

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

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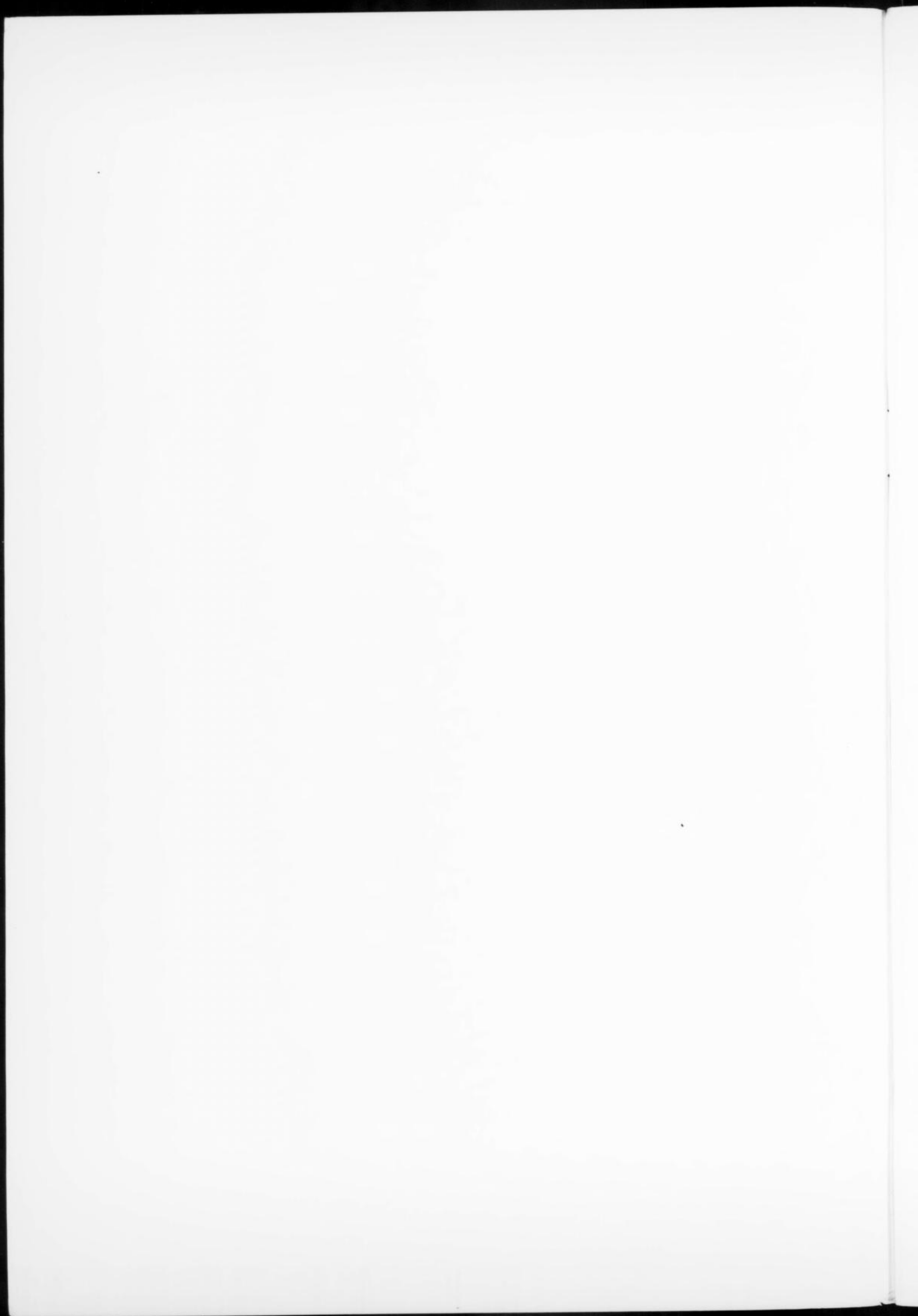
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Canadian Communists In Convention

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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and socialism*

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Comprehensive development of socialism in Czechoslovakia

VLADIMIR KOUCKY

THE THIRTEENTH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held in Prague from May 31 to June 4, 1966, which attracted national and also international attention, was a most fruitful Congress. But before assessing its results it should be noted that they were the outcome not only of the Congress itself, but also of the extensive activity conducted by Party committees and organizations in the course of the preceding months following the publication in December of the theses of the Central Committee.

In this pre-congress document, which initiated the nation-wide discussion, the Party summed up its ideological and political work since the 12th Congress and made a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present stage of socialist development in Czechoslovakia. The assessment of past performance and the new conclusions drawn were based on studies of important questions by the Party with the participation of research institutes.

In the course of the discussion hundreds of thousands of members and non-Party people expressed their views on economic, ideological, domestic and foreign policy issues, and on other fundamental problems relevant to the country's further development. The Central Committee received more than 15,000 suggestions and critical remarks relating practically to all spheres of public life. This does not in-

clude the tens of thousands of suggestions relating to local problems examined and tackled by the Party and government bodies on the spot.

The mass participation in elaborating the general line reflected the vitality of socialist democracy and the Party's consistent efforts to tackle the problems of Czechoslovak society with the direct participation of the people, in the spirit of fidelity to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and their creative application in the new conditions.

Naturally, at the congress itself attention centred on questions directly connected with the further building of socialism, and specifically on those concerning the interconnection between politics and economics, the prospects of economic development, the new system of economic management, as well as on questions bearing on the further extension of socialist democracy, the shaping of a socialist way of life, socialist culture, improving well-being, developing science and technology, and enhancing the Party's influence in other spheres of public life.

Throughout the 45 years since its founding, the anniversary of which was celebrated shortly before the Congress, our Party has always regarded itself as an integral part of the international Communist movement; it has always been guided by proletarian international-

ism. It was, therefore, only natural that the 13th Congress paid so much attention to militant proletarian solidarity with the world revolutionary movement, to unity in the international Communist movement, and to all-round support for the national-liberation struggle.

* * *

The socialist reality of Czechoslovakia is varied and rich; hence the wide range of questions discussed and examined with a view to charting the way forward on a truly realistic, scientifically substantiated footing corresponding with the objective laws of development of socialist society.

The Congress, with its business-like approach showed that the Party takes full cognizance of all important aspects of national problems and world development, epitomized the tenacious efforts made to find the best solution for the pressing problems. The speeches of the delegates from the factories and other sectors reflected, as a rule, collective experience. The constructive criticism, the eagerness to help solve problems, and the sense of responsibility expressed in the speeches, were particularly significant. It was clear that understanding of the laws of social development had greatly deepened in recent years and that the Party was in a position to make a Marxist analysis of the new developments in the economy and the superstructure and to lay down new guidelines for the further all-round development of society.

In its report, submitted by Comrade Novotny, the Central Committee proceeded from the fact that even after the triumph of socialism in our country, the next stage of socialist development will be a relatively long process in the course of which the Party, as the leading force in society, will have to mobilize and accumulate material and spiritual resources for the gradual reconstruction of the material and technological base, to make more effective use of the potential inherent in the new social relationships that have already taken deep root and in the scientific and technical revolution under way. Awareness of these facts will, at the same time, be an obstacle to subjectivist tendencies to skip certain phases of socialist construction, to indulge in wishful thinking, which would inevitably lead to serious difficulties, particularly in the economy.

