro-Asian countries. To this end they are stepping up economic, military, political and ideological penetration into these countries, employing a wide diversity of methods.

I. ECONOMIC EXPANSION

Export of finance capital is an important element of this expansionist policy.

Foreign private investments in the developing countries are in excess of 40,000 million dollars, of which about 10,000 million are invested in Asia and 13,000 million in Africa. U.S. monopolies account for two-thirds and West European countries, primarily Britain and France, for 18 per cent, of total capital exported. Growing investments are also being made abroad by Federal Germany, Italy and Japan.

Although the imperialist monopolies have lost access to some important spheres of the economy of many Afro-Asian countries, monopoly capital retains key positions in the extracting industry, owns plantations, banks and insurance companies, dominates in the trade of many of the new national states and, wherever possible, tightens its grip on raw-material sources; this encroachment is facilitated by the economic weakness of these states, by a one-sided production for export of one or two varieties of raw materials, and by the absence, or insufficient development, of industry.

Britain and France, the old colonial powers, invest mostly in their former colonies. Total foreign investments in Africa (private and state) amount to some 20,000 million dollars; of this total 80 per cent belong to Britain (6,500 million), France (5,500 million) and Belgium (4,000 million). The remainder falls to the

share of the United States (2,700 million), Federal Germany (200 million) and other countries. The newly independent countries of the sterling zone absorb more than 80 per cent of all direct British private investment in the "third world" countries (excluding investments in the oil industry, banking and insurance). Since 1947 when India became independent British private investment in that country has more than doubled. True, its share in total foreign private investment there has slightly decreased, declining from 73 per cent in 1948 to 65.5 per cent in 1959, whereas the share of the United States has grown in the same period from 6.2 to 13.4 per cent. Most enterprises of Nigeria's new manufacturing industries are owned by British firms cooperating with the Nigerian government which owns not more than 50 per cent of the shares. But British imperialism is faced with the competition of other monopolies. Industrial enterprises are being built in Nigeria (also in cooperation with the government) by American, West German, Dutch, Italian, Japanese and some Scandinavian companies. The main development is in light industry.

There has been a sharp increase in foreign capital in the former French colonies in Africa, where consortiums of French, American, West German, Italian, Belgian and Dutch monopolies are being set up to exploit the raw material resources of these countries. Foreign monopolies are developing oil deposits in the Sahara and iron-ore deposits in Mauretania, manganese ore in Gabon, radioactive minerals in the Malagasy Republic, phosphorites and rare minerals in Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta. Most of the raw materials are exported to Common Market countries, increasing the economic dependence of African countries on the imperialist states. For instance, an iron and steel plant has been built in Dunkirk to process Mauretanian iron ore. Liberia, too, remains an exporter of raw materials, the only difference being that now it is exporting not only rubber, but also vast quantities of iron ore the extraction of which is chiefly controlled by U.S. Republic Steel and Bethlehem Steel, the latter cooperating with Swedish and West German firms.

The colonialist nature of the U.S. private

The material for this survey was provided by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

investment can be gauged from the fact that in 1958-61 the manufacturing industry of the developing countries qualified for only 17 per cent of all private investment in this branch. Of a total U.S. investment of 13,200 million dollars in manufacturing industry abroad in 1962, 10,800 million (82 per cent) went to West Europe, Canada, and Australia, and only 1,900 million dollars (14 per cent) to Latin America, 15 million (0.1 per cent) to Africa (excluding the Republic of South Africa), and 229 million (less than two per cent) to Southeast Asia and the Middle East. In 1962 United States investment in African countries (excluding South Africa) was a bare 893 million dollars; 97 per cent of this sum (874 million) found its way to ore-mining and oil extraction, and only 1.6 per cent (15 million) to manufacturing industry. The picture of the investment in the Middle East was much the same. Of the total of 1,206 million dollars, 1,148 million dollars were invested in the oil industry, and 31 million, or 2.5 per cent, in manufacturing. On the whole, in the years 1950-62 direct U.S. investments in the oil industry in the new countries rose by 117 per cent (from 2,548 million dollars to 5,546 million), and in the mining industry, by 85 per cent (from 773 million to 1,375 million).

Despite the obvious preponderance of the classical colonial spheres of investment, a new trend can be observed in the imperialist economic expansion, namely, investing in manufacturing industry, both light and heavy. This is due in large measure to the fact that in the course of the economic competition between the world systems the imperialist powers have lost their previous monopoly of delivery of industrial plant to the developing countries. Today any of these countries can get the plant it wants from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, can draw on their help for industrial development. Growing competition on the capitalist world market also makes it easier for these countries to build their own industries.

A feature of the industrialization in the newly independent countries is the spread of what are known as mixed enterprises in which national private and state capital and foreign capital take part. In India, for instance, 1,560 "mixed" projects were approved between 1957 and the middle of 1963, with British capital participating in 465 of them, U.S. capital in 252 and West German capital in 210.

Other forms of infiltration are "technical aid" and building contracts, especially widely used in countries which restrict foreign investment but which lack facilities and the personnel needed for independent industrial development.

Sometimes "technical aid" is made conditional on participation in the share capital and management of the given enterprises. Such benefits were obtained, for instance, by Krupp when negotiating the construction of the Rourkela iron and steel plant in India. This form of investment is also used by Japanese monopolies, especially in Southeast Asia.

The variety of methods of infiltration is also indicative of the inter-monopoly rivalry which impels them to devise more acceptable forms of investment. In this connection mention should be made of l'Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI), an Italian state-owned oil and methane monopoly established in 1953. Its operations are something of an exception, for in its case state-monopoly capital participates in the form of direct investments and not loans. Although financially weaker than the U.S. and British monopolies, ENI is a serious competitor to them in Africa and the Middle East, thanks to its more flexible policy. As a rule, it forms "mixed" companies with the participation of national state and private capital and pays more than its U.S. and British rivals for exploring and exploiting rights. For example, the Italo-Iranian oil company has pledged to remit 75 per cent of its profits to Iran, whereas British and American companies insist on the 50-50 principle. Towards the end of 1963 ENI was prospecting for oil in six African countries, building oil refineries in seven, and running distributive networks in eleven countries.

The imperialist states are taking measures to facilitate the expansion of their monopolies in the newly independent countries. The U.S. government, for instance, grants tax privileges to its private investors. Part of the big sums allocated for "aid" finds its way into the hands of the U.S. monopolies operating in these countries. In 1961 the Federal German government enacted a law which permitted the West German investors to deduct from the taxable profits the equivalent of one-third of their investment or expenditure on the purchase of shares in the new countries. The U.S. government resorts to another ruse: it threatens to discontinue the "aid" in the event of a recipient country enacting nationalization without "adequate compensation." The foreign-aid law has been amended correspondingly, and the U.S. government has used the amendment in retaliation for the nationalization of the property of American companies in Ceylon.

No longer relying on individual efforts to maintain their positions in the new countries, the imperialist states are having recourse to joint measures, to a joint colonialism demonstrating the class solidarity of the imperialist monopolies. The Common Market is one such instrument of joint neocolonialism. Its rules provide members with equal rights as regards foreign trade and the export of capital to the associated countries, former French colonies in Africa. West German and French concerns co-operate in exploiting the natural resources of Africa. For example, Haniel and Thyssen, with the backing of the Deutsche Bank, are participating in developing African oilfields, while a consortium of West German steel concerns (Thyssen, Krupp, Haniel, Hoesch, Mannesmann, Kloeckner and others) partners the French mining company MIFERMA in Mauretania.

Various forms of dependence of the undeveloped countries on international finance

capital took shape during the many decades of imperialist rule. In some countries foreign capital established its supremacy either directly in the shape of concessions (oil concessions in the Middle East, tea and rubber plantations in India and Ceylon, rubber plantations in Malaya, and so on) and full or partial control over industrial enterprises, or indirectly through control of the finance system (emission and credit banks, insurance companies, etc.) and in foreign trade (control through bulk-buying companies over small and medium producers of peanuts, palm-oil products and coffee in tropical Africa, rubber in Indonesia, and so on). An example of foreign capital domination in the credit sphere is furnished by Lebanon, where about 50 foreign banks are operating. And here is an example of indirect control over local production: the African branches of the Anglo-Dutch concern Unilever and John Holt & Co. of Britain purchase at exceedingly low prices the agricultural produce designed for export and sell imported goods. Unilever has its own shipping facilities and timber concessions. Most of the former French colonies in Africa still depend on France for marketing their goods. Many of them specialize in one or two crops the marketing of which is guaranteed by the French government. In the countries of the African-Malagasy Union, France purchases bananas, 85 per cent of their palm oil, 85 per cent of cocoa, 80 per cent of coffee, 50 per cent of copra and 50 per cent of spices, paying higher-than-average prices for some of these goods. In exchange the African countries are obliged to give preference to French goods, importing them at prices higher than on the world market. Both their foreign trade and the "aid" they receive from France make them dependent on the former metropolitan country.

Yet another means of plundering the young states is the transfer of dividends to the capitalist countries. The imperialist monopolies are raking in huge profits in the former colonies, where the rate of profit is, as a rule, 2 to 2.5 times higher than in the United States, reaching 25 per cent. Of a total profit of 38,900 million dollars made by U.S. companies abroad in the postwar years, 22,700 million, or more than 55 per cent, came from the underdeveloped countries, whereas direct investments there amounted to 12,400 million dollars, a little over one-third of the total foreign investment.

Very high profits are earned by the eight monopolies of the International Oil Cartel. Their rate of profit in the Persian Gulf countries is 66 per cent, with every ton of oil, which costs less than one dollar to extract, yielding a profit of five or six dollars. And this is in addition to the profits derived from transportation, refining and wholesale and retail trade in the importer countries, which are at least as big as those obtained from oil extraction itself. According to official data, in 14 years between 1950 and 1963 the oil monopolies operating in the Persian Gulf countries of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Qatar and

Bahrein netted something like 14,000 million dollars, many times more than their investment.

Heavy losses are suffered by the developing countries as a result of the capitalist, feudal chiefs, kings, sheiks and their courtiers transferring their capital abroad. Every year the oil kings and sheiks of the Persian Gulf countries remit from 250 to 350 million dollars to London and Swiss banks. As early as 1959 the Sheik of Kuwait had in his London bank 1,000 million dollars, an important factor making for the stability of the British pound.

The systematic plunder of the newly independent states by the imperialist powers, the real scale of which is even hard to estimate, is causing immense harm to these countries, hampering their independent economic development.

II. MILITARY EXPANSION

To further their aggressive design the imperialist powers are setting up regional military blocs and alliances spearheaded against the socialist world and the national-liberation movement.

The SEATO bloc, for instance, came into being less than six years after NATO. Its purpose is to serve as the East Asian flank in the NATO strategy of "global encirclement of the communist world," and as the natural north-westward extension of ANZUS.

The specific aims of SEATO are, first, to establish a military-strategic and political bridgehead against the socialist countries in Southeast Asia and, secondly, to contain the national liberation and democratic movements in that area.

The U.S. forces stationed in the SEATO area are the basic component of the bloc. They comprise the Seventh and First fleets, which have over 400 ships of various types, including 250 naval craft, 2,700 sea-arm aircraft, and two divisions of marines. The combined manpower of the two fleets is in the region of 250,000. U.S. air strength in the Pacific area amounts to at least 900 aircraft, and 70,000 personnel.

British forces are stationed chiefly in Malaya and Singapore. The armed clashes in North Kalimantan and the general situation in Southeast Asia led to a considerable build-up of British military strength in this area. There are military bases in Malaya and Singapore, and at Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah in North Borneo.

France maintains troops in New Caledonia and on other islands in Oceania.

The numerous Far Eastern and Pacific bases of the United States have commitments under the "collective defense treaty in Southeast Asia." They are situated in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, and in U.S. possessions in the Pacific-Hawaii, the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana islands and on Midway, Wake, Guam and East Samoa.

The ten years of SEATO have been an endless succession of acts of aggression and provocation, of plots and intrigues against the

socialist countries of Asia, the independent countries of Southeast Asia pursuing a neutral foreign policy, and against the national liberation and democratic movements. These activities are inspired and organized chiefly by the U.S. imperialists. The USA has been waging a full scale colonial war against the Vietnamese people for the best part of seven years. About 20,000 U.S. troops are involved in the military operations in South Vietnam.

The U.S. aggressive policy is backed in one way or another by the other SEATO countries—Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines. At the SEATO Council meeting held in Manila in April 1964, the spokesmen of these countries joined U.S. Secretary of State Rusk in reaffirming their readiness, if necessary, to take any specific steps, in keeping with their possibilities, to meet their treaty obligations. In November 1964 the Philippines government promised to send a contingent of troops to South Vietnam. British Prime Minister Wilson voiced support for the U.S. policy in South Vietnam during his recent visit to Washington.

The U.S. militarists are trying to extend hostilities to North Vietnam. In August and November 1964, U.S. forces shelled and bombed a number of points on the North Vietnam coast.

Indonesia, too, is an object of constant SEATO aggression. The SEATO countries are carrying on their anti-Indonesian activity by supporting Malaysia, a product of British neo-colonialism. All the SEATO countries have more or less recognized Malaysia, and some of them have even committed frankly hostile acts against Indonesia. The United States virtually stopped economic aid to Indonesia in the autumn of 1963. Britain rattles its arms in North Kalimantan and in the waters washing the Indonesian coast. Australia and New Zealand have threatened to use arms against Indonesia in the event of war between Indonesia and Malaysia.

Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia and other independent countries of Southeast Asia, which refuse to join these aggressive military blocs, are under constant SEATO pressure. SEATO openly interferes in the internal affairs of Laos, blocking a peaceful settlement there.

The year 1955 saw the signing of the Baghdad Pact. The United States preferred not to become a full-fledged member, that is, a member of its Council, fearing that this might alienate the Arab countries, which had taken a stand against the pact. Nevertheless, it sits on the main committees of the pact.

Iraq's withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact after the July 1958 revolution was a telling blow. In 1959 the pact was renamed CENTO. This aggressive bloc comprises all the Baghdad Pact countries minus Iraq. To keep CENTO from falling apart and to elbow Britain out of the bloc leadership, the United States signed bilateral military agreements with Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, which enabled it to assume full leadership.

With the setting up of CENTO, the United States and Britain completed the chain of military-political blocs extending along the frontiers of the socialist world. It formed a kind of bridge between NATO in Europe and SEATO in South-East Asia.

According to U.S. and British designs, CENTO, in the guise of a "defensive" alliance, was to be an extension of NATO, the main Western aggressive alliance, a connecting link between NATO and SEATO. CENTO was designed to prepare a bridgehead, to boost the military-strategic potential of the Asian countries involved, to unify military training, standardize arms, establish a common term of military service for the Asian member countries, standardize military installations, airfields, radar systems, and so on. In keeping with these designs, the U.S. and British imperialists have been busy in Turkey, Pakistan and other bloc countries creating a network of airfields, military and naval bases, radar stations and fuel and munitions dumps.

Cooperation between the armed forces of the CENTO countries, on the one hand, and those of the United States and Britain, on the other, is vigorously checked and rechecked. Every year there are combined sea, land and air maneuvers in the areas of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

An important function of CENTO is to combat the national liberation movement in the Middle East. This is done by agencies operating in the utmost secrecy—the anti-subversion committee and the liaison committee. These two committees coordinate the work of the police, spy on progressive organizations and individuals and devise methods of repression. A meeting of the Council approved a circular to be used by the anti-subversion committee, stressing that the subsequent activities of the committee would be directed not only against communist countries but neutral countries as well, such as India, Egypt, Syria and Afghanistan.

Since World War II Africa has held a special place in imperialist designs. Western strategists have been trying hard to draw Africa into NATO. U.S. brasshats and their NATO partners, who regard Africa as a bridge between West and East, are bent on turning it into a vast military base on the approaches to the socialist countries and on combating the African national-liberation movement. An African NATO committee plans and coordinates military measures on the African continent.

NATO strategy provides for an extensive network of military bases covering the whole of Africa. These bases have been used on numerous occasions to maintain imperialist domination in Africa. During the Suez crisis British troops were transferred from Kenya and South Africa to Egypt, and during the liberation war in Algeria use was made of French bases in North Africa to strike at the Algerians. By 1963, NATO countries had seventeen air and nine naval bases in Africa.

France still has the largest number of mili-

tary bases in Africa. In Madagascar, the French are enlarging their military bases at Tamatave, Tananarive, Ivato, Majunga, Fort Dauphin and Diego-Suarez.

Dakar is the biggest military base in Tropical Africa. Its geographical situation has earned it a special role in French imperialist strategy. The French troops garrisoned there can at any moment be transferred to other parts of Africa.

The British imperialists have bases at El Adem and Tobruk in Libya, Freetown in Sierra Leone, Kano in Nigeria, Dar es Salaam and Tabora in Tanganyika, and elsewhere.

The United States controls the naval base of Monrovia and the Roberts military airfield in Liberia. It retains Wheelus Field in Libya, which is used for training the troops of NATO allies and African countries committed to NATO under various agreements. There are several U.S. bases in Ethiopia, including the large Asmara base. By the terms of an agreement with Portugal, the USA operates naval bases on the Azores.

NATO's strategic use of numerous islands and archipelagoes around Africa is a new feature of imperialist expansion. The United States, France and Britain have begun large-scale exploration of islands in the Atlantic and Indian oceans to ascertain their suitability for further bases. The bases on the Canaries and Azores and Ascension Island (which was used for the attack against the Congo liberation forces at the end of 1964), in the Atlantic, on the Seychelle, Mascarene and other islands in the Indian Ocean are expected to make up for the loss of bases in the newly independent African countries.

The stationing of powerful naval forces around Africa is another new trend in NATO strategy. The new North African states are constantly threatened by the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, which includes Polaris-equipped submarines. In 1964 the United States transferred aircraft carriers of the Seventh Fleet from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean. The American press explained the transfer by the fact that in the Indian Ocean the fleet would be only a few hundred miles from Zanzibar and other East African countries, such as Kenya. The U.S. Command plans to form here a special Fifth Fleet including atomic submarines for patrol duty in the Indian Ocean.

Agreements on "defense cooperation" between the imperialist powers and new African countries are one of the latest forms of imperialist designs in Africa. The political significance of this form of neo-colonialism is that the system of military agreements, which was a precondition for "granting" independence to African countries, hitched these countries to the imperialists' wagon. The Western powers hoped they would be able by means of "joint defense agreements" to create in Africa a military organization of the NATO or SEATO type. The aggressive, neo-colonialist nature of the agreements is exemplified by the Franco-African agreements whereby the African signatories

commit themselves to provide France with the "necessary facilities for joint defense." These agreements, which France has imposed on its former colonies in Tropical Africa with the exception of Guinea and Mali, are of two types: regional, or multilateral, and bilateral. Agreements of the former type were signed between France and the Central African Republic, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Chad, as well as between France and Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Niger. France also has bilateral "defense" agreements with Senegal, Gabon, Mauretania, Cameroon, Togo and the Malagasy Republic.

