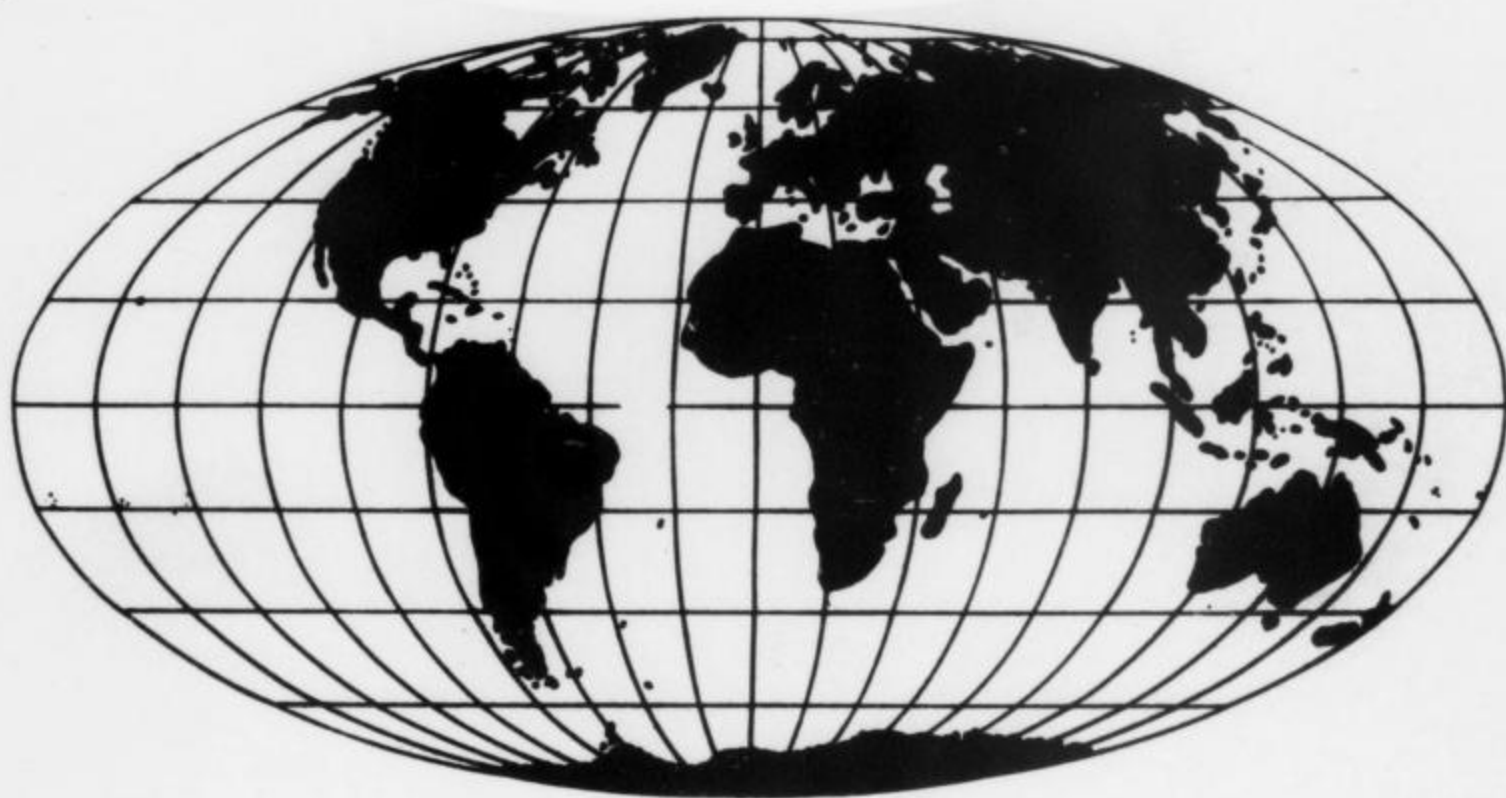


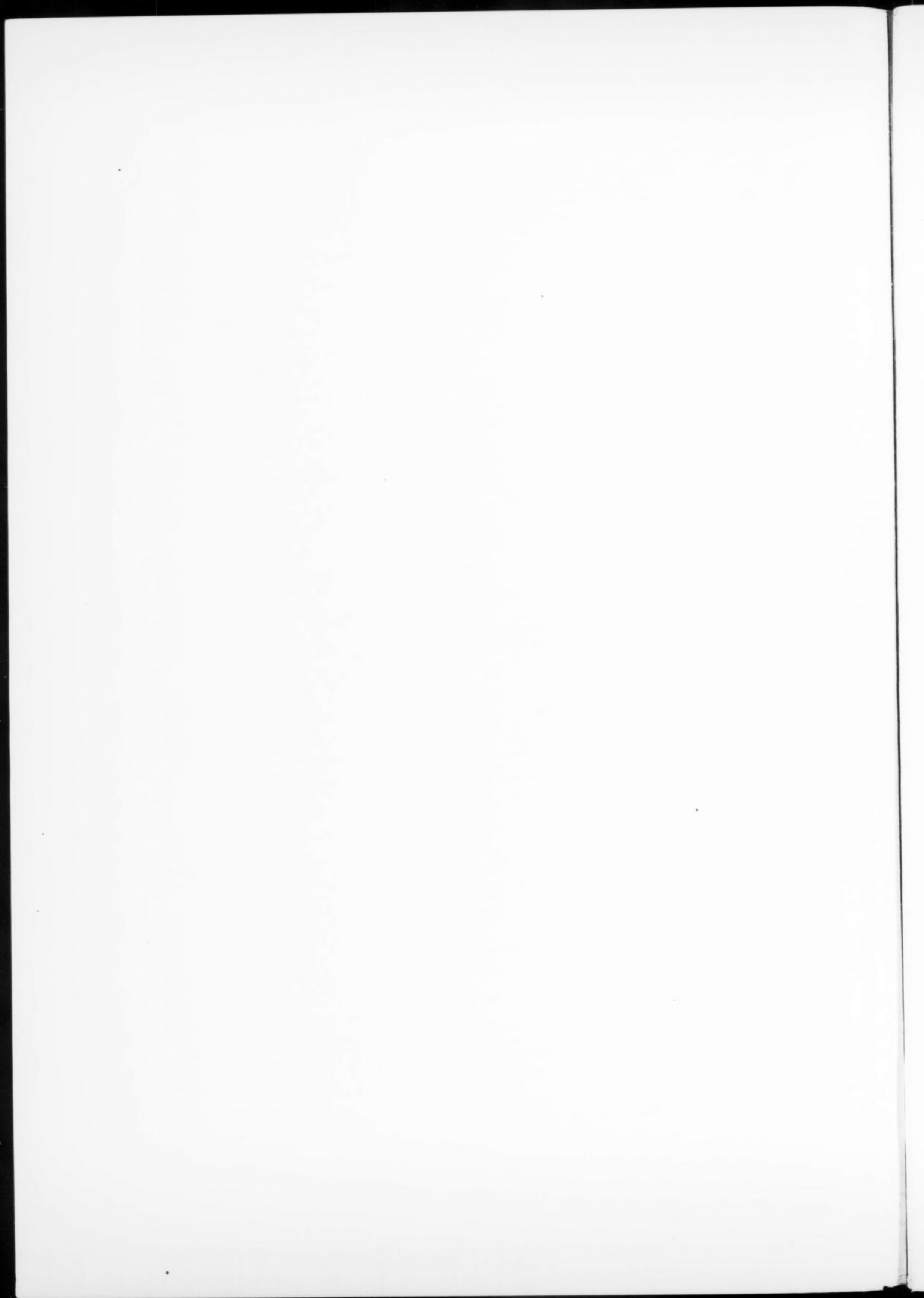
WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

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present situation and perspectives



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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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Latin America: present situation and perspectives

The events of the past months—the national-revolutionary struggle of the Dominican people, the battles in Bolivia, the aggravation of political tensions in Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay and Guatemala—have again brought Latin America into the focus of world attention.

It is becoming clear that, given the present structural framework, there is no way out of the economic, social and political crisis now maturing on the Latin American continent, making it one of the crucial sectors of the worldwide struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress.

The Cuban revolution has become an inspiring example for all the Latin American peoples. Over the whole of the continent, from the Northern frontiers of Mexico down to Tierra del Fuego, the people are joining more and more resolutely in the struggle against imperialism.

The present issue of our journal examines problems of the revolutionary movement in South and Central America. It will be appreciated that the articles on some of the issues now being discussed by revolutionaries of the continent do not cover every aspect of Latin American reality. The development of the struggle in the past ten years, and above all the Cuban revolution, have confronted the Communist parties with new problems of a strategic and tactical nature, changed the political orientation of other Left forces, and necessitated a more profound and concrete examination of some of the theoretical concepts concerning the revolutionary process in Latin America. This explains the wide range of problems discussed and the attention which the Communist parties devote to questions of theory.

The conference of Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, held at the end of last year, which revealed an identity of views on all vital issues affecting the revolutionary movement on the continent, was of inestimable value as a stimulus to further discussion and in coordinating the political and theoretical activities of the parties concerned.

The articles in this issue reflect the views of the Communist and other revolutionary parties in the different countries of South and Central America. Some of the questions dealt with offer material for further discussion. In subsequent issues we propose to print more materials dealing with the basic problems of the revolutionary movement in this area.

The revolutionary movement in Colombia

GILBERTO VIEIRA

TWO YEARS AGO in the April issue of *World Marxist Review* we set forth our Party's views on the political situation in Colombia and the perspectives of the struggle waged by the people. Our conclusions at that time can be summarized briefly as follows:

1) The growing ruling class violence,* chronic in Colombia, signified a new stage in the political struggle;

2) militarism had strengthened its positions; the army, under the leadership of U.S. experts, was being trained for "anti-guerrilla warfare";

3) the ruling circles had begun extensive preparations for an armed drive aimed at wiping out the peasant areas where the people, organized and led by former guerrilla fighters, were defending themselves against the violence of the latifundists and the government;

4) in the event of the drive taking place, the peaceful self-defense movement would develop into a guerrilla movement;

5) in the event of the military operations against the peasants in the Marquetalia region continuing, the army would "by its aggressive actions turn this region into an arena of guerrilla war."

The policy of the Communist Party, the article pointed out, consisted in intensifying and extending all forms of mass struggle; the Ninth Congress of the Party affirmed that

whatever course the Colombian revolution ultimately might take, one of its features would be the combination and interlacing of all forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, but based at the same time on rallying and organizing ever bigger sections of the people and steadily building up strength so that the revolutionary objectives might be achieved at the least possible cost to the people.

* * *

Today we can say that these conclusions have been fully borne out by practical experience.

Developments in this period have shown that armed resistance to the terror does not preclude peaceful, open and legal methods of struggle. On the contrary, the combination of these methods in the form best suited to the concrete conditions has proved to be both necessary and possible.

Examining our national reality from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory, we know that to end our country's dependence on U.S. imperialism, to deliver the people from the dual yoke of imperialism and the oligarchy, is a task requiring persistent and multiform revolutionary effort. We know that the struggle will be long and difficult, for the enemies, though doomed by history, nevertheless still have substantial power and resources and occupy strong positions.

The chief factors with which the people have to contend in their revolutionary struggle are:

a) the activities of the two main parties,

*The savage repressions unleashed by the reactionaries in the nineteen forties continue without let-up. This policy has gone through several stages and has cost hundreds of thousands of lives.

the Liberal and Conservative, which more than a century ago established their spheres of influence over public opinion in our country; a plebiscite held in 1957 when the Communist Party was banned gave them a complete monopoly of political life, enabling them to share ministries and seats in parliament on a "parity basis"—a farce euphemistically called "representative democracy";

b) the political and economic power exercised by a wealthy and influential Catholic hierarchy which controls education and is now modernizing its methods of propaganda;

c) the dominant position held by the big bourgeoisie (in league with and, in a sense, merged with the latifundists), rich in political experience and notorious for their ability to maneuver;

d) absence of unity in the working class and in the trade union movement, a result of disruptive activities zealously encouraged and financed by the big bourgeoisie, the Church hierarchy and the U.S. imperialists;

e) the weakness of the legal organizations of the working people in the countryside due to the repressions of the latifundists and the authorities subservient to them against the trade unions of agricultural laborers and the peasants' leagues;

f) an army with considerable experience of anti-guerrilla warfare.

However, neither these nor the many other obstacles to the development of the revolution can shake the militant spirit of the Communists or lessen their determination to carry on the struggle for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. Under the impact of the profound crisis gripping Colombian society, the reactionaries are losing ground while the revolutionary forces are gaining in strength, and the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology is spreading. The growth of radical trends among the working masses is due not only to the systematic work conducted by the Communists, but also to the influence of such factors as the laying of the foundations of communism in the Soviet Union, the construction of a new society in the countries of people's democracy, the achievements of socialist reconstruction in Cuba and the resistance of its people to U.S. aggression, the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam for national independence.

Big changes are taking place in our country at the present time. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the tortuous capitalist way of development (deformed as a result of dependence on U.S. imperialism and the semi-feudal survivals in the countryside) has led Colombia into an impasse. The failure of

the "ten-year development program," proclaimed with much fanfare as a condition for receiving "aid" under the Alliance for Progress, is officially admitted. During the operation of this plan, per capita output of agriculture decreased by five per cent, while growth of industrial output virtually ceased. The net result of the economic policy of the "parity regime" of the oligarchy is inflation and a rising cost of living. All this is the logical consequence of vast expenditure on maintaining the army and the machinery of repression, and of the outflow of huge sums to meet foreign debt commitments already in excess of \$1,200 million.

The political situation, too, is rapidly deteriorating.

In face of Government violence the peasant organizations have been forced to resort more and more to mass self-defense. The "preventive war" which the imperialists have declared on the revolutionary organizations in the countryside has given rise to a guerrilla movement that is growing by leaps and bounds.

Despite the opposition of the Right-wing union leaders, united working-class action is spreading. Strikes are more frequent and of longer duration.

The army, too, is in ferment. National feeling is growing among the officers, and the role of the army as the oppressor of the people and protector of the interests of foreign capital is causing much dissatisfaction.

Nor is the Catholic Church immune to the winds of change. Some priests are openly siding with the people and censuring the reactionary policy of terror.

The "parity system" by means of which the ruling classes had hoped to settle their differences amicably in order to hold back political developments indefinitely is in a state of crisis. Antagonisms between the various ruling groups and between the traditional parties are becoming more acute.

All in all, it can be said that the situation is explosive. The nature of the "parity system" does not admit of any transition to democratic reform; any major change will inevitably lead to the collapse of the system. But the genuine revolutionary changes the country so badly needs can only be effected by a powerful popular and democratic movement flexibly combining all forms of struggle. The Communist Party is consistently working to build up such a united, popular democratic movement.

* * *

In recent years Communist influence among the working class and peasantry has notably

increased. The Party has grown and its ideological level has risen.

The U.S. imperialists and the exploiting classes are, of course, doing everything to frustrate our Party's efforts. The "ideology" of the reactionaries who control the government is expressed solely in smear campaigns and anti-Communist provocations. The murder of Communist peasant leaders has always been the tried method not only of the latifundists but also of the so-called "national front" governments which have hired assassins for the purpose. The reactionaries, having invented the myth that the Communists had set up "independent republics" in various parts of the countryside, called for the destruction of these areas by fire and sword. This campaign was inspired by the U.S. military mission which drew up a plan for the extermination of the peasant movement in Colombia.

On the other hand, our policy of building up forces and mass action has been opposed in one way or another by the ultra-Left groups which for years have been urging the people to start a general armed uprising at once. These groups are not homogeneous. Besides men of no principle whatever and not a few police agents, they include many young idealists and sincere revolutionaries. Some of the latter have paid with their lives for the abortive attempts to launch a rebellion without the active support of the masses. Among these groups one also finds the charlatans who under all circumstances advocate insurrection as the panacea for all ills, and conceal their political and theoretical ignorance behind the theses currently propounded in some areas of the international Communist movement. They interpret this line in such a way as to justify the treacherous counter-revolutionary activities of a number of small groups whose sole purpose is to slander the Communist Party and undermine its unity.

Despite these attacks, machinations and intrigues, experience has confirmed the correctness of the Party's policy of accumulating strength and drawing the masses into the struggle.

The "preventive war" against the revolutionary peasant movement began in May 1964 when 16,000 troops, about one-third of the Colombian army, launched what was known as "Operation Marquetalia." Its purpose was to encircle and destroy the self-defense units operating in the mountain areas which the former guerrillas had turned into an agricultural region.

Marquetalia was the first target of the "preventive war," but the government, the

army and the capitalist press made no secret of the fact that El Pato, Rio Chiquito, Guaya-bero, Sumapaz and other districts were to be the next objectives.

"Operation Marquetalia," the biggest ever undertaken by the Colombian army, was originally launched as a "part military, part civilian" action. As conceived by the U.S. strategists, the first stage of the offensive was designed to introduce the army to the peasants as their "protector" and "benefactor." In this guise the soldiers were to study the terrain, perform reconnaissance and gradually tighten the ring around the area. This last and most important element of the plan, however, was frustrated by the peasant self-defense organization quickly forming into mobile guerrilla groups.

After many clashes in which the troops, though equipped with modern U.S. weapons, suffered heavy losses, the high command executed a surprise maneuver calculated to lead to the capture of the leaders of the Marquetalia movement. So confident were they of success, that representatives from the leading newspapers and war correspondents from the United States were invited to give the operation the widest publicity.

The high point of the operation was to be the landing by helicopter of a force of paratroopers. A large force was dropped in the vicinity of the two ranches where lived the peasant leaders Manuel Marulanda and Isauro Yosa, who had assumed command of the guerrillas. But the guerrillas eluded their pursuers, withdrawing to the cover of the wooded hills. And although the press proclaimed the "defeat of the reds in the Andes" and the "end of the republic of Marquetalia," the struggle had in fact only begun. Once again the lightning offensive strategy had been defeated by the determination of the revolutionary peasants, and their skillful guerrilla tactics.

The struggle in Marquetalia, now in its second year, is gaining in scope and intensity. All the operations undertaken by the army, despite the use of rocket missiles and the disgraceful attempt to resort to bacteriological warfare (glass tubes containing viruses and bacteria were dropped by plane), ended in failure. The costly and widely publicized "Operation Marquetalia" proved a fruitless undertaking incapable of breaking the resistance of the revolutionary peasants.

The character of the Marquetalia guerrilla movement has changed. This is evident from its recently published program. "We, revolutionaries," it says, "are fighting to change the regime. We would like to wage the

struggle by means less painful for our people, through legal, peaceful, democratic mass struggle. But this road has been closed to us by the ruling classes. And as revolutionaries fulfilling a historic mission, we are compelled by circumstances to choose another way, the way of armed revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power."

That is why our Party announced that the events in the Marquetalia area marked the beginning of a new stage in the guerrilla struggle in Colombia. This new stage has a clearly defined revolutionary content. The struggle is no longer limited to defense of the lives and property of the peasants in the particular area. Its purpose is to develop a broad national movement capable ultimately of taking over power, setting up a people's democratic state, carrying out a democratic land reform and any other changes that would help to extricate the country from the present crisis.

Compared with the guerrilla war against the reactionary and militarist governments of 1949-53 and 1954-57, the new stage is marked by new features.

As before, the guerrilla movement is the response to the armed aggression by Government troops. But this time the aggression did not take the peasant movement by surprise. Its leaders took advantage of the situation to explain to the people that the responsibility for the violence rested solely with the Government and its policy of subservience to U.S. imperialist schemes.

The guerrilla war of today bears little resemblance to the sporadic outbursts of mass action of old. It was preceded by careful preparation based on past experience. Today the guerrilla fighters harbor no illusions. They know that they have started a long and difficult struggle that will continue until final victory is won. But this time they have a definite program of action and a clear perspective. The inspiring example of nearby Cuba impels them forward, helping them to understand how important a struggle such as theirs is in our time for Colombia, Latin America and the world generally.

Unlike the guerrilla movement of past years, which enjoyed the sympathy of only the vanguard of the working class and part of the urban middle sections, the struggle of the Marquetalia peasants looms large in the life of the Colombian people and has evoked wide solidarity everywhere. The heroic resistance of the guerrilla fighters there has made short shrift of the army's reputation for invincibility built up in recent years by its easy victories over revolutionary idealists

and diverse bands renounced by the peasant masses. The wholesale arrests of peasants, the savage torture of political prisoners, and the executions without trial or investigation have failed to alter the situation. At the end of last year spokesmen of the ruling classes demanded from the War Ministry explanation for the failure of "Operation Marquetalia."

* * *

When the general offensive against Marquetalia was launched, the ultra-Lefts insisted that the Communist Party include all the organized peasant areas in the guerrilla movement and extend the armed struggle to the whole of the country. These demands were echoed by some of the police provocateurs as well.

What these people did not realize was that the Communist Party had long since given careful consideration to this question and had taken the necessary decision several years ago. In April 1961 a national conference of Communist self-defense leaders outlined a definite policy which was subsequently endorsed by the Ninth Congress of our Party. This policy was based on the following premises:

a) to react to an offensive against one or another area by ordering an armed uprising in *all* the revolutionary peasant areas would signify beginning an uprising at the moment chosen by the enemy;

b) the general uprising should begin at a moment favorable for the popular forces, depending on the existence of a revolutionary situation;

c) pending a revolutionary situation, the peasant district or districts attacked should be turned into guerrilla zones which will have the support of all the people in various forms and degrees, depending on the concrete political situation and the level of development of the mass struggle on a national scale.

When the "ultra-Lefts" learned of this policy they proceeded to predict the inevitable defeat of the guerrilla movement in Marquetalia and accused our Party of "revisionism" and "betrayal of the peasants." However, their defeatist prophecies proved to be as unfounded as the victory claimed by the army command.

The armed struggle in Marquetalia and other areas showed that a guerrilla movement of peasants who regard it as a vital necessity, a movement which adheres consistently to the revolutionary line without fanfare or hesitation, will hold its own against the armed forces of the enemy, however numerous, even if the conditions do not

yet exist for extending the armed struggle to the entire country.

On the other hand, events again confirmed that peasant guerrilla warfare is one of the highest forms of mass struggle, that if it is rooted in the masses, enjoys their support and expresses their interests, it is bound to succeed.

Our previous experience showed that armed struggle started by "emotional revolutionaries," without heed to the wishes of the peasant masses and lacking their support, is easily defeated by the enemy.

The revolutionary guerrilla movement which started in Colombia last year is becoming a new and important political factor. Despite the initial setbacks and losses, the movement has grown stronger and is already amazing its enemies by its staunchness and initiative. The extraordinary tenacity of the guerrilla movement in Marquetalia was recognized recently by President Guillermo Valencia himself, who, after the usual diatribe of lies and calumny, noted that "the 250 km. march through the jungle accomplished by the guerrilla column was evidence of tactical leadership and plans pursuing a definite objective."

Marquetalia has become a revolutionary symbol. It exerts a definite influence on the general political situation in the country accelerating the crisis of the notorious "parity system."

Inspired by the example of the Marquetalia guerrillas, the peasants in El Pato and Guayabero areas also put up stubborn resistance to the army attacks. Of late more guerrilla pockets have made their appearance; a youth detachment in Santander department, and several groups in southern Tolima made up of Liberals opposed to the regime.

* * *

The guerrilla war now being waged in Colombia is not yet the main form of political struggle in the country. The peasant guerrilla movement is growing only in some areas, mainly those attacked by the army, but the mass struggle over the greater part of the country is being carried on in what might be termed peaceful forms: strikes and demonstrations by workers, students and the public generally. In some rural areas the peasants occupy the untilled land belonging to the latifundists. But so far these actions have not gone to the length of armed struggle for the land. In the towns the work of organizing popular self-defense is still in its initial stages. To make headway here it is necessary to overcome the views held by those who would like to reduce this work to action

by intrepid individuals—not mass work but the isolated actions of the few.

A recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, however, noted that in the areas where the guerrilla movement has taken root it is becoming the principal form of struggle, the axis around which mass action revolves.

Those who for one reason or another would like our Party to declare guerrilla war the principal form of struggle for the entire country already now, would do well to study the lessons of the Vietnam revolution, for instance, as formulated by the former commander-in-chief of the Vietnam People's Army (now Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of Vietnam) Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap. "At each stage," he writes, "it is essential to maintain a precise balance between political and armed struggle. At first the political struggle takes first place, and the armed struggle, second; these two forms gradually develop, their significance evens up, until ultimately there comes a stage when the armed struggle emerges to the fore; but even then one should be able to determine the precise moment when the armed struggle is but partly the predominant form, and the moment when it becomes the factor that determines everything."

* * *

The question as to whether or not a revolutionary situation exists in our country is the subject of much discussion (though no one doubts that what is sometimes termed an *ante-revolutionary* situation does in fact exist). In the specific circumstances of our country it would be wrong, of course, to make the beginning of armed struggle, of peasant guerrilla warfare, conditional on all the components of a revolutionary situation being ripe at a given moment.

The point is that resolute resistance on the part of the peasant organizations to the offensive operations and terrorist aggression by government forces and the latifundists is a matter of life or death for the revolutionary peasant movement and the Communist Party of Colombia.

Failure to retaliate against the armed assaults of the class enemy by mass armed resistance on the grounds that this kind of struggle should be reserved solely for a revolutionary situation, would mean submitting passively to the destruction of the peasant movement and our Party organizations in the countryside.

". . . Retreat and surrender of positions owing to lack of fighting initiative or proper preparation must be regarded as complete

capitulation. Of course, no one in these circumstances can guarantee victory, especially when the enemy has all the advantages accruing from initiative. But nothing is more demoralizing than allowing the enemy to win without offering serious resistance. . . .” These words of Rodney Arismendi are fully applicable to the present situation in Colombia.

One thing is clear, namely, that in the fight against the resistance of the people which takes the form of guerrilla warfare supported by the peasant masses, the enemy can never win.

* * *

Although the Communist Party realizes that the main task is to strengthen its organization in the towns and extend its influence among the working class, it has learned that political and organization work in the countryside gives it enormous advantages and is the best guarantee that the Party will maintain its existence in periods of repression and reaction.

The influence enjoyed by the Party in the countryside is the result of painstaking work carried out by it ever since 1930 when it was founded. The Communists have led many peasant actions against the semi-feudal exploitation in the countryside, and in a number of districts they have led the peasants in their fight for land.

When armed peasant revolts broke out spontaneously at the end of 1949 against the “fire and sword policy” of the ultra-reactionary governments, the Communists took part in these actions despite the fact that many of them were deliberately provoked by agents of the bourgeoisie. Wherever the Communists were able to organize proper leadership of the guerrilla struggle, our Party won prestige and influence. And vice versa, it lost prestige and influence in areas where some comrades committed adventurist and sectarian mistakes. The agents of the bourgeoisie, in league with the army, lost no time in making use of these errors to isolate and destroy the Communists.

From the very first our Party has worked to build up its own political organization in the countryside based on branches in the latifundia. It has also sought to establish legal mass organizations such as peasant leagues and agricultural laborers’ unions. But little headway has been made in this respect since even the more progressive Liberal governments were opposed to giving peasant organizations legal status, while Conservative governments ruthlessly suppressed any attempt in this direction.

The militancy of the peasants, led by the Communist Party, grew in the course of the struggle for lower rent, choice of crop cultivation and release from semi-feudal obligations. But most significant was the fight to occupy and till the untilled lands held by the latifundists. It was in the course of this struggle that the idea was conceived of forming a mass self-defense movement to prevent the landlords from driving the peasants off the land and to resist the repressive measures of the authorities. As the movement developed, revolutionary peasant districts appeared, which the government characterized as “independent republics” and which as a rule are zones inhabited mainly by middle peasants who have wrested their land from the latifundists.

* * *

The imminence of a revolutionary situation necessitates a deeper study of the problem of the motive forces of the revolution and of the role in it of the different strata of the population.

The principal motive force is the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. This alliance, which is just beginning to emerge, is already influencing the course of the struggle. For example, for a number of years the oil workers have been supporting the peasants threatened with expulsion from their land by the U.S. oil monopolies. The peasants in their turn, render considerable aid to the workers during strikes. The movement of solidarity with the Marquetalia peasants embracing large sections of the working class has become an important factor in the political life of the country. But much has yet to be done before the worker-peasant alliance becomes a tangible reality.

The working class is growing from day to day. But the gulf that has long divided the trade union movement has prevented the proletariat from exerting a decisive influence on national life. Behind this split is the power, the money and the propaganda machine of the U.S. monopolies and their trade union agencies, the big capitalists at home, the Catholic hierarchy and the government. For example, the leadership of the Workers’ Union, which has a membership of some 300,000, has long been under the influence of the Catholic Church, while the leaders of the Confederation of Labor, with a membership of less than 100,000, collaborate with the bourgeoisie. But there also are many independent unions, and more and more of them are anxious to unite on a class platform—in the Trade Union Confederation (which

has about 180,000 members at the present time).

In these circumstances the revolutionary role of the working class is a much debated question these days.

Lenin, examining the question of a revolutionary situation, advanced the following important thesis: "Neither the oppression of the lower classes nor a crisis among the upper classes can cause a revolution; they can only cause the decay of a country, unless that country has a revolutionary class capable of transforming the passive state of oppression into an active state of revolt and insurrection."

Colombia has such a revolutionary class. Notwithstanding the split in the trade union movement, the militancy of the workers is growing. Strikes frequently develop into regular class battles. The capitalists and their government do everything to demoralize the strikers by dragging out the labor conflicts endlessly, in an effort to wear the workers down or at any rate to force them to pay a high price for the satisfaction of their demands. But the workers do not give in even when the strike struggle lasts for half a year and sometimes longer.

During the long-drawn out strikes the demands that sparked off the conflict gradually recede into the background and the strikes develop into revolutionary battles against the policy of the bosses and the government, against the policy of repressions and division pursued under cover of anti-communist hysteria. Long strikes tend to consolidate working-class unity, inasmuch as the resistance of the strikers is backed by the solidarity of workers belonging to all the trade union centers. The strikers receive help from independent workers' and peasants' organizations and also from the branch organizations of other trade union centers.

Last January the protests against a new tax on consumption nearly developed into a general strike. For a time all the unions took up the cudgels, to the horror of the government and the big bourgeoisie. By resorting to splitting maneuvers and anti-communist provocations the ruling classes managed to avert the strike. But the government had difficulty in finding a way out of the situation and was forced to compromise. Moreover, the preparation for the general strike had important political consequences. For one thing it led to the resignation of the War Minister, the most likely candidate for the leadership of a military coup. The January

strikes showed what a force the working class can be when it takes the slightest step towards united action.

There is no doubt that there exists in Colombia today that "revolutionary class capable of transforming the passive state of oppression into an active state of revolt," of bringing nearer the revolutionary changes for which the peasants are battling so courageously. Acceleration of this process depends in large measure on the success of the struggle for united working-class action, on the growth of the political and ideological influence of the Communist Party in the leading proletarian centers. The development of events in this direction will be decisive for building the alliance of the working class and peasantry, for effectively coordinating the movement of all revolutionary forces, among whom a special place is held by the students who are carrying on the splendid traditions of democratic and anti-imperialist struggle.

As the national organization of the students grows stronger and the students themselves overcome the consequences of the imported split, the revolutionary role of this group of society will, undoubtedly, be enhanced. Proof of this was afforded by recent student actions which broke out in protest against the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and which subsequently developed into a big political battle against the regime. In the course of this struggle the students, supported by other sections of the population, wrung important concessions from the government.

* * *

All the signs are that Colombia is on the threshold of a revolutionary situation. The anti-democratic "parity" system is clearly breaking up. But unless the workers and the people generally unite in the struggle for a revolutionary way out of the social crisis there is the danger that the condition which Lenin described as the "decay of a country" will persist for a long time to come. Hence the only correct path is the path leading to united working-class action, to the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, to the establishment of a united front of the patriotic and democratic forces. Any activity directed against unity in the ranks of the revolutionaries plays into the hands of U.S. imperialism and the corrupt ruling oligarchy. The current division in the world Communist movement complicates and hampers our struggle. But even this cannot prevent the revolution in Colombia from moving forward to fulfilment of its tasks.

Social developments in El Salvador and the policy of the Communist Party

JOSE SANCHEZ

THE FIFTH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of El Salvador, held in 1964, was most fruitful, as the Central Committee has repeatedly stressed. It furthered Party unity, set forth the Party's political line and was a victory over reaction and imperialism.

The Central Committee summed up the results of the Congress as follows:

"1. The Fifth Party Congress adopted new Rules which meet the requirements of the Party.

"2. It set forth an ideologically and politically substantiated line.

"3. It elected a Central Committee and broadly representative leading committees which are supported by the entire Party.

"4. It produced drafts of a general and an agrarian program. These drafts, which are to be discussed and amended by the people, will be guidelines for the everyday struggle.

"5. It specified the principles on which a united democratic and anti-imperialist front should be set up and the methods for achieving it.

"6. The people, it stressed, should strengthen their organizations in the fight for their economic, political and social demands.

"7. It pointed to the need to fight for the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

"8. The Congress contributed to the solidarity of our Party and our people with the

fraternal Communist and Workers' parties fighting for national liberation, democracy, peace, socialism and communism."

Inspired by the Congress, the Party is now engaged in carrying out its decisions, conducting its mass work in a new way.

We would like in this article to point to the more important aspects of the economic and political situation which has developed in the country in recent years.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

AGRICULTURE

Recent years have seen certain developments in agriculture. Production of export items has risen considerably, to the detriment of production for the home market. In 1962 and 1963, output for the foreign market exceeded grain output for the first time, and this trend is continuing. The result is a declining standard of living, on the one hand, and growing economic dependence on imperialism, on the other. More and more, the country is becoming a supplier of farm produce for the imperialist monopolies.

The pattern of export has changed. The value of the coffee exported in 1955 amounted to 85 per cent of the total export, and in 1963 to 48 per cent. Yet coffee growing, far from decreasing, has increased. Exports of sugar and shrimps have likewise increased. During the same period, the share of cotton exports rose from 8 to 24 per cent.

While the export of farm produce has become more varied, El Salvador remains an agricultural appendage to U.S. imperialism. Its economy depends not only on the world

El Salvador, with an area of 20,000 sq. km. and inhabited by approximately three million people, is the most densely populated country of continental America. The bulk of the population lives in the countryside, and almost 70 per cent of those gainfully employed are wage workers. The republic has the unenviable renown of ranking second among the countries of the world for malnutrition. Fifty-seven per cent of the adult population cannot read or write. Over 200,000 children of school-age fail to find accommodation in schools every year. El Salvador is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country with a one-sided capitalist economy.

prices of coffee, but on those of cotton and sugar as well. Imperialist maneuvers aimed at reducing the export prices of our agricultural products have made the economy still more vulnerable.

Growing cotton and sugar production has accelerated capitalist development in the countryside where, although hampered by survivals of feudalism, capitalist relations may be said to predominate.

Concentration of landed property is exceedingly high. Fewer than 1,000 big landowners, barely one per cent of the total, hold two-thirds of the cultivable area. This state of affairs, which results in land hunger for many, coupled with the eviction of peasants from the land, means that more and more peasants and their families are turned into landless agricultural proletarians. Since 1961 this proletarianization of the peasantry has become more pronounced.

Agricultural wage laborers constitute the most numerous social group in the countryside. Their numbers grew from 194,000 in 1951 to 305,000 in 1961, or by 56 per cent.

INDUSTRY

El Salvador is industrially underdeveloped, and what little industry there is, is mainly light industry. However, industrial output has picked up noticeably in recent years. Its share in the national product has more than doubled since 1950, whereas the share of agriculture has diminished. Surplus value created by industry has grown fourfold in this period, due above all to the new plants.

Unemployment is rife. According to the 1961 census, there were 30,000 building workers. But the industrial census for the same year showed that only 13,000 of them had jobs. The number of adults not engaged in production considerably exceeds that of the gainfully employed and amounts to 888,000, mostly women. The imperialists are extending their grip in every industry, primarily through so-called mixed companies.

GROWTH OF THE WORKING CLASS

Statistics show that workers working for wages in town and countryside make up the overwhelming majority of the labor force. In 1961 their proportion was 540,000 out of a total labor force of 806,000, or 70 per cent, with 305,000 employed in the countryside. In 1950, there were only 362,000 wage workers. Thus the social composition of the population has undergone a substantial change during the past decade due to the growth of the urban and agricultural proletariat. We

now have a relatively large and growing industrial working class (100,000 strong), and a numerous agricultural proletariat.

THE OLIGARCHY

The traditional oligarchy still holds a dominant position in a number of areas. The top growers and exporters of coffee, who are also the biggest landowners, have amassed huge capital which they have augmented further by importing foreign manufactures. This group controls the country's banking, thereby monopolizing the nation's finances. As a result, this group of the oligarchy has penetrated into every branch of the economy — industry, trade, fishing, and the new branches of agriculture.

IMPERIALIST PENETRATION

While the U.S. imperialists have no direct control of the plantations and do not, as yet, completely control the nation's finances, they nevertheless dominate the economy thanks to their grip on foreign trade, on the key branches of industry and services, through loans and other forms of neo-colonialist penetration.

Over 30 per cent of the export and import trade is in their hands. They fix low prices for our agricultural exports and high prices for imported manufactures, which is doubly harmful to our national economy. The conditions of foreign trade are becoming increasingly unfavorable. Between 1953 and 1962 export prices (per unit of weight) dropped by 43 per cent, whereas import prices went up by four per cent. This caused a loss of 1,059 million colones, (one colon equals 40 U.S. cents), or over 100 million colones a year, which is much more than all the "aid" received under U.S. programs.

U.S. capital is penetrating more and more into the nation's finances. In 1964 the First National City Bank of New York opened a branch in El Salvador, with an initial capital of \$10 million. The Bank of El Salvador owes vast sums to the Bank of America, California, and our Central Reserve Bank has received credits from U.S. banks running to 30 million colones. The overall share of U.S. capital in our banking system exceeds 70 million colones. In other words, the U.S. monopolies are gradually swallowing up the nation's finances.

Transport by sea, rail and air is controlled by imperialist companies. They own one of our ports — it belongs to a subsidiary of the United Fruit Co. — and they control the generating and distribution of electric power.

The oil refineries, assembly plants for TV sets, super-markets, and the numerous industrial enterprises built by U.S. interests in recent years either directly or through mixed companies, are all monopoly-owned. Between 1953 and 1962 direct foreign (almost exclusively U.S.) investment in joint-stock companies alone (industry, transport, services and home trade) increased from 16 million to 66 million colones. Indirect investment grew even faster.

U.S. capital makes its way into agriculture through direct loans to producers. For instance, U.S. banks granted cotton planters loans totalling 37 million colones in 1962 and 1963. The result is that the home growers are becoming tributaries of U.S. finance capital.

According to official sources our foreign debt rose from 21 million colones in 1952 to 222 million in 1962, and it is still growing.

The Alliance for Progress and other "aid" programs and specialized "philanthropic" organizations, such as the Ford, Kellogg and Rockefeller foundations or the Peace Corps, as well as international finance organizations are channels for imperialist penetration. Diverse methods have been devised to establish economic and political control over El Salvador and to turn it into a new type of colony.

Specifically, the U.S. imperialists set up or recast autonomous organizations which function alongside the basic government bodies. These organizations, more or less controlled by special U.S. agencies or operating with their assistance, are gradually taking over vital spheres of government. They are financed out of the state budget and through U.S. loans. Among them are the National Water Supply and Sewerage Administration, the National Telecommunication Administration and the Peasant Welfare Administration. This plainly signifies a steady erosion of national sovereignty. Adding to this the subordination of our armed forces to the U.S. military mission, the activity of U.S. military "advisers" and the subordination of our foreign policy to U.S. imperialist interests, one gains a rough idea of the extent of our dependence on imperialism and of the impending threat of complete loss of national sovereignty.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

On the initiative of Washington, Central American countries have since 1952 been working on plans for economic integration and for a "common market." The twenty or more treaties, agreements and protocols

signed so far concern free trade in most of the commodities produced in Central America, coordinated planning of the power industry, the unification of financial guarantees and privileges for industrial enterprises, special conditions for so-called integrated enterprises and the setting up of special agencies for finance, coordination and technical development, etc.

In the economic report submitted by the Central Committee to the Fifth Party Congress we read apropos of this integration: "As it stands now, this movement, aimed at establishing a market of eleven million consumers, is very profitable above all for foreign monopolies. In the guise of a 'common market', the monopolies which supply Central America with manufactured goods are building (on their own or in collaboration with big local capital) enterprises for packaging, assembling or finishing articles imported from the United States, Western Europe or Japan. This sharply reduces their outlays for labor, taxes and transport while their profits rise steeply. A feature of this process, and also proof of the insatiable greed of foreign capital, is that prices for these goods have not dropped and in some cases have actually risen."

The plans for economic integration and a common market in Central America are yet another powerful means by which the U.S. imperialists seek to dominate the economy of this region. The idea is to strangle and eliminate the emergent national bourgeoisie. The so-called integrated enterprises (such as Firestone in Costa Rica or Qinsa in Guatemala), which have monopoly rights throughout Central America, are a particularly dangerous threat to the national bourgeoisie.

In recent years there has been a certain growth of industry and trade between Central American countries. Intra-regional exports increased from \$8,600,000 in 1950 to \$32,700,000 in 1960 and \$60 million in 1963.

El Salvador's trade with other Central American countries between 1953 and 1963 grew as follows: imports more than fourfold and exports almost tenfold.

Despite the limited and lop-sided character of this process — a product of the policy of imperialism — the growth of trade and relative industrial progress objectively make for a certain development of capitalism in some of the Central American countries irrespective of U.S. aims and plans. This has a bearing on the enlistment in the struggle of those sections of the population whose interests are injured by the increasing imperialist penetration.

Although various groups of the bourgeoisie

cooperate with the imperialists in carrying out the integration plans, even the comprador element finds itself in conflict with the foreign monopolies.

Worthy of note is the fact that coordination of the military and police activities on the isthmus is increasing on the basis of the economic integration plans and under Washington tutelage. Agreement has been reached for a Central American general staff, though the Salvadoran Army has not fully adhered to it because of certain differences with the other countries. The Ministers of the Interior hold numerous conferences to coordinate "the struggle against Communism," which, needless to say, is not limited to measures against the Communist parties but extends to all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces in our countries. These meetings are attended by high-ranking U.S. government spokesmen. The heads of the police and immigration authorities, for their part, have likewise held many conferences under direct U.S. control.

In fact anti-communism is used as a pretext to lay the groundwork for a Central American colonial government.

As we see it, economic integration in the national interest, that is, ensuring the proportional development of industry, division of labor within groups of countries and, eventually, between all countries, economic interaction on an equal footing, and a steady improvement in living standards, cannot be complete without abolishing private ownership of the basic means of production. Public ownership alone can provide the material basis for a true community of interests and for cooperation and mutual aid in the interests of each country. This type of integration can only be a product of socialism. Indeed, it is now being realized in the socialist countries of Europe.

But as they carry out economic integration, backward countries can go ahead with their economic development and raising the standard of living even before they take to socialism. This will be the case if the integration is accompanied by the isolation and expulsion of foreign monopoly capital. Given these conditions, the economic integration of a group of developing countries and free trade between them can be made a means of independent growth.

It follows that the movement for economic integration and a common market involving countries which, like ours, are appendages to big capitalist countries, primarily the United States, can proceed along one of two lines: ensuring maximum profits for the fore-

ign monopolies, or by fighting against imperialism for economic independence.

We firmly support the national-liberation, anti-imperialist movement for economic integration and free trade between Central American countries. This movement would help our peoples to win economic independence, which is indispensable for political independence. We advocate a broad democratic front to attain this goal. The colonialist character of the integration can, in our view, be reversed by uniting the working people and the small and middle bourgeoisie of the Central American countries.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

From 1958 to 1962 El Salvador suffered from an economic crisis caused by the drop in coffee prices. It extricated itself with great difficulty, only to find its economy still more dependent on the U.S. imperialists and more vulnerable than ever.