It is nearly 20 years now that Czechoslovakia has been building socialism, and each congress of the Party rests, in its own way, on the results of the preceding congresses. Over the years the Party has been accumulating experience of its own besides drawing on the experience of the other fraternal parties, particularly of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, and has learned to apply Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country.

The 9th Congress of the Party in 1949 charted the general line of socialist construction. Carrying out this line, we achieved the victory of the socialist production relations, consolidated the power of the working people, ensured a steady growth of the productive forces and a substantial improvement in the material and cultural level of the people. The 12th Congress, held in December 1962, elaborated, on the basis of the results of the preceding period, the next stage in the comprehensive development of our socialist society. The Party's entire activity in the past four years was centered on carrying out this line. In the course of its realization the Central Committee approved the principles for further improving planned economic management and, in connection with the compilation of the 1966-1970 plan, gave new impetus to the charting of long-term economic trends and the introduction of the new principles of management. All this was reflected in the work of the 13th Congress, at which the main attention was focussed on developing the productive forces as regards both the material and human factors. Once the program of consolidation and gradual reconstruction of the economy is carried out, intensive, dynamic progress will be the order of the day.

* * *

The initial stage in the gradual realization of the Party's long-term economic program is the fourth five-year plan, which calls for increasing national income 22-24 per cent by 1970 and the volume of production by 25-30 per cent. As a result of this, personal consumption is expected to increase by 17-18 per cent and public consumption by 19-20 per cent. The share of accumulation of basic assets is envisaged at the level of the first year of the new five-year plan, i.e., 13 per cent of the national income. The traditional engineering and metallurgical industries will remain the key branches, with chemistry eventually scheduled to take its place among the basic branches of industry.

The prime prerequisite for the realization of these tasks is the improved system of planned management which is to be introduced throughout the economy (in industry and in agriculture) from the beginning of next year. Needless to say, this system should not be regarded as a universal remedy for all temporary difficulties, but as an effective system corresponding to the stage now reached, a system which, if properly and consistently applied, will lay the groundwork for far greater harmony between the interests of individual

members of society, the enterprises and society as a whole, for ensuring bigger returns from production, increasing productivity and profitability, and for purposeful utilization of reserves.

The new system calls for progressive organization of production, rationalization of administrative work, use of up-to-date technological and design methods, etc. At the same time this will create the conditions for sound competition between articles of output as well as between their producers, which would do away with the negative consequences of the elements of monopolization which now often work against consumer interests. Wage differentials will be more consistently applied, the so-called "wage ceiling" will be abolished, and the socialist principles of remuneration for labor according to the quantity, quality and social significance of the work done, and taking into account the actual economic results of the enterprises, will be more fully applied.

The new system is based on utilization of economic laws which could not find full application in the period of struggle for the victory of socialism and the consolidation of the political power of the working class. Commodity-money relations, the role allotted to the socialist market, material incentives, remuneration for labor in conformity with its results and, above all, centralized planning visualized as a scientific synthesis of the economy and its laws, all fully accord with the present stage of socialist development in Czechoslovakia. In no way can it be considered a step backward; on the contrary, it creates the conditions for extensively tapping latent potentialities and drawing on the advantages inherent in socialism.

The Party, of course, does not forget the ideological aspect, the need for economic education of the working people so that the principles of the new system should be correctly understood and assimilated in order thereby to help create a favorable climate for their consistent implementation. People who understand these principles and the meaning and aims of the Party's economic policy will naturally display more initiative in carrying out this policy.

If the new system of management is bound to bring with it new far-reaching changes, this applies in equal measure to the further development of the scientific and technological revolution. Underscoring the significance of the latter, the Congress pointed to the close connection between the new system of management and scientific and technological progress.

The development of science and technology

—these powerful levers of twentieth-century progress has the most far-reaching implications from the standpoint of the growth of the productive forces of society as well as its wellbeing. Hence, as speakers at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU pointed out, the imperative need to ensure a more rapid rate of growth in the engineering industry as compared with heavy industry generally and a still more rapid rate of advance in the natural sciences, which constitute the groundwork of technological progress and the basic source of the most far-reaching technological ideas. Our Party Congress took this into account and worked out concrete measures aimed at creating favorable conditions for the promotion of science and technology and for more consistent and effective application of their achievements.

The Congress highly assessed the social role and responsibility of researchers and technicians, whose prime task is to ensure the rapid, effective embodiment of the Party's economic policy directives in technological innovation, consistently applying all modern achievements in both production and economic management generally.

* * *

In the period between the last two congresses the Central Committee paid particular attention to the further development of socialist democracy. It proceeded from an analysis of the social structure, which is characterized by the maturing of socialist relations between classes and strata and between the Czech and Slovak peoples and the other nationalities in the country. The social structure of our society still bears a class character, although class struggle between antagonistic forces has ceased to be the motive force of our development. The 13th Congress had positive results to register in this sphere too, specifically in improving the functioning of the representative organs, enhancing the role of public organizations and promoting the working people's participation in economic management. Comrade Novotny had this to say on this score:

"There are certain objective laws and forms corresponding to them which we must observe in deepening socialist democracy since they further the development of the socialist life of society and man. For us the broadening of democracy is not an end in itself. The socialist democracy for which we are striving presupposes united, organized action and purposeful leadership. And this socialist democracy is incompatible with social irresponsibility, liberalistic license, aimless drifting, anarchistic concepts, or dogmatic rigidity. No one in our country can interpret promotion of

socialist democracy to mean permitting its abuse, to introducing bourgeois ideology and morality in our life, to allow the principles of socialist society to be misused."

By virtue of its essence and content, socialist democracy serves the interests of the working people and is subordinated to the needs of steady, all-round development of socialist society. Because of this the national committees, the organs of government by the people democratically elected at all levels, are the principal instrument for promoting socialist democracy.

In recent years the Party has carried out a series of measures which substantially enhance the powers of the national committees. This matter was also taken up by the 13th Congress which adopted a special resolution, "On the Status and Functions of the National Committees in Socialist Society," calling for consistent, redoubled effort to meet the requirements of citizens to provide ample scope for their initiative, and to ensure their broader participation in carrying out tasks of national importance. The Party regards the national committees as the cornerstone of our political and social system, as vital organs of socialist self-administration, and attaches much importance to them both in economic activity and in educating the working people and shaping the socialist way of life at community level.

We want the committees to stimulate civic activity among the public, and to secure their growing participation in the state administration and in managing the economy. They have the task, too, of promoting the development of agriculture, education and public health, and of improving the quality of services, free services included. The national committees should play an important role in strengthening socialist legality, specifically in protecting the interests of the socialist state and the citizens, in ensuring observance of public order and protection of socialist property.