To further their designs the French imperialists try to use the armed forces of new African states. By the terms of Franco-African agreements on military "cooperation," France retains control of the organization, training, arming and supply of African armed forces.

The British imperialists have also been busy trying to extend their strategic positions in Africa, specifically through military agreements. The twenty-year agreement concluded between Britain and Libya in 1953 confirms Britain's title to the El Adem base and other military objectives in Libya. It also entitles Britain to overfly Libyan territory, have military bases there and train British troops in the Libyan Desert. The Simonstown agreement between Britain and the Union of South Africa permits the British Navy to use its former Simonstown base.

Many NATO military undertakings aimed against the national-liberation movement in Africa are carried out under the flag of the British Commonwealth. The British General Staff ensures military "cooperation" with African governments as envisaged by relevant agreements between Commonwealth countries. It plans all "defense" measures, conducts the training of senior officers, and directs joint maneuvers by Commonwealth countries.

The U.S. military penetration in Africa is practised in the guise of military "aid." This "aid" implies the training and retraining of African armies, in which U.S. military missions play an important role. To date U.S. military missions in Africa and the Middle East have a staff totalling 8,500. The nature of the "aid" is revealed, in particular, by the activity of the U.S. mission in Leopoldville, which trained Tshombe's mercenaries for the war against the Congolese patriots and is now exercising overall leadership of this colonial war. The United States forms what is known as "task forces," primarily for the purpose of helping to suppress the national-liberation movement in Africa and Asia.

Of late the West German militarists have been playing an active role in the imperialist strategic penetration of Africa. The West German budget appropriations for "military aid" through the Defense Ministry increased more than tenfold in 1964 compared with 1962. West Germany is taking part in training a Nigerian air force, and is supplying Nigeria with arms and aircraft. Nigerian troops are trained

in West Germany, which has also signed agreements for aid in troop training with the governments of the Malagasy Republic, Somali and Libya.

Most prominent in imperialist strategic plans is South Africa. Now that the imperialist positions in Africa are not what they used to be, the NATO leaders are planning to turn Angola, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique into a "white barrier." They hope to create there a force capable of stemming the national-liberation movement and retaining South Africa as a colonialist and racist bridgehead. The latter is one of the biggest exporters of uranium for NATO's atomic industry. It owes its military potential to the NATO countries, primarily Britain and the United States, which have helped it with arms, military personnel, money, scientists and technologists. To reinforce South African "defense," Britain sells aircraft, France helicopters, and the USA aircraft, air-to-air missiles, small arms and ammunition. Sustained NATO support has enabled South Africa to increase its armed forces considerably. The purpose of the reorganization of the armed forces in South Africa is to crush the national-liberation movement both at home and in the neighbor countries.

The above is but a brief survey of data on imperialist strategic expansion in Asia and Africa. The fact that some newly-independent countries are parties to the imperialist powers' military blocs and alliances and allow the use of their territories for military bases greatly injures the national independence of those countries.

III. POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL EXPANSION

The task of imperialist propaganda in the new countries is to justify and exalt capitalism. Bourgeois politicians and scholars would like to convince public opinion in these countries that the Western aid is prompted by the very nature of capitalism, that it is not a concession to the national-liberation movement and has nothing to do with the struggle between the two world systems. They allege that a developing country which takes the capitalist road will have greater opportunities of drawing on foreign aid than those which don't.

Imperialist propaganda in these countries concentrates on the small and middle bourgeoisie, on students, intellectuals, and categories of skilled workers. True, propaganda media such as the radio and cinema, are also used among the larger sections of the people. But the emphasis is on indoctrinating the more or less educated section of society. With this aim in view, the imperialists subsidize reactionary organizations, newspapers and periodicals, flood the countries with films and literature, arrange exchanges of teachers and students, finance the building of colleges and schools and supply them with textbooks and manuals.

U.S. propaganda is widespread in Pakistan, where it is financed by both the U.S. government and various foundations. The Ford Foundation, for example, allots hundreds of thousands of dollars annually for this purposes. In 1961 the U.S. "Peace Corps" started activity in Pakistan. The Corps staff grew eightfold in two years.

Various U.S. economic aid programs fulfil different propaganda missions, using different methods. The Food for Peace Program, too, pursues a definite ideological purpose. One of its aims is to boost the capitalist method of farming. The export of surplus food under the "aid" program is presented exclusively as a humane act.

Technical "aid" programs are another instrument of U.S. propaganda. These programs enable the United States to send specialists to the underdeveloped countries. U.S. politicians are worried about the image of America in the Afro-Asian countries. Senator Albert Gore admitted that American businessmen in Asia or Africa arouse no enthusiasm for their country. He said that when people in the underdeveloped countries see Americans merely as exploiters who wish to grab a profit and clear out, they cannot think highly of the United States.

Under technical "aid" programs, the USA sends to underdeveloped countries people who have had special training in propaganda and who work under U.S. government control. Secretary of State Rusk knew what he was talking about when he described technical "aid" as one of the most effective vehicles of U.S. propaganda. The programs help the United States to influence the training of personnel in the countries concerned.

USIA (U.S. Information Agency) is the chief vehicle of imperialist propaganda in Asia and Africa. It includes the Voice of America radio network, numerous well-equipped information and publishing centers, film-projecting and TV facilities, and numerous staffs in charge of cultural cooperation. It has branches in almost every Afro-Asian country.

USIA has lately switched its emphasis from Europe to Asia and Africa. By the middle of 1963 propaganda appropriations for European countries had been cut by 12 per cent as against 1960-61 and staffs reduced by more than 300. At the same time USIA staffs in Africa had risen by roughly 65 per cent, or 250 persons, compared with 1960, and they have been growing ever since.

The methods used by USIA are varied. They include film shows, exhibitions, books, pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals, broadcasts and telecasts. USIA officials stress that in each country they take account of the past history and the present situation. Sorenson, Deputy Director of USIA in charge of political and propaganda planning, said that where the standard of literacy was high, USIA emphasized publishing activities. Elsewhere films received priority. Conditions in some countries enabled

USIA to concentrate on propaganda through the schools. In others, he felt that the main task was to establish contacts with the leaders of the various organizations in provincial towns and settlements.

Britain and France, for their part, have information and cultural centers in Afro-Asian countries, mostly in their ex-colonies. The *Annalist*, a British publication in Nigeria, exerts influence on the local press. Britain also has information centers in Ivory Coast, Senegal, the Congo (Leopoldville) and in other African countries.

The United States publishes newspapers and magazines specializing in Afro-Asian affairs and distributed through USIA centers and libraries. In the Congo it is the *Perspective Americaine*, a monthly brought out in Leopoldville. In Nigeria, Tanganyika, Uganda and elsewhere, USIA puts out mimeographed information bulletins, which are mailed to various institutions and individuals. U.S., British and French information centers disseminate various publications lauding the "benefits" of capitalism, and of Western "democracy and freedom." The imperialist press is working overtime to persuade the new countries not to take the non-capitalist way, and to defame the socialist world.

In West Africa, USIA brings out books in adapted French. As many as 70 titles were published in 1962, totalling 700,000 copies. In 1963, USIA signed contracts with Nigerian publishers for American books in adapted English. This method is now being extended to all English-speaking countries. USIA has spent millions of dollars on extending the program for translating American books into Afro-Asian languages. Since 1963 it has been campaigning among Americans, calling on them to donate books to the Afro-Asian countries.

As the proportion of Afro-Asians who can read and write is presently exceedingly small, broadcasts and film shows serve as valuable information and propaganda media. The number of radio receivers in African countries is greater than the circulation of the daily papers.

Western stations allow more time for American broadcasts. Two-thirds of the broadcasts which in Britain are prepared for foreign listeners are intended for Africa. Voice of America, the West German Deutsche Welle, and Radio France have greatly increased their broadcasts

in Arabic, Swahili, Hausa and in other African languages. The Afro-Asian countries are swamped with films extolling capitalism.

An important element of this ideological offensive is the selection of Africans to study in United States and West European universities and colleges.

In most African countries, the political and ideological influence of the one-time "mother" countries is still strong. They are linked with the latter countries by various agreements on "cooperation" in the educational and cultural fields. In African secondary schools, most of the teachers are English, French or Belgian. Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone, is one of Africa's oldest. In the 1963-64 academic year its 500 students were mostly Africans, while its teaching staff of 100 was made up chiefly of Britons, Americans and West Germans—with only 20 Africans. The number of British experts, teachers and advisers in African countries climbed from 285 in 1962-63 to 364 in 1963-64.

The Peace Corps and various U.S. foundations in Africa are largely intended to bring education and the training of local personnel under U.S. control, to increase the ideological influence of the imperialist powers. The U.S. Congress voted \$96 million in the 1963-64 fiscal year and \$115 million in 1964-65 for the activity of the Corps.

The French Volontaires du Progrès corps is patterned on the U.S. Peace Corps, and is charged with indoctrinating the people of newly-independent countries. Its first contingents were sent to Gabon, Chad and the Central African Republic early in 1964.

Imperialist propaganda is carried on also by missionaries. The number of American missionaries rose noticeably when Afro-Asian countries began to gain independence. Most of them—1,289—are active in the Congo (Leopoldville). In Liberia, missionaries control 33 per cent of the elementary and 60 per cent of the secondary schools.

The facts and figures in this survey show that the imperialist powers, above all the United States, are trying hard to stave off the objective process of disintegration of the system of colonial slavery and to strengthen their economic, military, political and ideological positions in Afro-Asian countries that have gained, or are about to gain, freedom.

Lessons of the Spanish guerrilla war (1939-51)

ENRIQUE LISTER

THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN and their Communist Party have no little experience in both peaceful and non-peaceful revolutionary action. I need not refer to the distant past, rich in fighting experience, to make my point. I shall confine myself to the nine years from December 1930 to April 1939. That brief span witnessed such events as the abortive rising of democratic army officers in December 1930, the victory — won without recourse to armed struggle — which in April 1931 led to the abolition of the military dictatorship, the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of the republic, the abortive mutiny of reactionary officers in August 1932, the popular revolt in October 1934, and the victory of the Popular Front in February 1936. Then there was the July 1936 revolt of fascists, both military and civilian, which, after nearly three years of civil war and a toll of a million lives, ended in victory for them in 1939, thanks to armed intervention by Mussolini and Hitler.

What I want to write about, however, is not the civil war and its lessons, but the guerrilla war which the people waged for many years after the civil war against the Franco dictatorship.

A powerful guerrilla movement behind Franco's lines became a possibility even before the civil war had ended. It could have been based on the thousands of patriots operating in the mountains in the territory held by Franco's fascists. But the successive Republican governments and their war ministers failed to seize the opportunity.

Guerrilla units came into being spontaneously, and fought in Galicia, Leon, Zamora, Andalusia, Extremadura, Asturias and elsewhere. Their operations, and those of the 14th Guerrilla Corps, formed in the Republican zone, compelled Franco to use tens of thousands of troops to safeguard his communication lines and munition plants.

THE SCALE OF THE MOVEMENT AND ITS FEATURES

The period immediately following the defeat of the Republic in 1939 was a period of great hardship for the thousands of anti-fascists who sought refuge in the mountains.

There was no guerrilla warfare proper for some time after the Republican defeat. The guerrillas confined themselves to defense against the Franco bloodhounds and to procuring provisions and clothing.

The Communists strove to guide the struggle of the thousands who had escaped into the mountains. As a result, the guerrilla movement soon regained its combative character. This renewed the people's faith in the return of freedom and greatly helped them to prevent Franco from embroiling Spain in Hitler's war.

Throughout the Second World War, and for a number of years after, the guerrilla units in Asturias-Santander, Galicia-Leon, Andalusia, Catalonia, Levante and Aragon, Extremadura and Castille fought the government troops and the so-called forces of public order. They raided barracks, supply and communication centers, and military trains. A mere 500 men of the Levante and Aragon formation tied down 40,000 Franco troops in the Valencia, Cuenca, Castellon de la Plana and Teruel provinces.

We Spanish Communists believed that the defeat of Hitler in the war would be followed by the downfall of Franco. This conviction, however, did not mean that our forces became complacent. After the defeat of Hitler when the United States began to aid and comfort Franco, we continued the fight against his regime. In point of fact we stepped up our effort, hoping to impel the people to revolt.

Between 1945 and 1948 the guerrilla movement reached peak organizationally, politically and militarily.

During those years our Party did everything to support the movement. Besides sending its members, material and funds, the Party as a whole was virtually placed at the disposal of the movement inside the country. It called on the workers and peasants to back the guerrillas. It worked hard to coordinate the struggle of the workers, peasants and guerrillas

against Franco and to compel him to disperse his forces.

In some areas the guerrillas won the full support of the peasants. But such areas were few and small, which enabled the fascists to blockade them and terrorize the population by killing some and removing others.

The Party also formed guerrilla groups in

GUERRILLA OPERATIONS, 1944-9

Formation	Operation	Years						Total
		1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	
Levante and Aragon	(1) Actions against Franco troops	37	41	68	80	66	31	323
	(2) Attacks against communication lines, transport, power stations, military objectives, etc.	12	19	43	64	61	13	202
	(3) Supplying the units with provisions, seizing arms and explosives, and conducting anti-Fascist propaganda	16	15	38	46	32	34	181
	(4) Punitive measures against murderers and traitors	13	16	20	27	18	12	106
		78	91	169	217	167	90	—
Andalusia	(1)	38	44	73	79	60	22	316
	(2)	60	71	98	103	71	14	417
	(3)	35	39	52	78	56	37	297
	(4)	17	20	19	28	30	16	130
		150	174	242	288	217	89	—
Estremadura	(1)	30	24	29	47	32	13	175
	(2)	23	28	43	62	41	8	205
	(3)	35	33	31	42	29	26	196
	(4)	14	23	20	21	18	7	103
		102	108	123	172	120	54	—
Asturias and Santander	(1)	18	21	39	38	31	19	166
	(2)	34	29	46	60	48	9	226
	(3)	40	43	54	76	61	33	307
	(4)	17	15	18	26	23	7	106
		109	108	157	200	163	68	—
Castile	(1)	34	37	43	45	31	23	213
	(2)	43	40	58	66	43	11	261
	(3)	31	28	39	45	31	29	203
	(4)	15	19	25	33	17	9	118
		123	124	165	189	122	72	—
Galicia-Leon	(1)	28	42	59	58	52	46	285
	(2)	36	39	58	66	41	18	258
	(3)	40	72	80	98	80	61	431
	(4)	28	25	32	29	21	11	146
		132	178	229	251	194	136	—
Grand Total		694	783	1,085	1,317	983	509	5,371

the towns, and in some towns they carried out daring operations. However, this form of struggle did not become widespread because of the savage terror which prevailed at the time.

The Party sent dozens of its members to Spain, entrusting them with the guidance and command of the guerrilla units. Those were comrades who had furnished proof of possessing the qualities for the job.

Some day we will be able to tell about the dozens of Communists who returned to Spain in the worst years of the Franco terror to organize guerrilla warfare.

Some day we will be able to tell about the many tons of supplies which over a number of years were delivered to Spain by land and sea, about the courage of the many Party members who made their way into Spain over mountain trails often at 20°C below zero, carrying thirty to thirty-five kilos of arms and equipment on their backs. In some cases the men managed to elude the Franco outposts at the frontier and along their route. At times they had to fight, and many of them fell in the unequal battle. Those gallant men set up hundreds of dumps for guerrilla use. The Party made extensive use of radio to popularize our struggle, transmit coded instructions to guerrilla formations, expose informers and reveal enemy plans to the guerrillas.

To help the guerrillas, the Party carried on propaganda among the Civil Guard and in the Army, particularly among young officers and men. This activity bore good fruit.

A cardinal task was to prevent Franco from using the armed forces against the people and, on the other hand, to induce as many soldiers as possible to side with the people.

The guerrillas paid special attention to propaganda among the people. Some units put out their own bulletins. Especially useful in this respect were the talks with the local population.

The arrival of guerrillas would bring many villages several hours and often days of freedom. The Republican flag, hoisted on the mast or on the mayor's balcony, told the peasants that the Franco regime would not last forever, and that the republic would be re-established.

The guerrillas carried on the national revolutionary war which the people had waged for thirty-two months against Franco and his Fascist allies. The guerrillas were the armed contingent of the wartime Spanish resistance movement.

Speaking in Burgos on October 1, 1946, Franco admitted that the people were resisting his regime. "We thought our crusade would win us peace," he said. "But you know that we have been in a state of war for the past ten years."

The preceding table gives an idea of the nature and scale of the guerrilla war.

REPRESSIVE METHODS USED BY FRANCO

Franco resorted to unrestrained ruthlessness

in his efforts to destroy the guerrilla units. He deployed Fascist armoured units, aircraft and specially trained anti-guerrilla contingents. He destroyed villages, and turned whole areas into wasteland. Unsure of the regular army, consisting in the main of conscript workers and peasants, Franco formed special anti-guerrilla units under Civil Guard officers, with army formations playing a subsidiary role. In the case of army units, anti-guerrilla operations were entrusted primarily to Foreign Legion or Moroccan troops, that is, to mercenaries.

Experience taught the regime that the use of big troop formations against the guerrillas was ineffective. The point is that each operation of this kind is preceded by troop movements and concentrations which are difficult to conceal from the guerrillas. This knowledge enables them to avoid head-on encounters. The regime therefore resorted to the use of specially trained anti-guerrilla units whose aim is to deprive the guerrillas of peasant support and to try to subvert and demoralize the guerrillas.

The anti-guerrilla units included men with ample experience of inflicting torture; many of them were criminals, and many more had served in the Blue Division against the Soviet Union, in the Foreign Legion and in the Civil Guard; some were ex-guerrillas who had deserted to the enemy.

The anti-guerrilla squads comported themselves like plain bandits. They robbed the peasants and committed many other crimes which were blamed on the guerrillas with a view to turning the people against them.

In many cases the peasants' common sense and the explanatory work conducted by the guerrillas and our Party resulted in exposing these crimes and in foiling the plans of the criminals. But all too often our enemies succeeded in their foul designs.

The Franco government enacted terror regulations against the guerrillas and against all whom it suspected of associating with them.

One of these secret orders, issued late in 1946, read:

"In view of the steps taken by a number of diplomatists accredited to Spain, and with regard to the trial of certain individuals arrested for Communist activity affecting the security of the State and the good name of the Fatherland, this is to inform you that henceforth the forces entrusted with combating sabotage and terror shall with the utmost rigor mete out due punishment to anyone detained while carrying arms or convicted of such a crime. This implies that there shall be no prisoners (mark the words: *There shall be no prisoners.*—E.L.), unless the witnesses prove untrustworthy or the circumstances are such that our enemies may take advantage of publicity."

An order issued on March 7, 1947, authorized the Civil Guard to "open fire on sight at suspects."

That order resulted in more crimes in the

rural areas where peasants were shot without warning.

The law against anti-fascist activity, passed on May 9, 1947, instructed the military tribunals to "help" the Civil Guards, with the result that the authorities were sanctioned to murder "lawfully" those who could not be murdered in any other way.