And although a revival of economic activity is to be observed at the moment, the country has not fully recovered from the previous crisis and dark clouds are beginning to gather on the economic horizon again. This is because the U.S. monopolies have in recent months carried out a series of maneuvers to force down prices of agricultural produce, the chief export item. Refusal by the U.S. Senate to approve amendments to the international coffee agreements made coffee prices completely uncertain for months and the outlook is still pretty grim. The U.S. government decision to put 10 million tons of its cotton stocks on the world market at dumping prices shattered the Salvadoran producers' hopes. U.S. refusal to fix an import quota of 50,000 tons for Salvadoran sugar for 1965 (the old quota amounted to only 17,000 tons) created serious difficulties for the sugar producers.

Unless these perils are removed, the national economy is bound to come up against a still more devastating crisis before the end of the normal cycle.

All this has resulted in a sharp aggravation of the antagonisms between the local oligarchy and the U.S. imperialists. On the other hand, there is a real prospect of the ruling classes bringing themselves to establish trade relations with the socialist countries.

Our Party wants Salvadoran goods to be sold to all countries. This would lessen the danger of a new economic crisis and strengthen national independence and sovereignty.

THE COUNTRY NEEDS REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES

The revolutionary forces in El Salvador have put forward a program for revolutionary changes that would rid the country of imperialist domination and put an end to the semi-feudal backwardness and tyranny. The Communist Party's draft program, approved by the Fifth Congress, points out that without solving the fundamental problems of our country, which is to end the domination of the U.S. imperialists and the oligarchy, it will be impossible fully to solve the other pressing economic, social and political problems and to attain real independence. This task will be accomplished by the revolution which is now maturing. At the present stage, this revolution will be a democratic, national-liberation revolution of the people directed against feudalism and imperialism, and meeting the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Salvadorans.

The motive forces of this revolution will be the industrial workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and urban and rural middle bourgeoisie, in other words, the social strata whose interests are gravely injured by the policy of the imperialists and the oligarchy.

The prime strategic task, as our Party sees it, is to establish a democratic national-liberation front of the anti-oligarchy, anti-imperialist and patriotic classes and social strata. No single class or party can accomplish the revolution, expel the U.S. imperialists and overthrow the oligarchy. Only a democratic front of national-liberation can unite the efforts of all against the common enemy. We Communists, therefore, will spare no effort to set up this front by organizing united action in support of the urgent demands of all the social groups involved.

Our Party holds that the tasks of the revolution can be fully carried out only by "forming a democratic national-liberation government embodying an alliance of the classes standing for progress and liberation, with the working class exercising hegemony".

We believe that leadership by the working class, the most numerous and advanced class of the nation, and the only class which has been able to preserve and ensure the development of its party despite all the repressions and terror, is indispensable for the steady progress of the revolution, for its victory and the accomplishment of its subsequent tasks. We also believe, however, that the working class will be able to exercise its hegemony not by decrees but by its ac-

tions, thanks to its high degree of organization in the struggle waged in common with other patriotic forces, thanks to its explicit position — a position free from sectarian prejudice — and to its resolve to carry the revolution through to victory.

The draft Program says that the revolutionary forces will reconstruct the political and legal systems along revolutionary lines, destroy the machinery of state of the oligarchy and the imperialists, establish a revolutionary state and government, pursue an independent foreign policy, effect radical changes in the economic structure with a view to freeing the national economy from the domination of the oligarchy and the imperialists (carry out an agrarian reform abolishing feudal monopoly of land and semi-feudal relations of production, nationalize the banks, nationalize foreign trade and impart to it a more diversified character, nationalize the power industry, the railways, ports, monopoly companies and all big service companies), take steps to accelerate economic development and to effect a radical change in the material and cultural conditions of the people.

However, the draft goes on, should another democratic government come to power before a democratic national-liberation government is established, "our Party will firmly support all its anti-feudal and anti-imperialist measures, and whatever changes it undertakes for the advancement of the nation. At the same time our Party will combat all vacillation and all attempts to yield to the imperialists and the oligarchy."

THE PATHS OF THE REVOLUTION

The more than thirty years' existence of a military tyranny with its ruthless repression and terror, which has robbed our people of elementary freedoms and brazenly turned elections into a means of prolonging its rule, has convinced our Party and the other democratic forces that our people cannot in the foreseeable future win power by peaceful means. The people, we believe, will have to engage in armed struggle if they want to conquer political power and solve the problems of their democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

Like all revolutionaries, we do not think that force will be necessary in all circumstances as a means of solving national problems. But the resort to it will not depend on us alone. The oligarchy and the imperialists have always resorted to organized and systematic violence to prevent the people

from achieving liberation and progress. It is they who compel the people to use non-peaceful forms of struggle to gain freedom.

On the other hand, we do not rule out the possibility of the balance of national forces changing, and of internal conditions being created for a peaceful advent to power, as a result of our work among the masses, of success in the effort to unite the national forces, and because of other factors, in particular a favorable international situation. Given these conditions we would be ready to use all the corresponding means to win power. But, we repeat, as far as we can see, the fight for power in the foreseeable future will involve **armed action**.

Obviously, whatever the means used, victory will not be won without the masses. Whatever its form, the struggle must be based on the broadest possible movement of the masses. Victory is unthinkable without widely mobilizing and organizing the people. That is why the struggle for militant unity, for rallying all the democratic, anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist groups of the population to carry out a democratic, anti-feudal and national-liberation revolution, is a major component of our policy.

The draft Program of our Party says: "The present period of building up strength calls for an armed rising of the people and mass actions of every type, the organization and mobilization of the masses in every field of struggle and the use of every concrete condition and opportunity for struggle, legal and illegal alike."

The principal forms of struggle today are peaceful — legal, semi-legal or illegal. But alongside these, preparations for the use of other forms are a current task.

Experience has shown that over-hasty, reckless actions can greatly harm the revolutionary movement. We hold that recklessness and petty-bourgeois impatience jeopardize the steady development of the revolutionary movement in our country. At the present stage our Party is working to muster the strength necessary for the success of the revolution.

Our line is based, first of all, on organizing the masses to fight for their immediate demands, and we regard this fight as a means of bringing their revolutionary tasks home to the masses. The Party is working:

for the consolidation of the democratic and revolutionary organizations, for a united democratic front, for respect for civil rights, for the release of political prisoners, against the fascist laws and against the tyranny;

for trade union unity, for an end to government and imperialist interference in trade

union affairs, for trade union democracy, for more extensive and guarantee rights for the working people, for higher wages, against unemployment, against the high cost of living;

for a closer alliance of the working class and the peasants, for the right of the working people of the countryside to have their own organizations, for the satisfaction of the demands of the agricultural laborers and peasants;

for credits on easy terms to small and medium manufacturers and tradesmen, to safeguard and develop national industry;

for national sovereignty, against all manifestations of imperialist domination in our country, against every attempt to maintain and aggravate the semi-colonial dependence of our country;

for trade with all countries, for militant solidarity with socialist Cuba, for solidarity with the struggle of all the peoples;

for peace and peaceful coexistence throughout the world.

The struggle for these demands is inseparable from the struggle for our democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, from the preparation of the subjective conditions for victory. All the objective conditions for our revolution exist. The task of our Party is to provide the subjective conditions for the growth of the revolutionary struggle. We know that there is no need to wait for the maturing of a *maximum* of subjective conditions to accomplish the revolution. But we also know that the people must create a *minimum* of subjective conditions if they want the revolution to triumph. We must provide this indispensable minimum of organization and preparation.

* * *

The decisions of the Fifth Congress are the guide for the Party. In the year that has passed since the Congress, all our activity has been guided by these decisions. The Party is doing all in its power to form and foster the growth of mass organizations to uphold the everyday economic, political and social interests of the working people. It is directing the struggles of our people against the penetration of U.S. monopolies and against all manifestations of neo-colonialism. It is promoting its solidarity with the people of socialist Cuba who have set a splendid example for the peoples of the American continent, and with the peoples fighting for their national liberation.

The CPS is strengthening its contact with the fraternal parties. It is fighting steadfastly and consistently for the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of

Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism laid down by the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. Our Party considers that factionalism and Leftism are an evil undermining the struggle of the peoples against their common enemy, for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Combating sectarianism, the main danger threatening our internal development, the Party is creating opportunities for its growth,

moving closer to becoming the undisputed leader of the democratic, anti-feudal and national-liberation revolution — the first step towards socialism.

Our people, drawing strength from the solidarity of all the peoples of the world and the invincible might of the socialist world, above all of the Soviet Union, are preparing for decisive battles for their liberation as they fight for the unity of the progressive forces of the nation, against imperialism and the oligarchy.

Revolution and counter-revolution in Bolivia

LUIZ PADILLA

LIKE MOST Latin-American countries Bolivia is in a state of economic and political crisis. In November 1964 the government of Paz Estenssoro, considered by the mentors of the Alliance for Progress as the most suitable on the continent for implementing the "development program" announced by Washington at the Inter-American meeting in Punta del Este, was overthrown and replaced by a military junta. In May this year the latter embarked on a course of violent repressions against the working class and the people generally, thereby ushering in a new phase in the policy of betrayal of the people's interests by the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie.

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As we see it the significance of the Bolivian experience of the past fifteen years extends beyond the confines of our country.

The revolutionary actions of April 1952 marked the beginning of the process of liberation from the rule of the latifundists and

owners of the tin mines. Political power passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The active participation of the working class and the peasantry in the revolutionary actions did not, however, win them the leading role in the revolution. This was mainly due to the absence of an experienced political vanguard capable of carrying out democratic and anti-imperialist reforms (the Communist Party was founded only two years before the revolution).

Still, the struggle of the working people compelled the bourgeoisie, represented by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), to nationalize the mines and introduce an agrarian reform and universal suffrage (formerly only literate people over 21 had the right to vote, i.e., approximately seven per cent of the population).

The first counter-revolutionary actions were checked; the working class and the peasantry rose to a man in defense of the revolution and the MNR was able to consolidate its positions.

Soon however it began to steer a different course. The MNR leaders, resorting to demagoguery, began to distort the revolutionary and democratic content of such measures as nationalization of the mines, the agrarian reform and universal suffrage. On all these developments the ruling group put the stamp of bourgeois reformism with its attendant hypocrisy and ambiguity. The "tin barons" were given princely compensation for "their" mines (more than \$20 million according to official sources). The export of tin, Bolivia's main mineral wealth, which accounted for more than 80 per cent of its export income, remained in effect the monopoly of Liverpool tin smelters or, which is the same thing, of the Patino Mines concern and the consumer countries (Britain, the United States, etc.). The decision of the miners to contribute part of their wages to a special fund to build a national tin smelter was rejected. The rulers preferred instead to make concessions to the foreign monopolies and thus take the ignominious path of dependence and subordination.

This policy caused our national economy grave damage. During the Second World War Bolivia lost more than \$300 million because of the low tin prices arbitrarily fixed by the U.S. monopolies. In the ten years following the revolution the loss exceeded \$500 million. Yet the government obdurately rejected the generous Soviet offer to build a tin concentration plant free of charge.

The publicly-owned Mining Corporation (COMIBOL), established during the revolution to supervise the nationalized mines, grew into a gigantic bureaucratic machine run by government officials lacking the necessary technical knowledge. It is not fortuitous that the "nouveau riche"—the pro-imperialist stratum of the top rulers—emerged from the COMIBOL. It is a fact that the MNR greatly extended the state-capitalist sector. It will suffice to mention the Bolivian Development Corporation, the railways, the Lloyd Aereo Boliviano, and the National Social Security Fund. But the nationalization was carried out in such a way that the nationalized enterprises were converted into bureaucratic appendages to the ruling groups.

Thus, the nationalization of the mines which could have become one of the main levers in the industrialization of the country, and in promoting an independent national economy, was paralyzed by the MNR. Subsequently, in the process of giving way to the imperialists, the catastrophic state of affairs in COMIBOL served as a pretext for the first step towards denationalizing the mines.

The so-called "Tripartite Plan" was im-

posed on our country (this "plan" provides for participation by U.S. and FRG capital and the Inter-American Development Bank in streamlining the Bolivian mining industry). Foreign "technical advisers" were brought onto the mining board to safeguard the interests of the imperialists. The "Tripartite Plan" abolished the workers' control—one of the most valuable gains of the miners—including the right to veto decisions of the administration. This was the first step in the offensive against the rights and interests of the working class, which the military junta is now continuing with fire and sword.

As regards the agrarian reform, its implementation showed that the bourgeoisie wanted to combine defense of the interests of the landowners with changing the feudal and semi-feudal production relations. The victory won by the peasant unions was limited to abolishing *corvée* labor and giving them ownership rights to the plots they had been cultivating over the years. Only in those cases where the peasants launched a frontal attack against the resistance of the latifundists were their plots increased.

Up to now only 10 per cent of the cultivated land has been affected by the reform, the remainder is still, for the most part, in the hands of the latifundists. But the process of class differentiation is becoming increasingly evident in the countryside, particularly in the valleys and in the eastern plain. Generally speaking the agrarian reform has opened possibilities for the gradual development of capitalism in the countryside.

The imperialist monopolies never had any direct economic interests in our agriculture and Washington could therefore afford to be lavish in its praise of the bourgeois agrarian reform. This praise turned into actual support when the State Department learned that this reform enabled the ruling party, which more and more plainly showed itself to be a loyal ally of imperialism, to win considerable political influence in the peasant movement. This influence was bolstered with the help of electoral regulations which placed the towns and industrial centers in the power of the avalanche of peasant votes often received through fraud and intimidation.

The agrarian reform engendered illusions among the peasantry with respect to the ruling party. Even after the bitter struggle for the presidency between the rival factions in the MNR, Paz Estenssoro began his second term of office in 1960 with the backing of the peasants.

Such, in the main, were the reforms which, according to the MNR, "fundamentally changed the fabric of the nation" and laid

the foundation for an "independent national state."

The MNR men, however, say nothing about other measures of their party connected with the capitulatory trend in its policy. Already during Paz Estenssoro's first term the so-called "Davenport Code" was put into operation. Drawn up by a consortium of North American advocates, this code was the first step towards handing over the country's oil to foreign monopolies. A request was made for U.S. "aid" in the shape of food surpluses. Later, the food was sold to the people at profiteering prices which provided yet another source of enrichment for the ruling clique. It was also at this time that the first steps were taken, on the insistence of the United States, to reorganize the armed forces, so ignominiously defeated during the insurrection of April 1952. When Siles Zuazo, Paz Estenssoro's successor, took office (1956-1960), he signed an agreement with the Government of Brazil which cleared the way for penetration by the U.S. oil monopolies into Bolivia and into Petrobras, the Brazilian state oil monopoly and traditional bastion of progressive nationalist policy in Brazil. Various U.S. enterprises and especially the Gulf Oil Company were granted concessions. The plan to "stabilize the finances" (1956) adopted on the insistence of the International Monetary Fund secured U.S. banks absolute control over Bolivia's finances.

These and similar anti-national measures brought the country's economy to a state of complete stagnation. Export of raw materials dropped by more than 30 per cent compared with 1952. Per capita income sharply declined to the appalling figure of \$80 a year. Whereas up to 1952 imperialist penetration was effected mainly through loans to the Government, beginning with 1955 U.S. capital began to plunder the national wealth through direct investments.

The industrial workers, led mainly by the Communist Party, were the first to take issue with the "revolutionary" mystification of the MNR. The numerous strikes that swept the country during 1956-60 reflected the change in the attitude of the working class to the ruling groups which had betrayed the revolution. Meanwhile the antagonisms in the MNR itself had become acute. The pro-imperialists entrenched in the MNR and in the government, ousted the progressives. Besides the MNR's traditional core, two other influential trends took shape: the Left, led by Juan Lechin, influential in the trade unions, and the Right, reactionary wing, led by Walter Guevara Arze, which broke away

from the MNR and subsequently organized the so-called Authentic Revolutionary Party (PRA). This first split in the MNR had repercussions in the countryside. Part of the petty bourgeoisie which had formerly supported the MNR also switched to Guevara Arze.

The second Paz Estenssoro government (beginning with 1960) even more openly than before continued the policy of betrayal. Whatever planning there was, made the country's economy completely dependent on foreign aid; matters concerning independent economic development were shelved.

All this helped to dispel the illusions nursed by those who thought that with the return of Paz Estenssoro it would be possible "to again unfurl the April banner and deepen the revolution." The working class took an independent, anti-imperialist stand. The government found itself left with the support of the bureaucracy which controlled the agricultural organizations, with the army reorganized by the U.S. military mission, the mercenary militia and the machinery of repressions formed with the help of the CIA.

Denationalization of the mines and suppression of the working-class movement aggravated the tensions in the MNR. Juan Lechin, the Vice-President, supported the widespread strike movement called to secure the release of political and trade union leaders. The powerful upsurge of the mass struggle in 1962 and 1963 showed that the bourgeoisie's influence among the peasantry was on the wane. The peasant union militia mobilized to fight against the miners refused to do so. In 1963 Lechin was expelled from the MNR. He thereupon founded the National Revolutionary Party of the Left (PRIN) which advanced a democratic and nationalist program. The break between Paz Estenssoro and Lechin completely deprived the MNR of its mass base. A number of splinter groups appeared in its ranks.

The 1964 presidential crisis was notable in two respects. First, Paz Estenssoro's last influential associate in the revolution of 1952, Siles Zuazo, broke with him; secondly, the army again appeared on the political scene, headed by Air Force General, Rene Barrientos Ortuno, a man who was in the confidence of Curtis LeMay, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force. The strategy of the imperialists in face of the growing political crisis was gradually to school one of the military men to take over power and who would in one way or another bolster the MNR's declining influence among the peasantry.

At its Second Congress held in the spring of 1964 the Communist Party noted that the

declining prestige of the Paz Estenssoro government heralded a military coup, and urged the establishment of a popular anti-imperialist front to prevent this and to fight for a democratic and people's government. The leadership of the National Revolutionary Party of the Left disregarded our call and, consequently, did not take part in the congress in Siglo XX, convened with a view to initiating this front. It preferred instead to continue talks and maintain contacts with the Right.

The election farce of May 1964 as a result of which Paz Estenssoro and Barrientos were elected President and Vice-President respectively, brought the political crisis in the country to a head, whereupon the U.S. Embassy decided to engineer a military coup.

However, an eruption of the popular discontent which had accumulated towards the end of MNR's rule deprived the November 1964 coup to some extent of its purely military character. The people clashed with the mercenary militia.

Such were the specific conditions in which the military coup was staged to paralyze the anti-imperialist struggle of the people.

II

The military coup was primarily an element of the general policy of U.S. imperialism to subjugate the Latin American peoples. Although Washington shows a preference for dictatorial military governments wherever possible, the experience of our country is that the imperialists sometimes resort to other maneuvers, such as a policy of penetration and control over the backward sections of the rural and urban population. With this end in view they often play on religious sentiment and whip up anti-Communist crusades. This was the essence of the policy pursued by General Barrientos, the puppet of the U.S. military, in the first months after he came to power.

On the other hand, it should be noted that Barrientos came to power in circumstances different from those of Castelo Branco, for example, in Brazil. There the military coup overthrew the progressive government of Goulart with a view to weakening the domination of the monopolies and the latifundists. In Bolivia, on the contrary, the government overthrown was one which had discredited itself, had sold itself to the foreign monopolies and was in danger of being toppled by the anti-imperialist struggle of the people.

These objective circumstances explain the military junta's policy during the period of

its consolidation and, in particular, Barrientos' persistent efforts to legalize the coup by means of elections.

During its first months in power the junta loudly proclaimed a policy of respect for democratic rights, of a "new harmony," and a "disarmament operation." However, having proclaimed these principles the junta began to pursue the MNR's discredited policy of concessions. The U.S. imperialists, maneuvering with the threat to "suspend aid," secured the adoption of a new investment law which was far more detrimental to the country's interests than the previous one passed under the MNR government. Also, a Mining Code was introduced which guaranteed U.S. monopolies unlimited concessions in mining areas while at the same time cancelling the contracts of the small Bolivian mine-owners. Gulf Oil, for instance, was granted the right to exploit the Sicasica-Arica oil pipeline, built by the Bolivian government with money borrowed on usurious terms from this company. The vast territory of Los Lipez, rich in radioactive minerals, tin and silver was opened to foreign monopolies. The concession of the Matilde zinc mine and the Mutum iron ore deposits, considered to be the most important in the Western hemisphere, was announced.

Parallel with this the military junta re-established the machinery of coercion destroyed by the 1952 revolution. It trebled the strength of the army and substantially increased the pay of the officer corps.

Foreign policy was attuned to the State Department's wishes. Bolivia's delegate to the United Nations supported, and continues to support, the colonial powers. To the consternation of all he voted even in favor of racial discrimination in South Africa. Another instance of the ultra-reactionary attitude of the junta is its support in the OAS of Washington's interventionist policy.

The military coup temporarily paralyzed the struggle of the working people. The demands for wage increases and democratic rights advanced by the Bolivian Workers' Centre (COB) last November were curtly rejected. The junta, determined to put an end to the organized working-class movement, decreed a "social truce" which banned strikes and proclaimed that labor conflicts could be settled only "through conciliation." The first manifestation of the "new rapprochement and pacification" policy so widely advertised by the heads of the junta, was the brutal suppression of the oil workers' strike. This violence led to results least expected by its organizers. An unprecedented wave of coordinated and joint actions and

strikes swept the country. Four of the most important federations — the miners', factory workers', builders' and teachers' — signed inter-union pacts to wage a joint struggle.

At first the military junta set its sights on the Revolutionary Committee of the People, a heterogeneous body organized by the traditional parties of the Right and by the parties which had directly or indirectly participated in the military plot. The maneuver was designed to get Barrientos and Ovando, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, nominated for the general election scheduled for September 1965 and subsequently postponed until October. To this end the junta leaders launched a demagogic campaign among the peasantry aimed at portraying the army as "the bulwark of the agrarian reform which is threatened by the latifundists and the Communists."

The events of May Day this year were an answer to the demagogic and reactionary policy of the military regime and an indication of the growing polarization of forces. The workers demonstrated on the streets of La Paz and of other cities and mining centers carrying slogans which reflected the tension between the junta and the working people. May Day turned into a day of struggle against the high cost of living, unemployment and hunger, against the reactionary policy of the military junta and the U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic.

At the same time, however, the May Day events revealed a situation fraught with dangerous consequences, namely, the isolation of the working class from the peasantry and the urban middle classes. The dramatic battles fought by the workers a few days later again showed that the strategy of the revolutionaries in Bolivia (as elsewhere) cannot be reduced to a matter of ultra-Left phraseology, to say nothing of criminal activity to split the vanguard of the working class.

As its recent Seventh National Conference the Communist Party reviewed the political situation, evaluated the balance of forces and reaffirmed the tactical line of the Second National Congress to build an anti-imperialist popular front. The conference called for unity with the PRIN and other people's movements to combat the opportunist line of forming an "alliance with all anti-Paz Estenssoro forces" advanced by the group of splitters who have organized themselves into a neo-Trotskyite anti-Party faction. The conference particularly stressed that only through a policy of unity will it be possible to overthrow the military junta and establish a democratic government in the country.

After the May events the junta leaders, realizing that the mass movement imperilled the existence of the military regime, unleashed a new wave of repressions. Juan Lechin, the leader of COB and PRIN, accused of directing "Communist subversive activity," of "submitting to the directives of international Communism," and much else in this vein, was arrested and deported to Paraguay.

Lechin's deportation prompted, or more correctly speaking, compelled the working class to call a general strike earlier than planned. To economic demands was added the demand for democratic rights and liberties. Almost overnight without preparation, the trade union movement, which was fighting for wage increases, became a political anti-junta movement. The workers in mine and factory proved equal to the occasion.

The first protest demonstrations were brutally suppressed. Trade union premises were raided, and the trade union broadcasting stations were silenced by artillery. The mines were surrounded by troops. The threat of a summary military tribunal and afterwards deportation or death hung over every trade union and Left leader. Military service was extended to all men between 18 and 60. The Workers' Center was forcibly deprived of its rights. Decrees of a fascist type prohibited trade union leaders from joining any political party. Martial law was declared which wiped out what was left of the November "democratic" show-window.

The armed resistance of the workers in various areas of the country was crushed by artillery, aircraft and paratroops. The United States concentrated airborne troops in neighboring Peru. The Argentine "gorillas" offered military aid to their "Bolivian brothers." The Socialist Falange, which only a few days earlier wanted elections and "democratic solutions," reverted to its traditional fascist methods (some of the repressions were inspired as a matter of fact by this party whose leaders recently visited the United States at the invitation of the State Department). The other bourgeois parties openly or tacitly approved the repressions. The military junta cynically blamed the Communists and the members of the National Revolutionary Party of the Left for the hundreds of killed and wounded in La Paz, Oruro and in the mining areas. The leaders of the two parties were hounded and thrown into prison. Nearly all the trade union leaders were arrested and sent to concentration camps, deported, or handed over to military "justice." An order was issued (which is now being carried out) dismissing 6,000 miners. The

heroic resistance of the miners was crushed by the jackboot of the military.

Reaction surged forward over the dead bodies of patriots, arousing the deep hatred of the people. Barrientos and his clique showed that they were not only capable of copying the "gorillas" riding roughshod over Brazil, Paraguay and Ecuador, but of surpassing them. In the past six months of military rule Bolivia has experienced the most tragic days in its history.

III

The history of the establishment of the military dictatorship in Bolivia is the history of the capitulation of the national bourgeoisie to U.S. imperialism, the history of betrayal of the liberation struggle, of the heritage of the revolution of April 1952.

The spineless bourgeoisie in most of the countries of Latin America, connected by a thousand threads to the imperialist monopolies, see their political reflection in the Bolivian bourgeoisie, in its behavior during the years of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The economic weakness and political inconsistency of this class leads as a rule to the fact that even in those cases where it has won power it is incapable of retaining this power for long. It is obvious that even in countries which do not have the complex multinational structure found in Bolivia and are not so completely dependent on imperialism, the national bourgeoisie has lost irretrievably its leading role in the national-liberation revolution. The experience of Bolivia shows that the working class and it alone can play the leading role in the fight for freedom.

In the early stage of the revolution the Bolivian bourgeoisie, having installed itself in power, opened up some possibilities for independent development of the national economy. Nationalization of the tin mines (Bolivia's basic industry) and the creation of a big public sector was the first step in this direction. In the second stage, characterized by the most shameless capitulation of the national bourgeoisie, these possibilities were pulverized under the iron heel of American "aid."

The growth of anti-democratic, authoritarian trends, the crushing of any initiative, the swing to the Right in foreign policy, the attempts to resolve economic problems through technocratic, anti-popular rationalization — all were symptomatic of the changed attitude of the ruling groups. In the few short years since the revolution there emerged a "nouveau riche" — a bureaucratic elite that entered into shameful collusion

with the U.S. imperialists (this phenomenon is the most general and most serious threat to the majority of the economically underdeveloped countries that have taken the path of people's revolution). First the dictatorial policy of Paz Estenssoro, and then the ruthless dictatorship of Barrientos and Ovando, directed against the armed workers and students, i.e., an open offensive by the new bureaucratic bourgeois group (the ideological and "lawful" heir of the overthrown oligarchy) on the elements of the new democracy engendered by the revolution which failed to gain a foothold in the state system — all this imperilled the basic gains of the 1952 revolution.

As the example of Bolivia shows, one of the most important tasks of democrats in underdeveloped countries which have cast off the yoke of oligarchic and anti-national dictatorships, is to prevent the degeneration of the revolution, to expose before the masses the bureaucratic Thermidorian elite which uses the banners and slogans of the revolution to cover its attempts to emasculate the revolution of its profoundly democratic content. Real democracy, especially at its highest stage, conforms to the classic formula: government of the people, by the people, for the people. The experience of Bolivia is a warning that the transfer of power to "guardians of the people" like Paz Estenssoro, Barrientos and their ilk can but weaken the revolution and expose it to grave danger.

The working class, successfully countering the demagogy of the MNR, started a powerful trade union movement. The idea of Marxism-Leninism took root in the minds of the workers, particularly the miners. The Communist Party consolidated its ranks and gained a firm foothold in the mining centers and among the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and students. The vanguard of the working class made headway in its painstaking work to dispel the prejudices and illusions of the peasants. The continued organization of the masses was and remains the cardinal task of the revolutionary struggle in Bolivia.

Most important is to uphold the Party's correct, revolutionary policy. Yet fanatics who see in armed forms of struggle the only way of winning power began to propound the absurd idea that the Party should join what they call an "alliance of all forces fighting against Paz Estenssoro." Floundering in ultra-revolutionary sophisms, they argued that a revolutionary situation had matured in Bolivia. Without first taking stock of the alignment of class forces they suggested last summer that we should form a political al-

liance with the Falange and the other reactionary parties to overthrow the Paz Estenssoro government. Boastful and bombastic, but not having the slightest idea of the real state of affairs in the country, they naively thought it would be possible to stage a coup against Paz Estenssoro after which they would get rid of their Right allies and, "in the course of the struggle," establish a democratic government.

The military coup of November 4 which enabled them to get into the "Revolutionary Committee of the People" (it even inspired some of them to hail it as the "restoration of the revolution"), gave full play to their anarcho-revolutionary imagination. They put the finishing touch to their splitting activities by forming a new "Communist Party," thus weakening, to a certain extent, the working-class vanguard and confusing the masses at a crucial moment in the struggle. Needless to say these ultra-Left dogmatists, who have been so easily caught in the trap of the imperialists and their local agents, may still cause the revolutionary movement in Bolivia no little harm. To combat and defeat them in the sphere of ideology and politics is one of the important tasks of the Party and the entire working-class and popular movement.

The bureaucratic bourgeois upper crust has betrayed the Revolution of April 9. Despite this the Communists and other progressives readily recognize the significance of the reforms introduced, the fact that a new objective situation took shape in the country after 1952. It is true that today Bolivia is ruled by a military junta which essentially supports imperialism's offensive in Latin America; it is also true that the Bolivian gorillas, by imposing an uneven and bitter armed struggle on the people in May, achieved the temporary retreat of the working class from the positions won in the struggle against Paz Estenssoro. But it is precisely this temporary reverse that makes it imperative for the working class to win over the peasantry and middle sections, for history does not know of a single anti-imperialist and people's revolution which triumphed as a result of a struggle waged by the working class alone. The experience acquired makes it imperative that we stress, more so than before, that the future of the Bolivian revolution depends on unity between the urban masses and the peasant movement (the peasants are 70 per cent of the population). Thought must be given also to winning over (or at least neutralizing) the genuine nationalists in the army.

We know that armed struggle, the degree of violence of the revolution, depends in

large measure on the attitude of the ruling classes. In the event of the policy of the military junta remaining unchanged the Communists will be able to take their place in the van of the armed struggle. But the Party has never defined its tactical and strategic line on the basis of primitive, adventurist dogmatism.

The military junta cannot resolve the acute economic and social problems of the country; it cannot raise the standard of living, cannot promote economic development nor provide work and bread to the growing army of unemployed. All it can do is to carry out, even more submissively than did the previous government, the policy imposed by Washington.

The reactionaries are trying to destroy every independent movement of the people. But the times have changed. Today the imperialists can no longer decide at will the destinies of peoples. The United States has subjected socialist Cuba to a blockade, has invaded the Dominican Republic and dispatched paratroops to Bolivia's borders. But this does not mean that the struggle of our peoples for national independence, democracy and socialism is doomed to failure. It is not confidence in their strength, but sheer desperation that is driving the imperialists to embark on this dangerous path and to take the "gorillas" under their patronage.

The people of Bolivia have suffered a temporary defeat in their fight for freedom. The Communists and other patriots are regrouping and reorganizing their forces. The lessons and experience accumulated throughout the struggle against the treacherous bourgeoisie and the gendarmes armed by the imperialists will serve to strengthen the people's anti-imperialist front, and we are confident that the battles ahead will end in the victory of our cause.

This conviction is not based on illusions. We know that the revolutionary path the people still have to traverse will be beset with difficulties. However, the organization and mobilization of the working people to conquer power — by skillfully combining all the forms of the struggle — will bring the revolutionaries onto the right path.

The violence unleashed by the junta has awakened new forces, revolutionized their attitude to imperialism. They are gradually joining the active resistance to the military dictatorship. Unity of all the revolutionary parties and groups — this is what the working people need most today.

The people are forging the weapon which will enable them to pass from resistance to the offensive and to win victory.

Guiana's struggle against reaction and racism, for democracy and independence

CHEDDI JAGAN

THE QUESTION HAS been posed — how and why has the People's Progressive Party (PPP), which won three successive elections in 1953, 1957 and 1961, been removed from the government. The answer is that the British and U.S. imperialists, having failed to destroy the PPP in spite of a Tory-engineered split in the party in 1955 and the gerrymandering of constituencies in 1957 and 1961, and seeing no prospects of defeating it at free and fair elections in the future, resorted to force and fraud.

They did not want another progressive independent state in the Western hemisphere. Alarmed and hysterical about developments in socialist Cuba, the U.S., after our victory in 1961 when we were poised for independence, stepped up their propaganda that an independent Guiana under the PPP would become a second Cuba and a gateway for international communism into South America. The reactionaries' slogan at home and abroad was, "No independence under Jagan."

Consequently, counter-revolutionary disturbances were engineered in 1962 and 1963 and a blockade imposed in 1963 with the aim of forcibly removing my government from office and giving the British Government the excuse for withholding independence and suspending or manipulating our constitution. The opportunistic, collaborationist political and trade union leaders, aided and abetted by reactionary local big business, a corrupt, big-business-controlled press and foreign imperialist elements combined, to use the words of the Commonwealth Commission of En-

quiry into the disturbances of February 16, 1962, to "form a veritable torrent of abuse, recrimination and vicious hostility directed against Dr. Jagan and his government."

U.S. IMPERIALISM-INSPIRED COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The excuse for the 1962 disturbances was the budget, which was largely influenced by the Cambridge economist, Mr. Nicholas Kaldor. It was described and attacked as "anti-working class" and . . . "communistic."

At the same time unbiased economists took a favorable view of the budget. For instance, Peter Newman, Professor of Economics at Michigan University, pointed out that it was the first serious attempt at self-help.

"It is ironic," he wrote, "that the grave riots in February of this year were sparked by the first serious attempt to make the Guianese responsible for their own economic development."

The real cause, declared the Commission mentioned above, of the disturbances was political rivalry and fear that the government might enact measures injurious to the proprietary rights of the upper classes and businessmen.

In 1963, the excuse for the disturbances, lockout and the blockade was the Labor Relations Bill.

This bill was patterned after the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of the New Deal Roosevelt administration. Its motivation, as that of its 1953 predecessor of the

first PPP Government, was the elimination of company unions, the ending of jurisdictional disputes and the establishment of democracy in the trade union movement. Because of this, it was opposed by local and foreign big business, the ICFTU, the TUC, the two opposition parties and the imperialist-controlled press.

The fact is that the superstructure of the Trades Union Council (TUC) is a bastion of reaction.

But the TUC was not always a reactionary body. Prior to 1963, it pursued a militant policy and supported the PPP. Its affiliates, catering particularly for workers in the sugar plantations, waterfront, saw-mills, wood-plants and quarries, were constantly engaged in militant struggles for recognition, increased wages and improved working conditions.

But this militant TUC also became a casualty of the Cold War. Through the influence and pressure of the ICFTU, the TUC was unconstitutionally disbanded soon after the October 1953 forcible removal of the PPP from office. Six reactionary unions controlled by the Opposition, headed by the MPCA (the company-dominated sugar workers' union), formed a new TUC. And after he split the PPP in 1955, Burnham strengthened this body with his British Guiana Labor Union and confused and split the Negro working class with pseudo-socialist demagoguery and racism.

The Trades Union Council, as presently constituted, is dominated by the MPCA and unions catering for civil servants, teachers and other government employees in postal, airline, telephone and transport services. The leadership of this group comes mainly from opportunists, labor aristocrats and the middle class which to a large extent has been pampered by colonialism and imperialism. Many of these "labor" leaders have been taken on scholarships to Washington, D.C., USA, for pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist indoctrination. Several have been put on the CIA monthly payroll. They fight to maintain the status quo and to preserve entrenched positions.

This is the explanation for the TUC's opposition in 1963 to the Labor Relations Bill which it supported a decade earlier in 1953. The enactment into law of the Bill would have achieved two things: firstly, the MPCA would have been replaced at a secret ballot of workers by the Guiana Agricultural Workers' Union (GAWU) and the British sugar planters would have been forced to bargain with a militant union; and secondly, the GAWU, with the nearly 30 per cent delegate representatives, which now go to the MPCA, at the annual Congress of the TUC, would

have had the opportunity of changing the reactionary TUC superstructure, now bossed by President Richard Ishmael.

U.S. involvement in our domestic affairs has been evident for some time. In early 1963, Mr. William Tyler, Under-Secretary of State, giving evidence before a Congressional Appropriations Sub-Committee, spoke disparagingly of my government and categorically stated that the United States government would be happy to see us out of office.

In late 1963, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was reported to have put pressure on the British Government to delay independence and to change the electoral system. An unprecedented number of U.S. trade unionists and CIA agents entered the country to stir up opposition to the government. During the whole period of the 1963 disturbances, a United States trade unionist, Mr. William McCabe, was instigating the political Opposition and the Trades Union Council to continue the strike while the British trade union adviser, Mr. Walter Hood was urging a settlement. McCabe, with the help of other United States trade unionists, the ICFTU and the American Institute of Free Labor Development, succeeded in imposing a blockade which almost completely stopped sea and air communications with the outside. Without the backing of these U.S. or U.S.-controlled organizations, the 1963 counter-revolution would have collapsed in a couple of weeks. And had the socialist countries not come to our aid to break the blockade with fuel and supplies, we would have been forced out of office.

The complicity of the U.S. and British governments in the plot to remove the PPP from the government was exposed by the U.S. columnist, Drew Pearson. In an article published on March 21, 1964, he said in part:

"The United States permitted Cuba to go Communist purely through default and diplomatic bungling. The problem now is to look ahead and make sure we don't make the same mistake again. We are already on the way to making it in Haiti. But in British Guiana, President Kennedy, having been badly burnt in the Bay of Pigs operations, did look ahead.

"Though it was never published at the time, this was the secret reason why Kennedy took his trip to England in the summer of 1963. He had promised Premier Fanfani and Chancellor Adenauer to go to Rome and Bonn, but London was added to the itinerary only because of Kennedy's haunting worry that British Guiana would get its independence from England in July 1963 and set up another Communist government.

"It wasn't in the communique issued by the United States and England after the Kennedy-Macmillan meeting, but the main thing they agreed on was that the British would refuse to grant independence to Guiana because of the general strike against the pro-Communist Prime Minister, Cheddi Jagan. That strike was secretly inspired by a combination of U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) money and British Intelligence. It gave London the excuse it wanted."

BRITISH SUBSERVIENCE TO U.S. IMPERIALISM

The CIA-fomented disturbances opened the way for a fraud. At the October 1963 constitutional talks in London, independence was denied, and our traditional first-past-the-post district or constituency system changed to proportional representation. It was feared that had new elections been held under our traditional system, we would have won again.

We were also forced to go to elections in December 1964, before the expiry of my government's normal term of office in August 1965. And our demand, backed by a legislative resolution, for the reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18 was rejected. Elections in late 1965 and voting at 18 would have brought more youths, thus more pro-PPP voters on the electoral roll. (British Guiana has a relatively young population: about 57 per cent as compared with 29 per cent in the U.K., is below the voting age).

There were other irregularities. The machinery for the conduct of elections was taken away from my government and placed in an Electoral Commission headed by the Governor and manned by an hostile administrative staff. Our conventional system of registration of voters by house-to-house enumeration was changed to personal registration. This prevented nearly 30,000 persons, mainly of the working class and peasantry, from getting their names registered and also opened the way to fraud — registration of the same person in more than one place and voting by proxy. By the extension of the system of proxy voting, a procedure which came in for severe criticism from the Commonwealth Team of Observers, the way was opened for manipulation and mal-practice.

Besides these irregularities, there was an atmosphere of terror and intimidation created by the colonialists. The British Government, which spoke about non-interference in the affairs of an internally self-governing territory as in the case of Rhodesia, intervened on several occasions and eroded the constitutional authority of my government.

Early in 1964, three Orders-in-Council were made in London, amending our constitution. Powers held by my government and my ministers were placed in the hands of the Governor. He was authorized to withdraw money from the Treasury without the sanction and approval of the Legislature; he assumed powers held by the Minister of Home Affairs for the registration of voters and the conduct of elections; and he was put in complete control of the Emergency and of a new Force, the Special Service Unit, which was no more than an arm of the Police, constitutional responsibility for which rested with the Minister of Home Affairs. In mid-1964, he used these powers to detain 33 PPP legislators and activists, including the Deputy Premier, and intervened in many other ways in favor of the opposition just prior to polling day. With the detention of the Deputy Premier and PPP Legislators, my government was robbed of its parliamentary majority and the constitution virtually suspended.

But despite the Governor's interference, and U.S. intervention on the side of the opposition parties with a vast amount of money, advisers and propaganda, the electors pronounced a vote of confidence in the PPP. We won a majority of votes in the 20 out of 35 administrative electoral districts which we had won as constituencies in 1961. Besides, we topped the polls with 46 per cent of the votes, increasing our total by 3.3 per cent as compared with a drop of .4 per cent for the People's National Congress and 4 per cent for the United Force (U.F.). However, dictated to by the U.S. government, the British Labor Government responded to our vote of confidence by amending our constitution, ejecting us from office and installing the PNC which polled only forty per cent of the votes.

That the British Labor Government had completely succumbed to U.S. pressure became clear during my visit to London in November 1964. I proposed then and there that the elections announced for December 7 be postponed and a Commonwealth Mission be sent out to British Guiana to help work out a solution for three reasons.

Firstly, Mr. Harold Wilson as leader of the Opposition, in a debate in the House of Commons in June 1964, had called the P.R. imposition "a fiddled constitutional arrangement" and had urged that a Commonwealth Team which "might consist of perhaps Canada, Jamaica, Trinidad, India and a representative of a West African State" should review our situation. And Bottomley, now Commonwealth Secretary, had described the Sandys scheme as "riddled with disadvantages and

which is quite unknown in any other Commonwealth territory . . .”

Secondly, Mr. Duncan Sandys, Tory Secretary of State for Colonies, in changing our electoral system and refusing to fix a date for independence, had sacrificed principle for expediency and had dishonored solemn pledges made by the British Government in 1960 at the London Constitutional Conference.

This is what paragraph 59 of the Command Paper said on this score:

“The revision in 1961, resulting from the deliberations of the Conference formed, in the views of Her Majesty’s Government, a comprehensive and carefully balanced whole, naturally leading to the expectation that, another Conference between Her Majesty’s Government and a Delegation from British Guiana was held, there should be no question of substance for discussion save that of independence . . .”

Statements of this kind were made in the House of Commons and the United Nations. But the Conservative Government dishonored all its solemn pledges. In the case of Zanzibar, it refused the demand for proportional representation for the Upper House; yet in British Guiana, it conceded proportional representation and in its worst form, against the strong opposition of my government.

Thirdly, the British Government has placed a premium on violence, arson, looting and murder by conceding not one of our demands and even more than the opposition demanded. I had put into Mr. Greenwood’s hands what was certainly political dynamite. This package comprised inter alia two top secret reports of the Security Branch of the police on the “PNC Terrorist Organization” and the statement made in the Senate by Mrs. Janet Jagan on her resignation as Minister of Home Affairs. In her statement, Mrs. Jagan complained that she had not been able to discharge her responsibility because she did not get effective cooperation from the British appointed Commissioner of Police. The security reports, produced in August and September 1963, gave precise details of those in the hierarchy of Burnham’s People’s National Congress and the Trade Union Council, including an American citizen, who were involved in the disturbances of 1963 — bombings, attempted bombings, arson, etc. The second report recommended that twenty-five of the fifty persons named in the first report should be charged for conspiracy. But there were no charges and no detention.