In order to broaden the economic and financial powers of the national committees and to heighten their responsibility, it is imperative to improve central leadership with a view to giving effective support and correct guidance to local initiative and activities. The resolution of the Congress makes it incumbent on the government to ensure, with the direct participation of the national committees, the consistent and rapid realization of the measures outlined in the March resolution of the Central Committee on enhancing the social and political role of these committees. To this end the government should also draft new laws on the national committees and ad-

ministrative procedure defining the areas of work, powers and responsibilities of the national committees.

Our people have deep-rooted democratic traditions. Time and again they have shown that they know how to make correct use of their democratic institutions. Now that the Party is steering a course towards further expansion of the powers of the democratic representative bodies and calls for still more consistent application of democratic principles in all areas of life, including economic management, the activity of our people in public life is bound to grow.

* * *

All our achievements in building socialism are closely associated with the work of the Party, whose policy expresses the vital interests of the working class and all other sections of the working people. The further development of our socialist society, and in particular the tasks ahead in the economic, ideological and foreign-relations spheres, now place still higher demands on the Party. As before, the chief tasks are to heighten the influence of the Party and of Communist ideas in society, to promote inner-Party democracy to the full, and to work out and implement measures ensuring effective Party guidance in all areas of life in keeping with the changes in the development of our socialist society.

The Congress stressed the need for constant Party guidance of the national economy — guidance not only by bringing its ideological and political influence to bear, but also by elaborating concepts of economic development and solving major problems in the interests of the whole of society. Such guidance is bound to have a beneficial effect also as regards organizational activity, work with cadres, and the pooling of the efforts of the state bodies, economic management, the trade unions and the youth.

In its main resolution, "For the Further All-Round Development of Our Socialist Society," the Congress stressed that the vitality of the Party stems from the ideological, political and moral unity of Communists, which is the prerequisite for the unity of the entire people. Hence the need constantly to improve Party education on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in close conjunction with the current tasks of the Party.

Greater attention should be paid by the Party also to the political education of the youth. Although young people whose formative years have passed in the conditions of the new social relationships take socialism for granted, they nevertheless remain a group which does not find its place in society at once

but only gradually discovers and accepts the real truths and values of life and thus forms its attitude towards it.

Congress therefore emphasized the responsibility of the school, the family and the youth organization, in short, of all who exert a direct influence on the outlook, attitude and actions of young people. It again underscored the need for the active participation of young people in social life, which will help them understand the process of building socialism in all its complexity and diversity, without starry-eyed illusion, in the course of which they will learn to cope with the contradictions of life, overcome obstacles and correct mistakes, in a word, social activity which helps to develop the sound qualities of the socialist man.

This poses important tasks before both the schools and the Youth League, whose work and organizational structure should be improved and differentiated according to age groups and the interests of young people.

The Congress approved changes in the Party Rules aimed at enhancing the leading role of the Party and more clearly defining the role of the Party committees and influencing the work of state, economic and public bodies. The report of the Central Committee pointed out: "Party committees and organizations at all levels should keep abreast of developments and improve their work in the sphere of guidance and organization on the basis of scientific knowledge, and exert a bigger influence on social processes; they should improve their work with cadres, systematically strengthening their links with the masses, knowing their views and just demands. To this end it is imperative for all members and all Party organizations to take an active, conscientious part in the work of the Party, in the implementation of its policy."

The Leninist principles of inner-Party democracy constitute, naturally, the basis for conscious Party discipline, for the enhancement of the responsibility of every Communist for the realization of Party decisions.

The clause of the Rules dealing with the Party organizations' right of control over economic management was formulated more precisely to make it clear that the political approach, concern for the correct implementation of the Party's economic policy, should predominate in the work of the Party committees and organizations. This, of course, does not free Communists working in industry from responsibility for the fulfilment of economic tasks. Party responsibility, however, does not presuppose duplication of the work of economic bodies, making decisions for them, or relieving them of direct responsibility.

Other changes were made in the Rules to

define in more explicit terms the leading role of the Party, the principles of its functioning and the rights and responsibilities of its members, so that they might participate more actively in shaping and implementing Party policy.

* * *

In socialist society exceptional importance attaches to raising the cultural level of the people. Art and culture generally enrich the life of society and its members and are essential for the full satisfaction of the interests of the working people, for the harmonious development of the socialist man. In the opinion of our Party, culture should be an active factor in building socialism, should play its part in the epoch-making struggle of socialism against capitalism, of socialist ideology against bourgeois ideology. The 13th Congress devoted much attention to these questions and adopted a special resolution constituting a long-term program in the field of culture.

In discussing questions of culture and art, the Party proceeds from a critical analysis of the present as well as of past experience. The Party respects the exceptional diversity and inner differentiation of socialist art; it does not interfere in the specific problems of artistic creation. It is common knowledge that socialism has created exceptionally favorable conditions for the flowering of culture and art. It is in large measure thanks to these conditions that Czechoslovak socialist culture is finding recognition abroad as a substantial contribution to world progressive culture as a whole.

These successes, however, are also due to the fact that the Party has always placed the emphasis both on the connection between art and national life and its progressive traditions and on the ideological aspect of works of art, pointing out that the unity of socialist ideological principles in art should be expressed in an internationalist orientation, that our culture should strengthen its vital link with the culture of the other socialist countries and the work of progressive artists throughout the world.

In its resolution on culture the Congress expressed confidence that Czechoslovak socialist art would continue to contribute to the consolidation and propagation of the ideas of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, and strengthen the solidarity of the peoples in the struggle for peace and against imperialism. The essence of the social function of culture consists precisely in this mission, in its indissoluble link with the life and requirements of the people.

The Congress was an impressive demonstration of proletarian internationalism, solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, and firm determination to ensure the unity of the world Communist movement. The participation of 68 delegations from Communist parties and 10 delegations from national-democratic and progressive parties highlighted the international significance of our Congress and vividly demonstrated the striving of the overwhelming majority of fraternal parties to restore the unity and enhance the militancy of the movement as a whole.

All the fraternal delegates who spoke at the Congress voiced similar views on the major problems of the movement and urgent world issues, above all the imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia, European security, and the problems of the national-liberation movement. They acquainted the delegates with the conditions in which their parties are working and the problems they are endeavoring to solve at present. In this sense the Congress developed into an important forum of a comradely exchange of revolutionary experience.

Our Party has always stressed that the cornerstone of Czechoslovak foreign policy is durable alliance and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union, the mightiest of the socialist countries, bulwark of the struggle against aggressive world imperialism. Congress again demonstrated our loyalty to this alliance. The delegates fully endorsed Comrade Novotny's words that firm ideological and political unity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet people would remain the basis of all the activities of our Party.

The delegates closely followed the speech made by Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU. Like all Czechoslovak working people, they know full well that cooperation with the Soviet Union provides the best conditions for the successful building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, that it is a reliable guarantee of its security.

In recent years our Central Committee, guided by the resolution of the 12th Congress, which condemned splitting trends and called for cohesion in the international Communist ranks, has been working actively to restore unity. We have consistently held that hostile polemics and slander are unworthy of the fraternal parties, for this can only gravely damage the Communist cause. And now, too, in keeping with the conclusions of the 13th Congress, we believe that joint actions can be organized only through systematic contacts, exchange of opinions and a comparison of viewpoints, with every party displaying a full sense of responsibility both

to the working people of its own country and to the movement as a whole and giving careful consideration to the positions of other fraternal parties.