In the case of peasants arrested on suspicion of having aided the guerrillas, the clause on "seeking to evade arrest" was applied. The riff-raff of the punitive expeditions raped women; children and aged people were cruelly beaten; parish priests were manhandled and tortured merely because they were suspected of sympathizing with the guerrillas or because they had the courage to protest against the atrocities committed by the fascists.

Official data show that over 234,000 people were held in prison in 1946.

An official of the Franco Ministry of Justice told the AP correspondent Charles Feltz that 192,682 death sentences had been carried out in Spain between April 1939, when the civil war ended, and July 1944.

Such was the situation in those days.

Guerrilla units were a vital necessity at the time and they played a tremendous role. But the guerrillas alone could not deliver Spain from Franco. The overthrow of the dictatorship necessitated the participation of the people on a mass scale.

As we fought it became clear to us that guerrilla units and the Party could not by themselves hold their own against the regime. Besides, it was becoming increasingly difficult to supply the guerrillas with arms and other necessities. Surveillance had been tightened and the persecution had become fiercer. From 1944 to 1950 the regime steadily reinforced the troops stationed along the frontier. These troops, holding a zone sixty kilometres deep, were made up of 450,000 regulars plus Civil Guard and police units.

These circumstances impelled us to try and form Resistance Councils with a view, among other things, to broadening the struggle.

But the attempts failed as a result of the defeat sustained by the people in 1939 and because of the terror which was now intensified. Another factor was the lack of unity among the forces opposing Franco, and the noncommittal attitude taken by most of the leaders of these forces whenever the question of using arms was raised.

In October 1948 the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Spain and the Executive of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia held a joint meeting with a number of political and guerrilla leaders. The meeting assessed the experience of recent years and the outlook for the future, and decided on a change of tactics. The new tactics provided, in particular, for dissolving the underground trade unions and switching to work in the official trade unions, membership of which was compulsory, abandoning the guerrilla warfare and instruc-

ting the more efficiently organized and reliable units to safeguard the Party committees in the mountains, whence they guided the activities of the Party. The other units were to be disbanded.

It was painful to have to discontinue the guerrilla movement in which so many men and women had fought with supreme courage.

The dissolution of the guerrilla movement was necessary also for political reasons. Looking back I would say that perhaps the only thing for which we could be blamed is that we should have done it a couple of years earlier.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

I would like now to touch on some principles of guerrilla warfare, which are well known but are not always applied.

A guerrilla war can be waged only under certain conditions and for specific reasons. Let us recall some of these conditions and reasons.

A guerrilla war may break out against an invading army which has overrun part of the national territory. In that case it will supplement the nation's regular army in the just war continued by the army on the battlefield. The peoples of the Soviet Union furnished a splendid example of this during the Second World War.

A guerrilla war may break out against a foreign army which is waging an unjust war, a war of aggression, and which has just defeated the armed forces of the invaded country. In that case remnants of the defeated army, helped by civilians, may resort to guerrilla warfare to prevent the invader from consolidating his positions and to pave the way for the use of higher forms of struggle. This was the case in Spain in 1808, and in France and elsewhere during the last war.

A guerrilla war may continue the struggle of the people defeated by the reactionaries of their own country in a civil or national revolutionary war, as was the case in Spain in 1939.

A guerrilla war may rouse the people to an armed struggle against the reactionary regime in their country.

To be sure, there are other forms of guerrilla warfare, and new forms will appear as time goes on.

In organizing a guerrilla movement one should never confuse popular sympathy with popular support, these are two different things. In Spain the guerrillas enjoyed the sympathy of the people who regarded them as heroes. But the sympathy did not go beyond that. It never became the active and massive support for the guerrilla operations which was essential and on which the guerrillas had counted.

It may be argued that that was because the people had just emerged from three years of a civil war in which they were defeated, and that when guerrilla warfare develops in more favorable conditions it can meet with much greater support.

That, of course, may or may not be the case. Everything depends on the timing. Popular sentiment has changed radically in Spain since the time of the guerrilla war, and a new generation has grown up. But in my view, if we were to renew guerrilla war, to call on the people to take up arms, we would not be any more successful than we were in the past.

I cannot say for certain how, ultimately, the Spanish question will be settled. But I feel that a call for armed struggle, for a solution based on the use of force, would be foolhardy, to say the least. Only the vanguard would respond to the call. As to the mass of the people, the main force, they might admire us, and I am sure they would be cast down by our defeat, but as things are today they would not join with us in an armed fight. Furthermore, in the present situation, the self-sacrifice of the vanguard would hardly make a dint in the dictatorship, just as the many years of guerrilla warfare failed to do. On the contrary, it may well be that it would strengthen the dictatorship, since it would unite around Franco all the reactionary and bourgeois elements — some of whom would like to see Franco ousted.

True, things may change, and change quickly, and we must be prepared for such a contingency. The Communist Party has never discounted the possibility that armed struggle may be needed to solve the Spanish problem. It used this method for many years and does not rule it out even today as a possibility. But what we are calling for today, and what we are trying hard to achieve, is to see things changed by peaceful means, because we believe that this is possible in the present situation. Here is what Comrade Carrillo said on this point recently:

"At the moment it would be premature to predict the circumstances in which the transition from dictatorship to democracy will be effected in Spain, or the stages through which it will have to pass. I do not want to indulge in guesswork. The only thing I can say without fear of gross error is that the transition will be effected through major popular actions, with the working class playing the key role, as a result of the growing antagonisms among the ruling classes and camarillas, and through closer links between the anti-fascist forces. In short, it will be a time of tension . . . To oust or to abolish a fascist regime which seized power as a result of foreign military intervention, which for twenty-five years has been brutally exploiting and plundering the peasants and the middle classes, and which has been using the most barbarous terror to destroy all legality and freedom, does not mean merely replacing the head of the state or causing a political crisis. It means something more far-reaching. It means a revolution even if the change is brought about by relatively peaceful means.

"This change is the beginning of a revolutionary process which is bound to have serious

socio-political repercussions. I am not saying this to scare anyone. The conservatives feel that this will happen. That is why they persist in backing a dictatorship which has spent itself and which injures not only the interests of the people generally but in many respects their own interests as well. That is why they are trying to replace it by a socio-political formula of a similar type, using one of the numerous pretenders to the throne or another general. The revolutionary process beginning with the abolition of the Franco regime can develop peacefully provided the working class, the peasants, youth, and the small and national bourgeoisie establish a solid front capable of breaking all resistance; provided the more consistent and sincere men in the armed forces realize that to renovate and develop Spain, it is imperative to excoriate the economic roots of the feudal and monopolistic oligarchy; provided new trends like those set forth by John XXIII in *Pacem in Terris* gain ground in the Church and the Catholic movement; and provided we Spaniards prevent foreign imperialist interference in our internal conflicts and antagonisms. In short, this revolutionary process will develop peacefully provided all these steps make it impossible for the feudal and monopoly oligarchy to use force against the majority of the people.

"This peaceful way is possible. To prepare it, we should set to work at once to achieve closer contact and mutual understanding between large sections of the nation. We must resolve the old quarrels and eliminate the deep-rooted prejudice and distrust. We must display much greater care in our approach to a number of political and historical issues, because a deeper study of them might accelerate things. If during this process the reactionary classes should try, as they have done in the past, to shift the solution of the problem on to the rails of civil war, the Communists and all other democrats would react without hesitation, and the end result would be the complete and utter defeat of the reactionaries, and a radical solution of all problems of the Spanish revolution."

If by tactics we imply the political attitude of a party, the nature, trend and method of its activity, then, obviously, we must in formulating our tactics in each particular period of the struggle take account, not of our wishes, but of the situation in the country, the position of the people, and the forces involved. That is what the Communist Party did in October 1948, and that is what it is doing now.

Our experience has taught us that a Party which is thinking in terms of initiating a guerrilla war should know that guerrilla operations, which are a form of political struggle, cannot be isolated from other forms used by the people. A guerrilla movement cannot exist unless supported by the people. It can grow into a mass movement provided the people take part in it, using the forms suggested by the actual situation and objective conditions

in the country, including armed insurrection.

It is important to remember that the guerrilla operations should be in harmony with the sentiment and aspirations of the people. The moment this harmony ceases, we get instead of a guerrilla war, terrorism and acts of vengeance, and these bring little benefit to the revolution.

The guerrilla units have the character of an insurrectionary mass movement against a foreign invader, against internal oppressors in the event of civil war, or of a popular struggle to abolish a tyrannical regime. But in each case, and particularly in the latter, the political factor is decisive.

That is as it should be. A guerrilla movement cannot exist and spread unless it is understood and supported by the people, and forms part of the people's fight against a common enemy. We, at any rate, realized that it was not guerrilla units but the people as a whole that could end the Franco regime by rising against it, and we did all in our power to organize such a rising.

One conclusion we drew was that in a country with an average standard of development — to say nothing of a highly developed country — it is hard to wage a protracted guerrilla war without carrying on a mass revolutionary struggle, as well as armed operations, in the towns. In other words, to be successful the armed struggle must be a nationwide struggle.

The experience of Spain shows that it is difficult simultaneously to carry on an armed fight in the countryside and an extensive struggle in the towns, combining legal and illegal forms, unless there is an acute revolutionary crisis. In a country where the state commands a strong coercive machinery and lines of communication enabling it to deploy and maneuver its forces, it is difficult to fight a guerrilla war for long if a general revolutionary situation is lacking.

There is much talk nowadays to the effect that a revolutionary situation can be developed from a particular "center." In some cases attempts are made to prove this in practice. This claim is refuted by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of this form of struggle, and is disproved by revolutionary experience. A revolutionary situation cannot be created at will. No "center" or "centers" can in themselves create a revolutionary situation.

Guerrilla warfare may serve as a catalyst in creating a revolutionary situation. But it can do so only in definitely favorable conditions, if it is part of other forms of struggle involving the mass of the people.

Lenin always spoke of guerrilla units associated with the struggle of the people as a product of the high intensity of this struggle and not an exclusive means. "... The party of the proletariat," he wrote, "can never regard guerrilla warfare as the only, or even the chief, method of struggle . . . this method should be subordinated to other methods, should be commensurate with the chief methods of warfare . . ."

Those who today speak of creating guerrilla "centers" as a means of accelerating a revolutionary situation are wrong. I do not know of any facts supporting this proposition, while history has recorded many facts refuting it.

We Spanish Communists have some experience in this matter as well. I have said that guerrilla operations in Spain in the years immediately following the civil war were aimed at defending the people against the fascist marauders, raising the morale of the people and convincing them that the Franco regime would not last forever. This struggle helped to prevent Spain from being embroiled in the war as an ally of Hitler and Mussolini. Afterwards we tried to use the guerrilla movement as a means of creating a revolutionary situation. But because the conditions were lacking, things did not turn out as we thought they would, despite dozens of guerrilla "centers" in the country.

Another lesson we have learned — and Spain is no exception — is that one must be able to call off guerrilla warfare in good time, must "trim one's sails" and tack before it is too late, when it becomes evident that the method chosen is not the best one and may exhaust the revolutionary vanguard.

The experience of Spain and other countries is that circumstances may make guerrilla warfare and insurrection necessary for the people, that in other countries, especially in those where the people have the possibility of achieving their aims without recourse to arms, such methods may not be necessary.

These conclusions, of course, may not be valid in all cases, particularly in the case of underdeveloped countries where the armed forces and the machinery of coercion are not very strong, where towns are few and roads poor. But then each situation should be judged on its merits, since guerrilla warfare and insurrection take different forms not only in different countries but in one and the same country at different times in its history. One thing is, or at any rate should be, clear — namely, that this form of struggle, more than any other, is conditional on certain requirements which it will be costly to ignore.

Congress of the United Socialist Party of Iceland

THE RECENT Fourteenth Congress of the United Socialist Party of Iceland discussed the internal and international situation of the country, the correlation of class forces, and the tasks of the Party.

The Party's program, "Iceland's Road to Socialism," adopted by the Thirteenth Congress two years ago, drew the conclusion, on the basis of an analysis of the specific features of Icelandic capitalism and the experience of the world Communist movement, that the peaceful way to socialism was possible in Iceland. The program stressed that the transition to socialism called for struggle to safeguard national independence, against Iceland's participation in the economic blocs of the capitalist countries and the attempts to establish foreign monopoly domination in the national economy, for ending the U.S. occupation and for an independent foreign policy, for raising the standard of living and expanding the economy. The aim of the United Socialist Party, the program noted, is to unite the working people in order to reach this goal, to bring the ideas of socialism to the people, and to lead them to socialism.

The political resolution of the Fourteenth Congress pointed out that since the previous congress the working people "had achieved a much greater degree of cooperation among their organizations and had concluded important agreements with the employers and the government."

This cooperation, it was noted, had resulted in a considerable consolidation of the positions of the working class, enabling it to prevent the use of direct coercion by the authorities and forcing them to concede some important issues.

In January 1963 agreement was reached on a five per cent wage increase and in June, on another seven per cent increase. But both agreements were nullified by the rise in prices. This impelled the workers to demand higher real wages. The government reacted by submitting a Bill calling for a wage freeze and a ban on strikes. However the pressure exerted by the working people generally forced the

government to retreat and to discuss the wage situation with representatives of the trade unions. The outcome of the negotiations failed to satisfy the workers, and in December 1963 they went on strike, the biggest ever in Iceland's history. After a struggle of nearly two weeks the 20,000 workers secured a general 15 per cent wage increase, but this too, was soon cancelled out by the rising prices.

The Socialist Party urged the workers to demand from the Government an economic policy that would halt the inflation. As a result of pressure by the Socialist Party and the trade unions an agreement on wages was signed last June by unions, government and employers.

"The signing of this agreement was the highlight of the struggle waged by the working class in recent years," the resolution of the congress stressed. The government had to make substantial concessions. The practice of adjusting wages to price indexes was resumed, social security was improved considerably, more money was allocated for housing, and longer holidays were granted.

The resolution pointed to the need to change the structure of the trade unions, to bring them more into line with the tasks facing them. The congress noted with satisfaction that office workers too had made real gains due to the greater unity in their ranks.

Dwelling on the policy changes in the three main parties—the Independence Party (Conservative), the Progressive Party (farmers) and the Working People's Party (Social Democratic)—the congress drew the conclusion that the leaders of the Independence and Progressive parties aim at transforming the multi-party system into a bourgeois two-party system similar to that in the United States. The Conservatives powerfully influence the Working People's Party, seriously endangering its independence. "The political positions of the Working People's Party have been undermined to a considerable extent and the Conservative leaders are obviously intent on taking over its role in order to move their party into a dominant position in the country."

The Progressive Party, for its part, claims

that it is the center uniting all the opponents of the Conservatives. The Progressive leaders are angling for supporters in the working-class movement and, like the Conservatives, have their eyes on the Working People's Union. They indulge in demagoguery about the workers' struggle, but when it comes to concrete actions they back the forces opposed to the workers. The congress resolution exposes the attempts of these leaders to pose as friends of the working class; the Progressive Party, it points out, is a bourgeois opportunist party which changes its line depending on whether it is in the Government or in Opposition. It has never been a party to which the workers could entrust their fate.

The working people of the country, and primarily the working class, have the possibility and the strength with which to prevent the establishment of a two-party system. "Iceland's working class is a politically mature class, and will never entrust its fate to bourgeois parties," the congress declared.

Pointing out that the working people now have their own political party, the United Socialist Party, and their own trade union movement, the Working People's Union, the congress urged maximum consolidation and improvement of relations between the working class and those members of the other parties who support the just demands of the labor movement. Emphasis was laid on the need for closer contact with the Social Democrats, both in the trade unions and in other working class organizations, since this cooperation on issues affecting the everyday interests of the working people could pave the way to closer political cooperation by the workers' parties.

On foreign policy matters, the congress stated that "for the past twenty-four years Iceland has been in greater or lesser degree an occupied country." The United Socialist Party had consistently headed the people's liberation

struggle, a struggle which led to the formation of a broad united front in the shape of the Organization of the Opponents of Occupation. The resolution stressed that "it is important to concentrate now on organizing the people's liberation struggle, so that the question of whether Iceland opts for prolonging the Atlantic Treaty or whether it will abide by it until 1969 when the Alliance is due to expire can be decided in the general election, that is, not later than 1967."

The Congress warned that occupation is fraught with the danger of foreign monopoly capital taking a direct part in Iceland's economic life. Influential sections of the government parties want permission for foreign capitalists to build aluminum plants and an oil refinery in the country. Were this permission granted, the resolution stresses, foreign monopolies would be provided with a direct opportunity to influence the economy more and more, with Iceland losing its economic independence as a consequence. "The Socialist Party emphatically warns against giving foreign monopoly capital access to Iceland's economy," the resolution says.

Turning to the claims made by government advisers that the country had exhausted its economic possibilities the congress stressed that "the most important economic task is to make full use of the raw materials supplied by the basic branches of the economy." The growth of production in Iceland has greatly surpassed the government experts' estimates and the national income is growing at a rate greater than in most neighboring countries.

"Naturally, the Icelanders themselves," the congress declared, "must tackle the job of creating a large-scale industry, and created it should be, for there are conditions for this, but a foreign-controlled large-scale industry in Iceland is out of the question."

Lawful rights of the Communist Party of Argentina restored

A SHORT FIFTEEN MINUTES before the National Congress went into recess last year it annulled a number of anti-democratic decrees, including the ban on the Communist Party and on Marxist propaganda. On November 16 President Illia, in accordance with the Constitution, promulgated the corresponding law. The Communist Party of Argentina has thus regained its legal status.

True, there are still all kinds of other decrees infringing on democratic liberties as a whole and, consequently, on the work of the Communists. There is the Conintes plan allowing for repressive measures in the event of "internal disorders," the Political Parties Statute, aimed at preventing the Communists from taking part in elections, and the so-called Social Defense Bill which, if passed, will do away with all democratic liberties.

However, the annulment of the decrees is a big victory for the people. The Communist Party has been able to reopen its offices (17 in the capital and 13 in Buenos Aires province), including the offices of the Central Committee, and to resume the legal publication of its newspaper *Nuestra Palabras*.

The reopening of the Party offices was a gala event. The meetings held to mark the occasion were attended by enthusiastic audiences. People came to congratulate our comrades and to help repair the premises which had been badly damaged by the police. The first copies of *Nuestra Palabras* were quickly sold out. In Buenos Aires province one of the Party committees organized an outing. Of the 1,500 people who took part in it 102 joined the Party and 38 the Communist Youth Federation. Similar reports are pouring in from other parts of the country.

These encouraging facts notwithstanding, we are not blinded by illusions. We realize that democratic law has not yet taken firm root in our country; we still have to contend with innumerable provocations on the part of reactionaries and with police persecution. The reactionaries are bent on preventing our Party from taking part in the March elections. Various military groups, playing on the "threat" of a Peron comeback, are plotting to set up a military or military-civil dictatorship which would cut short the process of democratic revival.

We should therefore, certain restrictions notwithstanding, prize our victory all the more and examine the conditions that made this victory possible.