Mr. Greenwood, however, brushed aside all the facts and my arguments and said that the elections would go ahead.

Later on, Mr. Greenwood stated that had

he intervened to postpone the announced December 7, 1964, elections so soon after taking office, it would have been a breach of faith and there might have been renewed violence and bloodshed. But even if Greenwood’s hands were tied before the elections, had he not the opportunity and responsibility after the elections to work out a solution satisfactory to the majority of the Guianese people? Instead of doing this, he amended our constitution, violating even British conventions, to force the PPP out of the government, and to clear the way for a puppet pro-imperialist minority government headed by Burnham.

The Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, who in October 1963 had definitely told me that the Labor Party, if elected, would do something to help, was more adroit. He offered a palliative — a Commonwealth Observer Team to observe the elections. I reminded him that there was nothing to be gained by observing a fraud — what was needed was a correction of the fraud.

The Labor leaders committed a cynical turnabout of policy very soon after they had taken office. While talking about democratic socialism and international working-class solidarity the Labor government, “bowing to United States wishes, had ruled out early independence for British Guiana” (*New York Times*, October 31), and was going ahead with the P.R. elections fixed for December 7. No “rational” explanation can be found for the Labor leaders’ betrayal of the cause of peace and socialism and their complete subservience to U.S. imperialism.

DIVIDE-AND-RULE WITH RACE AND RELIGION

With Britain’s complete subservience, and the United States’ utter disregard for democratic processes and the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, particularly in the Western Hemisphere, there are danger signals ahead. Already the puppet government is ruling the country with an iron hand, witness the suspension of all constitutional guarantees and the continued detention of fourteen of our thirty-three comrades who have been held since June 1964 without charges and without trial. Terror has now become a way of life. There is no public confidence in the institutions of law, order and administration.

However, even in this situation the progressive forces can preserve and strengthen their positions. There is the distinct possibility of uniting the working class and at the same time resolving the racial deadlock.

While in the government we operated within a colonial strait-jacket — Colonial Office-influenced development program heavily geared to infra-structure and agriculture; limited Western aid; inability because of constitutional restrictions to negotiate aid from socialist countries and to implement a balanced industrial and agricultural development plan — and were caught in a vicious circle. Although we made tremendous achievements, particularly in the field of labor, health, education and agriculture, it was impossible to solve all the problems confronting the country, particularly those of the African urban unemployed. This was so because the PPP government inherited in 1957 a situation with a 9 per cent under-employment, 17 per cent unemployment and a population increase of about 3 per cent per annum and with a concentration of the unemployed in the urban areas, populated predominantly by Africans. In this context, the imperialists and their local puppets used the highly emotive factor of race, charging day by day with their propaganda that the PPP was governing the country only for the Indians and was mainly an Indian party.

This was far from the truth. The fact is race and religion have been used by the colonialists to blur basic issues. "Race" until recently was not a serious problem in this country of several ethnic groups — Indians, Africans, mixed or colored, Amerindians, Chinese, Europeans and Portuguese. The two major ethnic groups, Indians and Africans, have for many years played, worked and lived amicably together. Underlying the superficiality of racialism is the basic struggle for national liberation, for land and jobs and freedom from exploitation by the imperialists, capitalists and landlords.

Commenting on the question of race, the Commonwealth Commission said of the disturbances of February 1962 that "although, broadly speaking, Dr. Jagan's supporters are for the most part East Indians and the supporters of the PNC are drawn mostly from the African races, the difference is not really racial, but economic and vocational."

Opposition to the People's Progressive Party comes not because of race but principally because it is a mass party led by Marxists and because of its complete devotion to the cause of national liberation and its refusal to compromise with the imperialists and their local lackeys.

The PPP is multi-racial in content and outlook. The majority of its support is Indian. But, the Indians support the PPP for a complex of reasons, mainly because of its social-

ist outlook and because it has always led their struggles against the absentee sugar planters and the landlords, mostly Indian. The wealthy Indians have no influence in its leadership. Some of them for racial and cultural considerations supported the party. But more recently many have shifted towards the pro-American United Force.

To understand the somewhat confused racial picture, it is necessary to know how the present situation developed. Africans came to British Guiana as slaves to provide cheap sugar plantation labor. The indigenous Amerindian population, now numbering only about 30,000, refused to be enslaved. Abominable conditions and harsh inhuman treatment led to escape and revolts. After the abolition of slavery in 1838, the Africans left the plantations. To replace them, Portuguese were first brought in as immigrants.

Then followed Indians from India, and the Chinese. The freed Africans in the meantime moved to the city and to village settlements adjoining the sugar plantations. The Chinese and Portuguese did likewise. This explains why Indians still constitute the bulk of the population in the countryside.

The Portuguese who moved away from the sugar plantations migrated to the city and took their position below the British mainly in administration and commerce. The Chinese also went into commerce, mainly in the grocery trade. The Africans filled the lower positions in the administration and other jobs in the Government Services such as transport, postal, medical, etc., and provided the unskilled labor force for wage employment in the waterfront, sawmills, mines, quarries, etc.

The British and Europeans are very few in number in the government administrative and technical machine. They still, however, hold dominant positions in commerce and industry. The Portuguese also hold key positions in commerce and some strategic positions in administration. Over the years, a differentiation took place among the Indians; 85 to 90 per cent of them are still at the lowest rung of the economic ladder, engaged either as sugar workers or farmers. The others have become landlords, money-lenders, shopkeepers, rice-millers, and within more recent times, have been posing a serious threat in commerce to the Portuguese and Europeans in the capital.

To pose the problem, therefore, as has been done, as mainly an Indian-African problem, is not a precise formulation of the position. And besides, the position of Indians in British Guiana is not analogous to that of

Indians in East Africa. There, as "middle strata," they were used as a buffer by the British against the national liberation movement of the African people. Here, the position is somewhat the reverse. The buffer role has been played by the middle class which is predominantly Portuguese, "Colored" (mixture of white and African mainly) and African.

The Portuguese, "Colored" and African middle class fought their political battles in the late 1920's. They were not interested as much in the masses as they were in a share of the plums of office. The middle class eventually was brought into the wheels of administration and the Civil Service. This became almost an exclusive preserve — a preserve which the rising wealthy and near-wealthy Indians attempted to invade. This led to the formation of the East Indian Association which was the political sounding board for the new middle-class Indians — landlords, rice-millers, businessmen, etc.

It was in this narrow context that the struggle went on before the advent of the PPP in 1950. The East Indian Association was more progressive than its African counterpart, the League of Colored People (LCP). As the representative of an out-group, it fought for reforms such as universal adult suffrage (more Indians were disenfranchised because of literacy, income and property qualifications) and self-government (the colonial status quo favored the Coloreds and Africans who had become completely integrated and Westernized). The Indians, who continued to cling to their language, religion and food habits, were discriminated against.

Coming as it did in the early 1950's with a strong working class bias, the PPP was able by 1953 to destroy completely the racist influence of both the East Indian Association and the League of Colored People. The latter was politically represented by the National Democratic Party (NDP) during the 1953 elections, later by the United Democratic Party (UDP) and subsequently after the 1957 elections, by the People's National Congress (PNC) which in effect was a merger between the UDP and the PPP supporters, mainly African workers, whom Burnham took with him after he split the PPP in 1955.

This split was the direct result of the "divide and rule" policy of the imperialists. It had its origin in the Robertson Commission of 1954 which whitewashed the suspension of the constitution in October 1953 and recommended a period of constitutional marking time with a fully nominated government. It engineered the split by dividing the party leadership into "communists and extremists"

on the one hand and "socialists, democrats and moderates" on the other and by suggesting that the latter group should break away from the former and change the policies of the party if there was to be an end to the period of marking time. Burnham and two other ministers of the government precipitated this split in the expectation that new elections would be forthcoming and that they would have taken with them enough support to capture a majority.

The split was not racially motivated. For instance, Burnham is African and his colleagues Jai Narine Singh and Lachhamansingh (now deceased) are Indian. And the leadership did not split along racial lines — only three of the African leaders out of a total of 11 in the General Council went over with Burnham (two have since returned). Nevertheless, it led to a resurgence of racialism among the rank and file. A majority of the African workers followed Burnham partly because of his demagoguery and glib use of socialist phraseology and also because there had not yet developed a sufficient ideological depth to the awakened political consciousness of the masses.

Following his defeat at the 1957 elections in constituencies specially gerrymandered for him, Burnham merged with the African racists of the UDP and LCP. Thereafter, his party, the PNC, took a definite reactionary turn; anti-communism and racism (African as opposed to Indian) became its chief weapons.

The 1962 and 1963 disturbances heightened racial tension between Indians and Africans. The opposition parties, backed by foreign agents, used the urban lumpen proletariat and misguided workers to assault Indians, loot their stores and brutally beat up Ministers and government supporters. In 1964, the sugar planters' use of mainly African scabs to break the predominantly Indian sugar workers' 6-month strike led to serious racial clashes and many deaths. And during the December 1964 election campaign, unscrupulous reactionary elements prostituted the racial issue. The PNC, working predominantly among the urban African working class and in other pockets where Africans predominated, peddled the propaganda that the PPP was anti-African while the United Force Indian leaders went to the countryside and attacked the PPP for being anti-Indian. And in the hope of further splintering the PPP, two new parties based on race and religion were created — the Muslim-led Guiana United Muslim Party and the Hindu-led Justice Party. These parties, however, failed to muster even two per cent of the votes.

PERSPECTIVE OF THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Now that the PPP is no longer in the government, and thus no longer the scapegoat, the class struggle, shorn of race and religion, will sharpen. Already there are signs of cracks in the puppet alliance as a result of the contradictions in the PNC/UF camp. Forced by the workers, even the reactionary TUC super-structure is now demanding a national minimum wage of \$5.00 per day. The big-business-controlled press which had goaded the workers to counter-revolutionary disturbances only recently, are now appealing to the working class for "a sense of responsibility" and calling for an end to wild-cat strikes. There are indications that the government and its collaborators in the Trade Union movement will work out a wage policy with the aim of muzzling the demands of the workers. Mr. Burnham, the Premier, who is noted for his ambiguity, has recently declared that \$4.00 per day is the barest minimum that is required by a worker but he doubts whether a \$5.00 per day minimum wage can be accommodated by the country's economy. His own union is now in a dilemma. It must either implement the demand of the workers for a \$4.00 minimum daily wage, which means fighting the saw-mill-owning capitalists, many of whom are leaders and supporters both of the PNC and UF, or come into conflict with its own rank and file.

These developments on the industrial front are likely to be the cause for grave dissatisfaction and discontent. There is already seething discontent among more than half of the population who support the PPP and who have openly declared at countrywide post-election rallies that they were "cheated but not defeated." Also among the PNC and UF rank and file, there is discontent arising out of the formation of the coalition government. These parties have different professed aims and a great deal of open hostility was generated between them. The PNC leadership, while demagogically proclaiming that it was socialist, attacked the UF as a "fascist," "pro-big-business" party. The United Force retorted by attacking the PNC for being racist and socialist.

Actually, both the leadership of the UF and the PNC are basically reactionary and anti-working-class. The leadership of the UF is under strong Catholic influence, its support coming mainly from the well-to-do Portuguese and Indians, the "mixed, colored" workers in clerical jobs who are in many respects the labor "aristocrats," and the poor

Amerindians. The latter, though the most exploited of the exploited, support this reactionary party because they have been under the strong influence of the Christian denominations, mostly Catholic, who control and manage the schools in the interior where the Amerindians mainly live. The PNC leadership is predominantly colored, African and middle class. Its following is almost 99 per cent African.

The coalition government has already, in only a few months, demonstrated that it is pro-imperialist and anti-working-class. The taxes imposed in our 1962 budget on the imperialists and wealthy capitalists have now been severely modified or abolished. Other taxes — gift tax, turnover tax, property tax, etc. — have been abolished and exchange control has been severely tampered with.

Meanwhile, the country is facing a deepening economic crisis. A factor here is that trade with Cuba has been drastically curtailed. This has brought the rice industry, mainly a local peasant industry, to a state of serious depression. Markets cannot be found for nearly 45,000 tons. The amount is likely to be augmented by another 30,000 ton surplus from the coming crop. And with the cessation of shipments of railway timber sleepers (ties) to Cuba, the timber logging and saw-milling industries have been severely hit. The sugar industry also faces a bleak future with a falling world price. Meanwhile unemployment grows. Over the last 15 years, sugar production has more than doubled but the labor force has been reduced by nearly half. This is causing grave social problems.

In the meantime, the puppet government is attempting to rule with the carrot and big stick. It is playing up offers of foreign loans and grants. Already about \$3 million worth of U.S. road-building machinery and equipment have arrived. The loans and grants are to be mainly used for the construction of a road linking Georgetown with the Mackenzie plant of the Demerara Bauxite Company, a subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of Canada, and for the dredging of the Berbice river to facilitate bauxite extraction by the United States Reynolds Metals Company. Besides, an agreement has been signed with the latter company which is clearly a sell-out of our bauxite resources. Potential oil areas have been handed over to three foreign companies.

The imperialists already have their tentacles deep into the structure of the economy, reserving for themselves the profitable sectors — sugar (British), bauxite, manganese (North American), insurance, banking, shipping and foreign trade — while relegating the

risky and unprofitable (rice, provision and fruit farming) to the local bourgeoisie. Sugar, bauxite and manganese alone account for more than three-quarters of the export income.

The PPP is now intensifying its activities on all fronts. Its biggest task is to let the deluded supporters of the coalition government know that the government's policies based on breaking off trade with Cuba, complete subservience to U.S. imperialism, and the acceptance of aid with strings — concessions to foreign investors in the form of tax holidays, duty free importation of equipment and raw materials, accelerated depreciation write-offs and concentration of infra-structure and social overhead expenditures — cannot lead to real development.

Faced with growing unemployment, land hunger, fiscal and other problems and the disenchantment of its own deluded supporters, the government will resort to the Hitlerite fascist weapons of terror, anti-communism and racism. Hitler used the Communists and Jews as scapegoats; here the scapegoats will be the Communists and Indians. The PPP as the vanguard of the national liberation movement is likely to be banned. There is also the definite danger that as soon as nominal independence is gained, this coalition government, backed by Anglo-American imperialism, will move to establish a Latin American fascist-type dictatorship. Meanwhile, it is trying other maneuvers. It is proposing to bring Afro-West-Indian immigrants into the country for the purpose of swelling the electoral roll in its favor.

The PPP, recognizing the dangers and difficulties ahead and noting the utter ruthlessness of the imperialists and the tremendous reserves which they can bring to bear behind their puppets, is now mobilizing its forces for a many-sided struggle and preparing the people for a long, tough fight. At the same time, it is intensifying its efforts to shed its ranks of illusions and remnants of reactionary racist ideas. We are aware that because of the racist anti-Indian putsches engineered since 1962 by the People's National Congress and the imperialists there has unfortunately developed, almost as a reflex action, a counter-tendency of anti-African racism within the party. This the party is forthrightly combating as it realizes that racism is not only reactionary, but a device of

the imperialists to divide the working class and thus maintain colonial rule and exploitation. The achievement of national unity and racial harmony is thus the party's first objective.

Another objective is the shedding of illusions based on the hypocritical statements of the leaders of the Anglo-American alliance. Fortunately, the Guianese people have learned by experience that lofty utterances such as the statements that "the U.S. supports the idea that every people have a right freely to choose the kind of government they want," or that "the preservation and strengthening of freely elected constitutional governments is the aspiration of all the peoples of the Americas," are mere euphemisms for naked self interest and the preservation of the old order; that when American investments are threatened, they will resort to force and fraud as they have done in the Congo, Vietnam, Brazil, British Guiana and now in the Dominican Republic.

The party is combatting any sense of impatience, "desperation" and "left adventurism" while at the same time mobilizing the people for action and combatting ideas of defeatism and "fatalism" based on the propaganda that the people's forces cannot succeed against the "powerful USA." And while attempting to pursue a policy of forming alliances with as many strata of society as possible based on a democratic, national and anti-imperialist policy, the party is simultaneously on guard against infiltration by reactionaries, opportunists, racists, spies and provocateurs. The party recognizes the vital importance of preserving the moral and ideological purity of its leadership.

The immediate demands on which the party is now rallying the people are:

Genuine independence based on anti-colonialism and anti-neo-colonialism.

End the emergency and release the detainees.

A political settlement satisfactory to all the Guianese people, new elections under a changed electoral system, and voting at 18.

Reconstruction of the Security Forces so that they reflect a broad cross-section of the country. Withdrawal of the British Army and the formation of a Guianese National Army.

Democratizing all institutions concerned with law and administration.

Economic situation in Latin America and development of the revolution

EDUARDO MORA VALVERDE

THE SYSTEM OF IMPERIALIST exploitation in Latin America is being shaken to its foundations by the rising tide of the Liberation movement which has acquired unprecedented proportions since the Cuban revolution. That the continent is on the eve of revolution is admitted even by our enemies in the camp of imperialism. In point of fact, both the liberal reformism of the Alliance for Progress and the brazen intervention in the Dominican Republic reflects the fear felt by imperialism at the thought of the impending upheaval. (Milton Eisenhower, for instance, says in his recent book: "There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that revolution is inevitable in Latin America.")

On their part, the Latin American revolutionaries, while cherishing no illusions, are convinced that imperialist domination over the continent is approaching its end. This largely explains the passion of the debates now under way as to how to achieve our common aim in ways best suited to the conditions in the various countries and the dictates of each concrete situation. Much attention is paid to problems connected with overcoming economic backwardness and raising living standards.

In this article we propose to examine some aspects of this question from a "continental" standpoint, drawing, however, on concrete examples from the Costa Rican scene.

I

Economists classify the Latin American countries as "under-developed," i.e., as countries where the socio-economic set-up is marked by a preponderance of agriculture in the economy, one or another degree of subordination of the state and the economy to foreign capital, a foreign trade inadequate to their requirements, low national income and particularly glaring disparities in its distribution among the different social groups, a low level of production per capita, inadequate utilization of

the natural, financial and manpower resources, illiteracy, low wages, and so on. The lot of the underdeveloped countries, it follows, is appalling indeed.

The economic backwardness of our countries is explained in different ways. Some attribute it to "preordained destiny," others to climatic conditions, and still others to a certain "fecklessness" in the national character of one or another people. Other, ostensibly scientific, explanations point to manpower wastage, limited consumption by both workers and employers, excessive population growth, insufficiency of what the Keynesians describe as the urge to invest, low productivity of labor and inadequate use of modern technology.

Some of the countries unquestionably do not make full use of their manpower resources. Consumption by the population and the volume of capital investment are low. But these factors are hardly the cause of the backwardness; on the contrary, they are rather the result of "underdevelopment."

That the peoples are unable to break through the barriers blocking the road to progress is due above all to the obstacles raised by imperialist interests.

Imperialist domination, of course, is not the sole cause of the backwardness of the countries of the "third world." Feudal survivals, too, still make themselves felt, or even predominate, in the countryside in most Latin American and Asian countries. But tragic though the consequences of this factor are, it should be borne in mind that it does not play an equal role in all parts of the underdeveloped world or even in the countries of Latin America. In Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay, Guatemala, El Salvador and some other countries pre-capitalist production relations are much more pronounced than in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile or Mexico.

In Costa Rica the latifundia practically vanished a few years after the ending of Spanish colonial rule. The biggest holdings, belonging

to the local authorities, remained in collective use. Part of the land was divided among the small and medium farmers, the remainder became state property. The liberal governments of that period, influenced by the revolutionary developments in Europe, took steps to restrict large-scale land tenure.

The turn of the century, however, witnessed a resurgence of big farming. But despite the survival of some forms of pre-capitalist relations, the landed oligarchy is relatively small in numbers and carries less political and economic weight than elsewhere in Latin America. Yet Costa Rica has all the hallmarks of an economically underdeveloped country.

The Costa Rican example, then, shows that imperialist domination is the *main* obstacle to economic progress in the less developed countries.

Needless to say, imperialist domination and exploitation do not take the same forms in all underdeveloped areas. In Latin America, for instance, the forms and methods of imperialist plunder are camouflaged to a greater extent and more closely linked with the growth of local capitalism than the classical pattern followed in previous centuries in Asia and Africa. But in all circumstances genuine economic progress in the underdeveloped countries runs counter to the interests of the rulers of the developed capitalist countries, for conservation of the former as raw-material producing appendages to the imperialist giants enables the monopolies to pocket lush profits and offers them unlimited opportunities for investment.

Some time ago we had a long discussion with a group of economists belonging to the Left-wing of the ruling party in Costa Rica, on the influence of imperialism on economic development. Although not always formulated clearly, their basic concept is not without interest. The gist of their views is this: a) trade between the imperialist states and the underdeveloped countries is unfair and disproportionate; b) this disproportion stems from the fact that the underdeveloped countries are, in effect, unable to invest in industries producing means of production; c) the imperialist powers actually refuse to sell them means of production in order to retard their economic development; d) imperialism "allows" the underdeveloped countries to invest only in the production of agricultural products and raw materials, and not in all of these branches, since the production of items such as oil and bauxites requires investments which our countries are unable to shoulder by themselves. Yet every time the governments of the dependent countries seek loans to finance the development of these branches they come up against the resistance of the imperialist oil and aluminum interests monopolizing the extraction of these raw materials; e) U.S. investments in Latin America amount to \$12,000 million and bring in profits at a rate double that in the United States itself. The countries of our continent are thus being

bled not only through non-equivalent exchange, as a result of which they lose some \$2,000 million annually, but mainly through the direct and indirect investments of foreign companies.

Much more could be added to this analysis. For one thing, the fact that the United Fruit Company is the biggest landowner in our country with holdings exceeding 500,000 hectares. Consequently, the struggle against latifundism in Costa Rica too is basically an anti-imperialist struggle.

The fact that these powerful imperialist interests are out to preserve the traditional socio-economic structure makes it imperative to employ *revolutionary* methods to change this structure. Hence economic emancipation cannot but be accompanied by grave political conflicts which, depending on the situation, may be either violent or non-violent. In these conflicts the working people and the democratic and patriotic forces generally find themselves up against the social groups associated with the traditional system and the forms of political rule by these groups. Hence the struggle may pass through different stages in different countries and under the hegemony of various social forces. But in all circumstances in order to pave the way to economic progress it is essential to win freedom from imperialist domination and to effect far-reaching changes in the economic, political and social structure. In other words, revolution is a necessity.

II

Latin American capitalist politicians close their eyes to these basic truths. For example, the Colombian and Costa Rican ex-presidents Lleras and Figueres, while correctly pointing to the low prices paid by the developed capitalist countries for the goods of the backward countries, make non-equivalent exchange appear as the *sole* factor obstructing the development of the latter.

Can the obstacles to economic progress be removed, as Lleras and Figueres claim, by increasing the inflow of money into an underdeveloped country by raising the prices of raw materials and food products on the imperialist market?

The example of Costa Rica is instructive in this respect.

From 1946 to 1954 our country experienced what has been described as its "golden era." The price of coffee, the main export, increased by 24 per cent annually from 1946 to 1950 and by 11.4 per cent from 1950 to 1954. The national income nearly doubled, from over 900 million colones in 1946 to 1,800 million in 1954.

Clearly, those years afforded Figueres and his supporters an ideal opportunity to prove their theories. What happened can be seen from the data published in the official "Project for Economic Development Research in Costa Rica" (1956).

The share of the different branches of the economy in the gross national product in 1946

and 1954 was as follows: agriculture (in percentages for the respective years) 37.5 and 37.3; industry 12.5 and 11.7; trade 15 and 14.6; transport 4 and 3.8; construction 2.2 and 4; services 10.1 and 10.3; electric power 0.6 and 0.6; the state sector 12.4 and 13.7. Rent accounted for 5.7 and 4.6 per cent.

As we see, the growth in national income was not accompanied by any progressive change in the economic structure. The share of industry actually declined. Only the foreign trade structure showed substantial changes, but these too were of a negative order: the share of consumer goods imports increased and the country became more dependent on the monopoly markets.

Where did the bulk of the increased national income go?

The figures show that it was channeled primarily to construction. This was a time when the big bourgeoisie in Costa Rica built block after block of luxury mansions, and the state, prompted by political considerations, extended home-building credits to clerical workers and professionals.

There was a greater flow of funds also into the state sector, though by no means to finance long-term development plans. The money was used to solve urgent problems in diverse areas. Thanks to popular pressure a good part of the product of the state sector was used to increase wages for government employees. But at the same time huge sums went to pay the foreign debt incurred largely as a result of the unfair and arbitrary practices of the U.S., British and French monopolies.

In other words, the growth of the social products by nearly 100 per cent did not lead to any salutary change in the economy. The country was unable to acquire capital goods. Operating mainly through the monopoly market which they controlled, the imperialists blocked the development of modern productive forces. They were unwilling to expose their key position in Costa Rican economy to any risk.

In order to sabotage independent development and to safeguard their own interests, the imperialist monopolies resort, even in comparatively "peaceful" conditions, to intimidation, blackmail, and deception. How they operate can be seen from the following examples.

In January 1959 a Costa Rican government office, after long and futile negotiations with the USA, turned to the government of the Soviet Union with a request for aid in the construction of two cement mills. But no sooner had the Soviet government responded favorably than the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development hastened to grant Costa Rica credit for investments in the power industry, and the head of the state institution concerned was offered a high-paid position with a foreign company in one of its enterprises in the United States. Simultaneously a press campaign was started against economic relations with the socialist countries. The gov-

ernment of Costa Rica, though it did not venture publicly to repudiate its request to the Soviet government, went out of its way to obstruct negotiations with the latter. In the end a cement mill was built by a U.S. firm which acquired the bulk of the shares in the enterprise.

Another example. For decades a subsidiary of the Bond and Share Company had a monopoly of electric power production and distribution in Costa Rica. Time and again there were public protests against the squeeze it put on the nation. In 1949 the government set up the Costa Rican Power Institute, a state-owned electricity enterprise charged with developing this branch of the economy. But nothing came of the nationalization of the private power monopoly, which resorted to blackmail and other pressures. Although the law prohibited it from expanding, it nevertheless was granted a virtual monopoly in all those areas where it already had power plants.

On September 15, 1958, the president of the Republic, addressing a public meeting in the capital, again pledged to nationalize the power company. But Bond and Share had provided for this contingency in earlier agreements with the government and are now demanding compensation in dollars which Costa Rica is unable to pay. Today power production is in the hands of the state, but distribution in the key areas of the country is monopolized by the foreign company. Sale of electricity alone nets it a profit of more than 10 per cent on invested capital. The present contract leaves no opening for amicably effecting the nationalization of this monopoly. Confiscation is the only way out.

One more example of the methods and consequences of imperialist operations in our country. When rich deposits of bauxites were discovered in the southern districts, the imperialist ALCOA monopoly at once sought to obtain the right to exploit them. Public pressure, however, compelled the government to take steps towards setting up a national company. Attempts were made to obtain economic aid from the United States and other capitalist countries, but since this ran counter to the interests of the international aluminum monopoly, the efforts failed. And when Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries agreed to provide the equipment, technical aid and other assistance needed for Costa Rica to exploit the bauxite find in its own interests, a violent anti-communist campaign was unleashed. There was even talk of plans for a reactionary coup. In the end, the government had to give way under ALCOA pressure. What might have been a factor for strengthening and building up the country's economy became an additional fetter shackling it to U.S. capital.

Other and even more outrageous examples could be cited. But the foregoing is sufficient to give an idea of the methods used by the imperialists to prevent independent economic development.

III

In these circumstances how can the economic backwardness of our country be overcome and its economic independence ensured?

Let us examine some of the socio-economic measures which we believe are imperative for progress (it should be pointed out, however, that in the present conditions these measures can be implemented only in a genuinely revolutionary context, for, as we have seen, every progressive step is bound to infringe the interests of one or another section of the ruling classes and one or another group of U.S. capitalists).

1. *Eradication of pre-capitalist relationships in the countryside and implementation of an agrarian reform* giving the idle land and the latifundia to the peasants. This would at once expand the home market and win the support of the rural population for the revolution. It would, moreover, bring things to a head with the biggest landowner in the country, the United Fruit Company, and with the landed oligarchy.

2. *Nationalization of the property of the foreign monopolies.* This would return to the national economy part of the plundered capital and enable the country to strengthen its economic positions at the given stage of the revolution. At the same time it would aggravate contradictions with imperialism to the extreme.

3. *National control over foreign trade* with a view to putting an end to non-equivalent exchange and other forms of discrimination practised by imperialism.

This, while greatly facilitating economic progress, would simultaneously bring things to a head with the monopolies.

4. *A new tax policy* introducing a *progressive income tax.* Heavier taxation of the higher income groups would to some extent curtail spending on luxury items, foreign travel and other non-essential goods and services. This, too, would encounter strong opposition on the part of the big bourgeoisie.

5. *Strict foreign exchange controls,* which would put a stop to the outflow of capital in the shape of depreciation funds, profit and interest. Such controls would naturally mean a clash with imperialist investors as well as with the Costa Rican big capitalists.

6. *Price control* and reduction of non-essential spending. These measures would greatly help to combat inflation, and at the same time hit hard at big business interests, speculators, the parasitic classes generally, and, the foreign commercial firms.

7. *Extension of the state sector in the economy.* The state sector, relatively developed in our country, accounts for roughly 18 per cent of the social product. The state engages in power production and owns a substantial part of the transport system as well as enterprises in mining and in other industries. Costa Rica is one of the few capitalist countries where

the credit system has been nationalized and private banks are not allowed to operate. Insurance, too, has been taken over by the state. Of the autonomous state organizations mention should be made of the National Housing Construction Institute, the Tourist Institute, and the Social Security Fund—the latter one of the most important gains won by the working people in the stormy forties.

Consolidation of the autonomous and semi-autonomous state-owned companies makes for the concentration and more purposeful use of internal accumulations and accelerates the development of those branches of the economy which are less attractive for the private sector from the standpoint of returns. Whatever course—peaceful or non-peaceful—the revolution may take, when the people take the reins of government into their own hands they will receive in the state sector a legacy of valuable experience and important levers of economic guidance. This will facilitate the struggle for progress and well-being. But, as can be seen from the foregoing, development of the state sector presupposes a vigorous effort to combat the U.S. monopolies.

Clearly, then, the break with the traditional system, changing the structure of the economy, ending the system of monoculture and carrying out plans for independent development will not be a simple matter. On the contrary, it will be a highly complex process, and is sure to be accompanied by sharp class struggles.

As we see it, the imperatives of economic development and the class alignments in the struggle for economic progress will pose problems related to the *perspectives* of this struggle.

IV

Can economic progress in our countries be ensured within the framework of the traditional bourgeois-democratic revolution? Whither does the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution objectively lead considering that the national-liberation struggle is a component of the overall revolutionary process determined and influenced by the development of the world socialist revolution?

It should be borne in mind that in our time the revolutionary struggle of the masses is marked by a high degree of consciousness and organization. Their immediate demands go far beyond that which the bourgeoisie is prepared to concede. The revolutions looming ahead in Latin America cannot be bourgeois revolutions leading to highly developed capitalism. An objective examination of the facts shows that by following the capitalist path the peoples of the underdeveloped countries cannot win genuine economic independence, cannot break away from the toils of the international capitalist division of labour in which they are allotted the role of suppliers of raw materials and agricultural products. In our opinion, the socialist way alone affords a tangible perspective of success in the struggle to win economic

independence and rapidly overcome the socio-economic backwardness. We should patiently and persistently stress this axiom so vividly borne out by Cuban experience.

As in many other Latin American countries, two distinct trends are making themselves increasingly felt in the Costa Rican machinery of state and in the parties of the liberal and small bourgeoisie linked with it. The dominant trend plays into the hands of the imperialists and the latifundists by its advocacy of subordinating economic development to the imperialist monopolies. Some spokesmen of this trend have gone so far as to hold up the "economic progress" of Puerto Rico, the U.S. Caribbean colony, as an example for the whole of Latin America. True, the brazen intervention of the USA in the Dominican Republic has somewhat cooled their ardor for everything North American.

Spokesmen of the other trend, though it is still amorphous and politically heterogeneous, are inclining hesitantly towards a policy anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist in character. Of late they have taken some significant steps towards contacts with the socialist countries, and some of them, realizing that the capitalist way no longer offers any stable prospect of economic progress in Costa Rica or in Latin America generally, are beginning to speak about the socialist way. Although they advocate so-called "democratic" socialism, the important thing is that their position is in the process of evolution and they are playing an increasingly positive role. The experience of the Cuban revolution, the impressive example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the growth of popular actions in Costa Rica and elsewhere in Latin America are factors contributing to the gradual radicalization of this trend.

But at the same time these groups and trends regard the struggle of the working people with apprehension, fearing that with the further development of this struggle the people will in time impart a truly socialist content to the democratic institutions presently existing and also to the democratic gains still to be won.

To understand the fears of these groups, it should be borne in mind that most of them come from the middle urban strata. Although they subscribe to democratic and patriotic ideals, they nevertheless are susceptible to imperialist propaganda which endeavors, and not without success, to poison their minds with the usual anti-Communist slanders.

To overcome the fears of the middle sections (and also of a part of the working people) it is imperative to carry on untiring ideological work.

Needless to say, our Party as well as the other Latin American Communist parties, unlike some "ultra-revolutionary" groups which take a subjectivist stand, do not consider the winning of power by the working class and the full realization of the program of the socialist

revolution to be the immediate task. The immediate prospect in our countries, as we see it, is the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution, for the victory of which the first essential is the firm unity of all the social and political forces subscribing to the aims of this revolution and prepared to adopt revolutionary methods of struggle. The Communists attach much importance to winning over (or neutralizing) also those groups which, while not accepting revolutionary methods, nevertheless are objectively interested in the fruits of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution. It would be a grave political mistake to advance slogans which do not correspond to the realities of the present stage and hence are likely to alienate potential allies in the struggle against imperialism.

Moreover, worldwide experience (and for us Latin-Americans the experience of Cuba above all) shows that at the present time the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution is, as a rule, a precondition and point of departure for the socialist path of development.

In Cuba the national bourgeoisie proved incapable of joining in the solution of many of the tasks of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. What is more, the bourgeoisie was opposed to the *anti-imperialist* aspect of the revolution. Development of the revolution was accelerated as a result. The working class, the revolutionary intelligentsia, the poor peasantry and the radical sections of the small bourgeoisie carried it through to the end, to the socialist reconstruction of the country. The revolutionary process in Cuba showed that anti-imperialist struggle, provided it is waged with resolution, creates the conditions for rapid transition to socialism. Hesitation can but jeopardize the revolution, lead to agonizing retreats.

Yet for a number of years many Latin American Communists, while stressing the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist nature of the present stage of the revolution, devoted insufficient attention to concrete preparation for the transition to the socialist revolution. We believe that the situation prevailing today in Latin America and the world generally makes it incumbent on us clearly and correctly to bring the socialist perspective to the people in order to educate and prepare them for the revolution—regardless of the nature of its initial stages.

It is an open secret that the slogan of socialism so far does not have the same power of attraction in Latin America as it has in Western Europe or in most of the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa.

For the socialist perspective to capture the imagination of the Latin American workers, peasants and middle sections and win their whole-hearted support, it is essential to open their eyes to the connection between national independence, economic progress, democracy, human dignity and socialism. To win genuine

national independence and to overcome economic backwardness the choice must be made in favor of socialism. On the other hand, consistent struggle for independence, democracy and socio-economic progress leads to socialism. We must convince the masses (and this we can best do in the process of struggle) that this is not "casuistry" or "propaganda" but an objective law of social development.

Another important task in the sphere of ideological work is, in our opinion, to explain to the working people who are deceived by hostile propaganda and to our potential middle-class allies in the struggle for socialism *what socialism really stands for*. In doing so we can draw on the best in the wealth of experience accumulated in the socialist countries as well as on the critical reappraisal of a number of aspects of this experience made by the Communists of these countries in the last ten years. The new theoretical conclusion drawn by the international Communist movement as regards the ways and methods of the struggle for socialism will also help us in this work. In particular, we have in mind the new approach to problems connected with the peaceful development of the revolutionary process and the broadening of the social basis of the socialist revolution, the more precise definition of the role far-reaching reform of the socio-economic structure can play in this process, and the new approach to multiplicity of parties under socialism, guarantees of democratic freedoms and promotion of all forms of democracy, and the possibility of prolonged existence of small private property within the framework of the socialist economy. Needless to say, these problems and solutions must be weighed in the light of our continental and national realities, in accordance with the changing conditions of struggle.

In order successfully to counter the constant allegations of enemy propaganda that socialism is "anti-national," "alien to the spirit and traditions" of the country, we believe it is very important thoroughly to examine the specific national features of our future advance to socialism in the overall context of both the regional and universal laws governing the revolutionary process. The socio-economic and political structure of Costa Rica has a number of specific features setting it apart from its neighbors—a higher level of capitalist development, a relatively weak land-owning oligarchy, more numerous middle strata who carry much weight in political and social life, and deep-seated constitutional-democratic traditions. Clearly, the movement towards socialism and democracy too will be marked by distinctive features and impelled forward by specific impulses stemming from these and other objective factors.

Examination of problems connected with our concrete socialist perspective should, then, be an integral part of our ideological work. A frank and open comparison of views will not divert us from the day-to-day struggle against

imperialism and its agents. On the contrary, it will make this struggle more constructive, more purposeful, more militant, and, in the final analysis, *more united*.

By taking this approach we believe we can convince our allies that we are not merely seeking to "use" them at the present stage of the revolution with a view to discarding them like a "squeezed lemon" at the next stage. By showing that socialism is objectively the goal of *all* consistently anti-imperialist and democratic movements and not only of our Party (witness the experience of Cuba), we shall help to broaden the front of struggle *today* and enhance its efficacy.

When we say that socialism is not our immediate aim we are stressing that the revolution in our country is bound to begin as an anti-imperialist, democratic upheaval. But in order not to create the impression that this revolution will be separated from the socialist revolution by a long period of time, and so as not to exaggerate the distinctions between the two, it should be added that, as we see it, in the present situation on our continent the two revolutions are interconnected, mutually-conditioned, and, to a point, interwoven stages of a process which is *objectively integral* and, *historically speaking, concentrated in point of time*. Hence, to confine oneself in the ideological struggle to pointing out that socialism is not an immediate aim and that "sooner or later" our country too will arrive at socialism would amount to taking a defensive position, even if extensive work were to be carried on to acquaint the masses with the achievements of socialism beyond the bounds of our country. The masses will, of course, come to realize the need for socialism through their own experience in the class struggle and in the anti-imperialist struggle. No propaganda, however extensively and persistently conducted, can take the place of experience. But it can help people assimilate this experience faster, explode the propaganda myths of the enemy and convince the wavering.

Naturally there are bound to be different views on this highly complex question. A discussion of these views would be very helpful to all the revolutionary forces on our continent.

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We are on the eve of big battles. The future will, no doubt, demand its sacrifices. But it also holds out the promise of grand victories, of happiness for the peoples. The tasks posed by the objective march of socio-economic development in Latin America cannot be solved without the unity of the popular forces.

Our peoples regard these tasks as immediate and feasible aims. The struggle of the working people of our continent, gaining momentum, is being given added impetus by the consolidation of socialism and by the growth of the revolutionary movement throughout the world. Ever greater numbers of men and women dedicated to their country are joining the ranks of the revolutionaries.

Has the revolution become more difficult in Latin America?

JOSE MANUEL FORTUNY

JUST AS IN THE PAST it was customary to say that all roads lead to Rome so today we say that all roads lead to socialism. This formula is expressed as often as the thesis that the main content of our time is the transition from capitalism to socialism. The inevitability of this objective historical process, which the genius of Marx discovered for mankind, has been confirmed by the trend of social development in the more than hundred years since then, its contradictions and complexities notwithstanding.

But it is not this universal trend of development that we wish to stress when we say that nowadays all roads lead to socialism. Our purpose is to show how these words apply to that vast and specific region of the world known as Latin America; how here, too, this impelling idea is merging with the main trend of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement which since the victory of the Cuban revolution regards the struggle for socialism as a logical and direct continuation of the people's national-liberation revolution.

When we speak about the different "ways" to socialism we imply that the revolutionaries in the different countries of the continent should find their own solutions arrived at through a strictly scientific method of investigation and based on the creative application of Marxism to the specific problems of Latin-American and national reality. We think that the criterion in gauging the revolutionary character and maturity of the respective Marxist-Leninist parties in Latin America should be the effectiveness of the solutions found, their ability to grasp the problems, to analyze them, and consistently to carry out decisions corresponding to the results of this analysis.

Today not only Communists but also other progressive trends, political and cultural groups, and representatives of the intelligentsia are discussing the crucial issues of the "Latin-American revolution" (this term, formerly only a watchword, is now becoming a political and

strategic concept). Representatives of all the trends that make up the complex political pattern of Latin America are taking part in this discussion which is influenced by many factors, among them the differences in the international Communist movement. But the main impelling force of this discussion, as I see it, is the victory of the Cuban revolution, its radicalization and consolidation. The rich experience of this revolution in all its complexity and diversity (and not merely the question of its tactics) is the center of discussion.

In this article we would like to express our views regarding some of the urgent and sharp problems raised in the discussion. These problems, of course, need to be further analyzed and substantiated.

* * *

One of the many dialogues in the present discussion took place last year in New York between the Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes and the American sociologist Irving L. Horowitz. (The dialogue was published at the end of last year in the Mexican magazine *Siempre*.) Although the entire dialogue is of interest our attention was drawn mainly to the following idea expressed by Horowitz: "The price of revolutions in Latin America has sharply risen, and only in exceptional cases can a leader, party or people speak of total revolution in Latin America (outside Cuba). Cuba of course cannot be held responsible for this, but the very fact that Cuba is only a speck in a turbulent sea only complicates the outlook for the contemporary revolution and makes difficult its mechanics. Today the United States will without a moment's hesitation nip in the bud any hint at real independence."

It is evident that Horowitz tried to minimize the political significance of the victory of the Cuban revolution, but we would remind him that by showing that it was possible to achieve complete victory over imperialism and to turn to building socialism in the Western Hemis-

phere Cuba was, for that reason alone, not a "speck" but the bastion and banner of the revolution in Latin America. Although one might disagree with some of the conclusions drawn by Horowitz it would be incorrect to deny the elements of foresight in what he has to say. Take, for example, the brazen intervention of the United States in the Dominican Republic and the cynicism with which the Johnson Administration tried to justify the landing of Marines there. The "stick" is too big to doubt its existence. And in this case it was not a question of "total revolution" but of the return of Juan Bosch as president of the republic, of the restoration of the Constitution trampled underfoot two years ago by the Trujillo military clique, in other words, it was a question of the "hint at independence" mentioned by Horowitz.

It is very likely that before the Cuban revolution the U.S. government would not have acted with the cynicism, recklessness and brutality it did in the Dominican situation. The entire complex of reflexes which the Cuban revolution aroused in the U.S. imperialists bore down on the small republic.

We share Carlos Fuentes' view that "paradoxically enough after Cuba the revolution in Latin America is becoming more difficult and at the same time more imperative." As we see it the Mexican writer wanted to stress that since the victory of the Cuban revolution the situation in Latin America has acquired features which make it qualitatively different from the previous periods of revolutionary upsurge, that a revolutionary situation has arisen in the continent taken as an economic and political entity.

Nobody naturally maintains that a revolutionary situation exists in all the Latin-American countries (it is obvious that in a number of them such a situation has not yet matured). In this connection it should be noted that the existence of a revolutionary situation in one or another country does not necessarily mean that revolution will break out there and that the revolution will be triumphant. Nor does it mean that the revolution will be victorious simultaneously in all countries, or that it will develop only along the tactical path followed by the Cuban revolution, that revolutionaries must use only methods of armed struggle.