Congress also stressed the need for bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the socialist states in all spheres as a means of enhancing the economic and political might of the socialist camp. For it is above all the achievements of the socialist countries, the practical implementation of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, that graphically demonstrate to the working people of other countries the advantages of the socialist system. Fraternal cooperation between socialist countries, especially as regards international division of labor and cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, will undoubtedly ensure further progress in this respect.

Cooperation between socialist countries not only promotes their economic progress, but also helps to enhance their international prestige, particularly in areas relating to security. This applies first and foremost to the Warsaw Treaty system, which, in view of the existence of the aggressive NATO bloc and the dangerous policy pursued by the Bonn government, is of decisive importance for ensuring the defense of its member countries and the integrity of the borders established after the Second World War. Our people want the problem of European security solved in such a way as would give them reliable guarantees in the event of a new offensive of German imperialism and militarism against their freedom and independence, and they are profoundly convinced that such a solution can be found.

European security was one of the topics most frequently dealt with in the pre-Congress discussion. The report of the Central Committee, which the Congress endorsed fully, supported the Soviet Union's proposal that a conference of the European countries be convened on this question, while the resolution on problems of the world Communist movement called for a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe to discuss joint action to ensure security on the continent.

The Congress paid special attention to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This aggression was vigorously denounced not only in the speeches of many delegates, but also in the addresses of foreign guests. A statement was adopted which, in full conformity with the sentiment of our people, condemned the aggression. The statement voices the firm determination of the Czechoslovak people to continue rendering, in the spirit of sincere friendship and socialist internationalism, full sup-

port to the Vietnamese people, and calls for large-scale international solidarity actions to help them in their struggle.

A lively response was evoked among the delegates by Comrade Novotny's words that a settlement of the Vietnam conflict is unthinkable without the discontinuation of the U.S. aggression, withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and respect for the sovereignty and independence of the Vietnamese people.

The delegates warmly applauded the head of the delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the representative of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, who used the rostrum of the Congress as an international forum for the defense of the just cause of the Vietnamese people, for exposing the U.S. imperialists, who are violating the most elementary principles of international law and humanity. Both representatives spoke in an atmosphere of solidarity of our people and of all the fraternal parties with the embattled people of Vietnam, and of readiness to continue rendering them all-round assistance in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

The Congress also took a stand on other international issues. It endorsed the principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence which, from the consistently Leninist standpoint, has a clearly defined class character. We regard this policy as an effective form of struggle against imperialist aggression, against colonialism, for the progressive ideals of mankind, as a form of peaceful settlement of international issues. The same stand was taken by a number of representatives of the fraternal parties.

The Congress, to which the Central Committee submitted a scientific analysis of the present international situation, showed that our Party regards the current worldwide struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism as inevitably developing in favor of the forces of socialism. At the same time it noted that this development does not follow a straight line, that the imperialists are doing their utmost to check the process of revolutionary transformation of the world.

All the more imperative, therefore, is the need for unity among all truly revolutionary forces, for cohesion in the world Communist movement. It goes without saying that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia respects the policies of the fraternal parties which are accomplishing the transition to socialism, each in its own particular way. But it is also obvious that awareness of common aims and the existence of a common enemy demand concerted action on all issues of principle.

At its 13th Congress the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia again underlined the importance it attaches to meetings and conferences of fraternal parties as a means of defining viewpoints, coordinating the activities of all the component parts of the world Communist movement, and achieving the unity of the movement. Such meetings would enable them to draw on a growing store of experience, to react correctly to the changes in the world and to concretize the common aims of the movement. In this connection the Congress re-emphasized that the Czechoslovak Communists, aware of their internationalist duty, will continue, in all areas of their activity, to adhere to the principle of fraternal solidarity of all working people, all the revolutionary forces of the world.

* * *

The work of the 13th Congress proceeded in an atmosphere of unanimity of views as regards the fundamental problems of Czechoslovakia's home and foreign policy. Its frank, business-like approach to issues, its realistic appraisal of the present-day conditions of social development, and the determination of the delegates to implement the line of the Party are finding expression today in the life and work of the people.

The Congress demonstrated the preparedness of our Party to carry forward its Leninist policy in a creative way, on the basis of scientific analysis of concrete conditions, in the complex situation which characterizes the present period in the economic, social and cultural development of our country.

At the same time the Congress demonstrated the readiness of the Party to continue to implement the common line of the Communist and Workers' parties based on the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism. Both the speeches and the resolutions laid the emphasis on the principles of proletarian internationalism, which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia unreservedly supports and which it is doing everything to implement in practice.

The striving of the Czechoslovak Communists to cement the unity of the world Communist movement, to heighten its influence and militancy in the struggle against imperialism, for peaceful relations between nations and for world-wide progress found concrete, vivid and convincing expression at the Congress. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will, as always, stand shoulder to shoulder with all the revolutionary forces of the world, making its contribution to strengthening the socialist community and the unity of the world Communist movement. It will remain loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The use of incentives in agriculture

From the Experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party

IVAN PRYMOV

THE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM in the rural areas of Bulgaria cleared the way for the rapid development of agriculture, which has undergone a radical transformation in the past 15-20 years. All our peasants have either joined cooperatives or work on state-owned farms. We now have 868 cooperative farms cultivating an average of 3,700 hectares each, and 151 state-owned farms, each averaging 4,100 hectares.

Our once backward and low-return agriculture has become a highly productive, profitable branch of the socialist economy. It possesses a modern technological base and substantial production funds which ensure steady growth of output. Its structure, too, has changed. There is more specialization and production has become more concentrated. The rate of advance is relatively high, the average annual growth of production exceeding 5 per cent in the past seven or eight years. As a result, our agriculture is fully able to meet the country's needs.

At present there are 1,800,000 people engaged in agriculture, or roughly 47 per cent of the total labor force; this compares with 80-85 per cent before the Second World War. At the same time farm output is nearly double pre-war. In step with industrialization and the creation of a solid technological base in the countryside farming has been put increasingly

on an industrial footing. Latterly this process has been gaining pace, ushering in what is in effect a new stage in the development of our agriculture.

* * *

An important part in ensuring the success of socialism in the countryside, in building up cooperatives and increasing both farm output and the cooperators' income has been played by the policy of the Communist Party and the government in regard to incentives.

What, concretely, was done in the course of the organization of the cooperative farms to provide the stimuli necessary to maintain production at a high level? From the very outset the Communist Party was fully aware that in order to consolidate the cooperatives and to give their members an incentive to promote joint production, it was necessary above all to provide, with state aid, a *solid material and technological base for the new, cooperative system* which would guarantee the growth of both cooperative production and the cooperative farmers' income. This was the underlying principle of the Party's agricultural reconstruction policy.

At the initial stage of the cooperative movement, when the poor peasants and part of the middle peasants who first pooled their efforts were short of implements and draught animals and the cooperatives were still eco-

nomically too weak to procure the machinery they needed, the government set up a system of machine and tractor stations which serviced the cooperatives on easy terms. These stations gave substantial impetus to mechanization.