To begin with it should be borne in mind that the contradictions between Argentina's backward and dependent economic structure and her productive forces seeking to expand have come to the surface in all spheres of the economic, political and social life of the country. The domination of the imperialist monopolies — particularly North American — the land-owning oligarchy and the big bourgeoisie connected with the one or the other has become incompatible with freedom of action not only as far as the working people are concerned, but also as regards the forward-looking intellectuals and the small and national bourgeoisie. These contradictions have even affected the ruling parties and their bureaucratic machinery of state. Hence the oligarchic-imperialist policy of persecution, although carried out in the guise of "anti-communism," impinges on all democratic and national circles. It is obvious therefore that, given a correct political line, all progressives can be mobilized to fight for democratic liberties.

Our Party, founded in January 1918, functioned legally in conditions of more or less effective bourgeois democracy until the military coup d'état of 1930 engineered by the U.S. imperialists and the land-owning oligarchy, when the Party had to go underground. There followed a long period of illegality, of coups interspersed with brief intervals in which democratic institutions tried to function in conditions of political instability.

Since the economic structure of the country has essentially remained the same, so has its political pattern. The present government is extremely heterogeneous. Although it includes democrats like Illia, it also includes reactionaries; it is continually subjected to pressure by powerful imperialist interests, particularly U.S., by the land-owning oligarchy and by the comprador bourgeoisie, and not least by the reactionaries in the armed forces. As a result of this pressure and insufficient unity of the working-class and the popular forces generally the Government vacillates and often retreats. Needless to say, only a genuinely democratic government in which the working class and

its vanguard, the Communist Party, will be represented will be able to rid the country of the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism.

However, the Party has never regarded the state, the government and the other parties as being identical and harmonious in every respect. It always studied the contradictions in them, supported the progressives (or, depending on the situation, those less reactionary) in the struggle against the ultra-reactionaries, urged them to take a more resolute stand and, wherever possible, enlisted them in the common struggle of the working class and the people for national and social liberation, or at least for some of the specific aims of the struggle.

The Party, accordingly, recommends that the working class and the people generally should not take a position of opposition under all circumstances to the present government for this would only further the aims of the ultras. It recommends organizing mass actions in support of the demands of the working class and the people generally, supporting the more progressive people in the government, opposing the pressure brought to bear by the reactionaries and taking more effective steps to restore democratic liberties, against the high cost of living and unemployment, for wage increases and in defense of a national economy. This, naturally, calls for a firmer stand against the big monopolies, and the North American monopolies in the first place, against the land-owning oligarchy and the big bourgeoisie.

As the working class, peasantry and other democratic sections join forces in the common struggle and advance towards a broad national anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist front, the conditions will be created for effecting changes in the present government, or for forming the truly democratic people's government the country needs.

Our Party has always, even when illegal, maintained contact with the masses, helped them to organize and wage the struggle for their demands and to link up their actions with the general political struggle for national independence, democracy and peace. During the years of illegality the Communists were always in the forefront of this struggle. It carried on work among the peasants, students, intellectuals and women, supported the progressive demands of the small and national bourgeoisie.

As a result the influence of the Party has grown considerably among the various sections of the population. The fact that this is not sufficiently reflected in the top leadership of the trade unions, and particularly in the General Confederation of Labor, is due to the anti-democratic situation prevailing in the country which prevents working class representatives being elected to these bodies. At lower levels in the trade unions, however, i.e. in the factory committees and in the provincial committees where some democracy has been preserved,

elections have been held according to a single list supported by Communists, or including Communists.

The Party's influence has also grown among the peasants. On the initiative of the Communists the peasant leagues and committees have started a mass movement against evictions, for agrarian reform and for other demands. Communist students play an important part in the main student organizations. In the recent elections in Buenos Aires university candidates supported by the Communists polled the biggest vote. With the participation of Communists a cooperative movement has been started which has been joined by half a million people from among the small and middle bourgeoisie. Communists play a notable role in the leadership of numerous mass movements, among them the movements for peace, democratic liberties, women's and youth rights, against the high cost of living, as well as in regional and local movements.

Party membership is growing. Last year 46,000 new members enrolled, mainly workers; 17,000 young people joined our Youth Federation. This is largely the result of the Party's unflagging efforts to combine the economic and political struggle with the ideological struggle, with political work among the masses. The Party, which has never out of tactical considerations made any concessions in matters of principle, has greatly strengthened its positions by popularizing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Today no Communist Party can take all the credit for its enhanced influence among the masses. This has been made possible in large measure by the success of other peoples in the struggle for national liberation (in our case the Cuban revolution), by the struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and first and foremost by the progress made in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries.

The activity of our Party on the economic, political and ideological fronts has always been closely linked with the struggle for democratic liberties in general, and for legalization of the Party in particular. The Party has never fought for liberties only for itself, but for all political and trade union organizations that have been banned or persecuted, irrespective of whether they share its views or not. For example, although the Party did not participate in the guerrilla actions in Salta and did not agree with their political line, it undertook the political and legal defense of the guerrillas who were taken prisoner.

The Party has actively combated anti-communism, showing that this policy is directed not only against Communists but also against all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the country.

The Party used all means at its disposal, including legal, in defense of its democratic rights. In this respect its legal committee did some very useful work. But the Party always

linked the struggle in defense of its legal status with the political struggle to mobilize the masses. One of the decisive factors that helped the Party to regain legality was the solid support given by the working class to the program of action sponsored by the Confederation of Labor.

Thanks to mass pressure, the demand to annul all repressive laws and particularly the ban on political parties was included in this program of action. There is no doubt that the firm stand of the organized working class did much to compel Parliament and the government to act on this demand.

Such, in brief, are some of the political changes in Argentina, changes in the direction of democracy and progress. True, there may

be periods of decline and setbacks in this development. As noted earlier, democracy has still to consolidate itself in the country; it will undoubtedly be attacked by the forces of reaction. But the growing militancy and class consciousness of the people is an irreversible process. And this process, although it will not always be smooth and even, will steadily develop with the growing militancy of the masses until a truly democratic and people's government will be established which will accomplish a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution leading on to socialism. The Party's watchword "for mass action to win power" will be realized, the difficulties notwithstanding.

Alberto FERRARI

Finland — communist activity in local government

THE MACHINERY OF bourgeois democracy evolved over the years in Finland has always upheld the interests of the propertied classes. Although according to the Constitution power in the country is vested in the people, actually the reins of government are in the hands of the capitalist class and primarily its monopoly top crust.

Local self-government, an inseparable part of Finnish life, has traditions of long standing and is marked by a pronounced element of democracy won by the people in stubborn struggle.

All told there are 547 municipalities, 70 urban and 477 rural, with a total of more than 12,000 elected councillors, of whom 6,849 represent the bourgeois parties, 2,696 Social Democrats, 2,449 People's Democrats,* and 143 members of the Social Democratic Workers' and Smallholders' Union.

The various committees of the local councils, elected as a rule for four years, have a total of nearly 100,000 members (19,000 People's Democrats, 21,000 Social Democrats and 60,000 from the bourgeois parties).

Democracy in municipal government is manifest above all in the fact that the right of decision rests with the elected councillors, who, having to go to the polls at definite intervals, are obliged to reckon with their electors' will to a far greater extent than any appointed civil servant. This enables the electors to exert a direct influence on the councils.

*The Communist Party of Finland is affiliated to the People's Democratic Union.

Democracy in the functioning of the local councils and their sub-committees is also expressed in the fact that their proceedings are conducted in public. Any resident of a locality can, if he so wishes, submit proposals on matters within the competence of the council and its committees. This right is enjoyed also by public organizations, including Communist Party branches. The local authorities are obliged to give a hearing without delay. And if a voter wishes to question any decision taken by his council he has the right to file a complaint and demand that it be rescinded. Decisions favoring capitalists have been nullified time and again in this way. The representatives of the bourgeois parties likewise invoke this right whenever they consider it necessary to do so.

According to law, the municipalities "manage their common economic affairs, deal with questions of public order, etc." Formally their jurisdiction extends only to their respective areas. But a full enumeration of the matters within their competence shows that their functions transcend the bounds of local problems.

In recent years the duties of the local authorities have considerably expanded. Whereas formerly they were occupied mainly with collection of taxes, they now deal with a wide range of economic, political and cultural matters. For example, the councils and their sub-committees decide questions relating to social welfare, education and recreation, health care, public utilities and municipal housing. They engage in town planning in urban areas and road building in rural districts. Unemployment relief, which

in recent years has become a heavy burden due to automation and the resultant redundancy in industry, is also their concern.

Being a segment of the life of society, the municipalities are an arena of class conflict between the working people and the monopolies. The People's Democrats want the local bodies to be more effective instruments serving the working people and upholding their interests. On the other hand, the monopolies are anxious to dominate the councils with an eye to adding to their profits. It should be borne in mind that municipal property accounts for nearly half of the entire state sector in Finland.

The plans of the big capitalists are, however, impeded by the democratic functioning of local government and the resistance offered by the working people. The Communist Party stressed at its Thirteenth Congress (April 1963) that "compared with many other capitalist countries, democracy in municipal government in Finland is a very wide democracy. Ever since the Second World War this democracy has been a thorn in the side of the bourgeois parties. The right of the members of the community to influence decisions is being steadily curtailed by legislation and the final say rests less with the councillors and more and more with the Government and the civil servants."

The facts bear this out. In 1954, with the connivance of the Social Democrats, the interval between local elections was extended from three to four years, ostensibly because frequent election campaigns are a burden for the voters and diminish their interest in public affairs. Actually the opposite is the case. Whereas in 1924, 27.8 per cent of the electorate voted in municipal elections, in 1939 the figure was 48 per cent, in 1954 54.9 per cent, in 1960 75.5 per cent, and in 1964 nearly 80 per cent.

The Local Authority Act has been amended to enable the councils to transfer matters which previously only they could decide to municipal boards or committees, and the committees, in turn, are allowed to hand them over to officials. Rural councils are headed by chairmen elected by the respective councils for a four-year term, but the bourgeois parties are pressing for replacing them with appointed officials. In some places they have succeeded in this.

The tendency is for the Government to transfer an increasing number of matters formerly under national jurisdiction to the local authorities. No one would object to this if the state also granted the means to finance the measures involved. But it is not doing so and the municipalities have to cover their growing expenditure by raising taxes. This explains why local taxes are mounting faster than the state income and property tax. In 1950 local taxes amounted to 258,500,000 marks and the state income and property tax to 361,300,000 marks, but in 1960 the respective figures were 1,037 million and 786,720,000. The monopolies are pressing for local financing of public spending for the simple reason that this places the main burden on the workers and farmers who pay 70 to 75 per

cent of the total municipal tax revenue.

Government policy in this respect is playing havoc with the municipalities and greatly restricting their independence. As things now stand, 80 to 90 per cent of all local expenditure is incurred under legislation handed down from above. The share of the local authorities in financing social welfare, the health services, and education is growing faster than the share of the state. By the end of 1965 all hospitals and vocational schools will be under municipal jurisdiction. An idea of the growing cost of welfare can be gained from the fact that whereas in 1945 some 83,929 people were in need of public assistance, by 1960 the figure had risen to 162,487.

The monopolies use many other devices to line their pockets at the expense of the municipalities. "It has become a common practice," the resolution of the Thirteenth Congress pointed out, "for the monopoly capitalists to press the localities to undertake such works as improving and expanding harbor facilities at municipal expense and to demand construction sites free of charge as a condition for building new industrial enterprises thereby causing unhealthy competition between communities . . . Moreover, instances of outright swindling are common. Such a policy of bargaining causes the communities heavy losses."

The local councils in which bourgeois representatives are sufficiently firmly entrenched give in to the demands of the monopolies. In many cases, besides providing free construction sites, the municipalities pay for road building, port development, and public utilities construction, while companies are exempted from municipal taxes for years. Bourgeois councillors and sometimes Social Democrats justify this by claiming that the municipal revenue will increase and new jobs will be created as a result.

The policy of the state and the monopolies is causing growing discontent in the municipalities, which are insistently demanding that besides imposing new tasks the state should subsidize and otherwise help them.

Finland has two semi-official municipal associations, the Urban Union and the Union of Rural Municipalities, both of which are aware of the harmful effect of the present economic policy on the local authorities. Their spokesmen have frequently supported the demands of the local councils, but on the whole their activities have been inconsistent and hesitant. They are often found backing measures limiting local rights.

The struggle to enhance the role of local government and for influence in the municipalities has become an important factor in the class struggle.

The Communist Party, which regards work in the municipalities as part of the struggle for the workers' interests in all areas of economic and political life and for the socialist reconstruction of society by peaceful means, is a consistent champion of the democratic rights of the local authorities.

The Party believes that the greater the part played by the people generally in municipal life and the more they keep an eye on the local bodies, the better the results will be. A good example is afforded by the municipalities headed by the People's Democrats. These have the best results to show in the spheres of social security, the health services, education and unemployment relief, and they see to it that collective agreements concluded with the trade unions are strictly observed.

Explanatory work concerning all aspects of municipal activities is important in developing the mass movement. The Party is working to bring home to the working people what their role should be in the local bodies, to expose the class character of municipal government and to stimulate discussion of local issues in its branches. A class approach helps the masses to understand that activities in the municipalities are part of the struggle for the common political demands, a struggle which is waged in parliament and at the point of production alike for the vital demands of the working people.

Unity of action between the Communists and the Social Democrats is every bit as vital in local affairs as it is in all other areas of public activity, all the more so since in many local councils the People's Democrats and Social Democrats make up the majority or a qualified minority of one-third or more of the votes. At present the People's Democrats and Social Democrats constitute the majority in 40 urban councils out of the 70 in the country and in 87 rural councils. By acting in unity they could have the decisive say.

The conditions for such joint action already exist. Both parties represent the working people, whose common demand is higher wages, better social security and better working conditions. Moreover, the municipal demands of both parties coincide. This applies to such issues as revision of local taxes, municipal housing to cope with the housing shortage, full employment and opposition to policies causing economic difficulties for the municipalites.

In many councils the People's Democrats and Social Democrats take a united stand, for example, in the election of officials. This often gives them a majority vote.

The desire for united action is growing among

the working people generally, Social Democratic workers included. Unfortunately, however, unity is often blocked by the opposition of the Social Democratic leaders to joint action with the Communists. During the local elections in October 1964 these leaders once again came out against working-class unity and rejected the offer made by the People's Democrats to join in a single bloc. Many branches of the Social Democratic Party were ready to enter into an electoral bloc with the People's Democrats and would have done so were it not for the ban from above. This is only one indication of the growing sentiment among the Social Democratic workers in favor of united action.

The Thirteenth Congress resolution on democracy sets forth the Party's immediate demands in the sphere of municipal policy. Chief among these is the strengthening of local self-government, more precise definition of their powers, and full observance of the principle of proportional representation in managing the affairs of the communities. The Communists want more power for councillors and councils alike.

To give the localities freedom of action the present laws should be amended so that the communities' expenditure on education, public health, social security, unemployment relief and upkeep of the police, law courts and the administrative machinery generally should be fully covered by the state budget.

The Party Congress called for effort to put through legislation introducing progressive tax rates, municipal taxation of big property and exemption from taxation of all incomes not exceeding the minimum subsistence level.

The municipal elections of October 1964 confirmed the correctness of the position taken by the People's Democratic Union and the Communist Party. Both workers' parties registered a gain in votes. The People's Democratic election slogan, "A Left Policy is the Best Policy," evoked a response from big sections of the people.

The outcome of the elections will no doubt facilitate mutual understanding and unity of action among the working people for democratic local government. Evidence of this is the lively discussion of the need for united action conducted since the election in the working-class press of all trends.

A. LEPPAENEN

Syrian Communist Party supports nationalization

THE MASSES IN SYRIA have been waging a sharp struggle in recent years against the big bourgeoisie and the penetration of foreign capital, for national sovereignty and economic independence. Much harm has been caused by the intensified private capitalist trends in the economy. The big bourgeoisie did everything to attract foreign capital and by transferring its profits abroad robbed the country of the means necessary for industrial development. Stagnation set in and the conditions of the working people worsened. Social contradictions became more and more acute.

The sharp class struggle confronted the country with the need to choose between the capitalist and non-capitalist path of development. Faced with this situation the Government decided to nationalize the leading branches of the economy. The granting of concessions to exploit the country's oil and mineral wealth was prohibited and later a number of decrees was issued nationalizing 114 private firms and enterprises in the cement, glass, food, textile and other industries. According to official figures, the capital invested in these firms and enterprises, employing some 12,000 workers, exceeds 243 million Syrian pounds. Earlier, Government control was established over all banks and insurance companies. Next on the agenda for nationalization is foreign trade. A department of the socialized sector of industry is being set up to supervise the nationalized industries.

The progressive character of these measures is evident. They meet the interests of the people and their aspirations for democracy and socialism, block the anti-national policy of the big capitalists and act as a barrier to penetration by foreign capital.

The people welcomed the nationalization decrees with great satisfaction. They were welcomed also by other Arab peoples and progressives throughout the world. In a leaflet circulated by the Communist Party the Central Committee, in the name of all Communists and their supporters, hailed these progressive measures and denounced the disruptive activity of the reactionaries and big capitalists who, with the backing of the U.S. and West German imperialists, sought to cast doubts on these measures and to kill nationalization. Haled Bagdash, General Secretary of the Party, expressed the feelings of all Syrian Communists in a telegram addressed to the Prime Minister: "In accordance with our doctrine and our long struggle for socialism, and in pursuance of our duty as fighters for the complete national and social liberation of the country, my comrades and I are ready, side by side with all progressives fighting for socialism, to spare no effort in all fields of endeavor to help consolidate these achievements and promote their implementation."

Ahmad CHAGOURI

Unity of the working-class and democratic movement

3. THE COMMUNISTS AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN Communists and Social Democrats and the new trends in these relations figured prominently in the discussion of problems pertaining to the unity of working-class and democratic forces.

A certain evolution appears to be taking place in the French Socialist Party, said *M. Rosette* (France). The policy of class collaboration and alliance with reaction pursued by the Right-wing leadership (among other things on the question of the war in Algeria) has, in our opinion, discredited the party's previous policy in the eyes of the masses engendering a crisis in the party. We drew attention to this three years ago at our Sixteenth Congress.

There is a growing realization among the Socialist workers that alliance with reaction precludes the pursuit of any democratic policy. The French working class has not been completely misled by the policy of class collaboration.

In the long run the common class interests of the workers prove stronger than the factors capable of causing a split. "United we stand, divided we fall" is an old working-class motto, and experience has taught the workers that to win their battles they must overcome their differences and strengthen their principal weapon — unity. It was this conviction that Guy Mollet voiced when he said that the Socialists will eventually be faced with the need to restore unity. By remaining obdurate, he stressed, we shall only play into the hands of the Rights and help them to win the day.

That is why the Socialist workers are lending a more willing ear to the new ideas we are advancing to meet the changed conditions of our time. True, the view that the reactionaries can be defeated by the non-Communist Left alone, with the Communists playing merely a subsidiary role, still has currency. Never-

theless understanding of the need for a fuller and more long-term alliance between the Communists and Socialists is steadily gaining ground.