Here it is pertinent to recall that Lenin during the First World War pointed out that a revolutionary situation was taking shape in the belligerent capitalist countries in Europe and that the economic and political crisis engendered by the war should be utilized to accomplish a socialist revolution. It was a question of exploiting the difficulties which the war caused the governments and the discontent of the masses against the capitalist system in the belligerent countries. Lenin did not at all consider that the revolution would triumph simultaneously in all countries. On the contrary, even before the October Revolution he noted that in the conditions of the uneven development of the prerequisites for the socialist revolution

in the epoch of imperialism the revolution could be successful at first in one country taken separately.

Despite the lessons taught by the dialectics of historical development the tendency was after the victory of every revolution of world significance to universalize every detail of its experience as a general "guide to action," to take it for granted that other countries would follow "in the footprints" of the trail blazer. Lenin showed that such a tendency led to "schematism," to "revolutionary oversimplification." It was only in the course of a long and contradictory process that the world Communist movement came to realize this: the demands of reality, the scientific methods of analyzing this reality battled in the minds of revolutionaries with abstract reflections and subjectivist wishes.

After the victory of the first socialist revolution in Russia many Communists thought that after a more or less short space of time all the capitalist countries of Europe would follow suit, that the socialist revolution in the West would repeat the basic features of the Russian experience. Subsequent events showed the fallacy of this view. In 1921 Lenin was counselling the Communists not to copy the Russian tactics but independently to analyze the reasons for their specific nature, the conditions and results of these tactics, to apply in their country not the letter but the spirit, the meaning, the lessons of the experience of 1917-1921. Unfortunately the full meaning of this counsel, like other precepts and warnings of Lenin of those years, was not properly heeded. A similar phenomenon, namely, the belief that copying the experience of the victorious revolutions could bring victory to all countries, was to be observed after the Chinese revolution among revolutionaries in Asia and Africa, and after the revolution in Cuba among the revolutionaries of Latin America (and not only among them).

* * *

When defining our political line we cannot, if we want to remain true to our scientific ideology, be guided by abstract schemes or the latest dogmatic clichés. Our political line and revolutionary activity must be based on reality, on realism, on a profound and exact analysis, and not on illusions.

As the facts show, one of the most important aspects of the Latin-American scene is the resistance of the ruling oligarchy, of most of the governments, to any democratic, let alone revolutionary, changes. This resistance goes hand in hand with Washington's aggressive course, with its policy of supporting or creating dictatorships, and even of direct military intervention. The virtually armed offensive—especially in recent years—of the enemy who fears that the upsurge of the revolutionary movement might develop into a new Cuba, is engendering an explosive situation. This situation obviously leaves most of the Latin American countries only one realistic way of furthering

the revolution today—that of armed struggle against the violence of reaction and U.S. imperialism.

It seems to me that with few exceptions (the most obvious of which is Chile) there is no possibility at the present stage of a peaceful revolution in Latin America. (The exceptional situation in Chile, in my view, is explained by a number of specific factors, including the existence of a Communist Party which from all aspects can be regarded as a mass party.)

It is not, of course, a question of prescribing what line to take. The struggle itself will indicate this. But if it is true, theoretically, that each Party decides for itself how to act, it is no less true that the decision does not depend entirely on its own will. For example, some Communist parties in Latin America were impelled to take the course they did because of the policy of repressions pursued by the governments of their countries and the aggressive actions of the United States.

Undoubtedly, the actions of the people and particularly the mobilization of the working masses can, in certain conditions, compel the enemy to accept the forms of struggle and even the field of action chosen by the revolutionaries. But this depends, in the final analysis, on the correlation of forces. On the other hand, imperialism and reaction, resorting to extreme violence to prevent revolutionary changes, may leave us no choice in the matter.

If the U.S. intervention against the Dominican Republic had been just another "ordinary" case of imperialist violence in Latin America, there would have been no need to cite it as an example to prove the correctness of our viewpoint. But this latest aggression shows that U.S. intervention today is qualitatively different from what it was in the time of the "Big Stick" policy. Today American imperialism resorts to naked aggression against the anti-imperialist popular movement and to crush the revolution. Its purpose is not only to entrench itself more firmly but also to prevent any change whatsoever in the status quo in Latin America or in any other part of the world. The instructive example of the Dominican Republic shows that when in Latin American countries the people take to armed forms of struggle they inevitably clash with the troops of the United States and with the "inter-American" punitive forces formed on Washington's orders.

But the question should be viewed in a broader aspect. In most of the countries of the continent not only the armed struggle, but any successful movement of the masses for revolutionary and democratic aims—irrespective of its form—inevitably encounters at one or another stage the hostility of the reactionary forces of the two Americas. The U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic marked the culmination of the reactionary policy theoretically substantiated in the Mann Doctrine—a doctrine aimed at setting up "strong" governments in all countries of the continent. Most of the coups in Latin America since the Cuban revolution had

as their aim the overthrow of regimes which, in the opinion of the Pentagon and the local military, were unable, because of their general weakness (or as a result of mass pressure) to suppress the discontent and the growing revolutionary struggle of the people.

The coups which led to the overthrow of the military-civilian junta in Salvador in 1961, of the governments of Arosemena in Ecuador, Ydigoras Fuentes in Guatemala, Villeda Morales in Honduras and Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic in 1963 bear the unmistakable stamp of fear engendered among the ruling classes by the possibility of new "total revolutions." The most glaring instance of this was last year's military coup against the democratic and nationalist Goulart Government in Brazil, the full implications of which still have to be properly assessed. And today the aggression in the Dominican Republic has once again shown U.S. policy in all its cynicism and baseness. Washington gave the threadbare excuse of having to protect its citizens whom nobody threatened, and only afterwards declared that it was a question of preventing a "second Cuba."

Thus behind all these military coups is reaction's firm determination to close to the democratic and progressive forces all peaceful ways to participation in the administration of the country, to prevent the constitutional realization of reforms which would limit the economic power of the agrarian oligarchy and the privileges of the U.S. monopolies.

The same thing is happening in countries where the peace and quiet of the graveyard have been established by reactionary dictatorships. What peaceful, democratic solution can be expected from the Stroessner government in Paraguay, from Duvalier in Haiti, or from the Somoza brothers in Nicaragua? What possibility is there of establishing a government in Panama which would be able to restore national sovereignty the peaceful way, when the territory of that country is occupied by U.S. troops?

In several Latin American countries an armed struggle is now being waged, mainly in the form of guerrilla warfare. And although the guerrilla movement started under different circumstances and in each country has its specific features it was sparked off by a "common denominator." In all the countries concerned the ruling classes, fearing the masses, fearing that the people once embarked on revolution would overthrow the oligarchy, "closed" the peaceful paths of development for the revolutionary process.

Naturally we would like to examine in greater detail the development of the guerrilla struggle in Guatemala, although it may not be the most typical example.

On March 30, 1963, the Guatemala military overthrew the government of Ydigoras Fuentes and seized power. The factors which sparked off the coup had been accumulating since the stormy events of February-April 1962. The first guerrilla groups appeared in the country in

February 1962. Their appearance at a time when the country was seething with discontent led to mass actions in March and April which threatened disastrous consequences for the Ydigoras government. Fearing the spreading popular movement which could have led to a radical change of government, the Right opposition, which at first tried to exploit this movement in its own interests, decided to retreat. Ydigoras for his part, as a result of interference by U.S. diplomats, appointed a number of high-ranking officers to ministerial posts. All that was left to be done to instal the army completely in office was to remove Ydigoras Fuentes himself from the political arena.

Presidential elections were fixed for December 1963. All organized political forces, with the exception of the Communist Party, nominated their candidates. The outlook for the reactionaries some of whose groups could not agree on a common candidate, was not encouraging. The chances of victory for ex-President Jan Jose Arevalo, on the contrary, steadily grew as a result of the support of influential, democratic forces. The reactionaries, realizing that there was a real danger of their being defeated, resorted, as the Party of Labor had foreseen, to a coup d'état. This put an end to all electoral illusions and opened a qualitatively new stage in the political life of the country.

Shortly before the coup the guerrillas renewed operations which they are successfully continuing in the northeastern part of the republic. However, although this factor undoubtedly influenced subsequent events it did not determine the actions of the military in March 1963. The decisive factor that provoked the military coup, carried out with the approval and on the insistence of the Pentagon which was determined to prevent the people from achieving their demands the legal, peaceful way, was fear of a repetition of the situation that existed during the presidency of Juan Jose Arevalo in 1945-1951. During that period some social and political reforms were carried out within the bounds of a bourgeois-democratic revolution; but more important still, the prerequisites were created for deepening the revolution in the subsequent period of the anti-imperialist government of Arbenz (1951-1954).

The fact that Arevalo repeatedly proclaimed his anti-Communist "credo," attacked the revolutionary government of Cuba while supporting Kennedy's policy in Latin America, did not prevent the coup, which showed that the Guatemalan reactionaries would not tolerate the introduction even of those reforms which the Alliance for Progress ostensibly supported and which Arevalo advocated.

It is not only in Guatemala that the "liberal-reformist" trends, of which Arevalo is a typical representative, are meeting with bitter resistance from the Right. In point of fact this is what happened in the Dominican Republic where U.S. Marines prevented the return of ex-President Juan Bosch. Johnson, it will be re-

called, declared that he would put an end to the "rocking chair" policy, i.e., to Kennedy's Latin American policy. It should be noted, however, that, even in Kennedy's time, parallel with the Alliance for Progress policy, the "tough line" of the Pentagon and of the ultra-reactionary circles in Washington was pursued, the line of coup d'état and "strong man" regimes.

On March 13, 1962, Kennedy, speaking on the Alliance for Progress, said: "... Those who possess wealth and power in poor nations must accept their own responsibilities. They must lead the fight for those basic reforms which alone can preserve the fabric of their societies. Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

These words proved to be true as regards Guatemala and other Latin American countries. In reply to the situation created by the reactionaries, the Guatemalan revolutionary forces organized an armed insurrection which took the form of guerrilla warfare and armed actions by resistance groups. This insurrection, as the Central Committee of the Party of Labor noted at its meeting last March, marked the beginning of a people's revolutionary war. The respective resolution of the Central Committee stressed that since April 1961 the Party has proceeded from the fact that in the present conditions of Guatemala "there is no possibility of removing the forces of reaction from power the peaceful way and, consequently, for the peaceful development of the Guatemalan revolution."

In its resolution of December 1963 the Central Committee confirmed that "since there are no possibilities for solving the basic problems affecting the interests of the people the peaceful way, since our people are denied their political and social rights, the armed struggle was a compulsory and necessary step and a fitting answer to the recklessness of the reactionary classes."

To return, however, to the Dominican Republic, since the events there—both as regards the brazen gendarme actions of Washington and the heroic struggle of the people—will unquestionably have profound consequences for the entire continent.

The decision of a group of officers to arm the Dominican people—a decision not without precedent—and the rapidity and enthusiasm with which the people responded should be seen as something more than just a matter for abstract political reflections. The same applies when analyzing the reasons for the tenacious resistance of the armed people to the intervention forces and troops of the Trujillo clique. We also think it is necessary to give thought to the new character of this U.S. intervention and to whether the North American imperialists are not assimilating the lessons of the Cuban revolution more rapidly than we are.

Be that as it may, the events in the Dominican Republic, the armed resistance of the Bolivian miners to the violence of the military junta, the appearance of guerrilla centers in Peru—all are signs of a tense situation on the

Latin American continent. Needless to say, all these events, like the struggle in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and in other parts of the continent, reflect the crisis in the "upper strata" which can no longer rule in the old way, and the crisis in the "lower strata" which no longer want to live the old way. The misery of the oppressed classes is growing and parallel with this their needs are increasing faster than ever before. The mood of the masses is changing, they are becoming more active. Throughout the continent the "general national crisis" of which Lenin spoke as the necessary forerunner of revolution, is approaching or has already begun.

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Another important aspect of reality which we cannot evade and which, on the contrary, calls for a profound analysis, is that the subjective conditions for revolution are maturing all too slowly in Latin America. This is particularly apparent in the "lagging behind" of its vanguard—the revolutionary parties of the working class, of the Left forces. We believe that this is due not only to the fact that in the sixties, the problem of the perspectives of the revolution or its "mechanics" have become more complicated but also to other circumstances dating back many decades.

In the last ten years most of the Communist and other Left parties in Latin America have strengthened their ranks and influence among the masses, have enhanced their ability to perform the vanguard role in the revolution. They are becoming a national political force of the first magnitude. The police repressions against these parties and the outlawing of most of them are indicative of fear of the growing influence of the Communists. Still, even though the Communists have sound programs and are waging a valiant struggle on behalf of the working class and the entire people, most of the Communist parties of Latin America evidently still do not exert a *constant and effective* political influence on the basic sections of the working people.

This question was given much attention, but the analysis was often incomplete and not self-critical enough, particularly, it seems to me, as regards some stages of the development of the Communist movement on the continent.

One of these stages covers the period in the activity of the Comintern beginning with the end of the twenties and that of the personality cult which affected the international Communist movement for a long time. The Communist International rendered invaluable assistance in founding and developing many Communist parties in Latin America, in educating tested and capable functionaries, educating them in the spirit of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, to the national interest and the interests of the working class in all countries. The basic qualities and distinctive features of the Latin American Communists were moulded in the struggle of those years.

But at the same time some aspects of Comintern activity, particularly in the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses, had a negative effect on the development of the Communist movement in Latin America (and also in other countries). Very often the parties were guided by general formulations which may have been the right ones for countries at a higher level of socio-economic development than the Latin American in those years. (We are not speaking, of course, of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, of the general laws of social development and our philosophical world outlook.) The fact that this inevitable restriction of independence left the parties no choice but to follow a stereotyped pattern and created fertile soil for dogmatism and narrow-mindedness was completely overlooked. All this, needless to say, had an unfavorable effect on the relations between the Party and the masses and, in the final analysis, hampered the growth of Party influence among the masses, including the working class. The Seventh Congress, which advanced a new, creative concept of bringing the masses to revolution, did a great deal to overcome sectarianism and ossified schemes, opened up new perspectives to the international Communist movement. But the Comintern did not succeed at the time in overcoming these shortcomings completely.

After the dissolution of the Comintern the Communist parties in all countries became organizationally independent. But this was not enough to remedy the situation, for the main negative feature remained—the Stalin personality cult whose influence extended far beyond the confines of the Soviet Union. As is now particularly evident, the cult greatly injured the international Communist movement. It fettered Marxist-Leninist thought, reduced the rich and complex reality of national life to hidebound formulas, led to the Communist parties underestimating the importance and necessity of examining this reality themselves; their gaze was turned to the "heights" of the revolutionary Olympus. Under the influence of the personality cult also in the Latin American parties methods were used which were contrary to the Leninist norms of Party life, which distorted these norms or prevented the parties from adapting themselves to the national peculiarities of their countries.

During the period between the late twenties and the victory of the Cuban revolution profound changes took place in the world and in the general current of Communist thought. The Latin American scene, too, changed. But in my view we Communists in this part of the world did not fully appreciate the significance of these changes. Many concepts which did not correspond to the changing scene remained, in effect, unaltered and consequently lost all meaning. It was only after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU that these concepts began to be revised.

Although the present article does not aim

to recapitulate and analyze all the concepts and methods which in most of the Latin American countries hampered the development of relations between the Party and the working class, between the Party and the masses, I would like, nevertheless, to mention some of them.

1. In many countries of Latin America with a very low level of industrial development the Communists were guided by concepts about the theoretical and practical role of the working class which were correct only as far as the working class of the developed capitalist countries was concerned. In their organizational and political work our parties sometimes orientated themselves solely on the urban working class, which in a number of countries was still very small numerically: it had only just begun to take shape and consequently was still immature in its class consciousness. Much of the efforts of the Communists were, therefore, to no purpose. In other cases they centered their activity on the urban handicraftsmen, whose numbers and influence were steadily declining.

As a result the important role which, in our opinion, the agricultural laborers can play in the countries concerned, was not fully appreciated. This section of the working class was often classified as part of the peasantry, and its role was reduced to that of an ally of the working class, although the rural working class is the most exploited.

Not sufficient attention was paid to the middle sections which rapidly grew in numbers and importance and, what is particularly important, to the radical circles of the petty-bourgeoisie and the student body which is usually in the van of the democratic and national struggle. The role of these forces was nearly always underestimated. As for the national bourgeoisie, there was no consistent viewpoint regarding the part it could play in the national liberation movement; its possibilities were either overestimated or underestimated.

2. Although it was the Communists who introduced the ideals of socialism on the Latin American continent, acquainted the people with the achievements of Soviet society and the other socialist states, our views and concepts of the socialist system which will be established in Latin America were for all that a mechanical replica, and very often an embellished one, of life in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Stock answers were given to the questions worrying the working people, answers which could satisfy few people other than Communists.

We still do not give satisfactory answers to these legitimate questions, to the anti-Communist propaganda about the deviations from the norms of democracy which the personality cult engendered in its time in the Soviet Union and in other countries. We have still not clearly enough explained to the masses the true nature of the connection between freedom and

socialism, have still not given a complete picture of the achievements of democracy and freedom under socialism since the liquidation of the consequences of the personality cult. In my view, our approach to the question of the future socialist society in Latin America is not dialectical enough, is not based on an examination of the numerous and varied national features of the Latin American countries.

It is precisely because we have not been able to explain clearly enough the mistakes and negative features connected with the personality cult that the corresponding questions are being asked by representatives of the middle sections and also by many working people who are anxious to overcome their vacillations concerning socialism. I would venture to say in this connection that we have also not drawn in full measure on the significant lessons of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

3. The Party's policy in relation to other revolutionary forces or to the united front of democratic forces, the problem of the hegemony of the working class in the revolution—this is another important group of questions, a correct and realistic answer to which will win for the Party the support of broad sections of the people.

Unfortunately we very often forgot that the role which the Party is called upon to play as the vanguard of the revolution is one thing in theory and quite another in practice, in a given concrete situation, that the theoretical presentation of the question of the hegemony of the working class in the revolutionary process is one thing and the actual role it plays in this process quite another. Something of the same can be said about the working class as the principal force in the anti-imperialist revolution in the countries where it is evident that the working class is not yet in a position to perform this role.

A number of objective factors today hamper the growth of our influence among the basic mass of the working people (some of these factors affect the development also of other revolutionary parties and groups). These include the absence of democratic liberties, constant repressions against the Communists: only two Communist parties throughout Latin America are legal and enjoy political rights. Furthermore, of late, "ultra-revolutionary" adventurist groups have been hurting the prestige of the Communists in the eyes of the people. These groups sometimes consist of honest radical elements but most often provocateurs infiltrate into them; witness the case of the group of Mexican Trotskyites who got into the Guatemalan revolutionary movement. These groups use the differences in the international Communist movement to attack the parties.

Then there is the anti-Communist propaganda carried on by the imperialists, their agents and the clergy. Using both crude and refined methods, this propaganda seizes on every op-

portunity to strike at us. The words "socialism," "communism," and "communists" are given a sinister connotation. Millions of people without knowing what communism means instinctively aspire to the economic and moral aims of communism and objectively fight for these aims. But at the very mention of the word "communism" these same people cross themselves in fear.

A host of other problems could be enumerated (for example, the attitude to religion, the intellectuals, art and literature, etc.), and without their solution the Communists will not be able to increase their influence appreciably. In this connection it would be interesting to compare Santiago Alvarez' article on relations with the Catholics, printed in a recent issue of this journal, with the situation in Latin America.

But one thing is certain: the Latin American Communists will spare no effort to strengthen their contact with the masses and to turn their parties into a force exerting a growing influence on the political struggle in their countries. In this respect we agree with the view expressed by William Kashtan who, referring to the Communist Party of Canada, noted that his Party will be able to become a real national force only if it will react in time to all national problems. "A sect," Kashtan said, "cannot become a national force. Nor can a party which restricts itself to propaganda; or which sits and waits for a 'better day'".

* * *

The Cuban revolution, which is still considered "so unorthodox," opened a new epoch in Latin America. The universal significance of Cuba's revolutionary exploit, however, lies not only in its direct impact on the trend of developments, or its emotional impact.

The most significant feature of this revolution is that it changed the thinking of the Marxist-Leninist parties and their leaders. In this sense the impact of the Cuban revolution on the Communist parties of Latin America can be compared with that of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU on the Communist parties of Europe.

The cobwebs in revolutionary thinking on the continent, which the Twentieth Congress could not completely eliminate (it seems to me that we did not fully understand the spirit of the Congress at the time), were swept aside by the practice of the Cuban revolution. And just as it is true that the Twentieth Congress greatly helped the Latin American Communists correctly to assess the Cuban revolution, it is no less true that the Cuban revolution helped us to appreciate the full magnitude of the world-historic significance of the Twentieth Congress.

A profound scientific analysis of the Cuban revolution will be of inestimable value to revolutionaries. It will enable us to give more comprehensive answers to the question why

the revolution in Cuba was, to quote a Lenin description, so "intricate," why it is so rich in forms and content. And maybe many of the answers will seem to us as unexpected as the solutions we are already finding to the problems agitating us. But returning to the facts, it should be noted that by destroying the schemata hitherto regarded as inviolable truths but which in reality were only myths, the Cuban experience by that alone has rendered the Latin American Communists an invaluable service.

Usually only one aspect of the Cuban revolution is stressed—its tactical path, the path of heroes who with arms in hand took to the mountains and immediately after overthrowing the Batista tyranny began to tackle the tasks of their revolution. It is very important of course to stress and to study this aspect, this phase of the revolution. But it is no less important to analyze other lessons of Cuba, to bring out all that is new in its experience. All the "finds" of the Cuban revolution—both in the early stages and now when it is building socialism—are a source of creative inspiration to us.

Much of the new that is being born out of the revolutionary and social ferment in Latin America, the present creative approach to studying our national reality, the new trails being blazed to liberation from imperialist dependence and to the future building of a socialist society—all are the consequence of the impact made by the Cuban revolution. Its lessons have taught us that each party must find its own way, must make a more profound study of its own country, prepare more thoroughly for the battles ahead, learn to stand on its own feet and think for itself. The changes that have taken place in Latin American revolutionary thought, in the strategy and tactics of a number of fraternal parties, in the mood of the masses, are all promising signs, and the howl sent up by the U.S. imperialists in answer to the democratic movement in the Dominican Republic shows that the "caravan is moving on."

The question whether the socialist revolution should figure in our slogans addressed, in particular, to those who tremble at the very mention of the word "socialism," is a debatable one and of a tactical nature. But the fact remains that in Cuba, for a variety of reasons (unceasing aggression on the part of the imperialists, the extraordinary enthusiasm of the people, the favorable correlation of forces for socialism and the aid of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union) the revolution rapidly passed on to the tasks of the next, higher stage. There is every reason to believe that since these factors will operate in other of the revolutions on the continent events may develop in the same manner.

We think that today already the socialist revolution should be regarded as the continuation of the anti-imperialist revolution, as the goal of the not too distant future. Since its

Third Congress the Guatemalan Party of Labor holds that "the national-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution (in our country) are two different, but at the same time two indissolubly connected stages of a single revolutionary movement".

* * *

To say that the aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists is costing the revolutionaries great effort, that it is hampering the carrying out of the revolution, is to see only one side of the matter. The other side is that the militant spirit of the masses is growing as is also the scope of their struggle, that the Communists and other Left forces are becoming more experienced, and that this is facilitating the carrying out of the tasks of the revolution, is making is more "imperative," to quote Fuentes.

The aggressiveness of imperialism, which wants to drown in blood the struggle of our peoples for national liberation, calls for more

effective mutual aid and closer unity of all democratic and revolutionary forces both on a continental and world scale, requires that we once again ask ourselves whether this solidarity is being carried out today in the spirit and traditions of proletarian internationalism.

And if, as Horowitz holds, "the price of revolutions in Latin America has sharply risen," the experience of Cuba, which is blazing the trail to socialism in America, is for all that greatly facilitating our task. Cuba has given us—in the broadest outlines—the Latin American model of the way to socialism, has proved that Latin America too is a continent of socialism. This is invaluable for quickening the maturing of the Communist parties of Latin America and furthering their ability to lead the revolution. And so we are confident that the day will come when *it will not be the exception* to hear a leader, a party and a people announce to the world "a total revolution in Latin America."

The revolutionary process and democracy in Latin America

PEDRO MOTTA LIMA

THE PLACE OF democracy in the overall context of the Latin American revolution is at present very much in the center of attention. This is due not only to the role which our continent, swept by the flames of the liberation struggle, plays in the world today, but also because many of the specific and unique features inherent in Latin American political processes have asserted themselves in recent years. Contrary to the claims of some opponents of scientific socialism, the specific nature of these features in no way contradicts the fundamental principles of our doctrine. It is not through repetition of immutable patterns but through a multiplicity of forms of social development that the march of history bears out the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Having entered a period marked by the aggravation of social contradictions to the extreme and the rapid maturing of conditions for structural changes which make social and

national liberation possible, the twenty-odd Latin-Indo-Afro-American nations are confronted by and large with identical problems. This identity is self-evident despite the many geographical, ethnic, economic, social and political differences which cannot, of course, be ignored. The same applies also to the problem of political democracy in Latin America.

I

The common elements in the political structures of our countries and in the development of democratic freedoms and institutions on the continent (or, to be more exact, in the inadequacy of this development) have their genesis in a long and complex historical process.

Contemporary Iberian-American society traces its origins from conquest and colonization accompanied by savage destruction of indigenous civilizations, enslavement and exter-

mination of the Indian population, and the forcible imposition of a semi-feudal socio-political system of a military type founded on latifundia, Indian and Negro slave labor and export of raw materials to the metropolitan countries. For more than three centuries every aspect of life on the conquered continent was subordinated to the interests of the colonizers. There could be no question of solving the local problems, in particular of improving the living conditions of the indigenous population and thereby ensuring its political and cultural progress. The natural reaction of the enslaved population was to fight back. South American history is a long record of wars and revolts of Indian tribes, guerrilla warfare by Negro slaves (the high point of this struggle was the short-lived seventeenth-century "Republic of Palmares" in Brazil) and countless other manifestations of discontent and protest by the oppressed which paved the way to the winning of elementary rights and then to national liberation. But the independence movement which culminated in the victorious liberation wars of the early nineteenth century failed, in most of the countries, to develop into a far-reaching social revolution drawing broad sections of the population into the class struggle (such as, say, the Great French Revolution). This is one of the main reasons why in Latin America independence was not accompanied by far-reaching changes in their semi-feudal socio-political structures.

The struggle between the democratic and oligarchic trends continued after independence. Through the nineteenth century the latter was the predominant trend. It produced the notorious Latin American-type dictatorship—tyrannical rule by one or another feudal bureaucratic group relying on the armed forces (or a section of these forces) and riding rough-shod over the interests and will of the people. However, the ruling classes did not find it easy to instal these dictatorships. This required no little effort and sparked off stormy upheavals. In Brazil, two decades after independence, the feudal slavocracy had recourse to constitutional monarchy with a "two-party parliamentary system" which was a parody of the British system. And in the half century that the country was ruled by a "constitutional" monarch there never were five consecutive years without armed revolts, mutinies in the army or street fighting in support of the abolition of slave labor and the establishment of a republic.

Where the oligarchy for one reason or another could not exercise its rule through naked dictatorship, it entered into an alliance first with British and then with U.S. imperialism to camouflage its rule with an anaemic representative democracy of the presidential type. (Incidentally, the dictatorships too, as a rule, put up the same official front.)

The sole object of the periodical electoral farces was to distribute the plums of office among the various factions of the ruling elite

vying for power on the two-party merry-go-round. At times this parliamentary game was interrupted by palace revolutions or military coups. The overwhelming majority of the population was denied the right to vote or to be elected because of poverty or illiteracy (this is still the case in many countries). The landlord, the priest and the general (who was often also the president) were the three pillars on which the traditional political structure rested.

Whereas in Western Europe and in the United States bourgeois democracy, despite its limitations, became the tangible expression of the capitalist socio-economic formation, in Latin America bourgeois-democratic institutions were in most instances nothing more than a stage-set mechanically copied from foreign models and in no way reflecting real social relationships. They were a dummy facade, a screen concealing a semi-feudal and semi-colonial system with its own specific seats of power.

The emerging bourgeoisie, which in most countries of the continent made no effort towards democratic reconstruction of the political edifice, cautiously sought to integrate with this system. The appearance of elements of democracy in Latin America was as a rule not the result of the entry of the bourgeoisie onto the historical arena, but of the growth of the working-class movement, and the struggle of the progressive intellectuals and students.

These elements — political and civil rights, more or less democratic electoral legislation, fewer military coups, a legal trade union movement, university autonomy, etc. — asserted themselves most in Uruguay, Chile and Costa Rica. In countries like Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and the old Cuba they were less pronounced. But even today whatever democratic institutions and freedoms there are in Latin America generally cannot be compared with those won by the West European working people fifty years ago.

In some countries of the continent progress towards democracy was the result of the efforts of patriotic and democratic movements, uprisings, the fight of the peasants for land, and general strikes in the cities — the first thunderclaps of the coming revolutionary storm — which shook Latin America in the twenties and thirties. Those were the years of the Mexican revolution, a continental movement for university reform, the Sandino movement in Nicaragua, revolts led by young army officers in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, and the heroic two-year march of the Prestes column.

The next decade was marked by the entry of broad sections of the people in a political struggle that challenged the traditional oligarchic system. Pronunciamentos began to give place to social revolutions. The crisis of the traditional political system which invested all power in the oligarchy (a crisis that unquestionably was an element of the general crisis

of the traditional structure) was first clearly manifested in the thirties, in connection with the growing political struggle of the masses and the somewhat more active public role of the bourgeoisie.

Although the bourgeoisie of the more industrially developed Latin American countries had been, as a rule, more of an ally than an opponent of the latifundist hierarchy, in the thirties it for the first time essayed to take a stand of its own on pressing social issues. In order to increase its representation in puppet parliaments and to strengthen its positions in the fight for ministerial portfolios, the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeois intellectuals in particular, first sought to win support in other classes and sections of the population, primarily in the towns. In some countries progressive groups of the national bourgeoisie unrelated to the latifundists and not subordinated to imperialism supported demands for agrarian reform and measures to combat the imperialist monopolies. This was especially the case in those years in Mexico, Brazil and Chile.

In Brazil these groups of the bourgeoisie headed a revolt which put an end to the old republic of sham elections, unbridled corruption and abject subordination to imperialism. "Make the revolution before the people make it," was the slogan of the bourgeois nationalist movement headed by Vargas. Not having lifted a finger before to organize the democratic struggle against the semi-feudal oligarchy, the bourgeoisie now posed as the champion of revolutionary change. In the thirties and forties some bourgeois-nationalist leaders, above all Vargas and Peron, were able to win the support of some sections of the working class (while at the same time persecuting its vanguard). They effected in the sphere of social legislation important reforms for which the working people had long fought (the right to organize in trade unions, prohibition of arbitrary dismissals, and considerable improvements in the social security system). At the same time some steps were taken in Brazil to safeguard national interests in industry and to promote state capitalism in branches requiring heavy investment and not offering quick returns.

But the bourgeois-nationalist reformism of the Peron-Vargas type did not merge with the movement for democracy in political life. On the contrary, its spokesmen saw in "strong government" the best way to secure "independent development" and to secure themselves in the saddle. Drawing on the "leader" traditions so deep-seated on our continent, they set about creating a paternalist-type totalitarian state, and to this end sought to restrict and discredit the institutions of representative democracy, pitifully weak though they were—parliament, parties, political freedoms, independent public opinion.

The paternalist governments were greatly assisted in this by the long-standing popular

distrust of the sham democracy and the farcical "representative" system. The fact that even at their best the bourgeois-nationalist leaders were organically incapable of combining measures of a more or less progressive order with democracy turned out to be their Achilles' heel and at the same time weakened the democratic movement. The deep-seated consequences of this contradiction still have an adverse effect on the liberation movement.

Unfortunately, the complex period in question largely coincided with sectarian phases in the international Communist movement. Bourgeois democracy and freedoms and the existing electoral systems were often criticized in a way which did not help to educate the masses in a revolutionary-democratic spirit. Propaganda along these lines tended to add to the popular distrust of the criticized institutions as such instead of concentrating fire on their limitations. This made it easier for the anti-democratic demagoguery of the paternalist "caudillos" to win support among the people, who were only beginning to awaken to the need to join the political struggle. At the same time—and this was no less harmful—sectarian mistakes were made in regard to authoritarian reformist trends and governments and especially in regard to the mass organizations associated with them.

As prominent Brazilian Communists, for instance, have pointed out, sectarianism in the early thirties greatly impeded working-class unity and joint actions by progressives, reduced the effectiveness of the part played by the proletariat and its vanguard in the political struggle, and made it impossible to wage a legal struggle to ensure the leadership and more constructive participation of the working class in the battles and accomplishments of the time. Because of this the movement did not rise above the limitations and inconsistencies characteristic of the bourgeoisie and failed to provide a stimulus to effective action to win new gains, to carry out radical structural reforms and establish democracy.

The national-reformist dictatorships replied to the Communist criticism and opposition with reprisals and murders. But even more damaging was their slander labeling us as "opponents of reform," even as "allies of the oligarchy" and "agents of imperialism."

A real struggle against sectarianism began in our ranks only after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

The worldwide anti-fascist movement of the mid-thirties gave added spur to democratic sentiment among the Latin American masses. The national-revolutionary war waged by the people of Spain and the militant movement of solidarity with them, organized and inspired by the international Communist movement, found a powerful echo on our continent. The valiant struggle of the Soviet people against fascism and the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War gave further impetus

to this trend. The democratic movement on our continent made signal progress during the anti-fascist war and in the early postwar years. In a number of countries (Guatemala, Argentina, Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia) the oligarchy was to one or another degree removed from power.

In the late forties, however, the tendency gained in many Communist parties to subject bourgeois-democratic institutions to one-sided criticism, to underestimate the democratic gains won to date and the possibility of winning new ones. Lack of clarity in many Latin American Communist parties as regards the principal tactical aims and the main enemy against whom all the basic classes and sections of the population had to be united in the national-democratic struggle helped to aggravate antagonisms between the Communists and reformists (especially in countries where the latter participated in the government). As a result, grave difficulties were encountered in some countries in the matter of building working-class unity and a broad united anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy front.

In the meantime imperialism went over to the counter-offensive. The latifundists and reactionary military groups were joined by a considerable part of the bourgeoisie which was frightened by the growth of the popular movement. Raising the flag of anti-communism, the oligarchy counted on restoring its undivided rule by means of military coups of the traditional type and on reversing the process of democratization. In countries where the crisis of the local oligarchy had reached a point when it no longer could take over the reins of government by itself, imperialism installed its puppets (Batista in Cuba, Morinigo and Stroessner in Paraguay, and Castillo Armas in Guatemala).

There is no doubt that the decisive factor in the ebb of the revolutionary tide in the late forties and early fifties (recall the invasion of Costa Rica by mercenaries, the establishment of military dictatorships in Venezuela, Peru and Cuba, and the crushing of the revolution in Guatemala) was the temporary consolidation of the positions of imperialism, now embarked on the cold war, and a corresponding resurgence of domestic reaction, as well as other objective reasons. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to conceal or minimize the adverse consequences of the sectarian attitudes of some Latin American parties due, it seems to us (especially in Brazil), to a revival in these parties of the methods and style of work typical of the personality cult.

In the mid-fifties a new stage was ushered in in the revolutionary process, in the struggle for democracy in Latin America.

II

In recent years the situation on the continent has been marked, on the one hand, by the

growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism (witness the events in Panama and the still more brazen intervention in the Dominican Republic) and an offensive waged by the local reactionaries. On the other hand, the popular struggle to win and extend democratic freedoms, for national independence and social progress, and in defense of the peoples and countries in the vanguard of our common movement has been steadily mounting. Under the impact of the Cuban revolution, now an open book for the fraternal peoples, the revolutionary struggle is acquiring new forms and a new content.

What, then, are the specific place and the specific tasks of the fight for political democracy in the overall revolutionary process on our continent?

The key problem in most Latin American countries is to abolish the old political and legal structure. Successful struggle for this revolutionary aim, which cannot be achieved without overthrowing both the open and the disguised dictatorships, presupposes the creation of a broad united opposition front taking in, wherever possible, also those sections of the oligarchy which are not directly connected with the ruling camarilla. But the principal guarantee of success is conscious and dedicated participation by the basic mass of the working people in the struggle for progressive ideals. Latin American revolutionaries, and above all the Communists, are fully aware that victory over imperialism and the reaction at home, be the struggle peaceful or non-peaceful, depends on the organization of a broad mass movement. And this presupposes utilizing all the elements of effective democracy—democratic institutions, rights, parties, trade unions, etc.

The fight for democracy in Latin America, now gaining momentum, has been especially fruitful in Uruguay and Chile, where the observance of constitutional procedures is ensured by the strength of the working-class movement and by deep-seated traditions of freedom and democratic legality, and where, in this century, constitutional government has been rarely disrupted and then only for brief periods. In Argentina the workers' organizations, in spite of the efforts of some trade union leaders to prevent unity in the labor movement, have for thirty years now rebuffed repeated sallies by the reactionaries, staunchly fighting to restore and promote democracy. As the Communists point out, the task in the fight for democracy in these countries is step by step to build broad popular unity in order to weaken the positions of the reactionary groups and to create a powerful barrier to the counter-revolutionary military coups engineered by these groups and the CIA and the Pentagon.

In Brazil the reactionaries, although they succeeded in carrying out a military coup in April 1964, were nevertheless unable to split either the trade union or the student move-

ment. More and more Brazilians, defying the repressions (which are interspersed with some concessions), are demanding restoration of democratic freedoms, a general amnesty, and elections to the state legislatures and local government bodies as called for by law. The demand that the dictatorship be ended, a government supported by the people set up and free presidential elections held is gaining support. At present the fight for democratic freedoms is the basic aspect of the liberation movement in Brazil.

The latest developments on the continent, and in particular those in Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia, have again demonstrated the strength and scope of the fight for democracy and its significance in the revolutionary process.

Especially noteworthy in this connection is the situation in the Dominican Republic, where restoration of democracy was the watchword of the April uprising. The dictatorship subservient to imperialism and the oligarchy was overthrown and the armed people revived democratic institutions. U.S. imperialism hastened to land tens of thousands of troops in the Republic, but the superior strength of the enemy did not break the resolve of the popular forces to uphold democratic liberties and institutions, national sovereignty and the right to self-determination. Latin America and the world responded with protests and solidarity. As a result, the enemy did not venture to use his military superiority to impose his will on the Dominican people. Instead, he was compelled to maneuver and enter into negotiations. This was a big moral and political defeat for the Big Stick policy of brazen intervention.

Cuba, Guatemala, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic have shown that in Latin America the fight for freedom, for democracy and against pro-imperialist dictatorships or attempts at reactionary coups is, as a rule, to use Marx's words, the "universal pretext," *the point of departure* for the revolution, *its most important initial objective capable of uniting and mobilizing a broad front of social and political forces*. This applies to most Latin American countries today.

But we have also seen that in many of these countries (and in other countries with similar conditions) serious obstacles to rapid and painless democratization of institutions are often raised as the revolution develops. This is due not only to the general weakness of democratic institutions and constitutional traditions in these countries, the reasons for which we have discussed above, but also to other factors.

In the present conditions of Latin America the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle is to a greater extent than in many Asian and African countries a class struggle and to a lesser extent a national movement. Sharp class conflicts are inevitable at all stages of the Latin American revolution. Incorrect assess-

ment of the strength and nature of the resistance offered by the internal reaction is therefore extremely dangerous.

At present the Latin American revolutionaries are concerned also with the growing difficulty of combatting the *external* enemy—U.S. imperialism. Geographic location, the extent of foreign-monopoly interests, the strategic importance attached by the Pentagon to Latin America—all complicate the *external* conditions of struggle as compared with Asia and Africa and, in a sense, with Western Europe. Because of this the prime task following the overthrow of any anti-national and anti-popular government is to deal with the danger of a counter-offensive by the U.S.-backed reaction. The constant danger of counter-revolution (as like as not, *armed* counter-revolution, considering the Latin American traditions and the present balance of forces in our countries) makes it imperative for the revolutionaries to destroy its strongholds i.e., a substantial part of the old political (and, primarily, the repressive) machinery. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, as experience has shown, the reactionaries often try to use pseudo-democratic institutions and even some genuinely democratic demands as a smoke-screen to conceal their preparations for counter-revolutionary provocations.

At certain stages of the revolution (as the case was in Guatemala, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Brazil and above all in Cuba) it may become urgently necessary to restrict certain freedoms, but only in the case of political groups hostile to the revolutionary government and opposed to revolutionary change. At such crucial moments hesitation or attempts to postpone the solution of the basic problems of the revolution for the sake of rapid "institutionalization" often only results in loss of momentum and setbacks. All the more is this the case since after the initial victories of the revolution and its consolidation priority will objectively belong to urgent *socio-economic* changes—agrarian reform, nationalization and reorganization of industry, improvements in the conditions of the working people, etc.

The rate at which the new democratic institutions can be built will no doubt often depend on another difficult task which will objectively assert itself in our countries after the overthrow of oligarchic and pro-imperialist governments—the task of rapidly carrying the revolution forward while tackling the problem of underdevelopment, effecting the imperative "leap into the twentieth century," in the face of imperialist blockade and relying mainly on internal resources supplemented with aid from the socialist countries. It should be stressed that whatever form it takes, a revolution is profoundly democratic *in content* if it destroys the foundations of the oligarchic system and creates the conditions for building a society founded on justice and equality. In the transitional period the revolutionary government may take the *form* of united front com-

mittees and other political organizations of the forces in the national-democratic front.

Does it follow from the above that the problems of political democracy lose their independent significance in the course of the development and deepening of the revolution, that they can be ignored, or that they will be automatically solved together with the other problems of the revolution? Experience, we believe, suggests a negative answer.

Disregard of revolutionary-democratic norms and a restricted, formal democracy are fraught with grave dangers for the revolutionary movement and its leaders.

Above all there is the danger that the social base of the revolution will shrink as a result of the groups which are most sensitive to forms of democracy (intellectuals, middle sections, etc.) falling out. A still greater danger is that the political leadership may lose touch with the people, perhaps become completely divorced from them, that demagogues may insinuate themselves into power and the revolution may degenerate into a bourgeois-bureaucratic affair. Witness the deplorable metamorphosis of the Mexican revolution, the forerunner of the twentieth-century Latin American revolutions.

In the long run, as history generally and Bolivian developments in the last 15 years in particular have shown, evolution along these lines contains the danger of the revolution being defeated as a result of either internal degeneration or external pressure, including naked imperialist intervention.

Consequently, the elaboration and implementation of a positive program of democratization, a democratic alternative, is a crucial question for newly-independent countries launching out on the non-capitalist path as well as for countries standing, like ours, at the threshold of a popular anti-imperialist democratic revolution.

Aware of the importance of this problem, the Communist parties of our continent, together with other forces in the united front, are working out a concrete program for creating and building up the political and juridical institutions of the emerging society.

In this connection it is essential to draw on the experience not only of the Latin American revolutionary movement but of all the Communist parties and primarily the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. The lessons of the socialist revolution and of building socialism in the USSR and the People's Democracies are invaluable for all Communists and other revolutionaries. Moreover, we should not only make use of the numerous positive aspects of this experience, but also learn from the negative phenomena which manifested themselves in the political system of the new society in the years of the personality cult. The violations of socialist legality, arbitrary methods and other practices which distorted relationships between the leaders and the people generally caused grave harm to the socialist

countries and also undermined the ties of the Communist parties of the capitalist countries with their peoples. Reactionary propaganda eagerly seized on this to create the impression that the price paid for the "material benefits" of socialism was "renunciation of elementary freedoms" and of the democratic gains won by the working people in bitter struggle within a framework of preceding social formations. The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU created the prerequisites for combating this propaganda, for showing that democracy and socialism are inseparable.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Marxist-Leninist democratic principles and standards are being restored everywhere as called for by the Twentieth Congress and the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of Communist parties; notwithstanding the beneficent influence exerted on the Latin American political situation by every achievement in promoting socialist democracy in the USSR and the East European countries; notwithstanding the fact that the self-critical work done to correct past mistakes is further proof of the superiority of socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy; notwithstanding the fact that the Communist parties are by their very nature more democratic than any bourgeois or reformist party—notwithstanding all this, some progressive groups, shocked by the violations of democracy and their grave consequences, have not yet effected a complete reconciliation with us. This explains to some extent the difficulties encountered from time to time in our relations with some sections of the intelligentsia and the middle strata. It should be borne in mind that in Latin America, perhaps more than anywhere else, the charge that the Communists are supporters of totalitarian and undemocratic rule remains the central, and not always ineffectual, argument of anti-Communist propaganda.