On the eve of the socialist revolution in 1944, 22.7 per cent of the peasants had no draught animals at all, and 9.1 per cent only one each; 18.7 per cent lacked even the simplest modern implements, and only 30.2 per cent used iron ploughs, the remainder made do with the wooden plough. At present our agriculture has some 67,000 tractors (in terms of 15-hp. units) and the cultivators, seed drills and harvesting equipment to go with them. Practically all the basic farm work has been mechanized, as has protection of crops from pests and disease. Something like 100 planes are used to combat pests. In general, state aid in mechanizing farm production has been an important stimulus to the cooperator.

After mechanization the Party focussed attention on removing other obstacles to the development of the productive forces in the countryside. The first contradiction that had to be solved related to the use of the land and farm machinery and stemmed from the difference between the ownership of these basic means of production. The fact that the land belonged to the cooperative farms and the machines to the state did not provide any incentive to the cooperatives to make the most rational use of machinery. This contradiction was eliminated in 1962-63 by selling the basic machines to the cooperatives. Simultaneously the prices paid by the government for farm produce were increased to compensate the cooperatives for the cost of the machinery and its maintenance. This gave a new spur to further mechanization.

The new five-year plan provides for a substantial improvement in the supply of machinery to the farm through development of home production of agricultural machinery and increased imports of tractors, cultivators and other equipment.

The government is helping in the electrification and chemicalization of agriculture. Nearly all farm buildings and installations in the cooperatives use electricity. A number of chemical works, including plants producing nitrogen and phosphate fertilizers and pesticides, have been built. In 1965 an average of 281.7 kilograms of chemical fertilizers of domestic manufacture were supplied per hectare of cultivated land. The corresponding prewar figure was seven-tenths of a kilogram, and this was imported. Mention should be made

of the high returns from the use of fertilizers. For example, the economic gain from the use of ammonium nitrate on land sown to wheat amounts to about 36 stotinki per kilogram used, while the cost of this fertilizer is only ten stotinki per kilogram. The effect is still greater in the case of vegetables and industrial and fodder crops.

Special attention is paid to reclamation and irrigation. By the end of 1965 the irrigated area had increased from 36,000 hectares before the war to 91,300.

Factories making cattle feed are being built, as part of a comprehensive scheme for highly profitable livestock raising. Factory-made feed has the advantage of being relatively cheap, replacing fodder grains such as maize, barley and oats.

Agriculture has also been strengthened by such measures as: exemption of newly-formed cooperatives from government and local taxes over a period of three years, sale of building materials, select seed and pedigree stock on easy terms, extending low-interest government credits to the cooperatives to finance the planting of orchards and vineyards, construction of irrigation and drainings installations, and providing free agronomic and engineering assistance.

* * *

The price paid for produce and the principles observed in distributing income are important from the standpoint of stimulating production. The Party is guided by the principle that the prices paid for produce and the prices charged for machinery and implements should be related to the socially necessary labor expended. Moreover, the price policy was designed to guarantee adequate accumulation of funds for expanding the material and technological base of the cooperatives and ensuring a steady rise in members' income. As for distribution of income, such a ratio had to be ensured between that part of the cooperative income which goes to society as a whole and the joint funds of the cooperatives, on the one hand, and the part distributed among the cooperators, on the other, as would ensure an annual increase in personal income corresponding to the growth of production.

The Party likewise took cognizance of the fact that the optimal ratio between the share of cooperative income channeled to the accumulation fund and to the consumption fund which provides an incentive to good work depends not only on the correlation of the prices paid for farm produce and those charged for the manufactured goods needed

in agriculture, but also on the system of planning, purchase of produce, supply of machines, fertilizers, etc.

How were these problems resolved? What has the Party done in recent years, for example, in the matter of fixing purchasing prices so as to provide an incentive to the farms and in organizing a rational system of purchasing?

It should be mentioned that for some time (in 1952-56), owing to subjectivist mistakes in shaping economy policy, the cooperatives received for their obligatory deliveries of produce prices which failed to cover cost of production. This adversely affected the rate of growth in agriculture.

These mistakes were gradually rectified, after the April 1956 meeting of the Central Committee, and a comprehensive program was launched to strengthen the cooperative and state farms in every way. Obligatory deliveries were gradually abolished and a system of purchase on a contract basis introduced. Purchasing prices were increased and the selling prices of some means of production, in particular mineral fertilizers, motor fuel and building materials, reduced. This established more correct price ratios, provided a greater incentive to the cooperatives and their members and increased their real income.

In the process of perfecting the system of incentives the economic difficulties encountered by cooperatives in hill farming areas where conditions are least favorable were overcome. To this end a joint state and cooperative fund guaranteeing a minimum remuneration for labor was established. It played a positive role in promoting the economy in these areas. In order to make the most rational use of this fund it was later decided to draw on it for premiums to the hill farmers to encourage them to grow field crops and livestock products for sale to the state.

The basic principles governing distribution of income are laid down in the statutes of the cooperative farms. Part of the total common product of the cooperatives goes to cover expenses, to expand joint production and to meet public requirements, the other part is divided among the producers in accordance with the quantity and quality of their labor. Out of the first part the following funds are formed: a fund for expanding production and improving techniques which is used to augment basic and turnover funds, to raise the technological level of production and to train personnel; a social and cultural fund, used to improve the conditions and cultural standards of the cooperative members, and a fund

for remuneration of labor, designed to guarantee a stable annual income for the farmers.

This system creates the conditions for normal reproduction and timely remuneration of the producers, thus providing an incentive to the latter to increase production. All in all, wide scope has been given to material stimuli.

Their production achievements and the distribution of income described above have enabled the cooperatives to build up substantial public funds. For example, the cooperative farm in the village of Lovchantsy has a big enough common fund to provide substantial social benefits besides paying for new machinery and other improvements. School children under fifteen receive two free meals a day. The cooperative pay for the medicines needed by its members. In poor crop years cooperators can draw on an insurance fund which amounts to 29 per cent of the annual wage fund. Retired members receive from the social insurance fund ten leva monthly to augment their regular pensions. Similar benefits are provided in nearly all cooperatives. Besides, the common funds are used to build roads and water supply systems.

* * *

It is sometimes assumed that to provide a steady incentive to the farmer under socialism it is necessary to keep on raising the prices paid for produce or granting him other advantages. This, however, is an erroneous view.

Needless to say, it is important for a producer to have up-to-date means of production and to sell his produce at a profit. And this is the case of Bulgaria. In our conditions, however, when the means of production are socialist property and products are socially and not privately appropriated, the system of accounting and remuneration of each worker for his labor is of cardinal importance.

In the early years of the cooperatives, when we still had very little experience, there were serious shortcomings in this respect. The biggest was that the portion of the gross income earmarked for payment for labor was distributed among the cooperators equally, without taking into account the concrete part played by each in the production process. This kind of "levelling" was not in accord with socialist organization of farm production. It did not provide an incentive to good work.