While recognizing that rapprochement between the two parties can and must continue, the Socialist Party leaders hold that it is still too early to speak of joint actions on a common platform. We see a definite inconsistency in this. In our opinion ideological differences should not be made an obstacle to joint action. Discussion of ideological differences should facilitate rather than impede such action. At the same time, by intensifying joint actions for definite objectives and by working for united action on a common program it will be possible to create a more favorable climate for overcoming ideological differences.

L. Gruppi (Italy) spoke of the contradictory position of the Italian Socialist Party which, although now in the government, is taking a direct part in organizing the mass struggle. This, Gruppi said, opens favorable prospects for unity with the Socialists. Naturally, we are pursuing a policy of unity and solidarity also with the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, formed after the split in Nenni's party.

A differentiation is taking place in the Socialist Party. The Lombardi line, on the program plane, is often quite close to our own, which makes it possible for the Communists, without abandoning their policy of opposition to the government, to take advantage of whatever measures the Socialist Party might take as part of the government. We are for unity and alliance with the Saragat Social Democratic Party, the Republican Party and also with progressive trends in the Catholic movement.

After the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (1935), which summarized the rich and instructive experience of the Popular Front policy in France, the working class and Communist movement corrected its mistakes with re-

gard to relations with Social Democracy. It is enough to recall the "social-fascism" formula to realize how grave these errors were. The Seventh Congress likewise rid the Communist movement of the concept that the workers' united front could be built in opposition to the Social Democracy by weaning the workers away from the Social Democrats. The policy of unity with Social Democracy from top to bottom has come into its own. It should be said that the old united front concept that existed prior to the Seventh Congress derived from the strategic line which did not take into account the transitional aims leading on from the day-to-day struggle to the struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. By rejecting the transitional aims we overlooked the opportunities that existed for working class and democratic unity.

In my opinion, Gruppi went on, the fact that the rectification of these mistakes and the condemnation of sectarianism at the Seventh Congress was not accompanied by frank criticism of errors of the past detracted somewhat from the contribution made by the Congress to the development of Communist strategy. It would be extremely interesting to ascertain what has remained of the old positions in the international Communist movement today. One should also bear in mind the difficulties the world Communist movement had to contend with in carrying out the policy of the Seventh Congress and the consequences of these efforts. For thirty years we had been saying that Social Democracy was deceiving the masses. Now we had to discover why it was that in certain situations and at certain moments the bulk of the working class followed the Social Democrats. Evidently Social Democracy had been able to express the demands of the working class movement, if only in a vague and contradictory form, whereas the Communist movement had not voiced these demands coherently enough. What was lacking in our work that, given other conditions, might have helped the working class to realize that the crucial thing was not particular reforms or demands but something much bigger, namely, to confront the bourgeoisie with an independent working-class alternative? It seems to me that, apart from the mistakes which I have mentioned and which were recognized by the international Communist movement, we suffered from some other major shortcomings as well. For many years the Communist movement did not succeed in discerning the link between the immediate demands and the socialist objective; it did not pay sufficient heed to the transitional aims. The result was that it left the question of reforms to Social Democracy, enabling the latter to give a wrong, opportunistic interpretation to the whole question.

In the Western countries Social Democratic influence is traditional, said *K. Oesterling* (Denmark). In Denmark, for example, the Social Democratic Party was founded about

ninety years ago. And the trade union movement, also an old movement, is associated historically with Social Democracy. This has enabled the Social Democrats to entrench themselves in the mass organizations and to achieve results from which it has derived considerable political capital, although many of these gains were initiated by the Left or revolutionary forces of the working class. Nevertheless, Oesterling stressed, the chief reason why Social Democracy has managed to retain its leading position is political. The view that Social Democracy has no clearly-defined political concept is not correct, at any rate as regards Denmark. True, it does not have a scientific concept, but it does have a certain system of ideas which permit it to preserve unity, despite the growing internal contradictions, and to pursue a policy of a rather uniform character. One of the cornerstones of that policy, one of the "positive" aspects and the main argument used in its favor is that the workers owe their high standard of living to Social Democracy and that the only way to preserve that level is to vote for the Social Democratic Party. The implication is that the Social Democrats are the guarantors of democracy, freedom, internal order and peace. The negative aspect of Social Democracy is, of course, its anti-Communism and its anti-Soviet outlook.

Moreover, its spokesmen have a number of "realistic" arguments. The Communists, they say, may have splendid ideas, but their party is too small to be able to give effect to these ideas. Therefore if you want to oppose the capitalist parties you must vote for the Social Democrats.

In Denmark the Social Democratic Party, which is the ruling party, is supported by 40 per cent of the electorate. But it would be a mistake to believe that its position is the same as it was before the war, although it polls approximately the same number of votes. It can be said that traditional Social Democracy is experiencing a crisis. This is expressed in the debate in its ranks and in certain changes in its attitude. Part of the leadership is trying to adapt itself to state-monopoly capitalism, the other is trying to "refurbish" traditional reformism. In this connection we Marxists should give serious attention to the following problem: does "traditional reformism" in relation to the offensive of state-monopoly capitalism play the same role as it did in the past, or are there new opportunities for united action against the common enemy, monopoly, which, being inherently reactionary, is the enemy of social progress?

The growing crisis of Social Democratic ideology is most evident in its stagnation. This, on the one hand, offers the opportunity for a shift to the Left, and, on the other, is fraught with the danger of Right-wing demagoguery; it emphasizes the need for united action and a broad discussion to work out a positive and

convincing democratic alternative to the policy of monopoly.

In the countries of the West, said S. Alvarez (Spain), where the Social Democrats have a big influence in the working class, any advance to socialism without Social Democracy is impossible. We cannot advance without making an effort to achieve unity with the Social Democrats. And without unity it is impossible to win partial democratic reforms. The question of how Social Democracy came to have this influence in the working class is a subject for special study. I believe that the explanation lies partly in its role as the founder of the labor movement in a number of countries.

However, united action of Communists and Socialists and their joint struggle does not preclude polemics on points of principle. As for our Party, we have never declined to discuss ideological and political issues on a theoretical plane. But for a time (I repeat, I have in mind the experience of our own Party) it is true that our criticism, while correct and valid from the standpoint of principle, instead of furthering unity, hampered it. We used a terminology that was incomprehensible to the rank and file Socialists. Until we abandoned our negative criticism and began to stress the positive elements in the Socialist approach to current problems (and this, after all, is what is most important), we had difficulty in establishing contact with the Socialists. We have in general been somewhat slow of late in evaluating the standpoint of Social Democracy. We should pay more attention to every initiative that could help to bring Communists and Socialists closer in the fight for the common demands of the workers and the people generally, for democratic reforms with the perspective of a steady advance to socialism on the basis of an identity of views on questions of peace and peaceful coexistence.

On the other hand, in examining Social Democracy as an international movement with a big influence on the working class in many countries, it is important to take into account the different conditions in each country. In Spain, for example, the Social Democrats fought against fascism jointly with the Communists.

Comrade Gruppi observed that at one time the Communists concentrated their attention on wresting the masses from Social Democratic influence. That is so, but there were objective reasons for this. The Communist parties were founded as a counterweight to the opportunism of Social Democracy, to its rejection of revolution. Today in the light of the development of the world revolutionary process and the successes of the democratic and revolutionary forces, which have impelled some Socialist parties and Social Democracy generally to change their attitude, our attitude, too, should be clarified.

Our Party has declared that it is not opposed to the existence in Spain of a strong

Social Democratic Party provided it supports the struggle of the working class and the advance to socialism. True, we make it clear that we do not intend to play the part of the auxiliary to the Socialist or bourgeois-democratic forces, inasmuch as it is we who now influence the biggest section of the working class, while the Socialist Party has lost the dominant position it held prior to 1934. But while rejecting the role of an auxiliary force, we do not deny the Socialist Party its place in the struggle against fascism today, for democracy tomorrow, and for socialism the day after. The question arises (and it has been already mentioned here); should this problem be posed in exactly the same way where the Communist parties are small, where they have not yet become the party of the majority and where the Social Democrats have deep roots in the working class? This, in my view, is an extremely important question, one to which the Communist parties in these countries must themselves find the answer.

Our Party does not have an agreement with the Socialists as a whole in Spain, but we do maintain permanent contact with groups of Socialists who are participating in the struggle in the country. It can be said that there is no contradiction between our position and that of the Socialists with regard to the general problem of peaceful struggle to abolish the dictatorship, although they have not yet given a positive answer on the question of the general strike, on the transition from dictatorship to democracy, the process of democratic development, etc. There are still obstacles to unity at the top levels: the remnants of the past, the aftermath of the Civil War, imperialist pressure on the Socialist leaders and their fear of mass action.

The imperative need for unity, Alvarez continued, confronts us with another problem. We cannot expect the Social Democrats to fight for socialism together with the Communists if they feel that there would be no future for their party under socialism. Hence, the perspective of their party freely functioning in the period of the transition to socialism should be made clear to them. For we are speaking of a party which has the support of a certain section of the working people and we must recognize the right of these workers to belong to the party of their choice and to have the leaders they want.

This in turn calls for clarity, on the one hand, on the question of a single proletarian party, and, on the other, recognition of the multi-party system under socialism. For a long time we waged a struggle for a single party of the proletariat, especially during the Civil War; we concluded agreements on united action with the Socialists, but we did not succeed in building such a united party. Today we place the problem of united action with the Socialists above the problem of a single party, without however giving up for all time the idea of one party. Experience shows that

united action is a more tangible and realistic proposition than the formation of a single party. Moreover, since 1959 we have been advocating the multi-party system in the advance to socialism.

In our country, said *I. Lehtinen* (Finland), as in other countries, working class unity, cooperation between Social Democrats and Communists is a condition of advance. Without this no real social change is possible because neither of these political groups is strong enough to effect them alone.

In Finland the strength of the Communists and Social Democrats is roughly equal. But if the Communist Party is a closely welded unit, the same cannot be said about the Social Democratic movement. For example, at the end of the fifties opposition groups broke away from Social Democratic Party and formed their own independent organization, the Social Democratic Alliance, which now enjoys considerable influence in the trade unions. This breakaway had its origin in differences on questions of principle affecting the orientation of the Finnish working-class movement on foreign and home policy, the attitude to the trade unions, etc.

However, the possibility of changes in the Social Democratic Party should not be overlooked. We believe that the process of clarification on questions of principle now going on in the Social Democratic movement is a step in this direction.

The experience of recent years shows that the trend favoring a change in the Social Democratic movement, is gaining ground. The decisive role here is played by the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the progress made by the socialist countries, Communist construction in the USSR. No small part is played by the development of economic and cultural relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. People are beginning to have a better idea of what socialism means and are shedding many of the old prejudices.

Our Party is working for better relations with the Social Democrats. Our present united front policy differs notably from the old policy, particularly that pursued in the thirties. The united front slogan was often advanced at that time chiefly for the purpose of exposing the Social Democratic leaders. The Social Democratic workers were often identified with the leadership and branded as "social-fascists," "enemies of the working-class movement and the revolution." Of course, the chief obstacle to united working-class action was that the Tanner Social Democratic leaders emphatically rejected such unity. But mutual understanding among the workers was hampered also by the sectarian methods of the Communists.

During the fascist violence in the thirties our Party began to revise its attitude on this question. Its Sixth Congress in 1936 noted that "the Left trend now observed in the Social Democratic Party is, on the whole, sincerely striving to build a united working-class front

against fascism."

But the consequences of former practices have still to be fully overcome. They are expressed, on the one hand, in the attitude of suspicion on the part of the older members of our Party toward Social Democratic workers and, on the other hand, in distrust of the Communist movement and its aims and methods on the part of the Social Democrats. In this respect too, however, progress has been made. At the beginning of 1954 the Communist Party issued an appeal to the rank-and-file Social Democrats in which it called for united working-class action, stressing that both Communists and Social Democrats had been guilty of mistakes in their mutual relations and that it was time for a change. This appeal has contributed greatly to the growth of unity.

The firm stand taken by the Communist Party on questions of principle and its active struggle for the interests of the workers have greatly helped to improve relations between the Social Democrats and the Communists and to increase their mutual confidence. The consolidation of the forces of peace and socialism in the world has undoubtedly helped in this and is continuing to have a favorable influence among the Social Democratic workers.

It should be said that the program and aims of the Communists coincide on many points with the program and aims of the Social Democratic trends. The Social Democratic Alliance, for example, has proclaimed itself the continuer of the idea of the old Workers' Party (1899-1918), one of the points in whose program called for common ownership of the means of production. The section in the Social Democratic Party's program concerning socialism speaks of economic planning as something which cannot be realized until "the main sources of the means of subsistence are owned and controlled by society."

We attach much importance to searching for such points of contact and encouraging discussion on these points. But the roads to unity differ from country to country. We believe that the dialogue conducted in recent years between different sections of the Social Democratic movement has helped the Social Democratic workers to see things in the proper light.

For the Canadian working class movement and for the Canadian Communist Party, said *W. Kashtan* (Canada), the question of unity stands somewhat differently from the problems and tasks confronting, say, the Communist parties of France, Italy and Finland which have mass Social Democratic and large Communist parties. Here the problem of uniting the working class could drastically change the balance of forces in these countries. This, unfortunately, is not the case in the United States or in Canada. In the United States, as we know, the working class has not yet found the mass form for the political expression of

their aims. In Canada the conditions are somewhat different, they tend to approximate closer to Western Europe in this respect. This is expressed in the emergence of the New Democratic Party—a coalition of the trade unions and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). The latter was a party of a Social Democratic type, much like the Social Democratic parties of Western Europe. The New Democratic Party is a commutation of the Social Democratic Party.

In the last federal elections it succeeded in getting a million votes for its program based on peace, disarmament, trade with all countries, the beginning of a criticism of NATO, opposition to nuclear arms in Canada, etc.

While this party has the formal backing of the trade unions, so far only about 200,000 of the organized workers support it. The main mass of the working class still supports the capitalist parties—the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party. The problem in Canada is how to stimulate among the working class the idea of the need for independent labor political action, for the workers to break away from support of the parties of monopoly and find their political expression. We believe that at the present stage this can be achieved through the New Democratic Party.

Although this party still opposes cooperation with the Communists, some of its members work with the Communists both in the trade unions and in the peace movement. Undoubtedly this trend will grow as time goes on. The fight for working class unity we see as a long-term process which will depend in large measure on how the relations between the Socialist and Communist parties in France, Italy and other countries develop.

W. Kashtan voiced some general ideas with regard to the Communist approach to the Social Democrats. It seems to me, he said, that we are called upon to settle this question on the scale of our whole movement, because both theoretically and in practice the tendencies toward dogmatism and sectarianism arise from erroneous positions with respect to Social Democracy. Comrade Gruppi dealt with this question in part. Does Social Democracy still constitute the main bulwark of capitalism in the working class movement? This has been our training as Marxist-Leninists. If this is still true, the problem of the tactical approach to this question is one thing, while the possibility of a partnership (if I may use the term) with Social Democracy in the advance to socialism, is an entirely different thing.

Regarding Social Democracy as the bulwark of capitalism was the source of the idea of social-fascism. From this perhaps grew the idea at one time of the Communist world movement that the main blow had to be dealt against Left-wing Social Democracy.

Can we therefore say that the Social Democratic parties, with due regard for differences, historical and others, are bourgeois parties, or are they parties of the working class, a section

of the working-class movement? The 81-Party Statement posed this question correctly when it said that the main enemy of the working class is imperialism, monopoly capitalism. But we have failed to draw all the conclusions from that, including the over-riding necessity of restoring working-class unity in order to buttress the struggle for peaceful coexistence and to hamper and restrict imperialism.

It is important from the standpoint of our own development and for establishing a proper relationship with Social Democracy to create the groundwork for a correct conception of Social Democracy as an important trend in the working-class movement. We must pose this question as clearly as we have the question of the peaceful transition, utilization of parliament, and other issues. This will help to break down the prejudices that the Right-wing Social Democrats have fostered in order to prevent cooperation between Socialists and Communists both in the working class and in the trade union movement.

A few words about the position of the small parties and their fight for working-class unity. These parties have to work in a very difficult situation owing to objective conditions, the alignment of forces at the given moment and the level of development of the thinking of the working class. In my opinion it is not enough to wage a correct fight for unity, for cooperation in every possible way; what is even more important and difficult is to build up strong Communist parties.

Concerning the role and place of small parties in the fight for unity, J. Terfve (Belgium) pointed to the cleavage between the leadership of the Socialist Party and its working class and trade union base, and to the appearance of different trends in that party. Therefore, he said, a new approach in keeping with the developing situation should be found, and it is here that the Communist Party should come forward and propose effective solutions to the masses; the latter in their majority are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and want a change. The solutions must be concrete, in accord with the needs of the moment, while outdated concepts which can be an impediment should be discarded. It would be an unrealistic and therefore unacceptable solution to urge the masses to join our Party as the only alternative in a situation marked by the emergence of different trends in the Socialist Party. What is needed now is slogans to help build the unity that will make it possible to form an anti-monopoly government. Hence the need to work for greater democratic control by the people at all levels and their greater participation in managing the economy and society. In my opinion, J. Terfve said, this goal accords with the present needs and possibilities in most West European countries.

G. Oehman (Sweden) spoke about the situation in Sweden where the working class has achieved a relatively high standard of living.

Real wages, he said, are rising. There is no unemployment and there is even a shortage of labor.

Relatively speaking, Swedish Social Democracy is, perhaps, the strongest in the world. Social Democrats head the government and they poll the biggest vote in elections. There is a single trade union movement and practically all factory and office workers are organized.

These, then, are the conditions in which the Communist Party works. What methods should be used to build working-class unity against monopoly capital? Propaganda alone won't help. The Social Democratic Party, which is regarded as the party of the working-class, has the backing of more than two million voters, while the Communists polled a little over 220,000 votes in the last elections.

The vast majority of the Socialist voters certainly are not anti-communist; the bourgeoisie, it is true, has infected some of them with anti-communist prejudice, which cannot be eradicated with the help of propaganda alone. What is needed is vigorous activity in the mass organizations and especially in the trade unions.

Big capital is indeed the main enemy, and we are trying to rally the working class against this capital, consisting mainly of 15 families. Our task is to work to end the collaboration between the Social Democrats and finance capital.

A. Pettersen (Norway) said that the general principles of approach to the question of Communist-Socialist relations did not exclude the recognition that conditions differ from country to country, and that from this we should draw definite conclusions. Our former description of Social Democracy as the main bulwark of the bourgeoisie may have had some justification in its time, but it never was accepted by the working class.

Norway has long been ruled by Social Democracy to which the working class gives credit for having ended poverty in the country. The common belief is that Social Democracy has ended oppression and ensured democratic rights. In my view the previous characterization of Social Democracy was too one-sided. We tended to belittle its positive aspects. The dogmatic elements in our Party held that the working class could win better conditions only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the standard of living in Norway is one of the highest in the capitalist world. According to official data between 1958 and 1963 real wages in industry rose by 33 per cent. While we do not fully endorse this figure, it is a fact that real wages have risen substantially.