The measures undertaken in the light of the ideas of the Twentieth Congress to deepen democracy in the Communist parties are of vast importance both for the struggle against anti-communism and for fostering the elements of genuine democracy in our countries and our revolutions. Contrary to the slander spread by some and the hopes entertained by others, this is not a matter of revising the Leninist theory of the Party. On the contrary, it is a matter of restoring truly Leninist methods and standards—respect for inner-Party democracy, equality of all Party members, and indispensable discipline identically applicable to both the rank and file and leaders, a discipline which presupposes fulfilment of decisions and subordination of the lower levels to the higher with strict control of executive bodies by the elected committees from which they derive their authority. It is a matter of strict observance of the principle of collective leadership. In brief, what is in question is the restoring of genuine democratic centralism under which the authority and prestige of leading

bodies at all levels derive from the sovereignty of congresses and conferences. Broad discussion and assimilation of the courageous, self-critical, Leninist experience of the Twentieth Congress has had a beneficial effect on the entire international Communist movement, including the Communist movement in Latin America.

Where the attention paid to self-criticism and rectification of mistakes in the vanguard of the working class has been greatest, the greatest progress has been made in building working-class unity and cementing the democratic and revolutionary forces. The considerable experience we have gained in the past ten years has helped us better to understand that joint actions, agreements and alliances, organizational, ideological and political differences notwithstanding, can take a variety of forms.

With the restoration of democracy in the Communist parties, with criticism no longer suppressed and penalized, the possibility of different views existing in the economic, political and ideological areas is taken for granted, though this lays upon the Communists a greater responsibility than ever to be on guard against distortions of universal revolutionary principles. The healthy struggle of ideas presupposing honest and forthright polemics should be carried on not in some abstract form, but applied to concrete reality so that there should be unity, not disunity, so that joint action should be strengthened, not weakened. This democratic line counterposed to authoritarian methods has fully justified itself, for one thing, in exposing factionalist demagogues, opportunists and disruptors of every hue.

III

Not only the experience of the fraternal parties or the lessons of the setbacks suffered in Latin American revolutions, but also the *positive* experience of the liberation movement on our continent testifies to the necessity and the possibility of ensuring the development of democracy at every stage of the revolution.

The example of Cuba is of enormous importance in this respect. As we know, power in Cuba is wielded by the armed people in close and constant contact with the revolutionary leaders. This is a form of direct democracy which replaced the preceding sanguinary pro-imperialist dictatorship and utterly corrupt and discredited sham democracy.

The progress of democracy in Cuba exerts a profound influence on all the Latin American countries, and not only because of the significance of the Cuban achievements for millions of men and women living in appalling poverty in a society based on glaring economic inequality and naked social injustice. This influence is due also to the fact that progressive Latin Americans see in Cuba's new way of life the embodiment of lofty humanistic ideals and realize that its socio-political system gives the

people a real opportunity to overcome in a brief space of time the hardships inherited from the past or caused by U.S. imperialist blockade and pressure.

Its many specific features notwithstanding, Cuba is no exception to the universal laws of socialist development. On the contrary, its democratic progress and the methods and norms of its political life are in accord with principles which should be inviolable in any socialist country and which found expression both in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences.

The Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the CPSU condemned many of the methods of political leadership practised in the period of the personality cult. Yet there were those who asked themselves can the problem of democracy in the period of building socialism be solved by any other methods? Bourgeois ideologists and some dogmatists say it cannot. Our answer, however, is in the affirmative. And that we are right is proved to our peoples by the Cubans.

The fact that the Cuban revolution is the first victorious socialist revolution since the Twentieth Congress and the first on our continent makes its lessons particularly accessible and convincing for the Latin American peoples.

A feature of political life in present-day Cuba is that the relations between the leaders and the revolutionary people are governed by Leninist norms. The boundless but not blind trust the people repose in their leadership is due largely to the profound Leninist spirit of democracy and the sincerity and selflessness which characterize the men at the helm of the revolution. In Cuba war has been declared, on the one hand, against manifestations of "honest" sectarianism which subjectively wants the revolution to succeed but has no faith in the creative abilities of the masses, which fears that the "masses may spoil everything," and on the other hand, against hypocrisy and bureaucracy, against careerism in the guise of unquestioning obedience, against the substitution of intolerance and leadership by ordinance for education and explanatory work—in other words, against everything that might alienate the citizen from his government, lead to a discrepancy between the truth of the streets and the truth of the printed word, against all that tends to fetter the revolutionary initiative of the people and sow doubt as to whether they really are the masters of their own destiny.

All this helps to heighten the political consciousness of the people and their sense of responsibility for the government of the country, while promoting awareness (both in the United Party of the Socialist Revolution and outside its ranks) of the fact that, as Fidel Castro said, for socialism bureaucracy is no less dangerous than imperialism.

Consequently, contrary to the threadbare argument of the anti-Communists, revolu-

tionary practice in Cuba demonstrates that socialism and freedom are inseparable. The truth about democratic and socialist Cuba is gradually winning the minds and hearts of broad sections of the Latin American people in spite of the efforts made by U.S. imperialism and its puppets to counteract the impact of the Cuban example and in spite of the slanders spread by both avowedly reactionary and pseudo-liberal capitalist propaganda.

There is no doubt that the building of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, the establishment of democratic institutions and the elaboration of effective forms of constant participation by the people in running the state and administering the affairs of society at all levels will not only promote socialism in Cuba itself but also increase the influence of its revolution among Latin Americans generally, among all who subscribe to progressive and humanistic ideas. Developments in this direction will help to intensify the struggle of the peoples of our continent for genuine democracy and make the socialist perspective still more attractive for them.

In my opinion we should also make a study of the significant experience gained in organizing democratic life in the areas held for some fifteen years now by the Colombian peasants who have taken up arms in self-defense. The existence in these areas of collective and individual guarantees of an economic, political and civic order (these guarantees, of course, do not extend to active counter-revolutionaries and their hirelings and spies) have helped to win the full support of their inhabitants for the elected peasants' self-defense committees. Despite the threats of the government, thousands of peasants who have chosen genuine freedom refuse to move from these areas to government-controlled zones where terror prac-

tised in the name of the official "representative democracy" is the rule.

* * *

The experience of the world liberation movement shows that revolution, the accelerated march of history, is incompatible with any retreat from genuinely democratic gains, for these gains are one of the most important indicators of how advanced a society is. Extending and deepening these gains in the economic, social, political and cultural spheres is an objectively necessary component of the revolutionary process.

The view held by some revolutionaries that democracy tends to retard and water down revolutionary changes is thoroughly incorrect. The fact is that, *in the final analysis*, only that which has the active support of the majority is truly effective, profound and irreversible. However useful one or another revolutionary measure may seem, it will end in failure if in the long run it is carried out solely by means of administrative compulsion, if the majority of the people do not actively work for its realization. Only painstaking development of the methods and institutions of revolutionary democracy (and certainly not abstract declarations) can build and consolidate the political unity of leaders and masses.

Both before and after the conquest of power by the progressive forces it is of the utmost importance to broaden the people's individual and collective rights, to give free rein to their initiative. Democratic legality and the guarantees provided by the state or the institutions which take over its functions are the best proof that the new social formation is of a higher order, more just and able better to ensure equality than all the preceding formations. Today these principles are increasingly understood and recognized in the Latin American revolutionary movement.

Dialogue between Marxists and Catholics

WALTER HOLLITSCHER

THE PROBLEMS presently engaging the attention of the Catholic world, including the Catholics in Austria, are the urgent issues of our time, affecting believers and non-believers alike. And since the Marxist approach to these issues differs fundamentally from that of the Catholics, the confrontation of the two outlooks inevitably gives rise to discussion and debates—what the Church prefers to term “dialogues.” Whether genuine Marxists are invited to participate personally in these dialogues or not, Marxism is nevertheless always present, for the Marxist teaching and its realization in practice are compelling all thinking people to define their attitude to it. Nearly 500 million Catholics in the world—including the vast majority of Austrians—come into contact in one way or another with Marxism.

I.

Ours is the epoch of far-reaching social and technological changes, changes which have a powerful impact on the religious and non-religious alike. People everywhere, and primarily in the highly-developed industrial countries, are witnessing unprecedented technological progress accelerated by the rapid advance of science. Whether they are mental or manual workers, their fund of knowledge is greater than ever before, and this cannot but have a revolutionizing effect on their conception of the world. With the masses becoming more enlightened, religious concepts handed down from generation to generation are beginning to be questioned and the need is felt for a reappraisal of values. Besides, no one can fail to see the tremendous social and political changes taking place in our age of transition from capitalism to socialism; and the capitalist world, where the need for these changes is so imperative, has all the material prerequisites for them. And lastly, the stockpiling of the means of destruction by the imperialist powers has reached a point where

for every man, woman and child in the world there is the equivalent of more than 100 tons of high explosive, not to speak of the danger of radioactive fallout. Few people, religious or otherwise, are willing to reconcile themselves to such a perilous state of affairs.

True, the following of the Church has not yet succeeded in persuading the hierarchy to recognize their will to live and their desire for change. So far the debates in the Vatican Ecumenical Council and the maneuvers of the reactionary groups in preparation for the forthcoming concluding session indicate that no definite choice has been made in favor of banning “the use of weapons whose effect is incalculable,” as “Schema No. 13” on “The Church in the Modern World” puts it. The clerical champions of the cold war, including some 200 bishops who submitted recommendations to Pope Paul VI, are opposed to such a choice. They share the view of Professor Corres de Oliveira of the Catholic University in Sao Paulo expressed in the newspaper *Catolicismo* in these words: “It may well come to pass that one or several Western nations will be obliged to choose between two worlds, i.e., between modern war inside or outside their country, conventional war or nuclear war, with all its horrors, and recognition of a Communist regime. In that case we should choose the lesser evil. . . . Loss of faith is a greater evil than even the possibility of annihilation through nuclear war.”

This view is fully in line with the arguments advanced by the late Father Gundlach, the Jesuit, who sacrilegiously removed the “brand of sin” from the nuclear bomb (at a session of the Catholic Academy in February 1959). According to a recent press report, the schema of the Ecumenical Council stating the Church’s attitude to nuclear weapons is to be amended in deference to the wishes of the U.S. and British bishops. The Church is expected to postulate that “one or another state may be forced to accumulate and use nuclear weapons

to safeguard its continued existence." This amendment will be discussed at the session of the Council which opens on September 14.

In the private and public discussions between Catholics and Marxists on problems of common interest many self-evident truths are still stubbornly disputed by the Catholics. But the fact that these contacts are occurring more and more frequently is a welcome sign of the times. If clerical anti-communism has been unable to prevent these contacts it is not for want of trying. Only eight years ago Pius XII in his Christmas message declared: "There can be no common language between East and West." Today in the light of the meetings and contacts that have taken place it is clear that those who wish to *live* together in the world can also *talk* to one another.

The Catholic Church has now set up a Secretariat to conduct this dialogue. It is headed by Cardinal Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna, a choice which, apart from the Cardinal's personal qualifications, seems to confirm that the Vatican regards Vienna as the most appropriate venue for discussions on "relations between East and West."

The new Secretariat, it is reported, will concern itself with both "organized atheism" and "practical atheism" or "indifferentism." It is proposed that the dialogue should be conducted between "atheists of all kinds" on the one side, and "not only Catholics but also other Christian denominations and non-Christian religions" on the other.

True, certain influential clerical circles are still opposed to a dialogue. An article which appeared recently in the Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica*, published in Rome, asked: "What dialogue is possible between Catholics and Communists?" and replied: "Obviously, none." Alarmed by the strength and influence of the Italian Communist Party, the author of the article declared that the Communists should understand once and for all that the Catholics have no need to join them in the search for "democratic answers" to the issues of our times. In other words, Catholics have nothing to learn from Communists!

Many believers in Italy, however, do not share this view. As a matter of fact, the journal in question does not speak for *all* Jesuits. For example, Father Mario Galli, speaking in the Vienna University on June 3 in the presence of Cardinal Koenig, said that the Church must be a "church of dialogue" and cease to be a "church of interdict." In order to conduct a dialogue there must be a willingness to listen. In the present conversation, he said, the Catholic Church must also admit that it does not know everything, that it still can learn from its debating partner, and this applies to the dialogue with the atheists as well.

The dialogues held to date in Austria have taken the form of symposiums organized by the St. Paul Society and the Catholic Academic Union (it is rumored that plans are afoot for a symposium in Vienna sponsored by the

above-mentioned Vatican Secretariat with the participation on a parity basis of Catholics and atheists); forums arranged by the Catholic Education Society jointly with municipal educational organizations (in Kapfenberg, Wuerzzuschlag, Knittelfeld and elsewhere in Styria); debates sponsored by the Vienna Volksbildung and held in its schools, and, lastly, one-hour radio discussions (Salzburg Night Studio) in which Marxists like Cesare Luporini, Lucio Lombardo Radice and the author of the present article have spoken. In addition, the Catholic weekly *Die Furche* reported a discussion under the headline "Left Catholicism, the Watchword."

II.

Of particular interest, perhaps, was the Salzburg dialogue which was widely noted in the world press and which I propose to discuss here since it most strikingly reveals the contours of the present controversy between Christians and Marxists in Western Europe. It was held on April 29-May 2 under the auspices of the St. Paul Society in Salzburg. Founded in 1956 by the theologian Dr. E. Kellner, the society has a membership of some 400 Catholic university professors.

The subject of this year's session was "Christianity and Marxism Today." In three days of talks and discussions lasting from morning until late at night, the session examined the subjects "Man and Religion," "The Future of Man" and "Is Ideological Coexistence Possible?" Ten Marxists from France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Austria were pitted against a far greater number of Catholics and Christians, scientists and sociologists, theologians and churchmen in a debate aimed at reaching mutual understanding.

At the opening *Hans Schaefer*, a physiologist from Heidelberg and a Christian, analyzing the nature of political conflicts, attributed to many of them emotional motives. At the same time he called for an improvement in the "flow of information" and urged that people be released from the "senseless grip of fear." *Dr. Kellner* stressed the need to continue the dialogue between Christians and Marxists similar to that which has been going on for some time in France and Italy. The need, he said, is dictated not by political considerations but by science, by humanism and self-respect.

Professor M. Reding, who is associated with the well-known worker-priest movement and now lecturer in West Berlin, read a paper on "religion as a superstructure." In his book *Labor Struggle and Labor Peace* (Graz, 1961), Reding (and this is an interesting sidelight on the man) recognized the class struggle not merely as a reality, but as justified from the workers' standpoint. "Marxism clearly perceived the creative force of what is known as class struggle and sought to use it to unite the workers of the world," he wrote. "This struggle

cannot be evoked artificially by means of theories, nor . . . eliminated by theoretical denials. . . . The contradiction existed long before Marx arrived at his theory of class struggle. The prospect of the Communist future inspires man with new hope. In the face of a jaded and conservative capitalism, in the face of the egoism and avarice it has unleashed, communism opens alluring vistas to man, hence its power of attraction." This was, in effect, not only a plea for de-feudalizing the Church, it was also the expression of a desire to see the Church released from its association with capitalism.

In Salzburg Reding declared that a dialogue between Christianity and Marxism is essential. War, he said, is an inhuman way of trying to settle arguments. Dwelling on the problem of the relations between the basis and superstructure, he denied that religion could be regarded as part of the superstructure. Marxism, he said, does not necessarily presuppose atheism: "Insofar as circles belonging to the Church abuse God in order to preserve an unjust order on the pretext that God would have it thus, Marxist criticism is justified; it is not justified, however, when such intentions are ascribed to belief in God."

In debating with their Catholic opponents, the Marxists argued their point with consistency and tact. *Roger Garaudy* of the French Communist Party said that in the classless society Communism was destined to accomplish in a secular way what Marx called the "human foundation of Christianity." "The striving for freedom, love, the unity of humankind is fundamental," he said. "It has been the essence of man's creative endeavor throughout his advance from the stone age to the age of nuclear fission. The beauty and perfection to which men have aspired in the name of God are not behind us, they are before us, in the future, the goal to be achieved." Cooperation between Marxists and believers for the attainment of these universal human goals was possible, he said. In the past, too, religion had by no means been merely the "opium of the people." To say that religion everywhere and at all times diverts men from action, from struggle, was to deny the facts of history. Christian ideals could help stimulate believers to action. But of course "we Marxists do not believe that there are any limits to human progress. Communism for us is not the end of history, it is merely the end of pre-history, the beginning of human history proper with horizons stretching to infinity. . . ." "Religion," Garaudy added, "is a human but mysticized project, and if today our positions are nevertheless drawing closer that is because growing numbers of Christians attach increasing importance to man's earthly existence." And this opens good prospects for joint struggle and joint effort.

Professor *Cesare Luporini* of the University of Florence, taking issue with Reding, observed that for the Marxist classics atheism was

not an unsubstantiated negation but a self-evident conclusion to be drawn from scientific progress.

Professor *Walter Hollitscher* (Vienna) showed that the paradox which Reding had attributed to Marxism in connection with the materialistic explanation of man's origin was an imaginary one.

Man became homo sapiens through labor, but that did not mean that labor preceded man: with the evolution of man and society, labor developed from the instinctive stage to the human, conscious stage. It was only for the purposes of economic analysis that Marx in his *Capital* proceeded from fully developed conscious labor.

Professor Reding took the floor again to say that, as distinct from Garaudy and other Marxists, he was endeavoring to find a new interpretation of the original theory of Marx, to examine the views contained in his early works in the light of his mature theory concerning the basis and superstructure, and by doing so to re-examine the young Marx's ideas on religion which he himself had not done.

Professor *Egon Rigler* (Vienna) dwelt on the claim that Marxism does not necessarily presuppose atheism. Atheism, he stressed, is the result of the fundamental incompatibility of the basic principles of Marxism with theology. As for attempts by Catholic theologians to counterpose the term "world outlook" to the term "conception of the world" in an effort to safeguard the religious outlook from the penetration of science, these were groundless. Indeed, why shouldn't scientific criteria of truth be applicable to the world outlook as well? Not a single convincing argument had been adduced in support of any such restriction of the application of science. Christianity, he went on, polemicizing with the theologian Karl Rahner, does not advance any definite ideals for the future and does not oblige men to work toward any definite objectives in their worldly existence; Catholic social doctrine to this day upholds the tenet that private ownership of the means of production is eternal.

Professor *Dominique Dubarle* (from the Catholic Institute in Paris) depicted religion as the realization of human freedom, which Marxism, and specially its practical policy toward religion, allegedly negates. The rupture of the spiritual unity of the human race, he said, must be regarded as an accomplished fact, and moreover historically irreversible. This presupposes a mutual tolerance of political approach which at the present time is only beginning to emerge. Mutual understanding and cooperation can be achieved only by recognition of each other's freedom, not by proselytizing.

Professor *Branko Bosniak* (Zagreb), said that to speak of God as an absolute was impossible even in the sphere of theology. One could only speak of that which God is not. He proposed the formula: "Man is the tragic being in the universe, for he is conscious of his

mortality. Philosophy is the explanation of his tragedy, religion his consolation. . . . We flounder in the profoundest ignorance for we do not know why something and nothing exists, and hence the only possible answer to the question as to the reason for man's existence is this: there is none . . . man emerged from the void and returns to the void."

"Tell me what God is, give me a single definition and I will tell you whether he exists or not!" Garaudy exclaimed in the heat of the discussion. For Marxism religion is primarily a historical problem, he said, and it is changing together with the concepts of the divinity. When God is defined as the creator of the world, he, Garaudy, replies without hesitation that there is no such being, and quite a few Christians agree with him. What is much more important is to discover why people at so many different periods in history have experienced the need to believe in God. The crucial question is: How is man to exist and what can we do together?"

Professor *Gulio Girardi* (Secretary of the Editorial Committee of the Encyclopedia of Modern Atheism, Rome), addressing himself to Reding, stressed that materialism as an historical phenomenon is atheistic and therefore incompatible with religion.

Professor *Johannes B. Metz*, theologian from Muenster, chose as the subject of his comprehensive paper, printed in advance, "Orientation on the Future as Opposed to Orientation on the Transcendent." Summarizing the basic premises of his paper and commenting on some of the views expressed during the discussion, he reproached the Yugoslav Professor *Bosniak* for having spoken "neither as a theologian nor as a Marxist." In Metz's opinion, atheism contains elements of the theology of the future; theology should not be equated with faith, just as atheism should not be equated with non-faith. Taking issue with Garaudy, he went on to say that like theology, Marxism too claims to be a theory of human and historical initiative. Disputing the Marxist premise that man's future depends wholly on the activity of man, on human endeavor, Metz urged his hearers to believe in "a future far greater than ourselves, far mightier and not of our conceiving."

Professor *Heinrich Kaiser* (Muenster) tried to substantiate the thesis, current among positivist natural scientists in the West, which draws a parallel between religious and Marxist thought and institutions, maintaining that these differ only in form, not in content. Instead of probing the essence of phenomena and processes, he recommended employing logistic methods of analysis and reaching conclusions through evaluation.

In a paper entitled "An Evolving or Static Universe," the Bulgarian scientist *Azari Polikarov* examined the alternative theses of contemporary cosmology. He disproved the theory of a beginning, or creation, of the world as contrary to the laws of the conservation of

mass and energy. His brief but extremely informative and well-argued paper was heard with much interest.

"Man's Christian Future" was the subject of a paper read by the theologian *Karl Rahner* (Munich) of the St. Paul Society. Christianity, he said, as the religion of the absolute future does not offer any utopian worldly future, and its attitude toward the material aspects of this future is neutral. By virtue of its faith it naturally favors the establishment of the best possible social system. But as regards the future, Rahner said, he believed that Christianity would endure. Religion, he declared, is the socially organized community of free faith in an absolute future, a faith founded solely on individual choice, and hence one cannot expect everyone to adhere to it.

The French Marxist *Gilbert Mury*, replying to Professor Rahner, said that it was precisely because Marxism too is projected towards man's future that the present dialogue was possible. The "active agents of the future" are already present in our world, he said. These are science and the working class, and he went on to speak of the historical role of the latter. Progress has never followed a straight line. During the transition to capitalism, too, many believers, as well as non-believers, felt that social relationships had suffered.

There is nothing derogatory in the Marxist premise that religion is an ideology. Every social concept, Marxism included, reflects actual social relations and is therefore ideological. Today religion, the Church and its followers cannot be a negative and passive force. In the fight for peace and progress they are destined to play an active role. Taking a materialist view of history, the Marxists recognize that Christianity will not vanish into thin air. Conditions must be created for the evolution of the perfect human being who will live in a just world and, as a result of the realization of man's aspirations, will free himself from religion.

III.

In the ensuing debate between *Cesare Luporini*, *O. Mandic*, (Zagreb), Professor *Metz*, *Lucian Gruppi*, and Dr. *Mario Gozzini* (Florence) the perspectives of the relationships between Communists and Catholics were examined. The Church, Luporini said, must discard its old views which are merely an adaptation to the class society. Mandic drew attention to the cooperation for the benefit of socialism between atheists, Catholics, Lutherans, Jews, Moslems and followers of other faiths in his country. In his view, mutual recognition cannot be achieved through compromise in the sphere of philosophy, but only by practical effort to solve the totality of the problems on which the future of man depends. Humanistic tendencies must be upheld without prejudice—that is the common ground on which atheists and believers can meet for joint action. And,

above all, for joint struggle to safeguard world peace.

Gozzini observed that in his country, Italy, the dialogue has long been a reality, as a result of "pressure from below," i.e., an expression of the will of the masses. To ensure the growth of the democratic movement, he said, we must abandon hidebound dogmatic positions and search together for solutions, step by step and without haste. Peace, an end to hunger, social justice and well-being worthy of man in the world of tomorrow—this is what Catholics as well as Communists are striving for. "There must be more give and take on both sides if we are to create a world in which there would be no more suffering," he concluded.

In socialist society, said Luporini, freedom makes it possible to work together for the socialist objectives from different philosophical, religious and ideological positions. Marx and Engels took it for granted that even under capitalism the masses could win some significant freedoms. It is for us to safeguard and extend these gains and to win new ones carrying with them the promise of socialism, which presupposes a great variety of forms and methods for the building and functioning of the new society. As for the guarantees the Catholics demand of us, we ourselves are interested in building socialism on the solid foundation of freedom and democracy. This is the best guarantee both for them and for us. "We do not ask the Church to build socialism. We ask it to grant Catholics the freedom to work for socialism."

Socialism, L. Lombardo Radice noted, is the necessary condition for the development of a free and dialectical exchange of opinions in society, an exchange of which discussions among scientists, "scientific pluralism," could be the prototype. Pluralism implies weighing all values. Its method is a free and open confrontation of views, including those associated with the moribund past. For even pernicious ideas cannot be ordered out of existence, they must be made to lose their hold on men's minds. A similar viewpoint on the state and ideology was expressed by Gruppi.

It must be said that the Catholics taking part in the symposium were clearly unprepared for the freedom, the tact and the tolerance displayed by their Marxist opponents. Many of the views expressed by the Marxists bewildered some of the theologians and provoked others to try to catch them in some inconsistency. Professor *Jean-Yves Calvez*, French theologian, for example, declared that "the thesis that ideological coexistence is impossible emanates from Moscow. . . . In Paris it is affirmed that ideological differences are secondary. Christians prefer the former attitude: peaceful coexistence without abandoning ideological struggle." At the same time, he said, they want the debate to proceed as a "free contest of ideas"; tolerance would be

possible only when politics would no longer be tied to any one ideology.

"The thing is to determine what we have in common and what divides us," said Garaudy arguing with Calvez. "As Professor Rahner's proposition indicates, we have in common the examination of identical problems." But, he continued, "while you are concerned with the transcendental aspect of history, for us the history of the transcendental has meaning." The future "will be man's creation, and hence it is a question, not an answer, a demand and not a promise. It is the realization of human perfection. We are fighting only for the Earth, but for the whole Earth. We consider ourselves responsible for hope. Our doctrine, Marxism, is a method of historical initiative, and we understand freedom as the right of every man to fulfillment." Contrary to the views of many theologians, private ownership is not a guarantee of individual freedom. "Here at this meeting," Garaudy concluded, "each one of us has learned to accept the other as an interlocutor. In the nuclear age dialogue must prevail over violence; together we must defend the same peace, the same justice."

Marxists, stressed Gruppi, have the right to their philosophy and no one is justified in expecting them to abandon their positions. We are "fighting for socialism as Marxists," said Lombardo Radice, "together with others who may be doing the same from different motives."

At the final session *Gustav Wetter*, lecturer in the Catholic Oriental Institute in Rome and opponent of dialectical materialism, W. Hollitscher, W. Dantine, Austrian Protestant theologian, and Salvatore di Marco, lecturer from Sicily, discussed the question of "ideological coexistence." Professor Wetter tried to discredit the idea of mutual understanding and cooperation between Catholics and Communists by accusing the Marxists of "ideological extremism" which, he maintained, "prevents any dialogue from leading to real progress."

Taking issue with Wetter, Hollitscher pointed to the three-day dialogue in which they had all participated, and emphasized the need for a "confrontation of ideas plus coordinated effort." The public discussion should be continued, but it should not be regarded as an expression of "peaceful ideological coexistence," inasmuch as the concept of coexistence as applied to relations between states cannot be extended to relations between different or opposing ideologies; here, in view of their class basis, the laws of the class struggle must apply. The Communists hold that the millions of religious people in the capitalist world will not be able to reconcile their beliefs with the threat to man and man's degradation, especially in the light of all the opportunities for peaceful development, and that they will increasingly turn to socialist ideas. Christians and Marxists are in duty bound to unite in order to work for that which, although for different reasons, they consider their duty,

namely, to make the world a better place for man to live in.

The resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes (among the few who voted against was Wetter) stressed that the dialogue had been fruitful and should therefore be extended. Speakers pointed to the "need for mutual information and mutual spiritual understanding between Christians and Marxists." It was proposed to hold the next meeting in Hamburg this autumn, on the subject "Manipulated Man and the Future of Humanism." It is anticipated that Christians and

Marxists will continue to advocate further discussions aimed at mutual understanding. Life and the interests and aspirations of the people demand it.

Unequivocal adherence to principle, combined with a readiness to approach with an open mind the arguments of one's opponent—these are the prerequisites for genuine mutual understanding between Marxists and believers on the questions of peace and social justice. A beginning has been made. For their part, the Marxists will continue the talks with interest, consistency, passion and optimism.

POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

The Belgian parliamentary elections—some lessons

ERNEST BURNELLE

FOR A LONG TIME the Belgian bourgeoisie boasted that their parties had a solid following whose loyalty had been confirmed at the polls from election to election. And indeed in most cases the fluctuations in the votes polled by one or another bourgeois party were negligible, and the variations in the returns never significant enough to alter the political perspective to any appreciable extent.

The general election of May 23, 1965, however, showed that this relative stability is coming to an end. The two parties that had shared power for four years were heavily defeated. Yet the bourgeoisie had been confident of victory. Only a few months before the election, spokesmen felt sure that the coalition would remain intact.

The May 23 election demonstrated the failure of the reactionary operation carried out after the famous strikes of the winter of 1960-61. It will be recalled that as a result of this strike movement involving a million workers the Eyskens government, which had forced the notorious "loi unique" through parliament, had to resign.

The strikes against this law, the biggest in Belgian history, so scared the reactionaries

that they did not venture, after the 1961 general election, to restore the coalition of the two conservative parties—the Social Christian Party and the Liberal Party, which now calls itself the Party of Freedom and Progress. Instead they resorted to a maneuver in the hope of repairing the damage caused by the policy of the Eyskens government. With the help of the capitalist monopolies, a coalition government of Catholics and Socialists was formed. The purpose of this maneuver was to paralyze the political and economic struggle of the working class by creating the illusion that the new government represented an alliance of Socialist and Christian-Democratic workers. The monopolies counted on taking advantage of the situation to undermine trade union unity and thereby put themselves in a better position to garner lush profits.

The Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party fell in with this scheme, doing their best to make it look "progressive." Making use of the ambiguous nature of the government's declaration, they endeavored to create the impression that the government would pursue a policy of social progress, control of holdings and punishment for tax evasions. This deceived the workers for a time and caused them to

take a favorable attitude to the government coalition.

The operation, it must be admitted, was a skilful one. True, the full employment presently obtaining not only in Belgium but all over Western Europe was a contributing factor. At the same time, the numerous working-class actions that followed the 1961 election prevented any lowering of the living standards and even resulted in a certain improvement in these standards for some categories of workers. Nevertheless it is now obvious that the plans of the reactionaries, and the government maneuver designed to ensure their success, have gone awry. In the May election the Socialist Party lost nearly half a million votes, while the Social Christian vote slumped by about 400,000.

There is no need to dwell here on the reasons for the discontent which caused the defeat of the government parties, for there is hardly an area of political, economic or social life in Belgium that does not afford ample grounds for this sentiment.

The working people are conscious of having been deprived, in favor of the moneybags, of any benefits accruing from the boom, since the high cost of living, rising taxes and manipulations with the price index have practically cancelled out the favorable results of full employment and the struggle for economic demands. The adoption of the anti-strike laws shocked and dismayed the people. The economic decline in the Walloon area, and the closing of coal mines evoked a feeling of anxiety which the ineffectual measures taken by the government did nothing to allay.

In foreign policy the government made no move toward peaceful coexistence, while at home its actions were hardly conducive to securing a lasting democratic settlement of relations between the Flemish and Walloon communities.

It might be interesting to examine the elements underlying the seemingly different reasons for the public dissatisfaction. During the past few years the Belgian working-class movement has taken a stand on all questions affecting the political, economic and social life of the country. Not a single offensive launched by the monopolies has passed unchallenged. The trade unions and factory committees, unitarian organizations uniting Socialist, Christian Democrat and Communist workers, adopted an unequivocal position on a host of questions affecting both the issue of peace and social problems, as well as the national problem facing Belgium.

The working people have seen for themselves the gulf between their aspirations and the attitude taken by parliament and government.

The demand of the working-class and democratic movement for a substantial reduction in military expenditure is growing more and more insistent. This step is being urged also by influential politicians. Incidentally, at the time of the 1961 election campaign the Social-

ist Party pledged itself to fight for a reduction in military spending, and the fact that this expenditure actually increased while the last parliament was in session evoked sharp public censure, as did the anti-strike laws for which the Socialist MPs voted.

The cost of living continued to soar and the Socialist Minister of Economy by manipulating with the retail price index deprived the workers, municipal employees, pensioners and those receiving social benefits of the compensation bonuses to which they were entitled. When the workers' organizations, supported by the Communist MPs, called for control over prices the Minister refused to take any action.

An added irritant is the steady deterioration of the situation in the Walloon areas where many mines have been closed. In the meantime the vaunted "reconversion" project, which has been nothing but a disappointment to date, and such false structural reforms as the "Coal Directorate" are being boosted in every way by the government parties and by the government itself.

Under pressure of public opinion the government and parliament were unable to ignore the petition submitted by 650,000 Walloons demanding that the right of the people to hold a referendum be inscribed in the Constitution, a step that would permit a democratic solution of the problem of the national communities in Belgium.

Thus, the source of the general dissatisfaction lies in the absence of democracy so keenly felt by the working people, in the discrepancy between their demands, the justice of which is often recognized by Socialist and Christian Democratic MPs, and representative institutions incapable of giving expression to these demands.

The reactionaries are blaming the representative institutions for the crisis they have precipitated with the aim of dealing a blow at democracy. But it is not so much a crisis of parliamentary institutions that is maturing in Belgium at the present time as a crisis of the ruling parties which, ignoring the growing demands of the working people, have virtually become instruments of the monopolies.

These factors, associated mainly with the problem of democracy, indicate primarily that Belgium is entering a new period, a period of breaking with the past, and particularly with the cold war policy insofar as that policy influenced the Belgian workers. The cold war period was marked by an increase of reformist influence, by the spread of illusions that progress was possible under the American flag and the flag of class collaboration, and by the slander that the Soviet Union and Communism were a danger to freedom and the prosperity of the country.

Now in the new period the struggle of the working class and the public generally has become such an important political factor that it laid its imprint on the recent election campaign. The bourgeois parties were obliged to

garnish their election programs with progressive ideas. They vied with one another in handing out promises affecting all aspects of social life. As distinct from previous campaigns the Rights did not venture to come out into the open. The reactionary organizations tried to win support by posing as champions of democracy, a fact which in itself is proof of the new situation.

True, the defeat of the government parties did not result in any appreciable increase in working-class and democratic representation. And if anyone gained by the dissatisfaction of the voters with the outgoing government it was the so-called Party of Freedom and Progress, which is every bit as reactionary as the Social-Christian Party.

But to confine oneself to this statement would be to conclude that nothing has changed in Belgium, that the reactionaries have emerged from the election stronger than before. We hold that such a view would be incorrect and would prevent the workers not only from drawing the right conclusions from the election but from continuing the struggle taking into account the present favorable conditions.

The truth is that the election returns caused consternation in the camp of reaction. The difficulties encountered in forming the new government, among other things, indicate that greater opportunities exist for exerting pressure on the members of parliament to fulfil their election promises.

The election lists supported by the Communist Party registered substantial gains everywhere, polling 75 per cent more votes than in the previous election. For the first time the Communists in the majority of the Walloon areas campaigned jointly with Left Socialists and Christian Democrats. The Left Socialists were forced to withdraw from their party. Of course, the Communist Party of Belgium has never ceased to work for an election front that would unite all the forces of the working class. But only now for the first time was it able to carry out its unity policy on such a broad scale. The reactionaries and the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party were obliged to admit defeat, though they censured the joint lists and tried to deny their unitarian character. Despite the fact that these lists were compiled rather hastily on the eve of the election campaign they undoubtedly reflected the growing desire of the working masses to fight side by side against the policy of the capitalist monopolies, for a democratic alternative through a front of struggle for peace, for anti-capitalist structural reforms and for social progress.

This is only the first step on the road to unity, and it will surely be followed by many more inasmuch as the growing pressure of working-class and democratic demands and the general political development are bound to give rise to dissension in the bourgeois parties. Even before the election sharp clashes occurred in the Social Christian Party between

Conservative and Christian Democratic trends. These conflicts will deepen and are hardly likely to by-pass the Party of Freedom and Progress, nor is it excluded that in the end the democratic wing will break away from this party.

In analyzing the gains of the Communist Party at the elections it should be recalled that over the past ten years the Party has made a point of realistically appraising the role of the Socialist and trade union organizations still dominated on a national scale by Right-wing leaders. We have campaigned for more democracy in the trade unions, to ensure the participation of the members in deciding basic issues and thereby furthering the workers' struggle. There is no doubt that this contributed in large measure to the success of the unity policy of the Communist Party, and in this connection it will be in place to emphasize how greatly the lessons of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU have helped the Belgian Communists in their fight for unity.

During the election campaign, however, we had to combat the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press, radio and television. Our opponents took advantage of the difficulties in the international Communist movement, and tried to make as much capital as possible out of the disruptive activities of Grippa's supporters. This group put up candidates in most constituencies in the Walloon districts and in Brussels. True, they suffered ignominious defeat. Still, they helped the reactionaries and the Right-wing Socialist leaders to spread anti-Communist slander and to injure our Party.

One of the lessons to be drawn from the May general election is that the numerous middle sections also want a more democratic policy. Many Belgians, it is true, do not yet realize that this is impossible without fighting the monopolies.

Although the finance magnates are anything but popular in Belgium, the masses do not yet know how to prevent them from doing harm and how to develop democracy in such a way as to ensure the working people the leading role in guiding the affairs of state.

The task for the immediate future is to intensify the struggle against NATO, for Belgium's withdrawal from that organization in 1969 as an indispensable condition for the development of our economy and for social progress and to wage a more concrete struggle for economic structural reforms with the perspective of the transition to socialism. Moreover, the fight for these reforms should be waged not only by the working class. The working class must win over the middle sections who are being told that structural reforms are simply another bureaucratic development, a device for restricting their freedom. And, lastly, the question of the Constitution. The present parliament has the powers of a Constituent Assembly to draft a new Constitution, and it is common knowledge that the bourgeoisie in-

tends to revise the Constitution in a reactionary spirit. But the popular struggle for the extension of democratic rights and their inclusion in the Constitution is bound to gain momentum. We Communists will do everything possible, with the growing support of the masses, to make Belgium a federal state where the democratic rights of every community will be respected.

Besides social issues, which always evoke a lively interest among the working people, some political problems directly associated with the development of democracy will arise in the future.

And so every effort must be made to bring about a realignment of the working-class and democratic forces. A certain movement in this

direction could be observed before the election; some sections of the working class dissociated themselves from the Socialist Party in order to combat the opportunist policy of the Right-wing leadership.

The magnitude of the tasks confronting the working-class movement demands the regrouping not only of the Communists, Left-wing Socialists and Christian Democrats who acted jointly during the election campaign, but also of broader sections of Social Democracy and Christian Democracy who, though dissatisfied, remained loyal to their respective parties.

The conditions exist for broad unity on the basis of a social and democratic program which would pave the way to that progressive alternative to which the working people of Belgium aspire.

WMR

pages from history

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International

OUR TIMES ARE altogether different from the mid-nineteen thirties when the Seventh Congress of the Comintern was held. The defeat of fascism, the emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of one country and the disintegration of colonialism created new opportunities for the world revolutionary process and extended its horizons.

And yet many of the problems with which the world Communist movement is concerned today had arisen in one form or another already 30 years ago. This of course does not mean that the movement has not advanced since then. What it shows is that the problems elaborated by the Seventh Congress were not of a transistent nature, that they were fundamental issues with a relevance to the entire period of the struggle for the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

The Congress decisions were seen by many Communists as a change in tactics, arising from the danger of fascism and war. Actually, however, these decisions, signifying a new strategy, reflected the basic laws of development of the socialist revolution. In short, they marked a turning point in the entire policy of the Comintern.

AN EXCURSION INTO HISTORY

In order fully to appreciate the significance of this turning point, it is necessary to recall what preceded it. When the wave of revolution that swept the world after the October Revolution in Russia began to subside and it became clear that the world revolution in the forms envisaged by the Communists was not likely to triumph in the immediate future, Lenin began to think in terms of new ways of advancing the revolutionary movement. He envisaged not a rapid onset of a revolutionary situation but the gradual involvement of the masses in the struggle for socialism.

In his *"Left-wing Communism", An Infantile Disorder*, which appeared in 1920, shortly before the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin called for painstaking and persistent work among the masses if the Parties were to strengthen their influence among the working people. This book opened the eyes of many who had just joined the Communist movement, it showed them that work in the trade unions and in parliaments, together with agreements and compromises, did not necessarily signify opportunism, that, on the contrary, this

should be seen as revolutionary work, provided of course it was not made an end itself and that it was subordinated to the ultimate goals of the working class.

This line was further elaborated at the Third and Fourth congresses of the Comintern. The united front tactic as the principal instrument in the fight for the masses, readiness to wage a joint struggle not only from below, but also from above with the reformist leaders, the fight for partial demands, the call for trade union unity, the slogan of a worker-peasant government as a preliminary step towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and recognition of the possibility of using the institutions of bourgeois democracy in the fight for socialism, these and a multitude of other Comintern decisions on questions of tactics were indicative of the breadth of Communist policy, of the gradual overcoming of sectarian notions, of a readiness to use the most diverse forms of struggle.

But with the partial stabilization of capitalism in subsequent years, the Communist movement encountered new difficulties. By their policy of class collaboration the Right-wing Social Democrats, who had a big following among the workers, blunted the militancy of the latter, deepened the split in their ranks and spread all kinds of illusions. The persecution of Communists, and the policy of steady retreat before the onslaught of reaction greatly encouraged fascism and paved the way for its all-out offensive against the working-class movement.

It was in these conditions that the Comintern began (largely as a reaction to the Social Democrats' policy of conciliation and to the growing Right opportunist danger in the Communist parties) in effect to modify its policy. The slogan of a worker-peasant government began to be interpreted as synonymous with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The slogan of "class against class," aimed at wresting the workers from the Social Democratic policy of class collaboration, became a source of sectarian disregard for the non-proletarian section of the working people. The justified indignation caused by the treachery of the Right reformist leaders was reflected in the characterization of social-democracy as social-fascism, a characterization which ruled out the possibility of a united front. Unity from below began to be counterposed to unity at the top, and was regarded essentially as a means of exposing the Right opportunist leaders. Stalin's thesis that the main blow should be struck at petty-bourgeois democracy oriented the Communists on fighting the petty-bourgeois parties, the slogan of "bolshevization of the Communist parties," which played a certain role in overcoming the manifestations of Right opportunism, in moulding revolutionary cadres, at the same time often led to a mechanical copying of the Russian experience. These and other negative features became particularly danger-

ous in the conditions of the fascist offensive and approaching world war.

The experience of many Communist parties, both positive, as was the case in France where the united action of the working class barred the road to fascism, and negative, as in Germany where the Social Democratic leaders rejected the CPG's unity of action proposal and where the disunity was made the most of by the forces of reaction, made it necessary to revise many accepted notions, to work out a new line that would mobilize the masses to repel fascism and avert war.

But to make the necessary turn in policy that could no longer be delayed, to reject the many dogmas that were fettering the Communist movement, bold and decisive action had to be taken to overcome the resistance of the "Left" sectarians who had grown perceptibly stronger in the fight against Right opportunism as the main danger.