All that is now a matter of the past. No cooperative today has such a primitive system. For the past fifteen years, and with particularly good results in recent years, the Party has pursued a policy of implementing more and

more fully the socialist principle of payment according to labor, which is the most effective stimulus to production effort. Through all these years the Party has worked to elaborate the most equitable forms and methods of payment for different types of labor. And the forms and methods that have struck root are those which best take into account the quantity and quality of labor expended and its end result.

At present there are two main ways of gearing remuneration to the end result: payment according to net product (the value expression of newly expended labor) and according to net income.

The net product indicator provides an incentive to cooperators to work harder and to make more efficient use of the means of production. The procedure is simple enough. When production tasks are set for the various teams, sections or other production units, the ratio between expenditure on payment for labor and the planned production task is also fixed, and this is taken as a basis for establishing the final remuneration at the end of the year. The greater the net product of the farm or its units the bigger the allocation for the remuneration fund.

Some cooperatives pay their various production units according to the share each has contributed to the net income of the farm as a whole. The system works as follows. The Board sets for each production unit an annual production target and fixes the size of its remuneration fund, and on this basis determines the net income the given unit should contribute to the common pool. The higher the net income of the unit, the more its members will receive. Each unit naturally strives to obtain as big an income as possible.

Managerial personnel are also paid according to the end results obtained by the farms or units they head. For this purpose the Ministry of Agriculture has worked out a wage scale for leading personnel geared to the net product of the cooperative, the average income of the cooperators, and the growth of profitability. This system heightens the confidence reposed by the cooperative members in their executives besides providing a greater incentive to the latter.

Under both systems of payment, the members and executives of cooperative farms are paid in advance in the course of the year 70 per cent of the total remuneration envisaged by the plan, and the remaining 30 per cent is paid at the end of the year, according to the net product or net income, as the case may be.

* * *

The principle of material stimuli is develop-

ed further in the new system of management. Indeed, fuller, consistent implementation of the Leninist principle of material interest and responsibility is a feature of this system, which calls for re-examination of the stimuli applied hitherto. Above all, the wage fund is to be made dependent on the end results of the production activity of the enterprises and their individual workers. This should help to increase the productivity of labor and the output of high-quality goods for which there is a demand. The bigger the returns, the higher the income accruing to society as a whole, to the enterprise, and to the individual worker. This presupposes correct assessment of the actual contribution made by each worker. To this end it is imperative to extend cost accounting to the various production sectors and to improve the organization of labor. In this connection let us examine some aspects of planning and cost accounting and see how they affect our farmers.

For proper planning of farm work it is necessary to take full account of the production conditions and possibilities of each agricultural enterprise. Coordinating economic tasks and the concrete conditions on each farm is the most important thing in drawing up production plans for the cooperatives. The new economic system provides exceptionally favorable conditions for this.

Until 1962 management by orders from the top predominated in planning and directing agriculture effort. The cooperatives were subordinated directly to the people's councils, which are governmental bodies. These handed down detailed plans stipulating what crops to plant, on what areas and within what time limits, the yield per unit of area, what livestock the farm should have, where it should channel its investments, and so on. All told hundreds of indicators were handed down by the central planners. This excessive centralism in planning the smallest details fettered the initiative of the managers of the farms, the agricultural specialists and the rank-and-file producers. With the expansion of mechanization the adverse effect of this kind of planning made itself felt more and more every year.

The new system abolishes administrative methods in management and planning. During the transition from the old system to the new, obligatory planned targets for the centralized sale of product by the cooperatives will be set for food and feed grains, rice, beans, millet, sunflower seed, hemp, tomatoes, peppers, meat, milk and eggs. Orchards and vineyards are also subject to centralized planning. But all told there now are 13 such in-

dicators as against 600 in 1962. No other planned targets are set by governmental bodies. Within the next few years, when all the levers of the new system become operative, it will gradually become unnecessary for the state to set any obligatory targets at all.

How, then, will production be regulated so as to ensure society the agricultural produce it needs? This will be done through a system of contracts between the cooperative farms and purchasing and marketing organizations. We already have a number of these, for example, Bulgarplod, which purchases, processes and places fruit and vegetables on the home and foreign markets; Rodops, an organization for purchasing, processing and marketing livestock products at home and abroad; and Vinprem, which handles grapes intended for wine-making as well as the export of wines.

These organizations are independent corporations functioning on a cost accounting basis. They are subordinated to the corresponding ministries, which coordinate and direct their activities. But since they are responsible for carrying out the tasks set for them, in their case too administrative methods of guidance on the part of the ministers are ruled out.

The example of Bulgarplod will show how the purchasing and marketing organizations operate. The Council of Ministers sets it its state task, specified by a number of indicators. In accordance with these, the organization draws up its plan and deals directly with the cooperative and state farms, concluding with them mutually advantageous contracts for one or another kind of farm product. The main thing here is mutual trust and interest in the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken in the contracts.

Bulgarplod cannot compel a farm to conclude a contract which would not be to its advantage. If the commitments undertaken by a cooperative farm one year prove economically disadvantageous to it, it need not renew them the next year, it can turn to other production efforts — for instance, plant grain, fodder crops or tobacco instead of vegetables — or shift the emphasis to livestock raising or any other more profitable sphere. Inasmuch as the wages of the personnel of the purchasing organization and the income of those working on the farms depend on the end results of their efforts, both are interested in concluding mutually advantageous agreements.

Bulgarplod is interested in trading on the home market in top-quality fruits and vegetables, for which there is the biggest demand.

Consequently, it extends economic aid to producers to promote the cultivation of the more valuable crops. It is also interested in high productivity of labor and low cost of production so as to be able to compete on the world market, and hence helps the producers to increase efficiency and cut costs by providing them with machinery and building sorting centres, refrigeration units and so on.

Experimental application of the basic levers of the new system in a number of farms in 1964-65 increased their production and improved its quality, besides making for a sounder system of remuneration for labor. This in turn provided an added incentive to better work. In view of this Central Committee of the Party already in 1965 recommended all cooperative and state farms to introduce cost accounting in all their production units. Now all cooperatives and state farms are organizing their work on this basis.

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The steps taken by the Party to bringing personal interest to bear to a greater extent on the production performance of the rural working people are in the long run directed at two aims. The first is to raise agricultural production to a level required by our society with the active participation of the peasants. This objective is being reached. Agriculture is on the upgrade. The peasants fully support the Party's farm policy.

The second objective is to raise the rural standard of living. Here too substantial headway has been made. In the eight years from 1957 to 1965 the income of the members of cooperative farms rose from 656 million to 1,038 million leva. A tangible expression of the improvement in the rural standard of living is the rebuilding of villages since the establishment of people's rule and especially in the last seven or eight years. The villages are rapidly becoming urban-type settlements, with less and less prewar houses remaining from year to year. They are completely electrified and most have their own water supply. Today there is little difference between the furnishings of village and city homes.

The rising standard of living is also evident in the fact that practically all peasant children finish their eight-year schooling (now obligatory) and continue their studies in vocational and polytechnical schools and colleges, whereas formerly the majority could not go beyond junior secondary school. More than 14,000 specialists with a higher education now work on the cooperative and state farms as against the less than 1,800 engaged in agri-

culture before the war. And most of these are of peasant origin.