And while objective reasons for the good economic situation and for the benefits ensuing therefrom are many, the workers associate the economic stability with Social Democratic rule. The peculiarities of the situation in the Scandinavian countries need hardly

be discussed in detail here. I only want to say this: the circumstances being what they are, it would be both difficult and foolish simply to say that the Social Democrats are enemies of the people, agents of the bourgeoisie. In the past this attitude complicated our work and hampered working-class unity. We have changed our attitude to Social Democracy, and not only to the rank and file but to the leaders as well. The working class and the working people generally support Social Democracy, whereas our voting strength is declining. There are of course other factors in the situation. It is not only the success of the Social Democratic Party that has attracted the voters. A big part in this is played by anti-communism.

It should be admitted that in the past our own dogmatic views played into the hands of bourgeois propaganda. We drew proper conclusions from this, as can be seen from our new program adopted in 1963. We have stressed too that the gains that have accrued to the working class of our country are the result of its own struggle. But we no longer claim that the credit for this struggle should go solely to our Party. We merely say, modestly, that we have taken part in it.

Our changed attitude to the Social Democrats has been reciprocated somewhat. In 1963 the bourgeois parties, supported by the People's Socialist Party, tried to oust the Social Democratic government. We supported the government against the bourgeois bloc, stressing that this was the common task of the entire working-class movement. This was a big step towards better understanding with the Social Democrats. Some months later the SDP organized a discussion with the participation of Communists and members of the People's Socialist Party, a discussion which marked a certain change in the relations between our parties. We are anxious to continue the exchange of views so that we can see the issues on which we have common ground and also those on which we are at variance.

The question of opportunism in the working-class movement has been raised here, M. Rosette said. The split in the working class can, I think, be ascribed to permanently operating objective factors. In the first place, there is competition between workers in industry, as was pointed out by Marx. Take immigration, for instance. Tens of thousands of Spanish, Portuguese and Italian workers are now working in France. Objectively this helps the bourgeoisie to resist the French workers' struggle for higher wages and contributes to the division in the working class.

Capitalist concentration also plays its part. Every day thousands of impoverished peasants join the industrial labor force, bringing with them their petty-bourgeois individualist outlook and illusions. Moreover the non-proletarian section of the population is growing, with more people going in for office work and technical jobs. This, too, enlarges the base for reformist ideas in the working class. Another

factor is the parasitism of capitalism. Lenin in his day showed how economic plunder enabled the bourgeoisie to maintain a working-class aristocracy. At present the bourgeoisie has a numerous bureaucracy in government bodies and nationalized enterprises who easily accept the idea of class harmony. Then there is the influence of bourgeois propaganda, which nowadays possesses such powerful media as radio and television.

These, in our view, are among the most important factors making for the division. But there are also factors conducive to working-class unity, and at certain moments the latter may prevail. Hence the possibility of a united front. Among these factors, special mention should be made of the experience of the working people, especially the Socialist workers. The moment comes when the peasant-turned-worker joins in the struggle against the employer, against the bourgeoisie. The same is true for office workers and technicians, who eventually rid themselves of their illusions and begin to take an active part in the struggle of the working class.

Nor should the big changes that have taken place in the world be overlooked. We have stressed repeatedly that the success of the socialist world system, of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, plus the disintegration of the colonial system likewise contribute to Communist-Socialist rapprochement.

We get, then, the interplay of factors for and against unity. Otherwise it would be impossible to explain why the same Guy Mollet, whose role in the war against Egypt and Algeria is well known and who joined the de Gaulle government in 1958, is now acting, together with the Communists, against one-man rule. True, sometimes Social Democracy breaks up into splinters and new Socialist parties emerge as a result, as was the case in France with the United Socialist Party; the formation of this party spotlighted the crisis of Social Democracy. This party was the product of the division in the working-class forces, but now that unity is being restored, the USP is losing its influence. At the same time the Socialist Party is growing and extending its influence—without any detriment to Communist influence.

Consequently, the Communists should combat all divisive factors, which also means criticizing the Social Democratic ideas of class collaboration. They should, of course, support all the factors favoring unity, give pride of place to the common interests of the workers and align themselves with the attitudes of Social Democracy which conform to these interests.

I would like, said A. Pettersen, to stress what I consider to be two important points. One is the need to have a correct attitude to Social Democracy and to exert maximum effort for unity on political issues. The other is that, while dissociating ourselves from Social Democracy ideologically, we should base our

attitude to individual Social Democrats on the concrete conditions. I think that there can be differing viewpoints among Communists with regard to the Social Democratic parties. And one more thing: it should be realized that every Communist party is the best judge of the Social Democratic party of its particular country. We should, therefore, be extremely careful in our characterization of Social Democratic parties in other countries. In the past, regrettably, we tended to overlook the difference in the stand taken by one or another Social Democratic party. As to our attitude to Norwegian Social Democracy, we see today better opportunities for cooperation and unity with it. This is partly due to the fact that developments have impelled the Social Democrats to pursue a more positive policy in order to retain working-class support.

I. Ledwohn (Federal Germany) spoke about the situation in the Social Democratic Party in West Germany from the standpoint of a West German Communist. The program statement adopted by the Communist Party in West Germany at its 1963 congress notes that the Communist Party sees the prime duty of every branch and of every member as that of establishing mutual confidence and cooperation with the branches and members of the Social Democratic Party.

The program statement denounced the policy pursued by the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, the Social Democratic Party with the bourgeois parties. Ledwohn, citing instances of this policy, also pointed to the growing contradictions in the Social Democratic Party. This policy, he said, is not in the interests of the people, including the party's supporters and members. More and more of them are expressing dissatisfaction with it and want a Social Democratic alternative to the present course of the Bonn government, want an independent stand by their party on the key issues of home and foreign policy, including the question of relations between the two Germanys. While some progress has been made in this respect, he went on, the elaboration of the political alternative and the process of ideological awakening in the Social Democratic Party are slow in taking shape in the complex and contradictory conditions arising primarily from the existence of two Germanys.

The fight for an independent policy and for a Social Democratic alternative is a vital part of the struggle for working-class unity. In our meetings with Social Democrats we Communists discuss with them the idea of working out ways and means of defeating the Christian Democrat-Christian Social bloc in the 1965 general election. Many Social Democrats agree with our proposals. In most cases they favor lifting the ban on the Communist Party.

The fact that our Party is denied legal status hampers us greatly in establishing Communist-Socialist contacts and joint actions, especially in the provinces, while the virulent

anti-communism of extremists like Wehner, Ehrler and Jaksch, plays its part in maintaining the sectarian views still to be found in the Communist Party, and this, in turn, hampers utilization of all the opportunities for helping the Social Democrats in their struggle for an alternative policy.

E. Ambartsumov (USSR) agreed with the view that a turn to the left has been taking place in the Social Democratic movement in the past two or three years under pressure from the mass movement. As regards Communist-Socialist relations, all of us here seem to agree in criticizing some aspects of the past policy of the Communist movement. Unity presupposes friendly cooperation, without attempts to trip up one's partner. But cooperation does not always mean going hand in hand. It does not rule out conflict of views and, consequently, ideological conflicts, which, however, should be conflicts between allies, not enemies. In the course of this cooperation it will be possible not only to urge Socialists to adopt a more forward-looking standpoint, but also to enrich the practice of the Communist movement itself, to combat more successfully the vestiges of sectarianism and dogmatism.

In Israel, said D. Henin (Israel), the Social Democratic movement presents a rather motley picture. Besides the MAPAI, the Right-wing Socialist Party—the Government Party—which pursues a pro-imperialist policy, there are a number of socialist and religious workers'

parties of differing shades, all professing Zionism. Zionism, as you know, can be described as a bourgeois-nationalist ideology, and this ideology colors the policy of those smaller parties and their attitude to the problems facing the working class.

Despite this, these parties often react differently to concrete issues, a circumstance which should not be overlooked in the struggle for working-class unity and for a national-democratic front which would change Israel's policy in the spirit of peace, independence, democracy, national equality and social progress. In striving to build this front our purpose is to unite, not to divide the Socialists. Our Party congresses have warned against any sectarian approach to this issue, an approach which could be observed in our movement at one time.

We are for cooperation and unity of action based on a minimum program for the purpose of working out an alternative to the present government and its policy. The leadership of Social Democratic parties like the MAPAM and the Ahduth Gaavoda say they will cooperate with Communists only on condition that we accept Zionism. We reject this condition, as we do the opinion that Israeli society is divided into Zionists and non-Zionists. Society is divided into classes, and no ideological differences should prevent the working people and all democrats from pooling their efforts in the struggle for peace, national independence and social and economic well-being.

Needed: a just solution to the Kurdish problem

SOME FORTY YEARS AGO the League of Nations formally recognized the Kurds as a nationality entitled to an independent state of their own.

But even in these days of national liberation, when dozens of formerly oppressed peoples have gained independence, there are those who persist in denying the Kurds a national status and who resist their demand for national rights within the Iraqi Republic.

The total number of Kurds is in the neighborhood of 10 million. After the First World War the imperialist powers partitioned Kurdistan among Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. In Iraq the Kurds number some 1,800,000, or 25 per cent of the population.

The Kurds constitute a single nationality. The various parts of Kurdistan are interlinked geographically and history shows that the Kurds enjoyed self-government at different times in the past. They have taken to arms many times for their national rights, especially since the First World War. One of the biggest of their risings led to the formation in 1946 of the Mahabad Republic in Iraqi Kurdistan, but it lasted only one year.

The latest armed action of the Kurds was their revolt begun three years ago in Iraqi Kurdistan under Mustafa Barzani. It is unmatched in Kurdish history for scale or sociopolitical significance.

The Iraqi Kurds had no choice but to take up arms because the Kassem government, which had come into power following the revolution of July 14, 1958, renounced its democratic program and the objectives of the revolution and established a dictatorship directed against the Iraqi people generally and against the Kurds in particular.

The Kassem regime began by depriving the Kurds of the rights they had won as a result of the July 14 revolution. It embarked on a policy of national oppression, and encouraged appeals for assimilation of the Kurds. Kassem denied that the Kurds were a nationality; the Kurds, he claimed, were of Arab stock and there was only one nation in Iraq.

In pursuit of this policy Kassem armed the

reactionary leaders of certain tribes and incited them against the Barzani tribe. Hundreds of Kurd villages were devastated by bombing. The democratic forces and their organizations in Kurdistan were savagely persecuted. The Kurds saw revolution as the only way of gaining recognition for their domestic and national rights.

However, the development of the Kurdish revolution was affected by a number of factors, namely:

—shortly before the revolt the Kassem government introduced a land tax to be levied on every cultivator; the scale of the tax depended on the size of the holding, irrespective of the area actually cultivated or of the crop yield. This tax also hit the feudal chiefs, smaller landholders and peasants all of whom formed a united front to oppose it. Some of the chiefs supported the revolution because of their animosity toward the Kassem government which had declared an agrarian reform. The role played by reactionaries in the revolt encouraged Right-wing trends, which to this day adversely affects the Kurdish movement;

—the revolution broke out at a time when the democratic and patriotic forces were still disunited and dispersed; moreover, a section of small cultivators and some reactionaries turned to the Democratic Party and this strengthened the positions of the Rights in that party;

—the fact that Kassem ruthlessly bombed Kurdish villages, using arms he had received from the socialist countries under military contracts signed before the Kurdish war, antagonized many people against progressives generally. Needless to say the reactionaries cashed in on this antagonism to consolidate their own positions and to influence the people.

These negative aspects notwithstanding the revolution expressed the sentiment and aspirations of the Kurdish people as a whole. And since it championed a popular cause, its progressive character and liberation mission became increasingly evident.

The peasants formed the backbone of the revolutionary forces. They were supported, particularly after the coup of February 8, 1963, by

numerous intellectuals, army officers and small landowners. More than eighty Army officers, some of them of high rank, sided with the revolutionaries. Hundreds of privates did likewise. They brought with them large quantities of arms and helped to capture many government buildings, police stations and other military objectives.

At this writing the Kurds led by Barzani virtually control the greater part of Iraqi Kurdistan. The government's writ is confined to the larger towns and a few main roads. In the areas controlled by the Kurds, all administrative matters are settled by the revolutionary authorities.

The national and democratic character of the revolution—a revolution for the very existence of our people and forming part of the Iraqi democratic movement—stood out even more clearly after the reactionary military coup of February 8, 1963.

For the first time in history Arabs and Kurds fought shoulder to shoulder. Since then, and more particularly since the breakdown of the talks with the Baathist government, the Kurdish revolution has made further progress, helped in no small measure by the international solidarity of the world democratic forces.

The Baath leaders set out to extend the war of extermination against the Kurds. They pitted against our people the main forces of the Iraqi army, mobile police, thousands of mercenary tribesmen, and about 10,000 Syrian troops armed with modern weapons.

Kurdish villages were bombed day after day and large areas under grain were destroyed by incendiary bombs and napalm. The government deported the Kurds from the oil areas. Some 25,000 were sent away from the Kirkuk province, and Arab tribesmen were moved in. The Kurdish quarter of the town of Kirkuk was destroyed; the bulldozers flattened the houses that had sheltered about 20,000 Kurdish workers.

The Baath government began to carry out its plan for the extermination of all Kurdish men between 18 and 40. Soldiers were allowed to dispose of Kurdish property as they pleased. Large numbers of Kurds were killed before the eyes of their relatives and their property plundered. Over 4,000 people were arrested.

The Kurds, however, fought back, and the defensive war waged by them helped to bring down the Baath fascist regime in November 1963.

Subsequently the two opposed trends in the Kurdish national movement drew farther apart.

One trend, headed by Barzani, is moderately nationalist. It declared for a policy of positive neutrality and for close contact between the Kurdish movement and the democratic movement throughout Iraq. The Barzani supporters wanted to extend the base of the Kurdish national-liberation movement. They held that any one who had joined with them in the anti-Baath rising and who recognized the lawful

rights of the Kurdish people was supporting the Kurdish revolution irrespective of nationality or political convictions.

The other trend, representing the Right-wing, wanted to isolate the Kurdish movement from the common cause of the Iraqi people. It refused to recognize the right of other political forces in Kurdistan to organize and enjoy democratic liberties. It was anti-Communist and made no bones about eliminating all who did not share their reactionary views.

The cease-fire agreement signed in February 1964 was a big gain for the Kurds. It was tantamount to indirect recognition by the government of the existence of the Kurdish question and of the lawful rights of our people. The Kurdish leaders hailed it, for they had always sought a peaceful settlement.

The downfall of the Baath Government and the inclusion of new political groups in the government inspired Kurds with the hope that their problem might be solved on a peaceful and equitable basis.

The new government promised to grant their demands and to recognize their national rights forthwith. But a year has all but passed since the agreement was signed, and the Kurdish problem still awaits solution. Even the clauses on the cease-fire are a dead letter.

The troops have yet to be withdrawn from Kurdistan, a provisional Constitution was adopted without acquainting the Kurds with its text beforehand, despite a government promise to do so, and the articles providing for recognition of the Kurd nation and its rights within the boundaries of the Iraqi republic have been deleted. Hundreds of thousands of working people have not yet received any compensation for the destruction of their crops and homes, tens of thousands of refugees are still waiting to return to their native villages. Not only has the government failed to disband the irregulars (the Salah-ed-Din cavalry numbering several thousand men) which took part in the fighting, it has brought up new contingents.

The reactionaries in the government are staking their hopes on the differences that have arisen among the Kurdish forces, and they are fanning these differences in every way in the hope of crushing the revolution.

The Kurds have set forth their demands in numerous memorandums and during repeated meetings with responsible spokesmen. As a basis for negotiating a settlement of the Kurd question they want autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, the delineation of a province to be known as Kurdistan embracing areas with a Kurd majority in order to enable the Kurds to administer their own affairs, viz., local government, internal security, the municipalities, public health and education, administration of justice and housing, road building, introduction of a system of administration similar to that existing in other multinational countries, as for example, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

One of the principal demands is an amnesty

for political prisoners and persons arrested for political reasons in Iraq, whether Arab or Kurd, an end to the state of emergency and the restoration of normal life in the country.

Another demand is that the provisional Constitution be amended to include an article recognizing the national rights of the Kurds; fulfillment of the cease-fire agreement of February 10, disbandment of the irregular Kurd units armed and equipped by the government to combat the Kurd revolution; the return of the refugees to their former places of residence; reorganization of the national partisan detachments into regular gendarme or police units.

So far the government has refused to satisfy any of these demands. It has not recognized the right of the Kurds to resolve certain administrative questions themselves; it continues to insist on the disbandment of the national partisan detachments and the restoration of the old administration in the liberated areas, and has not even agreed to allow Kurd army officers and officials loyal to the revolution to return to their posts. Hundreds of Kurd officials removed from their jobs have not been reinstated. In recent pronouncements the government has avoided any reference to the rights of the Kurds.

The leaders of the Kurdish revolution, headed by Mustafa Barzani, have always sought a peaceful solution of the problem. Late in 1964, taking cognizance of the government changes in Iraq, they tried once more to find a peaceful solution and sent their representatives to Baghdad for talks. However, the government's reluctance to recognize their rights has caused the Kurds to be wary of its motives. If the government persists in this dangerous policy it will gravely damage the interests of all the people of Iraq, Kurds and Arabs, and create a climate for renewed bloodshed.

The Kurds are losing faith in the government's promises. People are forced to the conclusion that the government agreed to the cease-fire simply because it wanted a respite to muster strength and resume its assault against the Kurds.

The Kurdish revolution was, and is, the bulwark of the anti-imperialist struggle of all the democratic forces in Iraq. The strength of the revolution is one of the guarantees of a change for the better in the general situation in Iraq. Hence all progressives in Iraq should give every support to the Kurds and help them satisfy their just demands. The democratic forces of Iraq have rendered substantial assistance to the Kurd national movement; they have supported the Kurd demand for national autonomy, condemned the war unleashed by the Baath government against the Kurds in 1963, and sharply criticized the policy of national oppression. The demand for Kurd autonomy within the Iraqi Republic continues to be one of the principal slogans of the democratic forces of Iraq. An effective struggle waged by these democratic forces in alliance with the Kurd revolutionary movement for the

realization of this demand could be a powerful factor to induce the Iraqi government to change its position on the Kurd question and recognize the national rights of the Kurds. Such a solution would strengthen the position of all the democratic and patriotic forces of Iraq who are opposed to the forces of reaction and who favor progressive measures.

The leaders of the Kurd revolution are seeking an alliance with all the revolutionary and democratic forces in the country on the basis of a struggle against reaction, of support for the progressive measures of the government, for normalizing the situation, restoring the democratic rights of the people, for recognition of the national rights of the Kurds.

Only by building up a broad front uniting all the revolutionary and democratic forces in Iraq can the reactionary conspiracies be foiled, the people's gains preserved, progress ensured and the Kurd problem justly solved.

The Kurds are grateful for the support accorded them by other peoples, and they highly appreciate the stand taken by the USSR and the other socialist countries which on more than one occasion resolutely demanded a just settlement of the Kurd question in accordance with the demands of the Kurds.