PREPARING NEW DECISIONS

When in May 1934 preparatory commissions were formed to prepare the agenda of the Seventh Congress, scheduled for the second half of the year, it became obvious that it was not going to be an easy matter. By no means all the commission members agreed with Dimitrov's letter and speech at a commission meeting on July 2 in which he questioned the correctness of indiscriminately qualifying Social Democracy as social-fascism and as the main social support of the bourgeoisie in all circumstances, not to mention many other initial propositions of the Comintern.

Not on all the cardinal issues of strategy and tactics discussed in the leading bodies and commissions of the Comintern during June-August 1934 was unanimity reached at once.

Heated debates developed around the question of the appraisal of social-democracy. At the first meetings of the preparatory commissions Bela Kun, Lozovsky, Knorin and Varga held that social-democracy should, as before, be regarded as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. Dimitrov, Togliatti, Manuilsky, Kuusinen and others, on the contrary, declared that Communists should reconsider their attitude to social-democracy. They pointed out that with the rise of fascism big changes had taken place in social-democracy, that genuinely Left groups and trends had appeared and wanted the defeat of fascism, that Communists by their united front tactics should do everything to make it easier for the working masses to join the revolutionary struggle. As a result of the discussions it was agreed that the definition of social-democracy as social-fascism was harmful and that this could apply only in the case of some of its leaders.

The commissions also discussed the question of a new approach to the united front. The view was expressed that it was now necessary to examine this question in broader outline than had hitherto been the case, that this front

should orient itself not on the full program of the Communists but on the immediate urgent issues affecting the masses. The commissions criticized the practice of advancing slogans aimed solely at exposing social-democracy. During the debate the idea was advanced that the united front should be broadened by forming an alliance with the non-proletarian sections. The view also was expressed that a more concrete program was needed: not a program calling for proletarian dictatorship, for socialism, but one that would lead the masses to the struggle for these. This was the first step towards rejecting the notion that the struggle in Europe would develop at once as a socialist revolution, towards recognizing that it must be preceded by the anti-fascist, democratic phase of the struggle.

Notwithstanding the fact that the revision of outdated propositions encountered resistance the pre-congress discussions in June-August 1934 laid the foundation for the decisions which were later elaborated in the documents of the Seventh Congress. It also became evident at the time that it would not be possible to convene the Congress in the second half of 1934, as originally planned, and on September 5, 1934, the Executive Committee of the Comintern decided to postpone it until 1935.

By the summer of 1935 the Comintern was ready to give the answers to the vital questions of the day, answers based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of realities and on the rich experience accumulated by the Communist parties.

The Seventh Congress opened on July 25, 1935, in Moscow and was in session for nearly a month, ending on August 21. It was attended by 510 delegates from 65 Communist parties and international organizations affiliated to the Communist International as Sections.

The main items on the agenda, which included the report on the work of the Executive Committee (W. Pick) and the report of the International Control Commission (A. Angaretis), were Dimitrov's report, "The fascist offensive and the tasks of the Communist International in the fight for the unity of the working class against fascism," and a report by Ercoli (Togliatti), "The preparations for imperialist war and the tasks of the Communist International." The Congress also heard Manuisky's report, "The Results of Socialist Construction in the USSR", in which he showed that "with the victory of socialism, the USSR had become a powerful political, economic and cultural force influencing world politics, a center of attraction and rallying point for all peoples, countries and even states interested in the preservation of world peace, the bulwark of the working people of all countries against the menace of war, a powerful weapon for rallying the working people of the world against world reaction."

AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

The Congress pointed to fascism as the main enemy, defined its basic features, and warned against any underestimation in the working-class movement of the fascist danger. Already before the Seventh Congress the Comintern had correctly appraised the nature of fascism. It did not therefore say anything essentially new when it stressed that *fascism in power was the naked terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic elements of finance capital*. This definition, which disclosed the main class function of fascism, was directed against the bourgeois liberal and Social Democratic politicians who tried to deny that fascism was the offspring of monopoly capital. The Congress, however, did not think that finance capital and fascism were one and the same thing. At one of the meetings of the editorial commission the question was debated whether German fascism in power was finance capital *itself* or whether Hitler and his men were its lackeys. It was agreed that fascism fulfils "the role of lackey of the big bourgeoisie."

The conclusion arrived at by the Congress that the advent to power of fascism signified a change in the state form of bourgeois class rule put an end to the confusion regarding the character of the various bourgeois regimes and political forces. It oriented the Communist parties to fight against fascism, to unite all forces opposed to it. "Now the working masses in a number of capitalist countries," said Dimitrov, "are faced with the necessity of making a definite choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism."

In the conditions of imperialism the bourgeoisie seeks to replace the democratic forms of its dictatorship with forms reminiscent of those against which it had to fight when it was a rising class. By the very act of trampling on democracy, imperialism objectively intensifies the striving of the masses for democracy.

During the period of the partial stabilization of capitalism the bourgeoisie managed, by using democratic institutions for its own ends, to subordinate to the machinery of state, and often to include in it, many organizations of the working people, and especially Social Democracy and the reformist trade unions. The Communists, while they exposed the limitations of bourgeois democracy, at the same time fought to preserve the democratic rights won by the working people in the course of their struggle. However, they often lost sight of the interconnection between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism. Stress was laid on the negative aspects of bourgeois democracy which was regarded merely as a fraud, as a means used to deceive the masses. Any suggestion to advance a common democratic slogan with a view to rallying the masses to the struggle for socialism was often

interpreted as a manifestation of opportunism.

In view of the offensive of fascism, which was out to nullify all democratic liberties, any underestimation by the Communists of the importance of upholding these liberties was fraught with danger. The Seventh Congress therefore devoted special attention to the fight in defense of bourgeois-democratic liberties and gains of the working people and against fascism, and to the importance of this struggle for strengthening the militant contact of the working class with its allies.

The Seventh Congress showed that the ideology of fascism, while skilfully adapting itself to the national psychology, also has universal forms, the most dangerous of which is the unbridled chauvinism that makes for predatory wars.

The Seventh Congress stressed that the "central slogan of the Communist parties must be the slogan: 'fight for peace'." It thereby repudiated the claim made by bourgeois and reformist propaganda that the Communists wanted war because war would create a situation enabling them to win power.

In the discussion it was recalled that the Communist International itself was a product of the struggle against war and anti-Soviet intervention, and that it had always vigorously fought for peace. "We stand for peace," said Togliatti, "because we want to ensure conditions for the victory of the revolution." Thus, the fight for peace was seen as an important part of the struggle for socialism.

During the years of partial stabilization, the peace forces were still weak and pacifist appeals for peace often simply served as a cover for the arms drive of the imperialists. By the mid-thirties, however, the situation had changed. The Soviet Union had become a big power and its peace policy was exerting a growing influence. The Seventh Congress rightly noted that the fight for peace even at the gravest moments was not hopeless. This was a modification of the thesis that peace could be ensured only by the victory of socialism on a world scale.

The Seventh Congress showed that Communists were sparing no effort to develop the peace movement. "Communists," states the resolution on Ercoli's report: "should invite the cooperation of all pacifist organizations that are prepared to go with them even if only part of the way towards a genuine struggle against imperialist wars." This was a departure from the line of the Sixth Congress which had denounced pacifism in all its manifestations and called for exposing pacifists as being responsible for diverting the masses from the task of forestalling war through a proletarian revolution.

The growing might of the Soviet Union and the growth of anti-war sentiments among the masses opened new perspectives. Hence the conclusion drawn in Manuilsky's report that "Communists must overcome the fatalistic

view that war cannot be averted, that the struggle against the preparations for war is futile."

This new premise, permeated with the spirit of active struggle and not passive waiting until the war clouds burst, was the supreme merit of the Seventh Congress. It was the precursor of the conclusion drawn by the Communist movement later, when the defeat of fascism had radically changed the alignment of the forces of peace and war on the international arena, that war can be averted even before capitalism is vanquished on a world scale.

The Congress did not confine itself merely to proclaiming the general task of upholding peace. It showed that irrespective of how the approaching war would start it would inevitably become a war against the Soviet Union, and therefore called for the defense of the first socialist state. The Congress declared that it was the duty of Communists in the countries subjected to fascist aggression to be "in the front ranks of the fighters for national independence and to fight the war of liberation to the finish, without allowing 'their' bourgeoisie to strike a bargain with the attacking powers to the prejudice of the interests of their country." (Resolution on the report of Comrade Ercoli.)

The value of the Seventh Congress decisions in connection with the war danger is that they gave the parties a clear perspective, enabled them to find the right solutions to the questions posed by reality.

FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES

The Seventh Congress drew the conclusion that in face of the fascist offensive working-class unity should be established on an anti-fascist, democratic and not purely socialist basis.

The success of the united front depended essentially on the relations between the Communist and Social Democratic parties. The offensive of fascism, and particularly the collapse of German Social Democracy, had fundamentally changed the position and role of international Social Democracy. The Right-wing leaders had been largely responsible for the advent of fascism to power in many countries. But the Seventh Congress was looking ahead when it stressed the possibility of joint action with the Social Democratic parties.

It was particularly important to establish trade union unity. The Congress supported the new trade union policy of the French Communists. "We advocate and consistently uphold the right of the trade unions to decide their problems for themselves," Dimitrov said. "We are even prepared to forego the creation of Communist groups in the trade unions if that is necessary in the interests of trade union unity. We are prepared to come to an agreement about the independence of the united trade unions from all political parties. But we

are decidedly opposed to any *dependence* of the trade unions on the bourgeoisie, and do not give up our basic point of view that it is impossible for trade unions to adopt a neutral position in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."

Calling for the establishment of a united front of the working class, the Congress drew the attention of the parties to the need to draw up a program in each country that would unite the workers, irrespective of their political views, and pointed to the erroneousness of opposing unity below to unity at the top.

In a number of countries it was necessary to establish a united front not only with reformists, but also with anarcho-syndicalists, Catholic workers and the worker members of the fascist trade unions.

For the first time the Comintern also tackled the task of uniting the working class in a single political party based on Marxism-Leninism. Dimitrov noted in his report it would entail hard work and would take much time. Unity of views could be achieved only in unity of action, in joint struggle against the class enemy.

The forces of the working class alone, even a united working class, were not enough to vanquish fascism. The call for a broad alliance with the non-proletarian masses issued by the Seventh Congress signified much more than a break with the sectarian mistakes of the past. This policy of alliances, known as the People's Front policy, was designed to unite the working class with sections and organizations which did not necessarily support the dictatorship of the proletariat but which upheld the social and economic demands of the masses. The parties were enjoined to advance a People's Front program that would reflect the general political aspirations of the masses for democratic liberties and for peace.

The People's Front had nothing in common with the former blocs of petty-bourgeois parties. The allegation of the "Left" sectarians that the People's Front would end in the Communist parties forming an unprincipled bloc with petty-bourgeois organizations met with a fitting rebuff at the Seventh Congress. In the People's Front the Communist movement found a form of unification of a new type, one in which the working class played the leading role in the struggle for common democratic goals and gradually led the masses in the fight for socialism.

While the Seventh Congress did not make any detailed recommendations to the parties concerning the concrete forms of the People's Front, it noted that these should meet the specific features of each individual country. But despite diversity of forms, the People's Front program, which did not call for the immediate overthrow of the capitalist system, furthered the development and expansion of democracy, and restricted the domination of the monopolies which stood behind fascism.

These important ideas were embodied in the

Seventh Congress' decisions on the People's Front government. Life is more complex than any scheme, Dimitrov said in this connection. Depending on the concrete correlation of class forces, the People's Front government may in some countries be a government that will resolutely repel fascism and reaction. In others where a bourgeois-democratic revolution is developing it may be a government of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry, i.e., a government of the transition stage creating the prerequisites for the revolution growing into a socialist revolution.

Thus the Seventh Congress substantiated the possibility of advancing towards the socialist revolution through the fight for democracy. This conclusion became one of the underlying principles of the new Communist strategy which has retained its vitality to this day.

The world situation in the mid-thirties set before the revolutionary forces the task of fighting the offensive of fascism. But it also required that Communists find new solutions to the problems affecting the national-liberation movement. Here, too, the Seventh Congress enriched Communist policy in relation to the colonial and dependent countries.

For a long time the view had been current among Communists that in most colonial countries the revolution would not only be of a bourgeois-democratic character but that it could rapidly develop into a socialist revolution. It was taken for granted that the revolutionary movement in the colonies could be successful only if it developed under the hegemony of the proletariat and was led by the party of the proletariat. Not all Communists saw the national factor as a vital feature of the colonial revolution. The Leninist thesis that the oppressed countries objectively have their national tasks, and first among them that of overthrowing foreign rule, was often underestimated.

The Seventh Congress developed the view that for most colonies and semi-colonies the first step towards a truly people's revolution would be the national-liberation struggle against imperialism. It stressed that the establishment of an anti-imperialist united front was the most important task of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies in their fight for national liberation.

The need for a close alliance of the revolutionary forces of the world was stressed by Dimitrov who said that only in an alliance with the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union could the working class in the capitalist countries achieve victory, that only by fighting side by side with the proletariat of the imperialist countries could the colonial peoples and the oppressed national minorities win their liberation, that only through a revolutionary alliance of the working class in the imperialist countries with the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries would the proletarian revolution be able to triumph in the imperialist countries.

The Leninist idea of the unity of all the revolutionary forces in the world, elaborated in the Congress decisions, was the platform on which several years later the Soviet Union, the international working-class movement and the oppressed peoples waging an anti-imperialist struggle united against their common mortal foe.

FOR PARTIES CAPABLE OF LEADING THE MASSES

The tasks posed by the Seventh Congress called for critical re-examination of many aspects of Party practice which were preventing the Communists from strengthening their contact with the masses and becoming an important factor in the political life of their country and the world as a whole.

What particularly fettered the initiative of the parties was the old disease of sectarianism. Hence the Seventh Congress sharply attacked sectarianism, branding it as the greatest danger, as being no longer an *"infantile disorder"* but a *"deeply rooted vice,"* which must be shaken off, otherwise it would be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of the revolution.

The Congress qualified sectarianism as *"complacency,"* dangerous because of its doctrinaire narrowness, its alienation from the masses, its over-simplified methods of solving the complex problems of the working-class movement on the basis of stereotyped schemes, its claim to having all the answers and its inability to learn from the masses.

The Congress was, of course, referring to the concrete manifestations of sectarianism of those years. There is no doubt that sectarianism, like everything else in the world, changes with time, but there is also no doubt that the Congress's profound and scientifically substantiated analysis has stood the test of time and, consequently, holds true today as well.

The telling blow struck at sectarianism did not, however, spell the end of this disorder. More than condemnation was needed to guarantee against relapses.

It was frankly noted that comrades who tended towards sectarianism as a rule strenuously denied this and even paid lip service to the struggle waged against sectarianism. It was clear, therefore, that the battle against it would be a long and hard one.

The discussion on Party work indicated the path the parties must follow if they are to become militant mass parties capable of adopting bold, independent decisions. In this connection the Congress discussed the question of improving the organizational forms of the international Communist movement.

It ushered in a new phase in the relations between parties when it proposed to the ECCI "... to avoid direct intervention in internal organizational matters of the Communist par-

ties." The Executive Committee was instructed to help in training cadres in the parties so that they "may be able at sharp turns of events independently and quickly to find, on the basis of the decisions of the congresses of the Communist International, correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement." (Resolution on the report of Wilhelm Pieck).

But the more independent the parties became, the more important was it for them to consult with one another and to exchange experience. The spokesman of the Communist Party of Sweden noted in this connection that the task of the Party leadership "was to see to it that the Party did not take the path of national isolation . . . We must therefore assimilate international experience to a greater extent than has been the case up to now." The British delegate stressed the importance of more frequent consultations with the Sections. Others spoke of the need to draw more extensively on the experience accumulated by the international movement.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress had far-reaching consequences. They signified a turning point which ushered in a new stage in the relations between the parties, a stage marked by the cementing of their international unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the jointly elaborated general line, and by the complete independence of the Parties.

The Second World War merely revealed more distinctly what had already become increasingly clear, namely, that the Communist movement had become so powerful a force, and its tasks had accordingly become so complex and diverse from country to country that they could be successfully accomplished only on the basis of unfettered initiative and independence.

* * *

In the complex situation of those ominous times the Communists alone showed the way to the future. The Congress elaborated a policy which the working class, the democratic masses and the peoples needed. In the ideological sphere, the Communist movement made a qualitative leap forward. Unfortunately, in the conditions of the personality cult not all the ideas of the Congress were given full scope.

The ideas of the Seventh Congress have exerted a tremendous influence on the entire subsequent development of the Communist movement. The passage of time, however, has posed issues which could not have arisen at the time of the Seventh Congress. The international Communist movement dates the beginning of the new, contemporary stage of its development from the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which took place in 1956. The decisions of this congress and of the subsequent international meetings of the Communists dealt with the

cardinal theoretical and practical problems of the Communist movement in a new way. But for all that there is a direct link and ideological continuity between these decisions and

the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

B. LEIBZON
K. SHIRINYA

Under the banner of proletarian internationalism

IN HIS LATEST BOOK *The Internationale*, R. Palme Dutt, the veteran Communist, reviews the development of the international Communist movement from the *Communist Manifesto* to the present day.

Addressing the mass reader, the participants of the great movement for socialism, the author draws conclusions on many disputed questions, noting, however, that the final verdict calls for fuller evidence which only future research will give. His purpose is to examine the history of international Communism and in the light of its lessons to deepen our understanding of the urgent problems of the world liberation movement of today.

The critics, Palme Dutt notes, might judge it inappropriate to speak of the history of internationalism, of the achievements of the Communist movement at a time when there are serious differences in the international Communist movement. "On the contrary. It is more appropriate than ever today to recall the record and the lessons of these hundred years. The most violent controversies, conflicts, crises, sharp turns, breaks and renewals have characterized this record of one hundred years. The path has been no easy broad road of automatic progress, but precipitous and arduous throughout, full of pitfalls and explosions and dangers of wrecking the whole caravan. But through it all the international Communist movement has always emerged in the end, stronger and more united, to go forward to new triumphs."

The idea of proletarian internationalism runs all through the book. Palme Dutt stresses that proletarian internationalism is not an abstract doctrine, that it was brought into being by life, by the urgent demands of the class struggle, as an intrinsic part of the ideology of the working class.

The book shows how the First International, founded by Marx and Engels, united the working class of different countries under the ban-

ner of proletarian internationalism, thereby laying the foundations of international proletarian unity. The revolutionary traditions of the First International were continued by the Second International. Based on the principles of Marxism, it did much in its best years to further the working-class movement. However, the Right-wing leaders subsequently distorted the International's underlying principles, betrayed their revolutionary duty and in the end brought about the disgraceful collapse of this International.

The Third, Communist International, founded by Lenin in 1919, revived and carried forward the revolutionary traditions of the First International. The Comintern played a signal role in organizing the world Communist and working-class movement. It fulfilled its basic task, that of helping in the formation and Marxist-Leninist training of consistently revolutionary parties of the working class. The great historical services rendered by the Comintern is that it reared a generation of leaders and functionaries of the world working-class movement in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, rallied millions of working people in all parts of the world to fight against imperialism and colonial oppression, against fascism and war, and for socialism. The long, uncompromising struggle it waged against opportunism, revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, laid the firm foundations of the ideological unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which ensured the advance of the world Communist movement.

But this is not to say, Palme Dutt notes, that there were no shortcomings or mistakes in the activity of the Comintern, especially after 1927. One of its most serious errors was to define Social Democracy as "social-fascism."

Palme Dutt devotes considerable attention to the fight for a united working-class front and for a people's front against war and fascism. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the 30th anniversary of which is now being celebrated, generalized the experience of united-

R. Palme Dutt, *The Internationale*. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1964. 488 pp.

front action up to that time. At this Congress the Communist International elaborated the strategy of the united front of democratic and anti-fascist forces, the strategy which as a result of the long and indomitable struggle waged by the Communists led to the victory of the peoples over fascism. In the course of this struggle, Palme Dutt notes, the Communist parties grew rapidly in all countries, both in numbers and in influence. The policy of the Communists was the guiding force which the working class, the democratic forces and the peoples needed at the time.

An objective study of the Seventh Congress decision exposes to the hilt the allegation that the Communist movement followed a stereotyped pattern throughout. The Congress examined a number of crucial questions in the light of the new situation that had arisen, and modified some of its former theses accordingly.

The Congress stressed that while continuing the struggle against the Social-Democratic ideology and practice, it was also necessary to combat all manifestations of sectarianism and dogmatism in the Communist movement, all doctrinaire narrow-mindedness in the treatment of important issues, in a word, everything that hampered working-class unity. It also declared against identifying other trends in the capitalist camp, and even the Right-wing Socialists, with fascism.

In his profound analysis of the Comintern's united front policy against fascism and war, the author shows that the split in the working-class movement and absence of unity among the democratic forces opened the way for fascism in a number of countries and made it possible to unleash the Second World War. However, true Marxist-Leninists, loyal to the cause of the working class, to the behests of Marx, Engels and Lenin, rose above the controversies in the working-class movement and achieved the unity of all democratic forces to fight the main enemy — fascism. This analysis is particularly valuable today when the U.S. imperialists are trying to make the most of the difficulties inside the revolutionary liberation movement, and are engaged in unprecedented aggression against the peoples battling for freedom and social progress.

In the concluding part of his book Palme Dutt discusses the achievements of the international Communist and working-class movement after the Second World War, and the tasks facing it today. He notes that the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU opened a new era of creative development for the entire movement, and characterizes the common approach worked out by the international Communist movement in 1957 and 1960 as "giving explicit concrete answers to concrete questions of the movement today."

Although the international Communist movement is beset with many difficulties, Palme Dutt expresses the hope that his book will help to "strengthen, despite all the problems of the present phase, renewed and indomitable confidence in the future." This confidence is based on the knowledge that what unites the Communist parties far outweighs what disunites them, that the factors making for unity are playing an increasing role. The struggle for socialism and communism, and against imperialism, will inevitably, by virtue of its international character, cement the unity of the national contingents of the Communist movement more and more. Such are the dialectics of the international and national aspects of the working-class and Communist movement that the unity and independence of the Marxist-Leninist parties necessary for vanquishing imperialism can be achieved only when this unity takes the form of cohesion between independent parties and when their independence is based on unity.

The idea of proletarian internationalism reflects the Communist view not only as regards the relations between the working class of all countries in the struggle against the capitalist system; it also reflects their concept of the future society, of the relations between peoples of different countries. Palme Dutt concludes his book with the words of the universally recognized anthem of the working class, which express confidence that the day will come when the divisions and conflicts of class society shall belong to the past, and "The Internationale shall be the human race."

G. SHANSHIYEV

The Communist Party and the Bundestag election

THE ELECTIONS TO the West-German Bundestag, scheduled for September 19, will be any thing but democratic. The Communist Party, the party of the working class, is banned and cannot nominate its candidates. In the 1961 general election the Constitution and the electoral law were violated when 38 citizens were forbidden to contest even as private citizens because of their former Party membership. Similar curbs were imposed on the Communist voters' association which presented a list of candidates in North Rhine-Westphalia; some of the nominees and their backers were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Karl Schabrod, who under Hitler spent eleven years of a life sentence for anti-fascist activity in prison, received a twenty-months sentence from the Bonn authorities.

The electoral law is notorious for its undemocratic clauses, the worst being the "percentage reservation" which permits parliamentary representation only to parties which poll not less than five per cent of the total vote. Along with state financing of the Bundestag parties (in 1964-65 the three parties received DM 38 million each) and the ban on the CPG, this clause keeps the Bundestag closed to the parties which the ruling circles consider to be at variance with the dominant political system. Thanks to these devices the Christian Democrats and the Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU), the Free Democrats and Social Democrats have privileged positions and in reality serve as instruments of the monopoly-dominated state.

Signs of public discontent are not wanting in the Federal Republic.

The ruling circles would like to isolate the GDR and force it to its knees. The USSR-GDR Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation concluded on June 12, 1964, and the decisions of the Warsaw Treaty states show that the security of the GDR is guaranteed by the socialist countries.

The GDR enjoys growing prestige as a peace-loving German state which has done away with a disastrous past. The defeat suffered by

the Hallstein doctrine, which expresses Bonn's claim to the role of spokesman for all Germany, has become obvious. Bonn's neo-colonialist foreign policy is rejected by the new national states, while its strivings for hegemony in western Europe are suspect by the European peoples.

In its election program our Party points out that "the 'positions-of-strength' policy, a policy of threats and military intimidation, holds out no prospects. The CDU/CSU political program is doomed to failure. None of its aims can be attained — neither supremacy in Western Europe, annexation of the GDR, 'rolling back' the socialist world, nor the neo-colonialist subjugation of the new national states.

"The longer this policy is pursued, the more reckless and suicidal it becomes. Its replacement by a new policy is a matter of life or death for the German nation."

Discontent with this policy was expressed early this year in the movement against the Bundeswehr plan for an atomic mine belt along the frontiers with the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Nationwide protests forced the government and the Bundeswehr command to deny their original intention.

The movement against nuclear armament and for a detente, disarmament and mutual understanding with the GDR was expressed in the Easter March of 130,000 people against nuclear armament, in the unending protests against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and against Bonn's support of this aggression.

Of special significance is the growing movement in defense of democracy and the Constitution. The discontent with the drive against democratic rights and with the danger of neo-Nazism was expressed in connection with the government's intention to force the present Bundestag to adopt the so-called "emergency laws," an intention supported by the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party. These bills were discussed by Bundestag commissions at secret sessions. The Association of German Scientists declared that they signified promulgation of principles of martial law in peacetime, total militarization of public life

and total mobilization of manpower and material resources to prepare for war.

Some 4,000 citizens prominent in public life urged the parties to reject the "emergency laws"; 250 college professors called on the trade unions to act and prevent the adoption of these laws. A united front of scientists and working-class organizations is taking shape to defend democracy. The efforts of this front, the demonstrations in many cities and the demands of many Social Democratic Party organizations compelled the SDP leaders to decide not to approve the "emergency laws" before the general elections. Thus the democratic movement frustrated the conspiracy of all the Bundestag party groups—to have the "emergency laws" adopted before the election and, if possible, by a unanimous vote (no important laws can be adopted without the vote of the SDP) and thereby prevent them from becoming an issue of the election struggle.

* * *

The CDU/CSU tries to conceal from the electorate the hopelessness of its policy and its recent political defeats. This line was adopted at the CDU Duesseldorf congress in March and the Munich congress of the CSU in April. The boastful statement was made: "Again we signify something in the world. We have the biggest military force in Western Europe!" On this basis a bigger say in NATO was demanded for the FRG. Barzel declared: "We intend to fight against the *status quo* and to change it," meaning primarily the annexation of the GDR and satisfaction of the territorial claims to other states.

At the CSU congress in Munich Strauss made clear his intention "to fight for a new order throughout Europe" (*Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, April 12). Consistently with this, Foreign Minister Schroeder demands "the inclusion of the FRG in the organization of the Western deterrent potential," while War Minister von Hassel insists on the right to nuclear weapons and on an "atomic forward strategy."

Two aggressive policy lines were set forth by the CDU leadership at its party congress. Atomic armaments, the "forward strategy" and "undercover" or "small war" constitute the main line. Along with this, it aims at penetrating into the socialist countries, at separating the Warsaw Treaty states from one another, reactivating the counter-revolution and accelerating realization of its aggressive aims. As Barzel declared, "we want to have an influence in the Communist-dominated part of Europe."

In keeping with the policy of active revanchism are the "emergency laws" drive and a domestic policy program for what Erhard calls the "established society." Erhard wants his "established society" to help achieve what Hitler sought to bring about through "national unity," i.e., to deceive the working people by demagoguery into supporting his war plans. But since a militarist policy is incompatible with

the social demands of the masses, the promises to satisfy these demands remain vague general phrases.

Moreover, Minister of Economy Schmuecker has rejected the trade unions' demand for higher wages and shorter hours, while Erhard has urged the workers "constantly to increase productivity."

* * *

Our election program is based on the premise that the territory of the FRG should not become the breeding ground of a new war. Hence prevention of nuclear armament should be the first commandment of German policy. Replacement of the suicidal policy of conquest by a policy of relaxation of tension, disarmament and talks with the GDR is a prerequisite for German reunification.

The people must have greater freedom to be able to uphold their vital interests. Hence the need to kill emergency legislation, to curb the monopolies, to safeguard the Constitution and extend democratic rights. We support the trade unions' demand for a greater share for workers in managing the economy and the enterprises, and the social demands contained in the Trade Union Federation's Program of Action.

We are directing the main blow at the CDU/CSU, the party of monopoly capital, which has headed the government for sixteen years and bears the main responsibility for the discredited "positions of strength" policy. This party must be defeated. The Free Democratic Party, its appendage in the coalition, deserves the same fate. The time has come for a new policy and new people.

The Communists recommend in their election program that at meetings and in the press candidates and their parties should be asked the following three questions:

Are you for safeguarding peace by preventing the atomic armament of the Federal Republic in any shape or form?

Are you for initiative by the Federal Republic in the matter of disarmament and for using the money saved thereby for the economic, social and cultural needs of the people?

Are you ready to uphold the Constitution, to extend parliamentary democracy and, hence, against any emergency legislation?

* * *

The policy of the Social Democratic leaders on the main issues does not differ from that of the CDU/CSU and the free Democrats. Shortly before the twentieth anniversary of the liberation from the Hitler regime, these parties, the SDP included, issued a statement containing the revanchist demand for restoration of the 1937 borders. Jaksch, SDP expert on the affairs of "displaced persons," in no way differs in his attitude from Seeborn, notorious for his revanchist speeches.

The SDP leaders pursue a policy of "community" with the CDU/CSU on all vital issues. They approve the demand for atomic weapons

and broader rights in NATO, they cling to the Hallstein doctrine, support heavy arms spending, reject any agreement with the GDR and endorse the "emergency laws." Hence their agreement with the CDU/CSU and the Free Democrats to keep all problems of foreign and military policy and German reunification out of the election struggle.

The SDP election program contains some useful demands, a number of them in the sphere of education. But none of them can be realized if the arms expenditure continues to increase or even remains at the present level. That is why we say in our program: "The SDP is not measuring up to its responsibility. Its leaders' policy of 'community' is no alternative to the CDU/CSU policy. Their policy and their actions have, unfortunately, not justified the hope of many SDP supporters that they would pursue a better policy."

The policy of "community" with the CDU/CSU runs counter to the interests of the working people, of the SDP members and supporters, and the trade unions. Willy Brandt says he will not have the trade unions prescribing political recipes to the Party. This point was made in a *Spiegel* interview with Otto Brenner, chairman of the Metalworkers' Union, the biggest in West Germany with some two million members.

Here is a characteristic excerpt:

Spiegel: But it is perfectly obvious that some of the trade unions with a large Socialist membership are politically more to the Left than the SDP.

Brenner: This forces the unions to concern themselves more with political matters, for we no longer have the political and parliamentary representation which would be as committed to the interests of wage workers as the SDP used to be in the past.

Many SDP members and functionaries fear—and justifiably so—that the Erler-Wehner group's advocacy of community with the CDU/CSU reactionary policy may militate against the chances of the SDP in the election.

In contrast to the policy of "community," we urge unity of the Social Democratic, Christian, Communist and non-party working people. We say in our electoral manifesto: "SDP supporters should unite with the Social Democrats and trade unionists who are demanding that the SDP leaders pursue a consistent policy of peace, democracy and socialism and who are determined to remove from the leadership those who, like Wehner and Erler, carry out the orders of the bourgeoisie and the militarists. Only unity with the opponents of the policy of war and 'state of emergency' dictatorship will enable them to secure the policy which they want the SDP to pursue."

The trade unions' conclusion that they should pay more attention to political problems conforms to their class interests. It promotes working-class unity and the struggle of the Social Democrats to change their party's policy.

* * *

Candidates are being nominated also by the Peace Union, which unites people from different walks of life and of varying political and religious views. The Union considers that Germany should abandon forever the militarist "policy of strength" and contribute to the fight for disarmament, renunciation of nuclear weapons, establishment of an atom-free zone, relaxation of tensions, and mutual understanding. It stands for the recognition of existing borders, for the Constitution, for extended parliamentary democracy, against the emergency legislation, for the solution of social problems through cutting military spending, for mutual understanding and talks with the GDR as the sole road to reunification.

Thus, the stand of the Union coincides in many respects with the demands of the trade unions, intellectuals, and youth and women's organizations.

Our Party, the party of the working class, differs from the Peace Union in its attitude to many problems, especially to the social systems prevailing in the FRG and the GDR. But as regards the three basic questions we are urging voters to put to all the candidates and parties, the Peace Union alone has answered in the spirit of peace, democracy and the interests of the people. Hence we are recommending voters to cast their ballots for the Peace Union candidates and lists.

According to the West German electoral law, each voter ballots twice: for a candidate and for a list. This enables us—where a Social Democrat opposed to atomic armament and emergency legislation is running—to urge the voters to cast one ballot for this candidate and another for the Peace Union list.

This policy helps to unite the working class, all peace-loving and democratic forces. It proves to the Social Democrats that we are striving for Communist-Socialist unity of action to bring about a change in FRG policy.

Our objective in the election campaign is to rally all who stand for peace, democracy, agreement between the two German states and satisfaction of the social demands of the masses. Even though banned, our Party will use every opportunity to state its views and proposals to the electorate. Thus the election struggle is contributing to the struggle for a legal Communist Party.

Max SCHAEFER

Communist industrial workers in Italy hold conference

THE THIRD NATIONAL conference of Communist factory workers was held in Genoa on May 28-30 on the initiative of the Central Committee. The first conference took place in Milan in 1957 and the second, also in Milan in 1961. The Central Committee found it necessary to resume and continue the discussion in view of the economic and political changes which imperatively demand a stepping up of Party work among the working class.

As in the case of the previous conferences the aim was to strengthen the factory organizations, verify the orientation and activity of the members in industry, to give a fresh impetus to Party work.

The Genoa conference, which was attended by 563 delegates from 429 factories, was preceded by 550 meetings of members in industry and by hundreds of meetings at branch level. The guidelines for this preparatory work were set forth in the report made by Comrade Amendola, member of the CC Secretariat, to the CC meeting last December.

The meetings brought to light the difficulties that confront the factory organizations and the shortcomings in their work. Although the number of Communists in industry is large (650,000), most are members of territorial organizations, based on place of residence. Factory branches account for only 6.3 per cent of the personnel in factories employing more than 500 workers.

This indicates a lack of understanding or proper appreciation of the role the Party is called upon to play *in the factories*. It reflects and at the same time aggravates the difficulties which confront the *factory organization* in carrying out its functions.

The difficulties are not only of a subjective nature, of course. Opportunities for carrying on discussions, propaganda, organizational activities and other Party work *inside* the enterprises are limited. It is equally difficult to talk with workers and organize meetings *outside* the enterprises—before and after working hours. This is not only because of the shiftwork and overtime, but is also due to the time many workers spend in travelling to and from work. And since the political rights of the workers are not guaranteed, fear of victimization for conducting Party work often

keeps people from joining factory organizations and working actively in them.

However, these difficulties of a practical and political character are not entirely responsible for all the shortcomings. Many of them are the result of a lack of correct guidance and active work, and the Party endeavored to spotlight them and overcome them in the course of the preparations for the Genoa conference, being convinced that despite the objective difficulties it could greatly improve its organization and enhance its initiative in the factories and among the working class generally.

What is needed in the first place is that all members and leading committees should realize the decisive importance of exact knowledge and thorough analysis of the growth of the productive forces and of the relations of production, the changes taking place in the organization of production and labor, the condition of the working class and its problems, the experience of the class struggle and the aspirations and demands of the working people, for shaping the entire policy of the Party and determining its immediate and long-range objectives. The Party organizations, above all those in the cities and provinces, often lacked this awareness of the need for such knowledge and analysis of the complicated factory realities and their relationship to the present-day national economic and political life, the development of capitalism and the political class struggle on a national and world scale. This also explained the insufficient attention paid to the factories by these organizations.

And so at the Genoa conference and in the course of the preparations for it the emphasis was on the importance of keeping abreast of factory life, especially in the present period of a profound crisis and intensive reorganization of the economy and labor relations.

It is also necessary to have a clear idea of how the Party should carry out its leading role in the factory, what initiatives and struggles it should develop in the factory and among the working class generally. In this respect even the recent past was characterized by indecision and confusion. On many occasions the factory branches concentrated solely on supporting trade union struggles. In 1961-62, which

can be regarded as years of the maximum rise of the trade union struggle, it was its magnitude, its objectives and the gains it won that often prompted our members in the factory to devote all their energies to the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, forgetting about the need to enhance the workers' readiness and capacity for political struggle. Indeed, the factory branches had been largely concerned with the difficulties with which the changed economic and political situation confronted the trade union in consolidating the old gains and securing new ones, upholding its bargaining rights and repelling the employers' offensive expressed in intensifying the exploitation in every way and often in mass dismissals.

While it is true that the Party's chief task under all circumstances should be to support the workers' demands and to work actively in the unions, helping to determine the objectives and carry out practical actions in the course of which unity on a progressive platform is achieved, the Party's role in the factory cannot be limited to this alone. It should avoid both the tendency to live in the shade of the trade union and the temptation to supplant or place itself above the union only because of the latter's limitations and difficulties. These difficulties may also partly derive from the existence in a trade union of different trends inspired by parties (the CP, the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, the Socialist Party) which differ politically and in their attitude to parliament. But every effort should be taken to surmount these difficulties through promoting democracy and dialectical unity in the union itself—with due respect for trade union autonomy, which is now an established principle for the Communist Party. The Party should undertake, at factory level and among the working class generally, active work in an area that belongs to it—that of policy and ideology.

"Any kind of class struggle needs now more than ever before an ideology, a critical conscience, which the Party—the result of a historical process, an organization equipped with a revolutionary doctrine—brings in from the outside and introduces into the living experience of the struggle of the workers," Comrade Luciano Barca, head of the Central Committee's department for mass work pointed out at the Genoa conference. In this way the Party also helps intensify the struggle for the demands of the working class. As Comrade Barca noted, such tasks as that of refuting the ideology which our class enemy tries to inculcate among the workers, the shaping of a socialist outlook (especially among the younger workers), and the drawing of working people into the general political struggle waged by the Party demands, on the one hand, that we impart "a more explicit and rigorous class character" to the actions fought by the Party, that in this struggle we "promptly and resolutely assume the working-class point of view

determined by exploitation and by the protest against it, in order to ensure that the working class should be and feel itself the protagonist in every action."

On the other hand, it is necessary "to invest even the most elementary and direct struggle for the workers' immediate demands with the spirit of our entire ideological and political heritage, the wealth of our contacts, our profound realism . . . all our strength and all the passion of fighters in a great movement deeply rooted in the most glorious traditions of culture and struggle in our country, in proletarian internationalism."

In this way we can bring bigger sections of the working class to a better understanding of their interests and of their class role: enhance its militancy in the economic and political spheres inside and outside the factory; step up its activity as the leading force of the growing movement against the aggressive policy of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for a new, peace-loving foreign policy for Italy; invigorate and broaden the struggle for democratic rights in industry, for recognition of the role of the workers' commissions and trade unions in the factory; and for a law against arbitrary dismissals. This struggle should be waged within the framework of the more general battle for the development of the basic forms of democracy in our country.

The present political and economic climate in Italy makes it more imperative for the Communist Party to extend its organized representation and to step up its political and ideological activity among the working class and unite into a single whole the immediate demands of the working class and the intermediate objectives of economic and social renovation, the workers' struggle for their demands and the extensive unitary movements for structural reforms and a new policy for Italy.

Italy's rapid economic growth, often described as the 'economic miracle,' ended in 1963. Confronted with inflationary trends in 1963-64, the government resorted to the classical policy of deflation, of reducing popular consumption and restricting credit to the small and medium enterprises. But the inflationary trends themselves, the growing import of food and other goods, the adverse balance of payments and soaring of retail prices were the result of the disproportionate and slowed-down economic growth in the previous years, of the absence of elements of renovation in agriculture, of the monopolistic structure of industry, of the irrational concentration of industry in certain regions of Northern Italy.

Instead of trying to solve the cardinal problems through structural reforms and state interference capable of changing the trend of economic life, the Center-Left government embarked, as has been pointed out, on a policy of deflation, restricting consumption while at the

same time—and ever more openly—maintaining the rate of profit, promoting capital investment by big capitalist groups and encouraging the new process of monopoly reorganization and concentration.

The growth and the success of the movement for satisfying the workers' demands aggravated, without doubt, the contradictions engendered by the economic boom in 1961-62. This struggle led to a substantial general increase in the wages and helped the trade unions to win bargaining rights also at factory level, which created the basis for constant pressure for higher wages. These successes affected the process of accumulation of capital which had for many years been based on keeping down wages, whose growth lagged far behind the growth of labor productivity, especially in the big monopoly enterprises, and on bigger profits which were partly used for technological modernization but mostly for speculative deals and unproductive consumption. Hence the sharp political reaction of the big capitalist groups and the conservative forces, which in the summer and autumn of 1962 demanded that the Center-Left government check the rising cost of labor, on the one hand, and prevent the nationalization of the power industry from being followed by any other reform, any other restriction of the profits and decision-making rights of the big private concerns, on the other.

This economic and political blackmail revealed the inherent weakness of the amorphous reformist plan underlying the agreement between the Christian Democrats and Socialists and the program of the new government coalition. While "moderate" and conservative forces began to gain the upper hand in this coalition, a split took place in the Socialist Party in January 1963, resulting in the emergence of the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, following which a new crisis developed, with some of the groups that had belonged to the majority assuming positions of criticism and opposition. A number of reforms promised by the government were shelved and a five-year program, alleged to be the first experiment in economic programming in Italy, was drafted instead.

This draft actually amounts to abandonment of the attempt to change the trend of economic development and in large measure acceptance of the big capitalists' thesis that wages should not be allowed to grow faster than "average national productivity" and that an "incomes policy" be pursued based on agreement between the government, the employers' organizations and the trade unions.

But this did not stave off the recession. The marked improvement in the trade balance since the spring of 1964 may prove to be temporary since it is based on a temporary reduction in imports (especially of raw materials and means of production due to slackened industrial activity), and a growth of exports which can be blocked by a change in

the world market situation. As regards rate of industrial growth, in the first three months of 1965 it was 2.6 per cent down compared with the corresponding period for 1964. There is now a certain growth of production, but it is unstable, uneven and not general. For instance, it is barely noticeable in the consumer-goods industry. At the same time, employment is shrinking. According to official data, in the course of 1964 employment dropped by 278,000, including 189,000 in industry.

Here we come to the main question. The big capitalist groups are trying to overcome their difficulties by strengthening their positions in the world market and encouraging domestic demand for certain consumer goods while keeping down wages. They have also been searching for a way out via intensified integration on the international plane, monopoly concentration and stepped-up exploitation of labor. We cannot go into these processes in the present article; we shall single out only the latter circumstance, namely, the general striving for "rationalization" in the big privately-owned enterprises which is always expressed, irrespective of the degree of accompanying technological modernization, in a trend towards maximum speed-up and towards cutting down staff (through dismissals) or maintaining it at the same level (through blocking enrolment) even in those enterprises where production is increasing.

It is this policy of "rationalization" and monopoly reorganization, designed to intensify, in various forms, the exploitation of labor *without any agreements with the trade unions* and thus to undermine bargaining rights, that is the target in the present-day struggle. The struggle presently being waged for higher wages, for jobs, against the employers' offensive which affects all aspects of labor relations and for the right to determine relations by agreement, is of the utmost importance, and the Communist Party should support it in every way.

However, it is equally important to refute the "arguments" accompanying this offensive and designed to win over the workers or help overcome their resistance: that the workers should be "patient" and wait for a comprehensive advance of the economy and even for the return of the tempo of the "economic miracle" before submitting any demands. They are urged to allow the big enterprises and the capitalist system as a whole to "reorganize," not to submit demands that would interfere with the monopolies' efforts to strengthen their "competitiveness" in the world market. They are to accept intensified exploitation and wage restraints if they want to avoid more serious difficulties and greater unemployment. Clearly these are not only spurious and nonsensical arguments, they are also highly dangerous arguments.