Since 1957 peasants have qualified for pension (women at the age of 55 and men at 60) and free medical care. Holiday homes accommodating more than 114,000 annually have been opened for working peasants. The number of children's nurseries and playgrounds on the cooperative and state farms is increasing from year to year. These are maintained by the farms, which also cover a large part of the cost of feeding the children. Before the cooperatives were formed there were no children's institutions in the countryside; now there are more than 6,000, attended by 250,000 children.

These gains are associated with the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. They are proof that only socialism, which does away with the exploitation of man by man, can ensure the peasants a well-to-do and enlightened life.

The 8th Congress of the Party adopted a program of economic development up to 1980. With the fulfilment of this program our agriculture will increase its production 2.5-fold over 1960 and take one of the leading places in the world for intensive use of land, returns from livestock raising, labor productivity and cost of production. The difficulties encountered as we advance towards this grand goal stem from the fact that our agriculture still suffers from periodic draught (although nearly 1,000,000 hectares have already been protected from the effects of dry spells) and that

we still do not produce enough fertilizer. Mechanization, too, is still inadequate. But these are difficulties of growth. When we turned to socialism twenty years ago, our material and technological base in all branches of production, including agriculture, was extremely weak. With each new five-year span, however, these difficulties are becoming more and more a thing of the past.

One of the most important factors ensuring the realization of the agricultural program adopted by the 8th Congress is the pursuance by the Party of a correct economic policy, the correct solution of the problems associated with material stimuli, as a result of which the peasants have rallied as one man behind the Party.

No less important is the fact that Bulgaria is a member of the community of socialist countries with which it is engaged in fruitful cooperation. Especially valuable for us is cooperation with the Soviet Union, which helps to develop not only our industry, but also our agriculture, placing at our disposal its rich experience, credits, technology, and especially its vast market where our agricultural products find a ready demand.

The Bulgarian peasants are stepping out along the highroad of progress under the leadership of the Communist Party. This road, illuminated by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, leads to happiness and prosperity, to the complete victory of communism.

The significance of the popular front in France

GEORGES COGNIOT

ON FEBRUARY 6, 1934, fascist organizations in France attempted to seize power. The economic crisis and the desire of the capitalist oligarchies to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the workers, the tendency of the big bourgeoisie to resort to violence, to anti-labor and anti-democratic methods, and last but not least, the advent of Hitler to power in Germany played into their hands. But the road to fascism was barred by the policy of united action pursued by the Communist Party. With tenacity and political foresight the Party fought at first for a united front with the Socialist Party and, after the conclusion of an agreement on united action on July 27, 1934, for the Popular Front, which won its first big victory with the mass demonstration in Paris on July 14, 1935.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International hailed the prospects opened up by the broad policy of unity pursued by the French Party.

Thirty years ago in April-May 1936, the electoral bloc of democratic parties, chiefly the Communists, the Socialists and the Radicals, won the general election, gaining 376 seats in the Chamber of Deputies as against 222 seats for their opponents. The Communist group increased the number of its seats from 10 to 72. The Socialist Leon Blum became Prime Minister.

THE POSITIVE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BALANCE

The election was the signal for the great strikes of May and June. Eight million work-

ers stopped work, occupied the factories, offices and big shops and, with the full support of the public, forced the hitherto intransigent employers, (who had taken advantage of the crisis to fleece the workers) to carry out some substantial reforms. The workers won considerable wage increases, recognition of trade union rights, a 40-hour working week, paid vacations and collective bargaining.

These measures, set forth in the Popular Front program, were now embodied in social legislation adopted by Parliament with all speed. The presence of a strong Communist group in Parliament played an important role in this respect.

The conditions of the workers notably improved. Life became pleasanter, happier and the workers enjoyed greater freedom. It was not only the standard of living that had risen, the very tenor of life changed. For the working class of today the events of the summer of 1936 will always stand out as a landmark in their history. They regard the Popular Front days as the days of their power and dignity, of a just policy that fitted in with their aspirations.

A number of other legislative measures improved the position of the civil servants, ex-servicemen, artisans and small shopkeepers whose interests had suffered under the previous governments. The Popular Front was above all an alliance of workers and peasants whose incomes had been cut by three-fifths during the economic crisis. It rendered effective aid to the peasants by setting up a State Grain Board to regulate the grain market.

Apart from social progress, one of the big-

gest achievements of the Popular Front, was the progress made in the sphere of culture. Much was done to bring culture, formerly the exclusive domain of the privileged few, within reach of the masses. Sport, tourism, music became more accessible to the workingman. The school-leaving age was raised. Many intellectuals, eager to serve the workers' interests, drew closer to the working class.

But, as Maurice Thorez stressed in December 1937 at the 9th Congress of the Communist Party, notwithstanding the achievements, even in the social sphere, much still remained to be done. And he urged that the pace of progress be accelerated.

Beginning with May 1936 the cost of living rose 40 per cent on the average. This was due primarily to the repeated devaluation of the franc, despite Communist protests, and to nonfulfilment of the financial program of the Popular Front. The government did nothing to prevent the outflow of capital or to create new reserves by taxing large incomes. The Communist slogan "Make the Rich Pay!" was not carried out.

In the absence of a serious program of public works, unemployment remained at a high level. In the latter part of 1936 the big capitalists launched an offensive against collective bargaining and for the abolition of the 40-hour week. Many of the demands of the working peasant remained unsatisfied. The question of old age pensions was not settled. In February 1937 the government announced a "pause" in the reforms. Nevertheless the major gains won in the summer of 1936 continued to exert the dominant influence in the sphere of social relations.

From the political standpoint, on the other hand, no one could deny the success of the united front and the Popular Front. The people had routed Hitler's French imitators. The sacrifices had not been useless; those who lost their lives in the great anti-fascist demonstration in Paris on February 9, 1934, had not died in vain. Thanks to the unity and activity of the masses, fascism had been defeated in France. The political designs of the reactionaries, who had been preparing for civil war, were foiled.

Naked fascist dictatorship together with all the anti-parliament demagoguery expounded for years by the advocates of "strong government" in the service of "Electricite" and Comite des Forges, and all the agitation in favor of an authoritarian system were swept away by the popular struggle. The ravings of the fascists and other reactionaries evoked revulsion among the public and heightened the fighting spirit, the confidence and enthusiasm of the democratic camp.

True, fascism was not completely extirpated in France. The repeated acts of violence by fascist-type elements during the Popular Front period, and such acts of police brutality (no cleanup had taken place in the police force) as the shooting at an anti-fascist demonstration in Clichy on March 16, 1937, showed that the danger had not been completely eliminated. Nevertheless fascism had been dealt a crushing blow in the struggle for the masses (which explains why it resorted to terror and provocation). Political developments in France offered a striking demonstration above all of the vitality of democracy. The existence of the Popular Front and its achievements clearly showed that the role of democracy had not been exhausted in our country.

It had been demonstrated that not only was fascism not inevitable, but that the Popular Front had proved to be a constructive force in the economic, social and cultural spheres. It preserved and even extended democratic rights, notably by recognizing trade union rights and introducing workers' representation in the enterprises.