Our people likewise appreciate the fact that the governments of the United Arab Republic and Algeria, displaying understanding of their cause, have condemned the racial war waged against the Kurds and have urged the peaceful settlement of the problem.

The government of the UAR, the newly independent Arab countries and all other Arab countries and peoples are in duty bound to exert pressure on the Iraqi government to induce it to grant the Kurds their lawful rights since the issue is bound up with the democratic content of the movement for Arab unity.

Not all Kurd patriots find it easy to see that the real enemy is imperialism; this is so because their fight is spearheaded against the policy of national oppression pursued by the governments of the countries inhabited by the Kurds, namely, Iran, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. In each of these countries the Kurds are a minority nationality. The people have been artificially dispersed, whereas these four states are acting in unison against the Kurdish national movement. Every attempt to liberate any part of Kurdistan and every demand for national rights encounters the resistance not only of the ruling class of the particular country but of all four taken together. The four countries are linked together, as it were, by the Kurd problem. So that any change in the Kurd situation is reflected in the overall situation in the Middle East.

The events of the past three years have shown that the struggle against national oppression cannot be separated from the anti-imperialist struggle, just as the anti-imperialist struggle of the Kurdish people cannot be divorced from their struggle for their national and democratic rights and autonomy.

The experience of the Kurd revolution in Iraq shows that the solution of the Kurdish question lies through the restoration and extension of democratic rights in Iraq proper. In the measure that life in Iraq is placed on a democratic footing the Kurds will be able to win their rights and advance along the path of progress. Any infringement of democracy leads to infringement of national rights. Persecution of democratic forces is inevitably followed by the national oppression of the Kurds.

In other words, the struggle for democracy is bound up with the struggle for national rights. Experience of the Kurd national movement has shown that one of its basic features is its anti-feudal orientation. Over 80 per cent of all Kurds are peasants, most of them landless. Hence without peasant support no movement can effect radical changes. No movement can succeed and yield substantial gains for the masses unless it openly pursues a policy directed against the feudal class. This, however,

does not imply that all the landowners are solidly against the revolution. For this reason it is essential to distinguish between the various groups and sections of landowners.

We are living at a time of the triumph of the peoples, at a time when powerful modern states can be built only on the foundation of brotherhood among the peoples inhabiting their territories. The era of enslavement and assimilation of nations is past. The nationality question in multi-national states can be solved only in a democratic way ensuring equal obligations and rights of the various peoples and opening the way to freedom and progress for all nations.

Demanding their national rights within the Iraqi Republic, the Kurds are anxious to make, jointly with the Arabs, their contribution to a national society and to wage, again jointly with the Arabs, a struggle against imperialism and reaction, for democratic rights for all the people of Iraq.

Salah AMMED

The capitalist road has led Nigeria into dead end

WORLD SEARCHLIGHTS are presently turned on the Federal Republic of Nigeria—zealously acclaimed in London, Washington and Bonn as a showpiece of Western type democracy and the most “stable” nation in Africa. Nigeria is deeply caught in a crisis threatening her very existence as a nation. The crisis is over the first federal elections held in the country since it gained independence on October 1, 1960. Four days after elections were said to have been held on December 30, 1964, the Republic still lacked a government. Nor is any stable and able government in sight.

Political parties in the South led by the United Progressive Grand Alliance boycotted the elections, declaring that conditions for free and fair elections did not exist. Nor will it recognize the resultant government from any elections held in such an undemocratic way. Heavy polling was reported from the North, where the feudal-led Nigerian National Alliance claimed to have won 89 seats in addition to the 70 returned unopposed, giving the Alliance a majority in the 312-member House of Representatives.

The troubles which now beset this young African state have their roots in the days of British colonial rule. Foreseeing the inevitable disintegration of the colonial system the British

administrators set about dividing Nigeria artificially. One result was that Northern Nigeria where a medieval feudal system still prevails was allotted two-thirds of the entire area of the country. The British colonialists entered into agreements with the feudal Emirs who, in turn, demanded preferential political and economic concessions from the politicians of the South before they would support their struggle for independence. The South had to concede. In the meantime, the colonialists whipped up tribal animosity and religious antagonism between the Moslem North and the Christian South, which was to their best interests.

It is on this foundation of suspicion and hate between North and South that the “democracy” glorified by the capitalist West is built. The outbursts of violence which preceded the voting and which made a fair and free election impossible were, in a way, the reaction of the political parties and the masses to the sorry economic situation.

After four years of development along the capitalist path, Nigerian leaders have to admit that the country's economy is flat on its back. The adverse balance of payments in trade with the capitalist West and Japan is growing. The prices of Nigeria's chief export crops—cocoa,

palm produce and groundnuts—continue to decline on the capitalist markets, while imports from these same sources are soaring to the detriment of the nation's economic program.

Basic branches of the economy—agriculture, mining, manufacturing, banking, finance—are completely in the hands of foreign business, chiefly British. West German and Japanese monopolies have appeared on the scene recently. The building industry has become the preserve of Italian and British firms. Foreign monopoly investment in Nigeria rose from 4.5 million pounds in 1951 to 25 million in 1962.

Foreign firms have not only captured wholesale trade, but have also invaded the retail trade sector, manufacturing and selling items ranging from hairpins to industrial equipment. Recently the United African Company, an arm of the Unilever monopoly, has gone to the length of competing with local tailors in clothes-making. Private property is developing rapidly, while the state sector lingers. The outcome is impoverishment of the masses and unrestricted export of profits.

Thousands of young men willing and able to work roam the country in search of employment opportunities that are not there. The dissatisfaction of the working people can be gauged by the magnitude of the strike movement in industry. Moderate estimates put strike actions at an average of two a week. Reflecting on the state of affairs Dr. Michael Okpara, Premier of Eastern Nigeria, said: "The capitalist structure of our economy has perpetrated an irrational salary structure and has strengthened the stranglehold of neo-colonialism on the national economy."

Such is the situation in Nigeria whose economy, according to bourgeois economists, is stable. Nigeria remains economically stable so far as this serves the interests of foreign monopoly capital and the finance oligarchy.

Since the formation of the Nigerian Marxist-Leninist party (Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party), the evils inherent in the capitalist mode of development have been continually laid bare before the people. The workers, led

by the Party and the progressive trade unions, demanded changes in the nation's economic structure along socialist lines.

Hard pressed by the masses, the leading national-bourgeois parties—the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens and the Action Group—formed the United Progressive Grand Alliance. The Alliance worked out a joint program which pledged among other things to reorganize the national economy on a sound socialist basis. The feudal Northern People's Congress and the comprador bourgeois party in Western Nigeria teamed up in opposition to this program.

The December elections were expected to decide where Nigeria was going after four years of independence—to capitalism or socialism. But holding elections became impossible.

Terrorists organized by the feudals created an atmosphere of violence. Southern politicians were barred from campaigning in the North by the Emirs and the local authorities under their control. Candidates of the UPGA could not file their nomination papers in the North. Some were kidnapped by armed thugs. Others fled to safety. Mass arrests of UPGA supporters, about 5,000 of them, were reported from the North. Four of the prisoners died in their cells under mysterious circumstances. British soldiers patrolled the streets of Lagos, the capital, on polling day. All this happened in a "citadel" of Western type democracy in Africa.

One or two courses still remain out of the political quagmire in which Nigeria now finds itself. One is to secure the holding of free and fair elections. The other is for the politicians to agree on a caretaker government in which all the political parties which nominated candidates for the December elections will be equally represented. This government, in which President Azikiwe would assume more powers, could remain in office for a maximum period of six months, during which time arrangements would be completed for new, free and fair elections.

NATI

Kenya: "Jamhuri!"

THE BRITISH CROWN parted with its last East African jewel on December 12, 1964. Exactly one year after gaining independence, Kenya became a republic. The new republic is headed by Jomo Kenyatta, outstanding leader and patriot.

There is a part in Kenya which for many years was known as the White Highlands or White Man's Land. Dominated by Mt. Kenya, this elevated and fertile region attracted the British colonialists when they conquered Kenya towards the end of the last century. Big plantations there used the slave labor of Kikuyus, Kimbas and other indigenous people. Other tribes, regarded by the conquerors as a surplus labor force, were evicted and herded into barren reservations.

In point of fact the whole of Kenya from the northern semi-desert and Lake Victoria in the West to the Indian Ocean coast, was a "white man's land." Reservations were established everywhere. The shanty towns which festered on the outskirts of modern cities built by African labor were also reservations.

As imperialism's colonial empire began to crumble the forces of national liberation began to play a growing role in the life of the country.

Kenya's independence was won at the cost of countless lives lost in heroic struggle. In their 1952-56 war of annihilation the colonialists killed some 12,000 Africans. But neither terror, constitutional maneuvering, encouragement of separatist sentiment nor the fanning of tribal strife helped them to break the people's will for independence.

The best patriotic forces united in the Kenya African National Union which since 1960 headed the liberation struggle. The Union was headed by Oginga Odinga, James Gichuru and other patriots. In 1961 Jomo Kenyatta, recognized leader of the national-liberation movement, assumed leadership of the Union, which after its electoral victory in 1963 steered the country along the road of independent development.

Although land is Kenya's chief asset, the newly independent country is plagued by land hunger. Only 26 million acres out of a total of 140 million are cultivated. Moreover, until recently European farmers possessed 470 times more land than Africans, although the African population numbered 8,500,000 as against some 60,000 Europeans.

In view of the important economic role played by the European farmers, who account for about 80 per cent of the exports, the chief

source of income for the state, and because of their relations with the foreign monopolies, the government could not expropriate their land. It is purchasing the land of farmers willing to sell it and turning it over to African peasants on a deferred payment basis. It is cooperating with those who have expressed the desire to remain in Kenya, on the condition that they become Kenyan citizens, foregoing all their former privileges. Otherwise their land is automatically nationalized. Up to the present time about two million acres have been bought from European farmers and distributed among landless peasants.

The resettlement of landless peasants in the fertile Central Highlands, begun before the declaration of independence, has been accelerated in the past year. Another method of solving the land problem, in keeping with the KANU program, is alienation of land "not cultivated intensively enough," i.e., kept by the colonialists as a reserve. State farms will be set up on this land to give employment to landless peasants. The government is also encouraging cooperative farming. In the first year of independence 540 cooperatives were formed.

These measures alone will not, of course, completely solve the land problem resulting from decades of colonial rule. In keeping with Kenya's development plan for 1965-70, the government intends to extend the area under crops and pastures by means of irrigation, amelioration and de-salinization measures, on which more than one-quarter of the outlay on agriculture will be spent. These developments, together with the setting up of state and cooperative farms, road-building, construction of power stations will help to abolish unemployment, and should yield a 5.7 per cent increase in gross output, almost double exports, and substantially raise the average annual income per African family.

Last year the government launched a series of measures to relieve unemployment. For some years before independence employment had been steadily decreasing. It was impossible, therefore, to abolish unemployment in one year, and at the end of 1964 the country still had more than 200,000 jobless. Realization of the industrialization plans will eliminate this scourge.

Another grievous legacy inherited from colonialism is the almost total illiteracy. In 1964 the government built many schools, spending one-quarter of the budget on education—several

times more than the colonialists had spent in decades. In its campaign against illiteracy the state is aided by youth, women's and other democratic organizations.

The changes that have taken place in Kenya in the first two years of independence are indicative of the progress being made by the country. Kenya's international prestige, both in Africa and throughout the world, is also growing.

From the very outset the Republic proclaimed a policy of positive neutrality, non-alignment and peace and friendship with all countries, a policy of support for the peoples still fighting for liberation from colonial slavery. Kenya maintains relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and receives fraternal aid from them in implementing its plans for economic development.

The progress made to date is explained by the firm unity of the people. Kenya would have had little to show had it adopted the principle of regionalism advocated by the opposition. Towards the end of 1964 this was realized by the leaders of the opposition party, the Kenya African Democratic Union. Having failed to contribute constructive ideas to further progress, the KADU was defeated in the 1963 elections to the National Assembly. Under the pressure of the people striving for unity and who fully supported Kenyatta's party, the KADU leadership admitted the futility of their

opposition and in November 1964 dissolved the party. Some of its members, MPs included, had joined KANU somewhat earlier. Now their example has been followed by Ronald Ngala and other leaders and by many rank-and-file members of the self-disbanded party.

Kenya celebrated Republic Day as a centralized state headed by KANU, which enjoys the unreserved support of the people. The one-party system that has taken shape has been given legislative embodiment in the Constitution.

In many former colonial countries one-party rule reflects the objective unity of all patriots who having gained freedom have no desire for neo-colonialism—workers, peasants, intellectuals and national bourgeoisie. The ruling party in Kenya, just as in some other African states (Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, Zambia), is in fact, a national front which represents the interests of all the people.

Just as Swahili is now the common language of the different tribes and nationalities in Kenya, KANU is the spokesman of the national interests and aspirations of the people.

The new word of greeting now used by Kenyans is "Jamhuri," which in Swahili means "Republic." This word rings with the echo of the struggles waged by the people in both the distant and recent past; it rings with confidence in a bright future.

Joshua WANKALA

Mexican patriots regain their freedom

Letter from Mexico

AFTER THE BIG RAILWAY strikes in March and April 1959 a wave of anti-labor and anti-communist repressions swept our country. Close to 5,000 people were arrested. Only a few hundred, however, were brought to trial; a much larger number were held without trial for a long time. Some 20 people including the well-known painter David Alfaro Siquieros, Valentin Campa, Demetrio Vallejo, Gilberto Rojo Robles, Hugo Ponce de Leon, Alejandro Perez, Dionicio Encina and myself were kept in jail throughout almost the entire duration of President Lopez Mateos' term of office.

The campaign for the release of the political prisoners conducted throughout Mexico and beyond its borders was an impressive demonstration of international solidarity. Artists, writers and scientists demanded the release of Siquieros. The fraternal Communist parties, trade union centers headed by the World Federation of Trade Unions, youth and women's organizations in nearly all countries of the world expressed their solidarity with the Mexican prisoners proving that proletarian internationalism in the world revolutionary and working-class movement is growing stronger day by day.

The nearly six years' struggle for the release of the prisoners became an important part of all major mass actions for democratic freedom and for the observance of Constitutional rights. Even supporters of the government Constitutional-Revolutionary Party and the Right-wing National Action Party took up the cudgels on behalf of the victims of political repression.

The campaign reached peak during the presidential campaign of 1963-64. The immediate release of the prisoners and repeal of the reactionary law under which they were arrest-

ed became one of the main demands of the Popular Election Front and the Communist Party which supported the candidacy of Ramon Danzos Palomino. Moreover, the Front and the Communist Party nominated Siquieros, Campa, Perez and myself as candidates for the Senate and federal constitutional bodies.

In face of this broad national and international solidarity campaign the President was forced to take action. Last July he signed the order for the release of Siquieros who was pardoned because of "his outstanding services to his country." A week later another eight comrades including Alejandro Perez, Hugo Ponce de Leon, Julian Cardenas and myself were released, and on September 8 the prison gates opened also for Majimo Correa, Francisco Carballo, Eladio Aleman and two other comrades. Some of these comrades had been sentenced to terms of up to 17 years.

It should be said that the articles published in *World Marxist Review* (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) played an important part in the international solidarity campaign, and we who have experienced the savagery of the machinery of repressions are deeply grateful to the journal for what it has done to rally world opinion to fight for the release of the Mexican political prisoners. We should like to take this opportunity to thank all the organizations and individuals who have helped us to regain liberty.

But the struggle must not cease. Many of our comrades are still behind bars. We therefore appeal to world public opinion to protest and compel the new President to free the political prisoners jailed under the anti-constitutional law.

Jose Encarnacion PEREZ

Reply to the terror with a popular front!

Letter from Cameroun

EVER SINCE THE RIGGED elections held last April, the Ahidjo puppet regime, installed by the French imperialists has acquired a decidedly fascist tinge. To the just demand of the people for action to raise the miserably low standard of living, to use the resources of the country on behalf of the people, not to enrich foreign monopolies, and for genuinely democratic government, the regime answered with more repressions.

The main blow was directed against the Union of the People of Cameroun which for years has been waging a political and armed struggle against the virtual French occupation of the country.

A punitive force of 100,000 men, recruited both locally and in other parts of Africa, operates in our country. It is commanded by officers of the French Military Mission in Cameroun and by former Nazi officers from Federal Germany. These forces are supplemented by men of the Foreign Legion who specialized in torture and extermination in Algeria.

Patriots are brutally done to death by being buried alive or tied up in sacks and drowned.

The severed heads of patriots are displayed in the streets of towns and villages to intimidate the population. Public executions are common.

On September 4, 1964, the police in Douala arrested 18 persons on suspicion. On September 9, 15 active trade unionists were seized; the following night the police raided the ABC cinema, and some days later searched 1,800 passengers at the local railway station. On the night of September 26, more than 500 strong-arm men and gendarmes staged another raid in the Douala, rounding up more than a hundred people.

An indication of the fascist nature of Ahidjo's justice was the trial last November of a group of patriots by the military tribunal in Dschang. Indicted on a trumped-up charge of "endangering internal security," the accused were denied the right to choose their own counsel or prepare their defense. After a trial lasting a few hours, Felix Tenongoué was sentenced to 12 years hard labor and 19 years exile, Paul Fosting to 12 years hard labor, Jean Tchougang, to 8 years hard labor and 15 years

exile, Jean Kefawo to 7 years hard labor and five years exile.

Hardly a day passes without dozens of people being illegally arrested. A law adopted in October 1963 empowers the authorities to turn over to military tribunals anyone found uttering or writing anything that could be interpreted as derogatory about the head of the state, a minister, prefect or about the regime. Today there is hardly a family in Cameroun that is not mourning someone killed or maimed in police dungeons or who has "disappeared" without trace. Secret executions are common.

Tens of thousands are held in prisons and concentration camps where "experts" constantly try out "new and more effective" methods of torture on the inmates. It is estimated that 25 prisoners die every day on the average in concentration camps. Among the prisoners are Emmanuel Yapp, one of the founders of the Union of the People of Cameroun, Beck Mayo, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, Louis Yoppa and Ebenezer Etamé, trade union leaders, and many patriots belonging to other parties jailed for disagreeing with Ahidjo and known for their devotion to the people. Among them are Dr. M. Eyidi Bebey, Secretary-General of the Labor Party, Charles Okala, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party and André-Marie Mbida, Chairman of the Democratic Party.

The Revolutionary Committee of the UPC, together with all progressives of Cameroun, is demanding the immediate release of these patriots and all other political prisoners unlawfully held in custody.

To force the government to meet this demand it is necessary to reply to the persecutions by uniting all the patriotic forces in a powerful national front with a common program. The idea of the front, advanced by the Revolutionary Committee of the UPC, is gaining support among all sections of society. A powerful political front embracing all patriotic forces within the framework of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement is, along with armed resistance, the best way to achieve the national goal, to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and establish a democratic government in Cameroun.