These arguments, and the citing of objective difficulties whose weight the working class certainly feels, are nothing but an attempt to

cultivate an ideology of subordination to the system and its needs. For the immediate future this subordination is to be expressed in an attitude of resignation and temporizing and eventually in acceptance of the "incomes policy" as the basis of economic "programming" designed solely to assist the capitalist economy. The "incomes policy," as is known, signifies a substantial restriction of trade union autonomy, rigid containment of wages within the framework of increasing productivity, and development of a system based on the law of maximum profit.

To combat this ideology of subordination, which could strengthen the positions of Social Democracy, the Party should intensify its activities at factory level in defense of the autonomy of the working class. It will succeed if it accompanies this work by point-by-point refutation of the "arguments" advanced by the class enemy and by political forces which (like the leadership of the Socialist Party) thus indicate, in effect, their acceptance of the logic of the capitalist system. The Party will succeed provided a struggle is waged for a new, democratic line of political and economic development opening the way to the reconstruction of Italian society, along socialist lines.

The Party should make a definite contribution to the elaboration of this policy, with a number of social and economic reforms as its objective. This demands, General Secretary Luigi Longo said in his report to the April meeting of the Central Committee, that the Party should make a "great effort to combine in a more vivid and convincing way the objectives of the reform with the most pressing needs of the masses" and, on the other hand, "to establish more boldly and consistently the connection between the reform and the general plan for economic and social development... The main task is to work out a plan for creating and distributing resources capable of realizing the most vital tasks of development and differing from that which can be provided by the forces of the present system." This means joining in the struggle for democratic econo-

mic programming so that the interests of the masses and the collective, which should be satisfied in a democratic way depending on the solution of the cardinal problems of Italian society, would be placed above the interests of the monopoly groups.

One of the chief tasks of Party work in the factory is to determine and demonstrate the close interconnection between the immediate demands of the working class, structural reforms and democratic economic programming, to ascertain and face squarely the general demands of political, economic and social renovation and the concrete aims of reforms stemming from the problems of the struggle of the working class. Above all it is necessary to stress the need for, and establish, on the basis of this line—with the prospect of democratic and social transformation of society—the *political unity* of the working class. Unity of action of working people adhering to different orientations not only in the trade unions, but also in the political spheres, i.e., as regards the objectives of the struggle for a new policy, should be one of the elements of, and a stimulus to, the abolition of the Center-Left government coalition and the formation of a new majority. The political unity of the labor forces of socialist orientation—unity which can be achieved only through a patient and open confrontation of opinions, through common search and experience—is the basis also for the organic unity of the socialist forces for which the Communist Party will work in the future as well. And it is one of the tasks of Party work in the factories to help bring this unity nearer by abandoning all sectarian attitudes towards the Socialist workers, by helping them critically to overcome the experience of the Left-Center and reject the Social Democratic proposals, by creating and carrying forward, jointly with them, the line of national renovation which would provide a positive and legitimate alternative to the policy of the monopoly groups and the conservative forces.

Giorgio NAPOLITANO

Vietnam fights back

(from a French correspondent's notebook)

THE AMERICANS themselves call the war they have been fighting in Vietnam for years a "special" war. And indeed it bears little resemblance to the one the French expeditionary corps waged in 1946-54 and still less to any of the operations of the Second World War. It would be a mistake to try to fit the war in Vietnam into any known pattern. This applies as much to the fighting in South Vietnam as to the U.S. bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Beginning with January of this year I had the opportunity and the privilege rarely afforded a foreign journalist of visiting from month to month the areas in the North bombed by U.S. planes. I was able to observe the escalation at first hand, from the first shelling in January of Kon Ke island and of Don Hoi in February, up to the present almost daily raids on the four provinces south of the Red River delta — Thanh Hoa, Nghe An, Ha Tinh and Quang Binh—and the district of Vinh Linh, or the area known since the war of liberation as the "fourth zone."

These visits left me with impressions which apart from their value as eye-witness testimony perhaps provide the key to a better understanding of this country, of the "special war," and of the heroic struggle of a nation which for the second time in twenty years is pitting its strength against a seemingly all-powerful imperialism, and which for the second time is on the road to victory.

GIRL DEFENDER OF NGHE AN

Pham Thi Thu Luan is twenty. She is newly-married but her husband is far away, a soldier, as are her two brothers. She comes from a peasant family and she works at the Thanh Dong sugar refinery in Nghe An province. It was there that I met her in March, a few days after the factory had been bombed. Like most Vietnamese women, Thu Luan is delicately built, but she carried her heavy equipment—pack, rifle, cartridge belt, plus camouflage net of green laves—with astonishing ease. When

the factory formed its first anti-aircraft unit there weren't enough weapons to go round, and so Thu Luan had to share a rifle with another girl volunteer. After hard training, however, she made the best showing at rifle practice and was given a rifle of her own.

On March 19, the moment the air-raid alarm sounded, Thu Luan grasped her rifle and hurried to her post. I saw her a little later in the trench, her elbow resting on the parapet, her cheek pressed against her rifle butt, waiting for the order to open fire. She was more at her ease then than later when I interviewed her about her battle experience.

Thu Luan is no exception. Nearly all the members of the anti-aircraft unit at this small refinery are young people. They are trained by veterans of the Resistance. Their commander is the chairman of the executive committee of the province. At the first sound of approaching planes he posts his fighters in the trenches cut into the hill and then, from his command post, a lightly camouflaged trench with a field telephone, he contacts the provincial command. The defense of the area is the responsibility of the people's militia, thus relieving the regular army of an important task. Nor is Thanh Dong an exception. There is a self-defense unit of this kind in every district, an armed detachment in every hamlet. My notebook is filled with the names of these unknown heroes and accounts of the valiant fight they are waging. Moreover, I myself often saw them in action and was amazed by their bravery and spirit.

The idea of a peasant armed with a rifle shooting at jet aircraft is apt to evoke sceptical smiles. But this is a mistake, for this aspect of the Vietnam war (combined of course with the use of modern weapons) has a very special significance.

In the first place, the policy of arming the population has defeated one of the principal objects of the bombings, namely, to demoralize the people, to cause terror, panic, a sense of utter helplessness in the face of a superior enemy. The people here are not afraid because

they are not defenseless, they are shooting at the enemy. In this respect alone the people's militia has done much to frustrate the Pentagon's psychological warfare.

Nor should the military value of this type of warfare in the given situation be underestimated. Although supersonic aircraft obviously cannot be fought with rifles (and this is where Soviet aid comes in), the fact is that, strange though it may seem, a jet plane *can* be brought down by rifle fire. I myself saw a part of the engine of a U.S. aircraft, piloted by a man named Shumaker, that had been shot down over Dong Hoi on February 11. It had six holes on an area a few dozen centimeters in diameter, all clearly made by rifle bullets. Of course the chances of a direct hit are slight. The plane must be diving straight at its adversary, he must escape its fire and his hand must be steady. But given these conditions a rifle bullet striking an object approaching at enormous speed acquires an impact powerful enough to damage or explode an aircraft engine. And since there are hundreds of militia fighters in every district firing thousands of rifle bullets, some planes do get shot down. And now that the militia fighters are receiving more automatic rifles and machine guns they are doing a great deal to help the regular anti-aircraft units to keep the enemy at bay.

Moreover, by arming the population vast manpower reserves are obtained without affecting production too much. Militia units have been formed all over the republic. In Hanoi it is a common thing to see groups of young men and women practising grenade throwing or rifle shooting with an earnestness and zeal that show that this is a nation girded for battle. Last but not least, arming the people is the most convincing vote of confidence in the regime and a crushing reply to the American slander against the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

What I saw in Vietnam was a people's army fighting a people's war. This was brought home to me on a visit recently to a bombed village defended mainly by the people's militia. Villagers armed with rifles and machine guns were crowded around a young commander seated on the ground who was giving us an account of the recent action. There were children among the crowd who had come to talk to fathers or elder brothers. Women came bringing baskets of rice. One could see that all the inhabitants had come to the defense of the village. Many problems are solved in this way; help is always available in bringing up ammunition and food, and gun positions can be speedily moved from place to place, thereby nullifying much of the enemy's air reconnaissance. And finally, the morale of men fighting on home ground, with their wives and children nearby, can hardly be compared with that of the U.S. mercenaries in Vietnam who are paid so many dollars per bombing mission.

The consequences of this for the enemy are beginning to tell. It has caused him to think twice before launching on what the Saigon puppets refer to as the "Northern campaign," i.e. the plans to invade the DRV. For who knows how big a force would be needed to break the resistance of an armed people prepared for any sacrifice? And so the United States has had to limit itself to bombing raids against the DRV. But even in the West it is now admitted that the bombing has failed to achieve its purpose. The Americans naively believed that the threat of an air offensive would scare the DRV into agreeing to any compromise. They were badly mistaken. The bombing has intensified the hatred for the aggressors and strengthened the resolve to fight back. As for the danger that the country's resources, especially its new industry built at a cost of tremendous effort, will be destroyed, this is a cause of serious concern to every Vietnamese, yet everyone I spoke to said without hesitation: "Better lose factories than lose our country and our liberty."

The resolve of people like Thu Luan and her comrades has foiled the Pentagon's psychological warfare plans, but even from the purely military standpoint the results of the campaign are far from encouraging for the aggressors.

ON NGHE AN AND THANH HOA ROADS

The roads in the "fourth zone" were certainly not intended for tourists. Beyond the Do Len bridge, 120 km. south of Hanoi, begins the area that has been bombed regularly for some time now. One travels here only at night with headlights blacked out. Even when there is a full moon, the driver has his work cut out weaving his way on the dark road between ox carts, strings of cyclists, or a file of peasants bent under the weight of yokes. On more than one occasion our jeep narrowly escaped colliding with trucks whose drivers, bleary-eyed from long driving in the darkness, had inadvertently moved to the wrong side of the road.

Waiting at the ferry is anything but pleasant, for this is the favorite target of American planes. Frequent stops have to be made to avoid the reconnaissance planes which are constantly snooping about in search of "prey." Suddenly the whole area is illuminated by the blinding lights of enemy flares, a sure sign that the area is about to be bombed. And then the traffic starts moving again, bumping along, maneuvering between old and new craters until the next halt.

But to me the most amazing thing about these roads that have been bombed day and night for months past is that the traffic is heavier than in ordinary times. A continuous stream of lorries, motor cars, carts and pedestrians moves in both directions. Average speed is low, the traffic crawls along at a speed

comparable to that on the roads leading to Paris on Sunday evenings. Nevertheless it is often faster than it was five years ago. Most of the bridges the Americans are trying so hard to destroy have been built since then.

Radio Phnom Penh recently likened the efforts of the U.S. air force to the labors of Penelope, for no sooner do they triumphantly report the destruction of a bridge than it is rebuilt and traffic is resumed, or replaced in a few hours by a ferry (sometimes the one used before the bridge was built), or else the army erects a pontoon bridge, or for a while the route is changed. But the traffic never stops for long.

After six months of ruthless bombing the U.S. air force has failed to win the battle of the roads. For traffic continues, and not only between the four provinces where owing to the economic self-sufficiency of the areas it is comparatively light.

I remember a talk I had one night with a lorry driver. A veteran of Dien Bien Phu, he had been driving an army truck for 16 years. He told me that though the French air force had been much weaker than the American, by concentrating their attacks on a few points, in particular the Tuan Qiao junction, they had inflicted heavy losses on the Vietnamese forces. Yet the transports had passed through regularly and the Vietnamese troops in the Dien Bien Phu area were never short of ammunition or food. Experience showed that transport cannot be paralyzed by air attacks alone (especially in Vietnamese conditions).

The failure of the Americans—for such it is—is confirmation of this. American propaganda has thus been hoisted by its own petard. On the one hand it refuses to admit the failure of the bombings of the roads, and on the other, it continues to insist that the purpose of the bombing is to prevent the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from “supplying the Vietcong.”

BOMBING OF NAM DAN

One of the striking features of this war, to my mind, is the disproportion between the effort exerted by the Americans and the results achieved.

On May 8 I happened to be in the district of Nghe An, five kilometers from a bombed village. For an hour and a half planes came over in waves and, returning, dived over the village of Nam Dan. Seconds later bomb explosions shook the air. At one point I saw one of the planes plummet, trailing a plume of smoke, and a moment later I heard the explosion. The incessant pounding of anti-aircraft fire showed that the area was well defended. Nevertheless it was with grim foreboding that I drove over to the scene some hours later, expecting to find a gruesome scene of devastation. To my surprise I found nothing of the kind. The village buildings were unscathed, even the thinly-camouflaged gun positions were intact. Yet at least 200 bombs

had been dropped. They had fallen on the rice fields, on a couple of hamlets whose inhabitants had taken shelter beforehand, and on the roads. This incident—and it is by no means exceptional—convinced me once again of the relative ineffectiveness of the enemy's operations. A sortie involving dozens of jet aircraft and the dropping of some 200 bombs is a major operation considering the number of men and planes involved, the cost of the operation, not to speak of the losses (several more planes were damaged besides the one I saw shot down); and all for the sake of making craters in fields and destroying a few bamboo huts—hardly a profitable business even for billionaires.

This was the same sort of haphazard bombing I had observed on the roads. Incidentally, it reminded me of the way the Americans bombed France during the Second World War. How many non-combatant districts and towns were needlessly demolished! And here in Vietnam too, where towns are few and far between most of the bombs explode in fields, where naturally they cause casualties among villagers tending the crops. Here, however, as distinct from the bombing tactics employed in Europe, the planes dive low over their targets and hence their accuracy ought to be greater. That it is not, is due to the density of the anti-aircraft fire. In Nam Dan, for example, besides light artillery, the people's militia from seven villages armed with automatic rifles and heavy machine guns, not counting ordinary rifles, took part in the action. It is because of this heavy concentration of fire—and in the case of important objectives it is even greater—that the U.S. raids are relatively so ineffective. In the conditions of this war which (so far at any rate) preclude the massive high-altitude bombing of the last war, the ground defenses can inflict no few losses on the intruder and partly paralyze his actions or at any rate force him to pay a heavy price for negligible results.

True, the bombing is designed to terrorize the population. But there may be another explanation for the vast amount of “blind” bombing. The following incident may shed some light in this respect. On March 19 the Americans bombed industrial buildings in Thanh Dong. The same evening they reported that a Vietcong supply base in the DRV had been destroyed. A few days later I visited the place. The walls of some small factory buildings were clearly visible among the rubble left by 500 bombs. A tall factory chimney was undamaged. Misled by their own propaganda, the U.S. officers who studied the reconnaissance photos showing some relatively large-sized structures had evidently jumped to the conclusion that this was one of the non-existent “supply bases” invented by their official propaganda as a pretext for the U.S. aggression. Whether this was a deliberate lie or a mistake does not alter the magnitude of the crime.

What I witnessed in February convinced me more than ever of the futility of the bombing operations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the criminal nature of these operations.

THE PARAFFIN LAMP

On the economic plane, too, the effect of the bombing is negligible, as I had ample opportunity to observe. In Vinh I visited a handicraft cooperative producing small metal articles mostly by hand. There were bomb shelters in the yard, but work stops only at times of immediate danger, and despite the frequency of the raids working hours have not been reduced. Moreover, there is no danger of work stopping owing to power supply being damaged, since most of the work is done by hand. Despite the adverse conditions productivity has steadily risen; in April it rose by 50 per cent. One of the items the factory turns out is paraffin lamps. With the strict blackout regulations necessitated by the frequent air raids there is a growing demand for these lamps as a substitute for electricity. Paraffin lamps are used in schoolrooms (where lessons are held from 4 to 7 a.m. so as to enable the children to leave before the danger hours), and in markets now open only at night; they take the place of electric light in meeting halls and in people's homes. For most Vietnamese return to the paraffin lamp has entailed no great hardship since electricity is a comparative novelty in these parts. Nevertheless the popularity of these small lamps brings out a characteristic feature of life here. The villagers quickly adapt themselves to the wartime conditions and life is so organized that the bombing does not greatly interfere with the daily rhythm.

It should not be thought, however, that the entire Democratic Republic of Vietnam has remained at the level of the paraffin lamp and handicraft production. Ten years of intensive industrialization has, with the help of the other socialist countries, produced some major industrial establishments, some of them on a high technological level. But south of the Red River delta, i.e., in the region now being bombed, there is not a single large-scale enterprise of any kind. Not that these provinces were regarded as "poor relations" during the socialist construction. Far from it. But being remote from the sources of raw material and power, and being predominantly agricultural, and perhaps also in anticipation of the present developments, efforts were concentrated not on building big enterprises but on developing local crafts and small factories using local agricultural raw materials to satisfy the basic needs of the area. This policy is now paying off in the remarkable self-sufficiency of these regions. Since their economy has remained basically agricultural, each produces all the rice, vegetables and animal products it needs, including fish and pork.

Surplus agricultural produce is processed in the local factories; the factory in Thanh Dong, for instance, makes macaroni and distills spirits out of surplus manioc. In other places factories similar to the one I visited make other vital necessities. These typical features of the economy in these areas give the "fourth zone" a certain "economic immunity" to bombing. The small buildings are hard to detect and are too insignificant to serve as bomb targets. Direct hits in the immediate vicinity do not interfere with production, which goes on under all circumstances. Here again the advantage in these conditions of small-scale "self-sufficient" economy makes itself felt. Damage to transport does not greatly affect it, and a delay of several days is no great calamity. Thanks to the favorable weather conditions agricultural output this year showed a considerable increase over last year. Reading the farm reports, it is hard to believe there is a war on, for nothing appears to have changed. Peasants brought in the rice crop with rifles slung over their shoulders in readiness for a raid. The Americans have certainly lost the economic battle, one of their trumps, because the Washington "experts" failed to grasp the specific nature of the economic problem in these areas.

I do not think it would be any exaggeration, therefore, to say that this phase of the aggression has been a failure. The tone of some of Johnson's recent statements is a tacit admission of this fact.

And indeed if we examine the results to date what do we find? True, there are demolished bridges, damaged highways and wrecked buildings, including many schools and hospitals. But what does it all add up to? The inaccuracy of the bombing makes the destruction of the targets extremely costly, and sometimes indeed problematic, considering the speed with which the damage is repaired. What object have the Americans been pursuing? To interfere with transport? To prevent supplies from reaching the Vietcong? But traffic on the roads has not ceased, nor has it been hampered to any great extent. The decisive factor, then, can only be the reaction of the population. Had the inhabitants of the "fourth zone" been intimidated or demoralized by the bombing, the United States might have chalked up a significant victory. But one must have a very scant knowledge of the mentality and history of the Vietnamese people to imagine that they could ever be bludgeoned into submission. The USA, confident of its technical superiority, cannot understand how a relatively small nation could have the temerity to fight back. They do not realize that the entire history of this nation is a record of unequal struggle against powerful enemies, and that it is precisely from the paradox of the victories won in their long battle for national independence that they draw their courage and confidence. During French colonial rule a traitor who served the invaders, Hoang Cao Khai,

a forerunner of the Diems and Quats, wrote to a leader of the national struggle, the patriot Phan Dinh Phung, advising him to surrender in view of the obvious military superiority of the French. Phan Dinh Phung replied: "How many times did the Han, Tang, Sun, Yuan and Ming dynasties try to conquer our land and turn it into a Chinese province. Yet they failed. Compare them to us: their country is next door to ours, their forces are incomparably greater than ours, yet in the end they were not powerful enough to break us." After more than eight centuries of resisting successive Chinese dynasties, the Vietnamese people were able to smash the French colonial forces and win the battle of Dien Bien Phu. The Americans imagined that a few bombing raids would be enough to bring these people to their knees. Like all aggressors, from Napoleon to Hitler, their failure to reckon with the human element is upsetting their carefully laid plans, as they are now perhaps beginning to realize. Scattering leaflets urging the population to turn against their government in areas that were the cradle of the Vietnamese revolution is one of the stupidest blunders the "psychological war" experts have ever made. Thus, on the psychological plane the failure of the U.S. bombings of the DRV is even greater than their attempts to cripple the transport arteries and the economy.

THE DO LEN BRIDGE

Will this failure deter the Americans or will they persist in carrying on the war? This is the question one asks oneself as one crosses the Do Len bridge, 120 km. south of Hanoi, which actually marks the border of the danger zone. As recently as May, cars switched on their headlights as soon as they crossed the bridge, for there was no longer any need to watch out for enemy flares and they were entering a relatively peaceful zone. Later on, the bombing was extended to this perimeter. Early in June the raids were carried further inland, but there has been no daily bombing of new areas. This temporary stabilization is obviously prompted, either geographically or in any other respect, by reason or benevolence on the part of the aggressor; on the contrary, the attacks have been more than usually ruthless of late. Evidently there are good military reasons for this policy. Bombing of the Red River delta, within a hundred kilometers of Hanoi, would be a tough military problem for the aggressor. It is no secret that this area is much more heavily defended than the "fourth zone," and attacking it would involve still bigger forces with the risk of much heavier losses. Do the Americans want this, and can they do it? To what purpose? They ought to know by now that no amount of bombing can force the DRV Government and the people to surrender. There is also the political aspect to be considered. Continuation of the war in South Vietnam, the aggression

against the North and the recent invasion of the Dominican Republic have isolated the United States to a considerable degree. Can the United States really afford to ignore world public opinion?

A major obstacle to the extension of the war are the warnings issued by the socialist camp, and especially the restrained but firm statements of the Soviet Union. Escalation of the war, which has been U.S. policy for a long time, and especially since last February, is becoming less and less feasible.

That explains why the bombing was not extended much beyond the Lo Den bridge perimeter at that time. On the other hand, in view of the political situation and the peculiar nature of the war in Vietnam, as well as U.S. commitments on a world scale, it is not easy for the United States to exceed the present bounds of warfare and make fuller use of its military resources. This is clearly evident in South Vietnam where the substantial increase in the American forces has failed to alter the situation or to prevent the reverses suffered by the U.S. puppets.

These boundaries, however, are extremely precarious, and so far the "wild men" in the Pentagon have managed to induce the White House to carry out their plans. It would therefore be a grave mistake if world opinion were to grow accustomed to the war in Vietnam, as something happening at the other side of the globe and not affecting anyone directly. For in reality this war is more than ever our war, and the restoration of peace as well as the defeat of the United States depends in no small measure on the action of world public opinion.

THIS WAR IS OUR CONCERN

There is not a person in the world today who is not affected in one way or another by the war in Vietnam. There is not a single forward-looking man or woman who does not regard this war as something that concerns him vitally.

No one can remain indifferent to the horrors that are being perpetrated in Vietnam.

It is not true that the Americans bomb only military objectives. I myself saw and photographed the hospital in Dong Hoi wrecked by rockets, the school in Vinh Linh demolished when 50 large-calibre bombs fell in the immediate vicinity, another school in Dong Hoi hit by several bombs dropped at random. And all this since February. I saw a Catholic church destroyed by the blast caused by bombs dropped on Quynh Tam, a tiny hamlet far from the highway whose inhabitants could not understand by what tragic error or what act of savagery they had been singled out for attack. On the road to Nam Dan I saw the ruins of two pagodas, in one the walls had collapsed, but the gilt statues remained intact as if in mute witness to the violence. The entire road from Vinh Linh to Thanh Hoa is stamped on

my memory by the sigh of the stricken faces of men and women as they told of the murder of their children. In February a woman in Vinh Linh told me she had fled from the South with her 16-year old daughter because she did not want the girl to live under the corrupt regime and hoped to enable her to get an education. The girl was one of the first victims of the U.S. bombing of the DRV. Or the man, who, his face distorted with grief, told of his daughter burned to death in April by napalm. Four children were killed within seconds that day in the same village. In Quynh Tam an entire family — father, mother and two children — were killed. When the bombing started, they sought refuge in a shelter, but when their house caught fire, the father rushed out of the shelter in the vain hope of retrieving the family's meagre possessions. He had hardly taken a step before a bomb splinter hit him. Hearing his cries, his wife, carrying a six-month old infant and another three-year-old child clinging to her skirts, rushed to help him. At that moment the plane dived and machine-gunned the woman and the two children. This story was told to me by the Catholic priest of the village. And how many similar atrocities could be cited!

These horrors must not be allowed to continue. Anyone with a spark of human feeling cannot but consider himself bound to do all in his power to put an end to the carnage. Moreover, the Vietnamese people who are fighting for freedom are in the front line of the struggle against imperialism, and hence their struggle is the concern of all anti-imperialist forces everywhere, of all progressives. To appreciate the implications of this one has only to imagine the consequences of an American victory in Vietnam. It would mean the enslavement of the peoples of Indochina and all of Southeast Asia, intensified repressions against the national-liberation movements in Latin America and Africa, and heightened tension in Europe as well.

And, lastly, the war in Vietnam is the vital concern of each and all of us because American aggression is a threat to world peace.

The leaders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are well aware of this aspect of their national drama. The Vietnamese leaders do not want their country to be the arena of a major international conflict. Hence the people are courageously standing their ground against the U.S. military power. In doing so they are saving their country from even greater misfortune and rendering an inestimable service to world peace. The existence of the socialist camp, and particularly the help rendered by the Soviet Union, is a source of strength to the DRV, as the latter has repeatedly stated. Hence U.S. aggression against the DRV could bring the U.S. imperialists into conflict with the socialist world. To maintain with any certainty, as some people do, that the United States will not take any irremediable action is

to forget the aggressive nature of imperialism. In reality the war in Vietnam is fraught with the danger of a world conflict. It is useless to deny this, it is better to recognize it in order to take effective action. The first obstacle to the spread of the conflict is the success of the South Vietnamese fighters under the leadership of the National Liberation Front. Their victories weaken the U.S. positions in Indochina and make it more difficult to extend the aggression. Since attack on the DRV virtually marks the brink of a world conflict, the key role is still played by the hostilities in the South. Similarly, the reverses in the "fourth zone" are a stumbling block to action against the Red River delta. All this makes the realization of whatever plans there may be for aggression on a broader scale against the socialist camp extremely questionable. This follows also from the Soviet Union's statement that its aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was determined by the need to protect the entire socialist camp. This aid is the principal guarantee against the aggressive designs of the Pentagon. It is obvious that the situation would present quite a different picture were U.S. imperialism not constantly aware of the might of the Soviet Union, which is the principal factor preventing the Americans, despite their defeats, from overstepping the bounds of their "special" war, a war, moreover, which they are losing.

And lastly, there is the factor of world public opinion. Future American policy will be determined increasingly by the degree of the United States' isolation. Should the U.S. succeed in winning sufficient support for its present policy, it will endeavor to extend the conflict, to compensate for its current failure, and world peace will be imperilled. If, on the contrary, it is isolated and pilloried by public opinion it will be forced to recognize the need for negotiations on a realistic basis, i.e., on the basis defined by Pham Van Dong in his report to the National Assembly. For one thing, the United States will have to realize that it cannot impose its conditions on the DRV and that it will have to talk to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, which it has so far ignored — except on the battlefield, where its existence can hardly be denied. Public pressure in every country to prevent governments from giving support to the United States, to compel them to insist on talks on the realistic terms outlined by the DRV and to disavow or break relations with the puppet regime in Saigon — political action of this kind would be a genuine contribution to the struggle in Vietnam and to the cause of peace.

Until now the "wild men" in the Pentagon have had their way. But their designs, fraught with the danger of a nuclear holocaust, must be frustrated; and the balance of world forces is sufficient to force them to come to their senses, provided the forces of peace display

the necessary vigilance. Often as I viewed the destruction caused by the American bombing in the DRV I found myself thinking how time-

ly even today is the warning uttered by Julius Fucik: "People, be on your guard!"

Michel VINCENT

Mr. Wilson's dilemma

(London letter)

WHEN, FOLLOWING ON the death of Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Mr. Harold Wilson was elected leader of the Labor Party, the left wing of the movement was overjoyed. It was, they said, the first real victory the left had won for many years. At that time it was indeed seen as a progressive step, since the extreme right-winger, George Brown, who was also standing for the leadership, had been defeated.

But the rejoicing did not last too long. Uneasy feelings began to stir especially when Mr. Wilson made his position clear. It had been a mistake to call him left, he said. He had never been opposed to Gaitskell's policies, his opposition to Gaitskell was over his tactics which were splitting the Labor movement from head to foot, for a divided movement could never be victorious.

The left wing found excuses for Wilson. He had to say such things since he was a "prisoner of the right." Gaitskell had packed the Executive Committee with right-wingers which meant that Wilson had no freedom of action. Once he was free of the right wing, however, once he was Prime Minister and could formulate his own policy, then the true Socialist would emerge. The movement had not too long to wait to see if this would happen.

Wilson has been Prime Minister since October 1964, but under his leadership there has been no attempt made to start making inroads into capitalism, to start a fundamental reshaping of society.

It is true that a number of reforms have been planned. They concern the arts, culture, science, housing, pensions. These, however, are all things which a bourgeois government might undertake and introduce. But as far as introducing proposals which might have the effect of changing the social order, nothing has been done.

Take two key tests: the development and growth of the public sector as against the private sector, and the attitude of the government towards the capitalist sector. Mr. Brown, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Callaghan,

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Jay, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Prime Minister himself, have all gone out of their way to reassure the bankers and businessmen that the Labor Government does not intend to change anything fundamental, that it merely intends to make capitalism work better and smoother than under the Tories. Mr. Brown, both when addressing Parliament and leading businessmen, has told the capitalist class that they have more hope of making progress and money under a Labor Government than they had before. He told them that he believed in profits as one of the motivating forces in the economy.

FOREIGN POLICY

As far as foreign policy is concerned, Mr. Wilson has gone back on the pledges he gave during the election campaign, when he spoke out in support of a modified version of the Rapacki Plan; a neutral Central Europe; the de facto recognition of the GDR; for the Oder-Neisse border; a reduction of the arms burden; a drive for disarmament; and the prevention of Germany, either directly or indirectly, having a finger on the nuclear trigger.

In December 1964, Wilson told a conference of the Labor Party that now Britain had a government ready and able to take initiatives for peace.

Where does Wilson stand on these issues now? There has been an increase in arms expenditure to £2,120 million, the highest figure in the history of Britain. One hundred and twenty three million pounds higher than that reached by the Tory government.

In international affairs Wilson and his Cabinet have just about as much freedom as a convict in chains. Britain's dollar serfdom is turning into a political serfdom.

A result of this, and to Labor supporters an extremely painful result, is the craven support for the American war of aggression in Vietnam. After a public gathering in Oxford in June

on the Vietnam situation, with Foreign Minister Stewart and the American Cabot Lodge among the speakers, the U.S. Press noted with delight that Stewart put up a much better defense for the American aggression than Lodge had done.

Wilson, who is quite an astute politician, tried to use the recent Commonwealth conference in London for a vote-catching publicity stunt, by suggesting, with State Department backing, a Commonwealth peace mission. But why go to Hanoi or to Moscow when the whole world knows, and none better than Wilson, that neither Hanoi nor Moscow has anything to do with the aggression in Vietnam. He knows only too well that the bombers, the bombs, the napalm, the poisonous substances, the "advisers," the marines and the million dollars spent every day on killing Vietnam peasants — all hail from the United States.

Wilson hopes that his support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic as well as in other parts of the world will secure him U.S. support of his "East of Suez" policy designed to defend the rubber, tin, oil and other British investments interests in the Far and Middle East and especially British policy in Malaysia.

Wilson has poured tens of thousands of troops into these areas, cutting out any hope of the arms burden being reduced. "Britain has more soldiers in Southeast Asia today than any other non-Asian power, more than we ever had there in peace-time in all our days as colonial ruler . . ." said Wilson when he opened the 10th meeting of the SEATO Council in London.

Wilson has contracted out of his pre-election pledges to resist nuclear proliferation. While continuing to oppose the MLF, he has proposed an Atlantic Nuclear Force, which goes a long way to meet West Germany's nuclear ambitions.

Millions who voted Labor because they wanted peace and social progress are beginning to lose heart. Small wonder that demonstrations against the government's foreign policy have begun. The recent local government elections showed a decline in Labor influence. Many voters abstained.

They could not bring themselves to vote Tory, but neither could they agree with Labor policy. They knew that while their abstention would not seriously harm the Labor Government, the consequent result would act as a stern warning to the government that all was not well, that discontent with its policy was growing.

Many trade unions passed resolutions at their conferences criticizing the government's home and foreign policies. The South Wales Miners opposed both the "incomes policy" and the government's foreign policy, particularly its support of the United States' actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. So did the 230 delegates representing 40,000 trade unionists organized in the Association of Super-

visory Staffs, Executives and Technicians. By a ten to one majority the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, a major union representing 350,000 workers, passed a resolution at its annual conference urging the government to press for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam. This resolution was passed in the presence of the Minister of State from the Foreign Office, Mr. Walter Padley, a former president of the Union.

These resolutions underlined the incident which had taken place earlier, at the Labor Rally in Hyde Park on May Day, when, amidst loud cries of "Hands off Vietnam," "Traitor," and "You're in the pocket of the Yankees," Mr. Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, was forced to resume his seat, amidst the triumphant singing of "The Red Flag." The masses would not let him continue his speech in which he was trying to vindicate government policy.

On June 30 thousands of trade unionists, rank and file Labor people, Communists and peace supporters generally, travelled from all over Britain to the House of Commons to tell their Parliamentary representatives and the Government of the need for immediate action to stop the American aggression.

The Parliamentary Labor Party, in which there are many pro-Wilson supporters, is also showing signs of grave disquiet. At a recent meeting of the Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee of the Parliament Labor Party Mr. Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, could find only one supporter for the government's Vietnam policy. He received rough handling from his audience who refused to accept his attitude of "my ally (the U.S.) right or wong." Members criticized the government for having failed to do anything to reverse the steady erosion of Britain's independence in foreign affairs which had been started by the Tories, for policies which bound Britain hand and foot. There were still further criticisms over Wilson's speech to SEATO.

Wilson, who stood so firmly for unity in the past, is now, by his policy, endangering unity in the Labor movement. He seems to be following in the footsteps of the Attlee Government which, it will be recalled, did so much harm to Labor prestige through his pro-capitalist policy and his calling on the working people to make the sacrifices while millions were squandered on an "independent" British nuclear weapon, and in taking part in war against the people of Korea and Malaya.

STEEL NATIONALIZATION

The fears and suspicions of Wilson's policy came to a head over the question of the re-nationalization of the steel industry. The basic class feeling which had been so strongly roused over the late Mr. Gaitskell's attempts to abolish the nationalization clause (Clause 4) from the constitution of the Labor Party came to the surface.

Nationalization has long been one of the

basic demands of the organized Labor movement, particularly of the trade unions. This demand is emblazoned in many a trade union's constitution, it has been so for over a century. Do what they might, the right wing has never succeeded in eliminating or eradicating this basic demand from the hearts of the masses who see in it the basis for a socialist society. This can be seen by the many resolutions demanding full nationalization of the basic industries which regularly appear at the annual conferences of individual trade unions and at the Trades Union Congresses.

It was with this knowledge and remembering the storm created by Gaitskell when he proposed to scrap Clause 4 that Wilson included the re-nationalization of the steel industry in Labor's election program, and it greatly helped Labor to get elected. But there was also a theoretical reason why Wilson included it.

When he spoke at the 1963 Labor Party Conference, Wilson outlined a plan for a reorganized, scientifically-orientated, automated Britain, based on a planned economy. But any proposal to plan, even in the Labor sense, Britain's industrial economy is meaningless without the public ownership of steel. It is one of the commanding heights of Britain's economy.

Steel, the indispensable basis for all British industrial production, is in the hands of the most reactionary group of capitalists in Britain. The steel monopoly, said Michael Foot, a leading left-wing member of Parliament, during the debate on steel nationalization, is "the toughest, bitterest, most vengeful vested interest in the country." It spends more on anti-nationalization propaganda than even the Tory Party itself. The steel masters would deliberately ruin any attempt by the Labor government to plan production.

But Wilson does not want to engage in a fight with the steel masters over nationalization. He wants to buy them over as did Attlee before him. He wants, firstly, to pay the highest possible compensation for steel shares and, secondly, to nationalize steel in such a way that it would not be a weakening of the capitalist economy. Because of this the proposals for steel nationalization, whilst much is welcome, reveal a number of weaknesses.

The White Paper on Steel Nationalization proposes to take over 14 of the largest steel firms who between them are responsible for 90 per cent of the industry's output. The rest is to remain in the hands of private enterprise. This is in line with right-wing Labor's theory that Socialism should not abolish the whole of the private sector because competition between the public and the private sectors would bring the best results to the economy.

The compensation offered, with its gift of £120 million above market value for the shares, was so lavish that steel shares soared, only to sink again when rumors spread that steel might not be nationalized after all.

As far as the big monopolists were concerned, the threat to nationalize steel was a

challenge. Steel nationalization has long been the central background of a hard fight, and now it had become the immediate central issue between Labor and the monopolists.

On the eve of the Parliamentary debate on the steel nationalization proposals two Labor right-wingers, Wyatt and Donnelly, threatened to vote against their own government and defeat it if it proceeded with the nationalization of steel. This "revolt" enabled Wilson and Brown to attempt a maneuver.

The steel nationalization proposals were debated in a very tense atmosphere since it was alleged that no one knew which way the two right-wingers would vote. It was said that they held the fate of the Labor government in their hands. Because of this George Brown, when he was finishing his speech, "spontaneously" assured his hearers that this was not the final word, that the Labor Government would "listen" to any further proposals which the steel masters might make. With this assurance both "rebels" voted for the government.

But the storm in the Labor Party that this roused was so severe that Wilson was forced more or less to repudiate Mr. Brown's statement and to make an affirmation to the Parliamentary Labor Party and to the Labor movement that the government would adhere strictly to the full measure of nationalization, which in this context meant the 100 per cent acquisition of shares of the 14 firms proposed in the White Paper and not the compromise of less than 100 per cent share ownership suggested by Brown at the close of the debate in Parliament.

It is now seen that this "spontaneous" offer of Mr. Brown had been discussed beforehand with the two "rebels," and that it was nothing more or less than a serious try-out by Wilson and Brown to feel for the possibility of some compromise with the steel masters which might free the Labor government from the burden of having to carry through steel nationalization against the opposition of the big monopolists.

Whilst it is true that there are a number of positive aspects in the white Paper on Steel Nationalization, such as the proposals which will make de-nationalization impossible, nevertheless there is much that is suspect. It is necessary to focus attention on such issues as ensuring that the Board controlling the steel industry is not dominated by elements who will be primarily concerned with the interests of big business. There must also be a firm refusal to allow a return to the type of "workers' consultation" in which the trade unions are informed of decisions *after* they have been taken.

Although there have been the strongest criticisms over the way the 1945-51 Labor Government nationalized the gas, electric, mining and railway industries, Wilson, according to the proposals in the White Paper, intends to repeat these methods.

When dealing with the role, function and

duties of the proposed Steel Corporation, the proposals contained in the White Paper are virtually unchanged from those set out for the coal-mining industry and the railways when they were nationalized. The White Book repeats Attlee's "mistake" by offering over-generous terms of compensation and re-emphasizing the "incomes policy." In the words of a Labor M.P., the government is "mollycoddling the rentier at the expense of the worker."

Ironically enough, at the very moment when F. Lee, the Minister for Power, was explaining away the very generous terms offered in the White Paper to the owners of steel shares, Mr. George Brown was busy in a hall only 50 yards away, explaining to the leaders of the Trades Union Congress why it was absolutely essential for the "good of Britain" and for "social justice" for the workers to accept an "incomes policy" and to hold back on wage demands.

But while some union leaders may vote for Brown's "incomes policy," the workers will reject it. The Scottish TUC demands that it should not apply to Scotland. Even those unions that voted support for Brown's "incomes policy" reserved the right to make wage claims of over and above the 3½ per cent maximum. Brown's own union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, has created a political sensation by refusing to endorse the "incomes policy," which was "negative and unworkable," according to H. Nicholas, the acting General Secretary of the Union.

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The result of the local elections must give every genuine progressive and Socialist pause for thought. Unless the Government is forced to change its policies, especially its foreign policy, the Labor movement may suffer a setback similar to that which followed the six

years of the Attlee Government, a setback which resulted in 13 years of Tory rule.

It is for this reason that the Communist Party is fighting hard against the reactionary aspects of Wilson's policies whilst supporting all that is progressive in his program. The CP wants the Labor Government to succeed and to carry out its leaders' election pledges to the British people.

There is a radical solution to Britain's problems, says the Communist Party. Such a solution calls for an end to the colonial wars, the elimination of military spending abroad, and the control of the export of capital, as the main immediate way of tackling the payments crisis without having to borrow abroad. This would enable Wilson to put an end to the dependence on the "Zurich gnomes" and the American financiers — that is, if he wants to free himself from them.

Further to this, every possible step should be taken by the Labor Government to try to bring an end to the cold war and to replace this with a policy of peaceful coexistence. This would cut military expenditure by £1,000 million a year and enable the government to build the much-needed schools, universities, homes and hospitals.

A far-reaching capital gains tax and a wealth tax would cut heavily into the socially wealthy and provide still more money for improving Britain's social services.

Instead of hedging about steel nationalization, there should be a big extension of nationalization and state control. The "incomes policy" should be replaced by one of steadily advancing wages and shorter hours if the economy is to go forward in a systematic way and social justice is to be won.

Only in this way can the Labor movement advance.

H. FAGAN

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Only in this way can the Labor movement advance.

H. FAGAN

Curb the aggressors, safeguard peace

FROM JULY 10 to 15 Helsinki was host to the World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament. The most representative peace forum since the inception of the peace movement, the Congress was attended by 1,470 delegates from 98 countries and from 17 international organizations. For six days, delegates discussed international issues in an atmosphere of sharp and candid debate.

Speakers from many countries expressed the desire to reinforce the peace movement and to repel those who in the guise of pseudo-revolutionary slogans hamper the fight for peace, virtually playing into the hands of the imperialists.

The general conclusion was to concentrate on stopping imperialist aggression and on eliminating the threat of world nuclear disaster.

The peace movement, which came into being some seventeen years ago when it held its first congress in Wroclaw, has grown into a really worldwide movement. It comprises people of different occupations, different political and religious convictions, and different classes and social strata. But all are united by the desire to safeguard peace.

The Congress brought together citizens of socialist and capitalist countries, workers and peasants, members of the bourgeoisie and intellectuals, Christians, Moslems, Communists, and members of bourgeois parties. Their ideological differences were often great indeed. Even the concepts of peace and aggression were interpreted differently. So were the international situation and the responsibility of certain quarters for the arms drive and the policy of aggression. But then participation in the peace movement by no means implies a common world outlook.

The Congress met in an international climate that has gravely deteriorated. Probably never since the Cuban crisis has the world been as close to the brink as it is today. The forces of reaction, led by the U.S. imperialists, have become particularly active.

In defiance of international law, the U.S. im-

perialists are interfering in the internal affairs of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, using the Big Stick in an effort to impose their will. The aggression in Southeast Asia, continuing acts of provocation against Cuba, interference in the Congo, predatory raids on Laos, and naked intervention in the Dominican Republic are all components of their policy.

We are now confronted with the greatest threat to peace in recent years. Events again bear out what the 1960 Statement of the world Communist conference said about the United States being the bulwark of colonialism. It was only natural, therefore, that the U.S. aggression in Vietnam should be the chief topic of the Congress. Solidarity with the Vietnamese people, who are courageously resisting the imperialist aggressor, contributes to the fight for peace by drawing into it more and more people.

"The Congress considers," says the resolution on Vietnam, approved by the overwhelming majority of the delegates, "that the sacred and primary duty of the peace forces throughout the world is to coordinate all their actions, to contribute as effectively as possible to stopping the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, and to stamp out a hotbed of war that is the most dangerous in the world today."

The general deterioration of the international situation, and the grave danger of nuclear war may suggest that the peace movement is weak and cannot really counteract the policy of arms race and imperialist aggression. To be sure, the peace movement has its weak points. One of them is the somewhat diffused character of the peace fighters' efforts, their lack of unity. It will take much effort to remedy this. Nevertheless, the peace movement is an important factor in foiling the designs of the aggressors.