Abdoulaye KONE

"NO" to the savage sentences in Spain

TWO TRIALS TOOK PLACE in Madrid last December—the trial of José Sandoval, member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, and a group of his comrades, and the trial of the poet Carlos Alvarez. Both were symptomatic of the situation in Spain today.

For some time past Franco has been at pains to persuade the world that he has liberalized his regime. A big propaganda effort has been launched to this end, especially abroad.

The massive movement of protest against the murder of Julian Grimau both in Spain and abroad compelled Franco to let up somewhat in the persecution. It was announced that the decree on terrorist acts, issued in 1940, would be repealed and that the military tribunals set up to try political cases would be replaced by special public tribunals.

The trial of Sandoval, however, showed that despite official claims to the contrary, the 1940 decree has actually remained in force. The new law on public order essentially changes nothing, inasmuch as the Prosecution continues to invoke the articles of the 1940 decree. Even "participation in Communist congresses" was described at the December trial as an aggravating circumstance. In violation of elementary justice, the authorities sentenced Sandoval to 26 years and three months imprisonment, and a fine of 150,000 pesetas. His comrades Justo Lopez and Luis Antonio Gil were sentenced to 23 years each, Martinez Velasco and Antonio Montoya, to 18 years each, Jose Daniel Lacalle, to 8 years and Francisca Pinilla to 6 years.

The case of Carlos Alvarez is somewhat different, yet it too attests to the terrorist nature of the trials of the anti-fascists now taking place in Spain.

After the murder of Grimau, the foreign press printed a letter signed by Carlos Alvarez stating that Grimau's trial had been a travesty of justice. For this the poet was immediately indicted on a charge of illegal propaganda. At the trial, held last October, Alvarez submitted evidence to prove that the public prosecutor in the Grimau case was a man who had never been admitted to the bar. The authorities retaliated by charging Alvarez with "contempt of the army," and sentencing him to another six months' imprisonment.

The Alvarez case is by no means an exception. Thirty-eight political prisoners in Burgos

prison signed a petition requesting that their cases be reheard and the sentences passed on them annulled. All 38 were notified that they would be court-martialled for "contempt of the army."

Thousands have been tried in recent months by the special public tribunals, police courts and commissariats. Many have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and some have been tortured. Among the victims are Andalusian peasants and workers, Catalanian and Aragon trade unionists, Asturian miners, Madrid metalworkers, Galician peasants, Basque and Catalanian factory and office workers, journalists, working people from the Balearic Islands, students and teachers, in a word, democrats from all over Spain and some foreign citizens as well. At present legal proceedings are being instituted against a group of patriots from Valencia for whom the prosecution is demanding sentences ranging from 18 to 41 years.

What is the reason for this ferocity? Why are the military tribunals functioning again? Why are emergency laws that aroused such a storm of protest throughout the world being invoked once more?

The explanation is to be sought primarily in the nature of the Franco regime. It has always been a fascist dictatorship with all the odious features of that type of government. Another reason is that the pretence of liberalization has not deceived anyone, nor has it checked the growth of the anti-fascist movement. This movement embraces men and women of all political views. The struggle is beginning to assume nationwide dimensions. At the end of last year 40,000 metalworkers marched through the streets of Madrid carrying banners with the slogans: "Down with Franco!" "Freedom for the Trade Unions!" "Give us the Right to Strike!"

The demonstrations of workers, students, Basque and Catalanian nationalists, intellectuals and peasants are merging into a mighty political movement helping to create a climate in which the overthrow of the dictatorship becomes possible.

The policy of national unity proclaimed by the Communists was reflected also during the Sandoval trial. Representatives of some of the most powerful anti-Franco trends in Spain, including the well-known Catholic Liberal Joaquin Ruiz Gimenez, the Socialist Enrique Tierno Galvan, members of the military-

judicial bodies, and others, stressed the loyalty displayed by the Communists in the struggle for the common cause. "The Communist Party," said R. Giménez, "respects all opinions and beliefs. I hope that in the not distant future it too will be respected by all."

Today the anti-Franco forces are faced with the task of getting the persecution stopped.

Mass support for this demand would make it a factor of enormous political significance. We need assistance and support of the international working-class and progressive forces everywhere. World public opinion must say a resolute "NO" to the monstrous sentences meted out in Spain.

Emilio PEREIRA

Somaliland wants to be free

FRENCH SOMALILAND is one of the last strongholds of colonialism in Africa. Officially it is not a colony, but an overseas department of France. The eighty years of colonial rule have brought untold misfortune to the peoples of this area.

The port of Jibuti, the economic center of the country, is a rich source of profit for the French transport companies and a strategic point for the French and NATO imperialists on the shore of the Gulf of Aden.

Towards the end of the last century a French company laid a railway line from Jibuti to Addis Ababa. Built with forced labor, it cost the lives of many Somalis. Today it continues to net the imperialist monopolies fabulous profits as a route for their exports not only from their colony but from neighboring Ethiopia as well. The strategic and economic significance of Jibuti and the railway is the chief explanation for the obduracy with which the French imperialists cling to this territory despite de Gaulle's vaunted "decolonialization" policy.

But the Somalis have no desire to remain a "department" of France. At the time of the 1958 referendum the colonialists had to resort to persecution and falsification to secure "approval" for the Gaullist Constitution. Since then the struggle has been steadily mounting, in line with the march of freedom throughout the African continent. It was intensified when the people of former Italian Somali and British Somaliland gained independence, and with the founding of the Somali Republic. On February 26, 1963, for example, 50,000 people marched to the consulates of the imperialist powers in Jibuti calling for an immediate end to the colonial regime. On May Day when the population of the port again held a demon-

stration, the colonial authorities used force against the demonstrators and arrested several trade union leaders.

All political parties, trade unions, meetings and strikes have been banned. People are arrested, jailed and tortured on the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the liberation movement. Police and members of the Foreign Legion, who have moved here from Algeria, break into the homes of citizens and seize anyone who strikes them as being suspicious.

The ruthlessness of the colonialists has faced the Somali patriots with the need to unite all the forces of liberation, both those who stand for independence and those who want to join the Somali Republic. The desire for unity is expressed in the activity of the Liberation Front of the Somali Coast which directs and coordinates the struggle.

The Somalis have the active support of progressive forces in France and elsewhere in the world, especially in the independent African countries and above all in the Somali Republic. The Organization of African Unity set up a special commission which was to go to Jibuti to investigate the situation on the spot. But the colonial authorities refused permission to the African representatives to enter the country and the commission was obliged to hold its investigation from the adjacent Somali Republic.

Despite the savage persecution, the people are carrying on the struggle for liberation with unflagging enthusiasm. The day is not far off when Somaliland will belong to the Somalis, and the French colonialists will have to get out of their last colony on the African continent. Such is the verdict of history.

M. DIENNE

Along the Leninist road

HUNGARY'S PROGRESS in building socialism, and the policy of the Socialist Workers' Party have, understandably, evoked considerable interest. Even the bourgeois press which, after the counter-revolutionary revolt of 1956 dripped poison and emitted the frenzied howls of a frustrated beast of prey, has begun to change its tone. Bourgeois journalists and politicians can no longer blind themselves to the fact that socialism in Hungary has come to stay and, moreover, is moving forward. The "secret" of the consolidation of the socialist system and the impressive achievements of the socialist revolution has attracted the attention of friend and foe alike. And nowhere perhaps is this "secret" more reliably and authentically revealed than in the speeches and statements by Janos Kadar, collected in the volume under the general title *Forward Along the Leninist Path*.*

The book covers a considerable period. The first speech is dated 1958, the last, 1964. The central place is occupied by Kadar's report and concluding remarks at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party. This Congress charted the current course of the Party and outlined the policy aimed at completing the building of socialism. The lesson to be drawn from the experience of the Party was cogently summed up by Kadar in his interview with Andre Wurmser, the *l'Humanite* correspondent: "Experience has shown that if a Party wants to extend its influence among the masses it must take a principled stand on every issue. Of course we must always consider how the decision will be received, but this cannot be the main criterion." And he added: "... The policy of the Party and Government must always be frank and sincere. The goals and the road to these goals must be clearly presented to the people. It is necessary to state openly on whom we rely, against whom we are fighting, and what we propose to do. It is wrong to conceal either the difficulties to be overcome or the mistakes that have been made" (pp. 149-150).

This consistent, principled, uncompromising policy has won the approval of the working class, the working peasantry and the intellec-

tuals. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the people's state, gained strength, and the guiding force of socialism, the Socialist Workers' Party, won the recognition and support of the people. As a result, a new situation has emerged. The foundations of socialism have been laid, and now we can carry on our work in what is rapidly becoming a monolithic, socialist society of the working class, of peasantry united in cooperatives, of intellectuals and of the entire working population.

The condition for further advance is the development of the Party's policy of alliances, the elaboration and consistent implementation of the policy of socialist national unity which was defined by the Eighth Congress as an objective already in the process of realization. The adoption of this policy does not mean that there is no class struggle in our society. It is a reflection of the fact that in the course of the class struggle, socialism has grown stronger, that the main social classes, judged from the standpoint of their objective position, have become socialist; new tasks have come to the fore and the forms and methods of the class struggle have changed. Constructive labor, the moulding of socialist consciousness, the ideological struggle, and education of the masses—these are the main fronts on which the class struggle is being fought today.

Summing up the new tasks advanced by the new conditions, Comrade Kadar said: "Having won decisive victories on the political front we must now strive to defeat capitalism in other spheres, particularly those where the survivals of the old world are most tenacious. Socialism will win its final and complete victory over capitalism by achieving a higher productivity of labor and a greater abundance of the good things of life. The solution of this problem cannot, however, be separated from the moulding of the socialist consciousness" (p. 90). These are the tasks that determine the sum and substance of socialist national unity. This unity presupposes debate and struggle. The socialist character of national unity can only be fortified in the course of debate with non-Marxist, bourgeois-philistine views, in the course of struggle against the survivals of bourgeois morality and behavior. The purpose of these discussions, these confrontations of opinion

*János Kadar. *Tovább a lenini uton*. Budapest. Kosuth Könyvkiado 1964.

among people working together for socialism is not to repel the opponents of our views, but to win them over. It is a struggle that demands much patience and persistence, thoughtfulness and consideration and, above all, firmness of principle. Comrade Kadar deals with the many aspects of this question, returning again and again to the idea that the Party can build socialism only in complete accord with the working people.

Reading the speeches and statements in the chronological order in which they are given, we find economic problems, problems of constructive labor emerging more and more into the foreground. The leitmotif of the discussion of the most diverse problems of socialist economy is that the development of socialist society must be accompanied by a steady rise in the standard of living. And from this follows the insistent demand for better work, better organization and better discipline. Greater productivity of labor, technological development, a rapid, concentrated, timely and economical realization of investments, lower production costs, more rational expenditure of materials and better use of labor—these are now the key tasks of socialist construction.

The second half of the book is devoted to the international aspect of the Party's activities. The speeches in this section, delivered at meetings with representatives of fraternal socialist countries, show how carefully the Hungarian Party fosters friendly relations with the socialist countries. They are documents testifying to the sincere fraternal ties, the close cooperation between Hungary and the Soviet Union, between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Comrade Kadar voiced the conviction shared by our Party when he said: "Hungarian workers realize that their achievements cannot be seen apart from the fraternal union with the other socialist countries, from the strength that unity implies. We particularly cherish our fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union." (p. 328). And further: "Unity of the world Communist movement is more vital to the Socialist revolution than ever before." These words are dictated by a sense of responsibility for the future of socialism and the international Communist movement. Prompted by this feeling of responsibility, this consciousness of the mutual dependence of the Hungarian people and the other peoples building socialism, appreciation of the world historical significance of the international Communist movement, the Socialist Workers' Party is exerting every effort to restore, uphold and consolidate the commonwealth of socialist countries and the unity of the world Communist movement.

It is impossible here to do more than touch briefly on some of the main ideas contained in the book. The speeches and public pronouncements of a man who occupies the posts of First Secretary of the Party and Prime Minister are naturally political acts and not private confessions. Nevertheless from the pages of this book there emerges the portrait of a tried and tested Communist leader, a man for whom service to his people and his Party, dedication to the Communist goal springs from an unswerving faith and profound conviction.

Andre MOLNAR

Science and militarism

THE STRUCTURE OF THE militarized U.S. economy, the way in which it affects science and, conversely, the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on the economy in general and the system of militarism in particular are some of the problems examined in *Science and Militarism in the United States*, a comprehensive, well-documented piece of research by J. M. Sheinin.*

BASIC FIGURES AND TRENDS

The author cites illuminating figures to illustrate the historically conditioned interdependence of science and militarism in the United States. That appropriations for re-

search and development constitute one of the main items of the national budgets nowadays is common knowledge. The United States, for example, spent \$14,000 million on these items in the 1960-61 fiscal year, or about \$70 for every man, woman and child in the USA. In the 1963-64 fiscal year per capita expenditure is expected to increase to \$78.4 (3.6 per cent of the national income). The share of total spending on research and development in the gross national product grew fivefold between 1940 and 1963, i.e., proportionately by as much as the national product itself. In absolute terms these expenditures increased in the above period 33-fold, exceeding the growth of the national product 5.8-fold, "which," as Sheinin observes, "attests to the growing role of technological progress in contemporary economic develop-

*J. M. Sheinin. *Science and Militarism in the United States*. Moscow Academy of Sciences Publishers. 1963. 590 pp.

ment" (p. 114). But the share in the national product of research and development for *military purposes* was greater still: it increased 50-fold in 23 years with an absolute increase of more than 300-fold. The total U.S. spending on research and development for military purposes between the 1939-40 and the 1963-64 fiscal years rose approximately from \$26 million to \$9,168 million, i.e., 352.6 times in current prices or nearly 180 times in fixed prices. The rate of increase of these expenditures exceeded the rate of growth of military spending proper 37.6-fold (in current prices).

Thus, the growing activity of government bodies engaged in research is determined chiefly by military needs. Ninety per cent of all government spending on research and development, according to the journal *Chemical Engineering* (April 4, 1960, p. 78), is made up of expenditure on research for military purposes. The same considerations determine the attitude of industrial concerns to science and its application. With technological progress, the war industry has developed into a major branch of U.S. industry with an annual turnover of more than \$25,000 million (as compared with \$10,000 million in such a widely-ramified international industry as oil).

The cold war has become a paying proposition in the United States. This has stimulated the growth of what might be called the "research industry"; the latter emerged when research became one of the decisive *economic* factors of deriving industrial profit. As the production base of the technological revolution under capitalist conditions, this "research industry" has developed to such an extent that, according to the *Magazine of Wall Street*, taken as a branch in itself, it would rate sixth or seventh in American industry as a whole for sales, leaving behind such giants as the automobile, chemical, mining and other industries. Moreover, none of the newer branches such as the nuclear, aircraft and rocket missile or radio-electronics on which modern military business is actually founded could have achieved their present level without the "research industry" which extracts knowledge by the methods of capitalist accumulation and has "indeed mastered the secret of 'transmuting quicksilver into gold' — of transmuting the knowledge extracted by the scientists into a profitable commodity." (p. 275-76). The place of science in the military-industrial complex of the United States is thus determined by the interweaving and interdependence of the two processes of transmuting knowledge: 1) into a commodity, and 2) into an instrument for war. The two processes are complementary.

Moreover militarization of the economy and science has cleared the way for general *state intervention* in these two spheres, for the increased supervisory functions of the state therein. It is precisely the military aspect of scientific discovery that acts as a stimulus to budget appropriations for scientific purposes,

and the author cites statistical data showing that the growing state intervention in the economy is in direct proportion to the military significance of the given branch. On the other hand, the process of scientific and technological development itself has become socialized, as Lenin foresaw in his analysis of monopoly capitalism. In effect the revolution in science and technology is undermining the system of private enterprise. Modern scientific and technological projects demanding huge investment of capital without any guarantee of immediate returns and involving tremendous concentration of material and technological resources are beyond the means of even the biggest private monopolies. Consequently, the state alone can afford to engage in fundamental research (primarily, theoretical nuclear science) on the required scale. Even industrial research in private industry is obliged to lean more and more on what the author calls "the prop of state-monopoly capitalism" (p. 257).

Thus, the growth of state-monopoly capitalism has given rise to a situation where instead of the socialized management and direction necessitated by modern science, a totally inadequate type of the capitalist commodity-money relationships operates.

THE CRISIS OF MILITARISM

This could not but distort the process of scientific progress. Up to a point the interests of war and military production do act as a spur to scientific progress; maximum concentration and mobilization of all available material and manpower resources accelerates the solution of certain scientific and technological problems which might otherwise be deferred. But the time comes when the contradictory and irrational nature of this situation becomes apparent. Militarism begins to retard and distort the progress of science itself as well as the stimulating effect of the technological revolution on economic development, while science strives to break out of the "alien and inimical confines of militarism" (p.515). Although capitalism tries to present militarism as a legitimate stimulus to technological progress, the facts show that even research and projects designed for war are apt by their inner logic to reach far beyond their original destructive purpose and demand the elimination of these same militaristic "stimuli" and restrictions (witness the development of space exploration). Besides being organically incompatible with theoretical science, the kernel of all technological progress, militarist pragmatism, bureaucratic conservatism and secrecy actually impede its development. And because these areas of science are in particular need of state support, they become most dependent on the war departments which have the maximum financial and material resources at their disposal. "Things have come to such a pass," writes Sheinin, "that the American theoretical scien-

tist who needs government backing must in most cases prove the military expediency of his project" (p. 345).

But science is not only the natural enemy of militarism; it undermines militarism from within, hastening its eventual demise. The utilization of science by militarism, the latter's dependence on modern technological achievements boomerangs against militarism itself. "As it becomes the leading and most revolutionary element of the contemporary productive forces," writes the author, "science naturally comes into conflict with militarism as the most reactionary and anachronistic institution of our time, hastening its crisis and creating the material and technical prerequisites for its elimination" (p. 447). Modern science and technology have created means of warfare possessing a colossal destructive power that cannot be measured by any conceivable political aims, and which make their practical application politically and socially absurd. With the advance of military technology based on the latest scientific achievements, the practical utilization of its results becomes increasingly sterile and meaningless. The more modern militarism is obliged to rely on technological progress (whose possibilities in this sphere are far from being exhausted) the more clearly is it revealed as an anachronism, doomed by

history. And hence, the greater the social and historical need to eradicate it. Having discovered the military-technical means of exterminating mankind in the flames of a thermonuclear holocaust, militarism by its own dialectics negates itself. Its flirtation with science spells its own destruction.

It is of course impossible for us to go into all the technological, economic, scientific, military-strategic and other aspects of this crisis of militarism which Sheinin examines in minute detail. We can merely recommend this interesting book to the reader and conclude this review with an excerpt from it which we believe sums up the author's main idea:

"There appears to be every indication today that the present stage of the military technological revolution, with its crying and well-nigh insoluble contradictions, will be the final stage at which the crisis of militarism will be irreversible. However, the collapse of militarism will not come of itself; its demise will be determined, primarily, by the superior development in the technological sphere as well—of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union which is actively working for peace and for peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems."

Jean MARR

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