Let us turn to the recent past for an example. During the Korean war the United States contrived to "internationalize" the conflict by mustering not a few allies under the U.N. flag.

Today the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia is resented by people everywhere, including large segments of the population in the United States. Mass movements of solidarity with

Vietnam and for peace are gathering momentum. They are not confined to meetings and demonstrations. Those who take part in them are beginning to boycott the loading and transport of U.S. arms and other war supplies and call for volunteers to fight on the side of the Vietnamese. This is isolating the United States, and affecting the course of world events. The major powers of Western Europe are careful not to become directly involved in the Pentagon's gamble in Indochina, and some of them want to see an end to the U.S. war in Vietnam. This provides the peace movement with new opportunities and holds out a new promise.

The issue of peaceful coexistence is closely associated with the fight for peace. Unfortunately, the principle of peaceful coexistence is grossly violated as a result of U.S. aggression. By openly interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, Washington may be said to have rejected peaceful coexistence, inasmuch as non-interference is a prime condition of peaceful coexistence.

Needless to say, the principle of peaceful coexistence does not apply to the Great Powers alone. It is valid for every country, including the smallest countries. Every country of the world has an equal right to have its sovereignty and territorial integrity respected.

The peace movement has gained considerable experience. It has devised various forms of activity depending on conditions and aims. Numerous national organizations are working for peace and peaceful coexistence and are opposing nuclear weapons and the arms race. Many of them have set themselves national tasks, such as the removal of foreign military bases. At the same time they are aware of the general problem of maintaining peace and accept the peace supporters' chief watchword: "Prevent nuclear war!"

This was reflected in the general statement of the Helsinki Congress. "The present world situation," the statement says, "makes a ban on nuclear weapons, their destruction, and the preclusion of their use increasingly necessary and urgent. Every nuclear power should for-

mally declare that to stave off the danger of nuclear war, which threatens every single country, it will never use atomic arms first. The proposal for a world conference of heads of state and government on this question should be supported."

As matters stand today, the peace champions can join efforts through specific collective actions by the most diverse political forces against the imperialist aggressors. Experience has shown that the fight for peace is most successful when linked with pressing issues (take, for example, the success of the Stockholm Appeal). Today such issues are outstanding in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and the Congo. To repel the imperialist aggressors in those areas, to organize and direct mass movements in support of the peoples upholding their national freedom, means fighting for peace in the broadest sense. There are objective conditions now for unifying the different trends in the struggle for peace. This is the task of the day.

The peace movement has always been under attack from various quarters. The enemies of peace have been trying to render it ineffective, to nullify its impact. Imperialist propaganda has long peddled the lie that the peace movement is organized and directed by Communists and is, in effect, an instrument of the world Communist movement.

The Communists have never tried to monopolize the fight for peace. However, they have no intention of denying their contribution to the launching of the movement.

To fight for peace today means unflaggingly exposing the imperialist policy of aggression, rallying all the peace-loving, anti-imperialist forces, improving their organization, encouraging their activity and drawing the mass of the people into the peace movement. The only way in which the peoples can end the arms race and stop the drift to a new world war is to act. United action can triumph over the forces making for war.

M. KREMNYOV

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Latin America yesterday and today

Chronology of political struggle (1951-1965)

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Political parties in Latin America

SUPPLEMENT TO No. 8, 1965



Chronology of political struggle

1 9 5 1

In the course of the year 2,500,000 workers were on strike.

1 9 5 2

- March 10** Reactionary coup in **Cuba**. Batista dictatorship established.
- April 9-11** **Popular uprising in Bolivia** overthrows pro-imperialist dictatorship of the landlords and big mine-owners. Beginning of the Bolivian revolution.
- June** An agrarian reform law aimed against the local latifundists and the United Fruit Company is adopted in **Guatemala**.
- September** Wave of repressions against the working-class and democratic movement in **El Salvador**.
- November 30** Jovito Villalba, the democratic candidate, wins presidential election in **Venezuela**.
- December 4** Forty-eight-hour general strike in **Venezuela** against annulment of the election results by the Perez Jimenez clique.
- 1952-1953** Wide-scale guerrilla movement in Colombia.

In the course of the year 4,500,000 workers were on strike in Latin America.

1 9 5 3

- February** United Workers' Trade Union Center founded in **Chile**.
- May** The People's Progressive Party wins in the elections in **British Guiana**. Its leader, Cheddi Jagan, becomes Prime Minister.
- June 13** Military coup in **Colombia** installs dictatorship of Rojas Pinilla.
- July 26** **A group of young patriots headed by Fidel Castro attacks the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba.**
- October** The British Government suspends the constitution in **British Guiana**. British troops are brought in.
Petrobras (National Petroleum Corporation) established in **Brazil**.
- November** Communist activity banned in **Cuba**.

In the course of the year 5,600,000 workers were on strike throughout Latin America.

1 9 5 4

- March** Tenth Inter-American Conference in **Caracas** adopts resolution giving the USA the right to take any action, including armed intervention, against the "threat of communism."
- May** Military coup in **Paraguay**. Stroessner dictatorship established.

LATIN AMERICA 1962-1965



- May 17** General strike in **Chile** to demand abolition of the reactionary "defense of democracy" law.
- June 17-27** U.S. armed forces intervene in **Guatemala**. The revolutionary government of Arbenz is overthrown. The popular anti-imperialist revolution (1944-54) is suppressed.
- August 24-26** The reactionary military supported by the USA overthrow the Vargas government in **Brazil**.
- October** As a result of mass strikes, labor legislation is introduced and trade unions permitted in **Honduras**.

In the course of the year 7,400,000 workers were on strike throughout Latin America.

1 9 5 5

- June 16** Military putsch against the Peron government in **Argentina**.
- July 7** General strike of 1,200,000 workers in **Chile** demands repeal of anti-labor laws.
- September 15** The Peron government is overthrown by the military in **Argentina**.
- October** Juscelino Kubitschek, the candidate of the Social Democratic and Labor Party, supported by the Communist Party, is elected President in **Brazil**.
- November** Abortive reactionary coup in **Brazil**.
- 1955-1957** A new upsurge in the guerrilla movement in **Colombia**.

In the course of the year 9,100,000 workers were on strike throughout Latin America.

1 9 5 6

- February** Popular Action Front is established in **Chile**.
- April** The tenth Congress of the Communist Party of **Chile** convenes clandestinely.
Anti-communist drive by the Aramburu government in **Argentina**. A mass protest movement compels the government to release the arrested Communist leaders.
- June** The military dictatorship of **Odria** in **Peru**, in power since 1948, falls.
- October** A students' strike and uprising against the pro-American government of President Lozano Dias in **Honduras**.
- December 2** The "Granma" expedition lands in **Oriente** province, **Cuba**. Beginning of the armed struggle of the Cuban people against the Batista dictatorship.
- End of year** Nationalist Parliamentary Front established in **Brazil**.

In the course of the year 9,700,000 workers were on strike throughout Latin America.

1 9 5 7

- March 13** Armed attack by the Revolutionary Directorate group on the presidential palace in Havana, **Cuba**.
- May 8-10** General strike in **Colombia**. The reactionary Rojas Pinilla dictatorship is overthrown.
- July 26** Assassination of **Guatemalan** dictator Castillo Armas.
- August** General political strike in **Cuba**, sparked off by the assassination of Frank Paiz, a leader of the July 26 Movement.
General election in **British Guiana** is won by the Peoples' Progressive Party.
- October** Mass anti-government demonstrations of working people and students in **Guatemala**. The Left Socialist groups in **Chile** unite in the Socialist Party.

In the course of the year between 8 and 9 million workers were on strike throughout Latin America.

1 9 5 8

- January 21-23** General strike and armed uprising in Venezuela. The Perez Jimenez dictatorship is overthrown.
- February** Arturo Frondizi (Intransigent Civil Radical Union), candidate of the progressive bloc supported by the Communists, is elected president in **Argentina**.
- Early 1958** Strike wave in **Mexico** for wage increases.
- March** First national trade union conference is held in **Brazil**.
- April 9** July 26 Movement takes armed action in Havana, **Cuba**. An attempt to organize a general strike is made.
- April-May** Anti-U.S. protest actions by the working people in the **Latin American** countries against tour undertaken by U.S. Vice-President Nixon.
- May-June** Failure of Batista's "general offensive" against the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra, **Cuba**.
- August** General strike and street fighting in Asuncion, **Paraguay**.
The reactionary "Defence of Democracy" law is repealed in **Chile**. The Communist Party emerges from the underground.
- August 15-17** The Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of **Uruguay** meets.
- August** **Cuban Rebel Army** units advance westward, enter Camaguay and Las Villas provinces.
- September** General strike of one million workers in **Venezuela** against attempts to engineer a reactionary coup and in support of the Larrazabal government.
- October** General strike in **Uruguay**.
- December 7** Romulo Betancourt, leader of the Democratic Action Party, is elected President of **Venezuela**.
- December** Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of **Colombia** meets.
- End of December** **Cuban Rebel Army** launches general offensive. Santa Clara is taken by storm.

In the course of the year 11,800,000 workers were on strike throughout Latin America.

1 9 5 9

- January 1-2** Batista flees from **Cuba**. General strike begins.
- January 2** The Rebel Army enters Santiago de Cuba and Havana. Victory of the Cuban revolution.
- January** General strike of two million workers in **Argentina**, against denationalization of the meat packing industry.
- February 16** Fidel Castro becomes Prime Minister of **Cuba**.
- March 25** Strike of 18,000 railwaymen in **Mexico** is suppressed.
- March** Anti-U.S. actions in **Bolivia** and general miners' strike.
- April** The First National Congress of the Communist Party of **Bolivia** meets.
The Communist Party is banned in **Argentina**.
- May 17** Agrarian reform law is promulgated in **Cuba**.
- June** Dominican patriots effect landing in the **Dominican Republic**. Armed struggle against the Trujillo dictatorship begins.
- July** Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado becomes President in **Cuba**. The big bourgeoisie is finally removed from power.
- August** The Organization of Sixty-Two Unions, the Trade Union Unity and Coordination Movement and independent unions form a trade union coalition, the United Workers' Movement, in **Argentina**.
- October 20-21** Fidel Castro and his supporters smash the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of Matos in **Cuba**. The anti-Communist wing of the July 26 Movement is defeated.

- October** Air raids against Cuba from U.S. territory begin.
- November 13-20** The Third Unity Congress of Trade Unions meets in **Venezuela**. The Venezuela Workers' Confederation is founded.
- November 18-24** The Tenth Congress of the **Cuban** Workers' Confederation rejects the policy of the Right-wing trade union leadership.
- December-** Strike on the United Fruit Co. banana plantations in **Costa Rica**.
- January 1960** The United National Liberation Front is founded in **Paraguay**. The guerrilla movement begins.

In the course of the year 20 million workers were on strike in Latin America.

1 9 6 0

- February 13** Agreements on trade, payments and credits signed between the Soviet Union and Cuba.
- March 4** SS. Le Cuvre is blown up by counter-revolutionaries in the port of Havana.
- April** Mass meetings and demonstrations as well as armed actions by peasants and civilian detachments in **Venezuela** in support of the government troops operating against reactionary insurgents in San Cristobal.
- The **Mexican** government nationalizes power plants owned by the American and Foreign Power Company.
- May** The Third Congress of the **Guatemalan** Party of Labor, held secretly, adopts the Party's political platform.
- May 8** Diplomatic relations are restored between the Soviet Union and **Cuba**.
- May 27-31** The Thirteenth Congress of the **Mexican** Communist Party meets.
- Spring** The U.S. government embarks on preparations for the invasion of **Cuba**.
- June 27-July 1** U.S. refineries in **Cuba** refuse to process Soviet crude oil. The Cuban Oil Institute establishes control over the refineries and other property of the U.S. oil interests.
- July 6** The USA cuts the import quotas of Cuban sugar.
- July** The Democratic Action Party in **Venezuela** splits. The Left Revolutionary Movement is founded.
- July 28-August 6** The First Latin American Youth Congress is held in Havana.
- August 7** The property of U.S. companies is nationalized in **Cuba**.
- August** The Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party of **Cuba** meets.
- The foreign ministers of the OAS countries adopt, under U.S. dictate, the San Jose Declaration aimed against Cuba.
- August 18** General strike in **Uruguay** in support of Cuba.
- September 2** A mass meeting in Havana adopts the **First Havana Declaration** proclaiming the abolition of exploitation as the aim of the Cuban revolution.
- September** The Fifth Congress of the **Brazilian** Communist Party adopts a policy statement.
- September 28** A law establishing the People's Militia is promulgated in **Cuba**.
- October 13** A law nationalizing the banks and big industrial and commercial enterprises is promulgated in **Cuba**.
- October 14** Urban reform law is adopted in **Cuba**.
- October 19** The **U.S. government** places embargo on nearly all exports to Cuba.
- October-November** Betancourt resorts to force to suppress widespread anti-government demonstrations and strikes in **Venezuela**. Constitutional guarantees are suspended and police terror unleashed.
- October 26** Patriotic elements in the army overthrow the dictatorship of General Lemus in **El Salvador**.
- November 3-December 6** Plantation workers in **Panama** take armed action.

- November 7** General strike of three million workers in **Argentina** against the anti-labor policy of the Frondizi government.
- November** Uprising against the Somoza regime in **Nicaragua**.
- November 13** Military revolt against the regime of Ydigoras Fuentes in **Guatemala**.
- December** Mass anti-imperialist actions take place in **Ecuador**.

In the course of the year over 20 million workers were on strike in Latin America.

1 9 6 1

- January** The USA breaks off diplomatic relations with **Cuba**.
- January 25** A reactionary coup in **El Salvador** puts a civilian-military directorate in power.
- January** The **Peruvian** Communist Party is banned.
- March** The Popular Action Front wins more than 400,000 votes in **Chilean** general election. The Third National Congress of the Communist Party of **Venezuela** adopts a policy of armed struggle.
- March 13** The Kennedy Administration announces the Alliance for Progress.
- March** The first Latin American conference in defense of national sovereignty, economic independence and peace meets in Mexico.
The first national plenary meeting of trade unions, called by the National Trade Union United Action and Solidarity Committee, is held in **Colombia**.
- April 16** **Fidel Castro declares that the Cuban revolution is a socialist revolution.**
- April 17-19** **Defeat of the intervention by U.S. hirelings at Playa Giron, Cuba. The first military defeat suffered by U.S. imperialism in Latin America.**
- April** The first peasant congress in **Peru** meets.
The United Trade Union Center is founded in **Uruguay**.
The Central Committee of the **Guatemalan** Party of Labor adopts a policy of armed struggle.
- May** Street fighting and workers' demonstrations in Asuncion against the dictatorship and reign of terror in **Paraguay**.
- May 30** Dictator Trujillo is killed in the **Dominican Republic**.
- Spring and Summer** Peasant leagues are established in **Brazil**.
- June** The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of **Colombia** adopts a policy of armed popular self-defense in reply to the wholesale reprisals taken by the government.
- July** The United Revolutionary Organizations (ORI) is founded in **Cuba**.
- August** The Inter-American Economic Conference in Punta del Este endorses the Alliance for Progress.
- August 25** President Quadros of **Brazil** resigns under pressure from the Brazilian reactionaries and U.S. imperialism.
- End of August** General strike, mass meetings and demonstrations in **Brazil** in defense of the Constitution and against attempts to engineer a reactionary coup. The constitutionalists create an armed stronghold in Rio Grande do Sul.
- September 7** Goulart is inaugurated as president of **Brazil**.
- August** The People's Progressive Party, led by Cheddi Jagan, wins in the general election in **British Guiana**.
- September** General strike in the **Dominican Republic** against the reactionary policy of the Balaguer government.
- October** General strike in **Ecuador** against the government of Velazco Ibarra.
- October 24** The Front of National Liberation is established in **Brazil**.
- November** Guerrilla movement begins in **Venezuela**.

- November 7-9** Nationwide strike in **Argentina** in support of striking railwaymen.
- November 16** General strike in **Uruguay**.
- November** Diplomatic relations between **Brazil** and the Soviet Union are restored.
- November** Mass demonstrations organized by the Workers' Confederation and student organizations in Ecuador. **Velazco Ibarra is overthrown**. The National Congress proclaims Arosemena President.
- December 13** General strike in **Uruguay**.
- December** General strike in the **Dominican Republic** against the reactionary regime. Campaign to abolish illiteracy is completed in **Cuba**.

In the course of the year over 21 million workers were on strike in Latin America.

1 9 6 2

- January** Conference of the Peoples of **America** in support of revolutionary Cuba is held in Havana.
- The people of the **Dominican Republic** frustrate an attempt to install a reactionary military clique in power.
- A general transport strike in **Venezuela**, other workers' mass actions, and street fighting in the capital.
- A consultative conference of the foreign ministers of the OAS countries in Punta del Este adopts the proposal of the USA to expel **Cuba** from the organization.
- January-February** A solidarity movement in support of the Cuban revolution sweeps **Latin America**.
- February 4** **The Second Havana Declaration—a program of struggle for freedom and independence for all the peoples of Latin America—is adopted in Cuba.**
- February 13** General solidarity strike in **Uruguay** in support of revolutionary Cuba.
- February** Armed uprising of young officers belonging to the November 13 Group in **Guatemala**. Guerrilla movement begins.
- Spring** Peasant hunger marches in **Mexico**.
- March-April** Student demonstrations against sham elections develop into a popular insurrection in **Guatemala**. An operation launched by the October 20 Guerrilla Group is defeated by the government.
- March 8** National Leadership of the United Revolutionary Organization (ORI) is formed in **Cuba**.
- March 13-18** Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of **Chile** adopts a new program of struggle for a people's democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic government.
- March 16** Peronist victory in parliamentary elections in **Argentina**.
- March 23** 24-hour general strike of two million workers in **Argentina** in protest against government plans to annul the results of the parliamentary elections.
- March 29** Coup d'etat in **Argentina**. Frondizi government is overthrown.
- March** National leadership of the United Revolutionary Organizations of Cuba condemns sectarian and bureaucratic practices of the ORI.
- April 3** Under pressure of the reactionary military, the government of **Ecuador** breaks off diplomatic relations with Cuba, Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- May 4** Revolutionary mutiny of marines in Carupano (**Venezuela**).
- May 11** Activities of the Communist Party and Left Revolutionary Movement banned in **Venezuela**.
- June 2** Revolutionary uprising of the Puerto Cabello garrison in **Venezuela**.
- July 5** 24-hour strike in **Brazil** in support of Goulart's demand for democratic and progressive government.
- July** Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of **Uruguay** adopts a program of struggle for political unity of all Left forces in the country.

- July 15** A Left Liberation Front is formed in **Uruguay**.
- July 18** Military Junta seizes power in **Peru**.
- July** Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the Communist Party of **Argentina** adopts a policy of building unity with the Peronist movement.
- August 1-2** General strike in **Argentina** in defense of democracy.
- August** Communist Party of **Peru** holds its Fourth National Congress.
Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago obtain political independence.
- September** General strike of three million workers in **Brazil** in support of Goulart.
- September 22** Conflict between two military groups in **Argentina** comes to head. Action by progressive forces prevents reactionary coup.
- September** Trade Union conference of 20 Latin American countries is held in Santiago, **Chile**. A coordination committee is set up to convene a Latin American workers' unity congress.
- October-November** Caribbean crisis. Threat of armed invasion of **Cuba** by U.S. imperialism. Cuban people prepare to defend their revolution.
- November 25** Left Liberation Front scores victory at general election in **Uruguay**.
- December 20** Juan Bosch, candidate of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, wins presidential election in the **Dominican Republic**.
- December** Militant working-class actions in **Peru**.

In the course of the year 13-15 million workers were on strike in Latin America.

1 9 6 3

- January 6** President Goulart polls big majority in plebiscite in **Brazil**.
- January 11** First Congress of Women of the **Americas** is held in Havana.
- January** Powerful independent peasant center is set up in **Mexico**.
- February** SS. Anzoategui is seized by **Venezuelan** patriots fighting against the Betancourt Government.
- February-March** Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of **Argentina**, held in secret, adopts a new Program and Rules.
- March** Latin-American Congress of Solidarity with Cuba.
- March 31** Military Coup in **Guatemala** installs Colonel Peralta Azurdia and sets up a military dictatorship.
- April** Fourth National Congress of trade unions expelled from the **Venezuelan** Confederation of Labor adopts a decision to set up an independent United Center of Venezuelan Workers.
Candidates of the Popular Action Front in **Chile** poll 600,000 votes (more than 30 per cent) at municipal elections.
- April 27-June 3** **Fidel Castro, Prime Minister and First Secretary of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, visits the Soviet Union.**
- May 31** 24-hour general strike in **Argentina**.
- June** Belaunde, candidate of the People's Action Party, supported by the Communist Party, is elected President of **Peru**.
- July** Military Junta seizes power in **Ecuador**. The Communist Party is banned.
- September 25** Reactionary coup d'etat in the **Dominican Republic**. President Juan Bosch is overthrown.
- October 3** Arrest of Communist and Left-Revolutionary MP's in **Venezuela**.
Military coup in **Honduras**.
Second agrarian reform in **Cuba**.
- November** 24-hour general strike in **Uruguay**.

- December 1** Elections in **Venezuela**.
- December 13** U.S. President Johnson recognizes the reactionary military dictatorships in the Dominican Republic and Honduras.
- December 19-23** The Mexican Communist Party holds its Fourteenth Congress.
- December 24** President Goulart of **Brazil** institutes state monopoly of oil imports.

In the course of the year 14-16 million workers were on strike in Latin America.

1 9 6 4

- January 9-11** U.S. troops fire at student demonstration in Panama Canal Zone. General strike and anti-U.S. actions follow. Panama government breaks off diplomatic relations with United States.
- January 13-23** Prime Minister Fidel Castro of **Cuba** visits the Soviet Union.
- January 20** President Goulart of **Brazil** issues a decree restricting export of profits by foreign companies.
- January** Latin American Trade Union Unity Congress in **Brazil** sets up a Permanent T.U. Council.
- February** Communist Party of **El Salvador** holds its Fifth Congress.
- March 9-15** Second Congress of Latin American Youth is held in **Chile**.
- March 13** President Goulart of **Brazil** issues decree nationalizing all uncultivated landlord lands within 10 km. on either side of state highways and railways, and all private oil refineries.
- Mid-March** United States proclaims the Mann doctrine the official policy of support for military coups and reactionary regimes in Latin America.
- March 31-April 1** Military coup in **Brazil** backed by imperialism overthrows President Goulart and installs reactionary pro-imperialist dictatorship.
- April** 72-hour general strike in **Chile**.
- March-April** Second Congress of the Communist Party of **Bolivia**.
- May** Government troops launch offensive against the guerrilla movement in Marquetalia (**Colombia**).
- August-September** Governments of **Bolivia**, **Chile** and **Uruguay** sever diplomatic relations with the Republic of Cuba.
- September 4** Frei, Christian Democrat candidate, is elected President of **Chile**. (Popular Action Front candidate Allende polls 982,000 votes or 38.5 per cent.)
- September** Broad movement for amnesty of political prisoners in **Venezuela**.
- October 27** Demonstration of miners in Oruro (**Bolivia**) is fired on by government troops. Mass arrests throughout the country.
- November 4** Military coup in **Bolivia** overthrows President Paz Estenssoro and establishes military junta.
- November 17** Repeal of laws banning Communist Party and other democratic organizations in **Argentina**.
- November 24** Diplomatic relations are resumed between **Chile** and the Soviet Union.
- December 17** 48-hour general strike in **Argentina**.
- End of year** Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America.

1 9 6 5

- January-March** Government offensive against guerrillas in **Venezuela** fails.
- January 12-14** Workers stage sit-in strike at iron and steel works in Buenos Aires (**Argentina**). After pitched battles with the police the workers win their demands.

- January 21** Congress of the General Confederation of Workers of **Argentina** endorses a plan of trade union action for socio-economic demands, for abolition of repressive laws and release of political prisoners.
- March 7** Parliamentary elections in **Chile** end in victory for the Christian Democratic Party. The Popular Action Front strengthens its positions.
- March 14** Supported by the Communists, the Peronist People's Union Party scores a victory in parliamentary elections in **Argentina**.
- April 6** 24-hour general strike in **Uruguay**.
- April 14** 24-hour general strike in **Panama**.
- April 23** Students clash with police in Santiago (**Chile**).
- April 24-25** Patriots in the armed forces of the Dominican Republic stage coup aimed at restoration of the Constitution and the return of ex-President Juan Bosch. Arms are distributed to the people.
A provisional revolutionary government is formed in the **Dominican Republic**.
- April 28** Defeat of the reactionary military in Santo Domingo. Landing of U.S. Marines in the **Dominican Republic**.
- May 6** Under U.S. pressure the Organization of American States decides to send an inter-American force to "restore order" in the **Dominican Republic**.
- April-May** **Mass movement of solidarity with the people of the Dominican Republic sweeps Latin America.**
- May 16-26** General political strike of **Bolivian** workers.
- May 25** Communist Party of **Bolivia** is banned. Wholesale arrests of active trade unionists.
- June** Fifth national cane harvesting campaign in **Cuba** is a signal success. Sugar output exceeds six million tons.
- June** Guerrilla movement begins in **Peru**.
- June-July** Mass demonstrations against the dictatorship in **Ecuador**.
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Political parties in Latin America

THE LATIN AMERICAN scene is marked by a great variety of political parties. Some put their number at 150. However, neither this figure nor the numerical strength of the various parties is stable—while some parties fall apart and disappear, others spring up.

This situation is due, needless to say, to the historical conditions in which the parties were formed and to the socio-political realities of the day. Since no single pattern is valid for the continent as a whole, an attempt will be made to classify and describe the different groups of parties.

* * *

The first parties came into being after the war of independence, which, while it was a great national-liberation revolution, brought no radical social changes for the nations in the making. In the atmosphere of dictatorships, pseudo-democracies and endless coups typical of the majority of the Latin American countries in the last century, most of the parties arose not as exponents of the political interests of definite classes or social groups, but rather as cliques rallying around a *caudillo* and fighting one another for state power which, in fact, was invariably wielded by the landed oligarchy. Only gradually did the parties acquire more or less marked political characteristics.

The nineteenth century saw the rise of the traditionalist, or "historical" parties. These included first the political organizations of the Conservatives and Liberals and expressed the interests of those locked in battle for political supremacy, that is, the latifundists backed by the Catholic Church, and the liberal landowners and the commercial bourgeoisie who aspired to separation of church and state, free enterprise and certain democratic reforms.

Due to the big changes in the Latin American countries and to the rise of parties representing new social strata, the "historical" parties have changed too. Most of them are in crisis now, breaking up organizationally, and abandoning their original principles, so that the positions of the Liberals and the Conservatives, once poles apart, often coincide.

At the turn of the century, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois (Radical and other) parties appeared on the political scene, then came

the working-class parties. That was when the first Socialist parties, and later, under the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution in Russia, the first Communist parties of the continent were founded—in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba and Peru.

New parties and political groupings advocating national reformist programs took shape in the nineteen thirties, when the crisis of local socio-economic patterns and the resulting crisis of the traditional parties of the ruling classes became evident, and later, in the forties. By fighting against oligarchic governments and by advancing nationalist slogans, they won a following among the working people. Parties of this type that gained the biggest influence were the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) of Peru, founded by Haya de la Torre, then the Social Democratic and the Trabalhista (Labor) parties in Brazil, founded by Vargas, to some extent the Peronist movement in Argentina, the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement of Bolivia, and the Democratic Action party of Venezuela. The rise of the national-liberation movement and the aggravation of the class struggle in those years led to the formation of Communist parties in more countries, primarily in the Caribbean.

A new stage in the development of political trends was ushered in by the revolutionary upsurge in the second half of the fifties. The political processes then initiated crystallized after the Cuban revolution, which polarized the political forces and hastened the split in the traditionalist parties and the formation of new trends and groupings.

The present party system is, then, a product of complex development.

* * *

What are the main party alignments?

The parties of the Right. These include first of all the conservative parties, traditional defenders of the interests of the landed oligarchy (nowadays they are often backed by the big bourgeoisie as well), specifically the Democratic (Conservative) Party, Federation of Center Parties, and Union of the People in Argentina, the Democratic National Union in Brazil, the Conservative Party in Colombia, the United Conservative Party in Chile, the Conservative Party in Ecuador, the Nationalist (Conservative) Party in Honduras, the

This survey draws on data collected by the Latin American Institute, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Nicaraguan Traditionalist Conservative Party, and others. As far as its socio-political program is concerned, the Mexican National Action Party should be listed among these parties. All are akin inasmuch as they are frankly reactionary and collaborate with foreign capital, even though some of their leaders are not averse to engaging in anti-imperialist demagogy.

The crisis of the Conservative parties exacerbates the inner-party struggles, leading to loss of votes and members, as the recent elections in Chile, Argentina, Brazil and other countries have shown. The Conservative parties have either forfeited or are forfeiting the support of substantial numbers of peasants whom they swayed for a long time. They have also lost ground in the universities and among the free professions. A big internal problem for them is the struggle between those who try to adapt the traditional doctrines to the new conditions in the hope of galvanizing them and to form broader blocs (like the abortive Democratic Front in Chile), and those who hope to succeed by sticking to the ultra-reactionary course.

The crisis of the *Liberal parties* is developing along much the same lines. It is particularly true of the Liberal parties of Colombia, Chile, Panama, Paraguay and Honduras, the Liberal Nationalist Party of Nicaragua, the Ecuadoran Liberal Radical Party, and the National (Blanco) Party of Uruguay, which is one of this group historically and in program.

The Liberal parties, which played a certain positive role in the last century, have drifted far to the Right in recent times. The emergence after World War II of an integrated bourgeois and landowner oligarchy smoothed over the antagonisms between the Liberals and Conservatives, who today usually form a united front. Characteristically, the Liberals are more reactionary than the Conservatives in some countries, for instance, in Nicaragua. At the moment the Liberals in Colombia pursue a reactionary policy, having divided power with the Conservatives in the so-called National Front.

Chile's Liberals are also hard to tell from the Conservatives. Other Liberal parties have completely lost their original character. They have become instruments of dictatorial regimes, or are utterly powerless against them, such as the Liberal Party of Paraguay.

In the forties and fifties the dictatorial regimes in some countries used the decline of the traditionalist parties' influence over the masses to found *new parties of the Right*, which enjoyed a certain mass base, chiefly among the declassed poor in the towns. Parties of this type, combining extremely reactionary programs with brazen social demagogy, were founded by the dictators Trujillo (later Balaguer, Dominican Republic), Odria (Peru) and Rojas Pinilla (Colombia), and are still active.

Today the reactionary regimes in some countries practise sham democracy by forming short-lived *government pseudo-parties*, which serve them chiefly as instruments of election farces. Among these reactionary pro-government parties are the Institutional Democratic and Social Democratic parties in Guatemala, the National Conciliation Party and the Revolutionary Party of Democratic Unification in El Salvador.

In some countries there are small but aggressive *pro-fascist parties and groups*, such as the Bolivian Socialist Falange, the National Liberation Movement of Guatemala, which unites the supporters of ex-dictator Castillo Armas, the Ecuadoran Revolutionary Nationalist Action Party, the Tacuara movement in Argentina, the Sinarquists in Mexico, the Orthodox Republican Party in Honduras, and others.

Lastly, the *parties of the Right* include a group of parties in opposition to the dictatorial regimes concerned. These parties have no less (and occasionally still more) conservative programs than the ruling regimes. They represent the interests of the landowners and of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, which have lately been ousted from power. Among these parties are the Democratic Nationalist Movement and the National Democratic Conciliation Party (party of the adherents of ex-dictator Ydigoras Fuentes) in Guatemala, the People's Progressive Party in Honduras, which has broken with the National (Conservative) Party and is led by ex-dictator Tiburcio Carias,* and some Rightist groups in Ecuador.

* * *

The "center" of the political spectrum consists of numerous parties and groups led by bourgeois intellectuals or by reformists with petty-bourgeois leanings. Objectively, these parties favor capitalist development of the continent, although they are not generally supported by influential sections of the bourgeoisie.

The mass base of the Centrist parties is provided first by the petty bourgeoisie, officialdom and, in general, the urban middle classes. In a number of countries these parties carry considerable weight with the peasants and the backward sections of the working class. They comprise the reformist trends in the Right-wing (and some Left-wing) parties, as well as some markedly bourgeois reformist trends.

At the turn of the century the rising industrial bourgeoisie and the small and middle bourgeoisie of some countries founded *Radical parties* which advanced broad democratic programs demanding social changes and curbs on the landowners and the Church. They had widespread support among the urban middle classes and the working people. By now they have shifted to the Right, and in most countries they no longer play their one-time role.

*Lately, with the advent of new people, this party has moved to the Left.

Nevertheless, they still enjoy appreciable influence, particularly in the South of the continent. This is why the U.S. imperialists, like the Latin American big bourgeoisie, which in some countries are faced with the bankruptcy of the old Right-wing, cling to plans to use these parties as a possible trump card in their game. These parties are the Radical Party in Chile, the Civic Radical Union of Intransigents and the Integration and Development Movement (until recently a part of the former), as well as the Civic Radical Union of the People and the Democratic Progressive Party in Argentina, the Batllist Party in Uruguay, the National Republican Party in Costa Rica and the Renovating Action Party of El Salvador. It should be noted that of late Left trends have made considerable headway in these parties. They express the true interests of the nation and are moving farther and farther away from the discredited bourgeois leaders.

The *national reformist parties*, which came into being as "popular," "democratic-revolutionary" or even anti-imperialist parties and which had a broad social base, still exert a considerable influence in some countries.

With certain reservations, this group of parties comprises the APRA Party in Peru, the Democratic Action Party in Venezuela, the National Liberation Party in Costa Rica (led by José Figueres), the Revolutionary Febrerista Party in Paraguay, the Popular Democratic Party in Puerto Rico, the Revolutionary Party in Guatemala (led by Mario Méndez Montenegro), the Dominican Revolutionary Party (led by Juan Bosch), the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement in Bolivia, the ruling Revolutionary Institutional Party in Mexico and, to some extent, the Social Democratic Party in Brazil (led by ex-President Kubitschek).

The "popular" parties usually began by announcing ambitious programs for social reforms, declaring that they intended to fight for democratic liberties, an independent national policy, and greater government control over the economy and the activity of foreign capital.

Those slogans attracted a numerous following among the working people and intellectuals. The parties advancing these programs also gained prestige by taking an active part in the struggle against the dictatorial regimes. In Venezuela, for example, the Democratic Action Party fought against the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship. As a result, the class base of the national reformist parties broadened, but most of them were never genuinely revolutionary and anti-imperialist.

The policy of the national reformist leaders toward imperialism detracts from the influence and popularity of their parties. What has a particularly disastrous effect on these parties is their anti-communism. The frankly pro-imperialist APRA party in Peru, officially allied with the extreme Right Odria group, probably furnishes the most striking indica-

tion of the drift of the national reformist parties.

The Venezuelan Democratic Action party, founded by Betancourt in 1941 as a party fighting for democracy and agrarian reform, established one of the continent's most pro-imperialist regimes upon seizing power in 1958. However, the national reformist parties have also progressive trends which contribute to the liberation movement. Patriotic members of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (the party of Juan Bosch) are currently waging a courageous struggle for national independence against U.S. imperialist intervention.

In Colombia, Peru, Venezuela and elsewhere there are other political trends and groups expressing the interests of the national bourgeoisie. They include the Popular Action Party in Peru, the Revolutionary Democratic Union in Guatemala, the Republican Democratic Union of Venezuela and the Liberal Revolutionary Movement in Colombia. Their political platforms do not usually go beyond demanding respect for the Constitution and democratic liberties, a more independent foreign policy, specific measures to protect the economy and natural resources, agrarian reform and certain other reforms.

The fact is that members of the national bourgeoisie rightly fear that the reactionary policy of the finance oligarchy and the latifundists may prejudice the positions of the bourgeoisie as a class.

The *traditionalist Socialist parties* are a small group. They advocate Right programs and therefore do not wield any great influence over the masses. Among them are the Social Democratic Party of Argentina (which should not be mistaken for the more influential Socialist Party standing farther to the Left), the Ecuadoran Socialist Party, and various social-reformist groups in Uruguay.

Lastly, there are the *Christian-Democratic parties*, which have in recent years gained greater influence in many countries, competing successfully with the old parties. The CDP of Chile is the most influential of these and the only one in power. In Peru, the CDP is a member of the government coalition. Elsewhere the Christian parties are in opposition, some of them on the Left, as in Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Guatemala and El Salvador.

The U.S. imperialists, particularly those supporting the Alliance for Progress, pin great hopes on the Christian parties, seeing them as a force capable of countering the growing revolutionary movement with something "positive."

The rapid growth of some of these parties has been furthered by the evolution of highly influential sections of the Catholic Church. Under pressure from the Catholic masses now taking part in the social and national-liberation movements, these sections renounce protectionist traditions, combat economic inequality and even advocate agrarian reform.

The developing revolutionary situation ac-

counts for the radicalism of CDP programs. In the Dominican Republic, the Revolutionary Social Christian Party is helping the people's fight for independence on the side of the Constitutional government of Caamaño. CDP leaders in Chile and Left-wing leaders of the CDPs in Guatemala, El Salvador, Brazil and other countries stand for a democratic political life, for social reform, disarmament and peace, which wins them the support of sizeable sections of the population.

However, the attitudes of the Christian Democrats vary from country to country. In Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil, many of their leaders accept the idea of making common cause with the Communists in upholding democratic liberties and in the trade union movement. In the other parties, the greatest influence is exerted by leaders closely associated with the reactionaries. For example, the leadership of the Social Christian Party in Venezuela (COPEI) supports the government terror and repressive measures against progressive organizations.

The Communists in Latin America call for an alliance with the Left Christian Democrats. A flexible approach to the issue of religion prevents estrangement of the Catholic masses from the Left front, and a common fight for specific socio-economic demands should strengthen the alliance.

* * *

The formation of a *broad Left trend* representing the vanguard of the working class, revolutionary intellectuals and students is one of the important results of the growing revolutionary movement on the continent. In Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Venezuela and Ecuador, this trend represents the *majority* of the working class, and substantial segments of the urban middle classes (in the countries listed above, together with Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic) and the peasantry (certain areas of Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela and other countries).

The *moderate wing* of this trend is petty-bourgeois in social essence and Left-nationalist in political orientation. It is represented by the Centrist and Left-Centrist elements of the Peronist movement in Argentina and the Trabalhista Party in Brazil, the Left Nationalist Revolutionary Party in Bolivia, led by Juan Lechin, a prominent trade union leader, the Democratic Popular Force and Revolutionary Nationalist parties and the Left wing of the Republican Democratic Union of Venezuela, the Radical Democratic Party of El Salvador, the Left in the Liberal Revolutionary Movement in Colombia and the Liberal Party in Honduras, the group of young Radicals and the National Democratic Party in Chile and certain Left groups which have broken away from the traditionalist parties in Uruguay. Similar trends are emerging in other countries, either within the traditionalist or the petty-bourgeois parties (in their Left wing),

or as Left groupings that have dissociated themselves from these parties.

The parties and groups belonging to this trend advocate radical solutions to the socio-economic problems of their countries, agrarian reform, nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises and an independent national policy.

The Peronist and Trabalhista parties, founded in the early postwar years, have travelled a contradictory path. Both were brought into being by political alignments championing bourgeois nationalism, and their leaders had no intention whatever of fostering class consciousness among the workers. But the working class membership and the trade unions gradually became an influential factor both in the parties and in political life generally.

The mass base of the Peronist movement has greatly changed in recent times. The partisans of class struggle are listened to more than before. But the trends obstructing the reinforcement of the national revolutionary wing still command considerable influence. The leftward shift of the Peronist rank and file which became pronounced in the 1962 elections was correctly assessed by the Communist Party, which suggested an alliance with the Left Peronists.

The rise of the *new Left*, which tentatively could be described as a *revolutionary democratic or revolutionary socialist trend* and which Western writers describe as "populist," "neo-Jacobin," and so on, is directly associated with the Cuban revolution. Its adherents fully support revolutionary Cuba and most of them proclaim that their ultimate goal is democracy, genuine national independence, and even socialism by revolutionary means. Many parties and groups in this trend accept Marxism fully or in part. Their social base is composed primarily of revolutionary students and intellectuals, and occasionally of other members of the urban middle classes. They are gaining ground among the workers and peasants.

Like the Left nationalist parties, the revolutionary democratic groups evolved from the revolutionary elements who left the national bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties.

It would probably be correct to class in this trend the Left Revolutionary Movement and the National Popular Vanguard in Venezuela, the Revolutionary Unity Party in Guatemala, the Left Trabalhists in Brazil, the Left Revolutionary Movement in Peru, the Popular socialist alliance in Costa Rica, the Republican Mobilization Party in Nicaragua and the "Abril y Mayo" Revolutionary Party in El Salvador.

The Left Socialists, while following a different course, have arrived at virtually the same position. Socialist parties have existed on the continent for decades. But the current Latin American "socialism" dates only from the late fifties, when Lefts and Rights parted company and the Lefts assumed the leading role in most of the parties. The bulk of the membership turned to revolution as a means of reconstructing society. The most influential of the Socialist

parties is the Chilean, which has been cooperating with the Communists in the Popular Action Front since 1956. A Left Revolutionary SP has been formed in Ecuador. The Lefts have become stronger in the leadership of the SP of Uruguay. There is a strong revolutionary trend among the Brazilian Socialists. It advocates unity of action in the working-class, democratic and nationalist movements.

Most of the Socialist parties are based mainly on the urban middle classes, with a large proportion of office workers, intellectuals and students. Only the Chilean Socialist Party can claim a really big influence in the working class.

The "new Lefts" are close allies of the Communists, although in Guatemala, Peru and Colombia they tend at times to sectarianism.

The evolution of the Cuba July 26th Movement has shown that revolutionary democratic trends can in some cases assume the leadership of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles and go over to the position of the revolutionary proletariat as the movement progresses, by concluding a solid alliance (or by merging) with the Communist parties both before and after the socialist revolution.

The *Communist parties* in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Venezuela, Honduras, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Uruguay, Chile, Ecuador, Guadeloupe, Martinique and Puerto Rico, the Popular Unity Party in Haiti, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Dominican Popular Socialist Party, the Costa Rican Popular Vanguard Party and the People's Party of Panama are the vanguard parties of the working people.

The United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba holds a special place in the Communist movement of the continent. The first Marxist-Leninist Party of America to come to power, it now directs socialist construction on the Island of Freedom.

The Communist movement in Latin America has fighting traditions of long standing. In the bigger countries, Communist parties were

founded between 1918 and 1925. The number of Latin American Communists has doubled during the past decade and today exceeds 300,000.

Recent years have witnessed growing activity by the Communist and Workers' parties of the continent and also the development of their theoretical and ideological work.

The Cuban revolution, which showed the character of the Latin American revolutionary movement in a new light, has greatly stimulated the creative thinking of Marxist parties. It lent greater depth and more concrete character to the idea of revolution and shifted strategic and tactical issues to the sphere of practice.

The Communists in Latin America have made a sizeable contribution to world revolutionary thought by thoroughly elaborating the agrarian question, problems of the working-class and general democratic movement, and questions of the anti-imperialist struggle.

They are working hard to establish a united democratic front against imperialism and internal reaction. They champion the policy of broad social alliance, and carefully study the experience of popular struggles. They actively popularize the idea of proletarian internationalism, of the close unity of the various currents of the world revolutionary process.

Cooperation of the Communist parties on a continental scale has grown in late years. It expresses itself, among other things, in conferences and meetings, such as those held by the parties of Central and South America. The Latin American Communist conference at the end of last year was an important step toward encouraging such contacts. It made possible a fruitful exchange of views on the problems of the Latin American peoples' fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. It devoted special attention to solidarity with revolutionary Cuba. The parties reaffirmed their resolve to work might and main for world Communist unity, an earnest of the success of the peoples' struggle against imperialism, for social emancipation.

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