The General Confederation of Labour (CGT) whose membership after the strikes had risen to five million, enjoyed great prestige among the population. In the eyes of the world the People's Front was the victorious affirmation of democracy, its latest political and social achievement. The working class substantially strengthened its political and organizational positions. It was fulfilling its historic role in the life of the country, its destiny as the motive force of social and national progress.

The question of a united working-class party now came sharply to the fore. The Communists stressed the importance of solving this problem on a class basis. The Socialist Party agreed in principle and showed a readiness to discuss ways and means of putting the idea into effect. Clearly, had the two parties continued along this path a powerful force could have been built that would have been of inestimable value to democracy.

THE NEGATIVE ASPECT

But the activity of the French working class was not unaffected by what was happening outside the national boundaries. Its very achievements were additional reason for reaction to seek to impose a fascist dictatorship on France by other means, by the bayonets of Hitler and Mussolini, supported of course by the "fifth column." The reactionaries hoped to achieve by outside intervention what they had failed to bring about from within. Thus for our people the fight for free-

dom merged with action for peace, security and national independence. The fight for freedom and progress could not be a purely national issue without betraying its very essence. It was not just an internal matter; by force of circumstances it acquired a universal character, as the Communist Party had repeatedly pointed out.

Hence beginning with June 1936 France should have taken the initiative in pursuing a policy of safeguarding peace. And she could have done so, because the role of the Soviet Union in world affairs was steadily growing, and because in the United States, Britain, Belgium, Holland and other countries the balance was tipping in favor of the democratic forces, as was demonstrated in the report of the Central Committee at the 9th Congress of the Party.

France could have become strong had she placed her stakes on the alliance in defence of democracy uniting the masses all over the world, inspired by the idea of the People's Front. In France the widespread social and political movement, the unity movement in the trade unions and Communist participation in the government majority were of inestimable significance for the country insofar as they reflected the emergence of popular unity capable of effectively upholding the nation's independence.

Have not the masses affirmed time and again their right to be the custodians of the national flag, their army and their country, with all the duties and responsibilities ensuing therefrom? Would they not have all the more reason to defend a country in which there would be greater freedom and less injustice?

The report of the Central Committee to the 9th Congress of the Communist Party stressed:

"The policy of fascism is preparation for war, it is war. The policy of democracy is a policy of fidelity to one's commitments, respect for the League of Nations Charter, recognition of the principle of the indivisibility of peace and international solidarity in the struggle against war. The policy of democracy implies organization of collective security through the conclusion of mutual aid pacts, 'in accordance with the principles of the Franco-Soviet pact', as the program of the Popular Front declares."

The Blum government, formed as a result of the victory of the Popular Front, did not adhere to this policy. Instead it blockaded Republican Spain, while Hitler and Mussolini were supporting the Franco rebellion.

The policy of "non-intervention," running counter as it did to the letter and spirit of the

People's Front program which set forth concrete conditions for collective security and applying sanctions in the event of aggression, opened the first serious breach in the alliance of the democratic forces. This compelled the Communist deputies on December 4, 1936, to table a motion of non-confidence in the government.

Needless to say, this policy was accompanied by all kinds of promises and overtures to the fascist powers. The result, as we know, was deplorable. The government assumed it could appease them by desisting from strengthening the peace front, rejecting any agreement between the general staffs of the USSR and France, which would have been a natural and essential complement to the 1935 Pact, and by making concession after concession to the fascist dictators.

In the circumstances the Communist Party was duty bound to open the eyes of the people to the gospel of war and hatred preached by the Nazis, by quoting from *Mein Kampf* even from the rostrum of the Chamber of Deputies and demanding that implications of this book be explained and commented on in all schools.

The policy of the government facilitated the strengthening of the aggressive bloc built around the Rome-Berlin axis and increased the danger to peace.

SABOTAGE BY THE EMPLOYERS

It need hardly be said that this wishy-washy foreign policy was accompanied by criminal connivance in the economic subversion resorted to by the capitalist oligarchy. Believing that sabotage was the best way to discredit the policy of the Popular Front, the big employers began to curtail production in every way they could, dooming skilled workers to unemployment. They literally followed the advice given to Lambert Ribot, their delegate in the ILO, by the representative of fascist Italy in June 1936: "The only way to bridle the working class is to close the factories and paralyze economic life."

The "200 families" crippled the economy and the national defences in order to break the Popular Front. The plutocracy betrayed the national interests. The employers took their cue from agencies such as the Social Security and Action Committee founded after the events of June 1936 and headed by the ex-Minister Germain Martin. This Committee made no secret of its admiration for authoritarian regimes abroad, it lauded the fascist movements which, it believed, should have been organized in France as well. It main-

tained the best of relations with the General Confederation of Employers.

Even bourgeois journalists noted that "certain groups of the finance and industrial oligarchy, prompted by their class interests and greed for profit, are playing a defeatist game in our democratic country. They would be the losers if Hitler and Mussolini were to fall."

The oligarchy regarded Hitlerism as an excellent weapon against the "social danger," Hitler and Mussolini as the custodians of capitalist "civilization," and the fascist states as the champions of privilege.

The Popular Front disintegrated in 1938. In the course of that year more and more concessions were made to the fascist powers and this led in September to the shameful surrender at Munich, which completed the collapse of the Popular Front and which was immediately followed by a government offensive against the working class. This found expression in the November ordinances aimed at annulling the social gains of 1936. Experience showed, and no one has any doubts on this score today, that it was "non-intervention" that engendered Munich, that Munich opened the way in 1939 and eventually led to the defeat of 1940. The line pursued in relation to Spain fully corresponded to the general foreign policy course of our country before the war. History thus passed stern judgment on a foreign policy too similar, alas, to that pursued from the summer of 1936 to the autumn of 1938.

THE ACHILLES HEEL OF THE POPULAR FRONT

The masses fought against the continual debasement of policy, especially foreign policy. The numerous demonstrations held under the slogan "Guns and Planes for Spain!" revealed above all the political farsightedness of the working people and their love for their country. Why, then, were they unable to safeguard peace and the national interests? Why could the Popular Front not withstand the pressure of foreign and domestic reaction which was supported by the subversive maneuvers of some leaders officially described as "Left?"

The main weakness of the Popular Front was that, despite all the efforts of the Communists, the movement did not rest on a ramified system of grass-roots committees open to all democrats which would have made it possible to give free rein to the independent activity of the masses. These committees should have become the primary rally-

ing centers of the supporters of the Popular Front in the factories, urban communities and villages. Instead, the Popular Front remained only an association of the parties and organizations affiliated with it. It was never more than a meeting place for the leaders of organizations, a cartel of organizations.

With a view to promoting unity, carrying out the program of the Popular Front, stimulating its activity, and building the vitally necessary local committee, our Party proposed that a broad national congress be called of all organizations belonging to the Front. This idea was advanced in July 1937 when serious difficulties were encountered with the establishment of the Chautemps government, which marked a new stage of retreat for the Popular Front. Our Party proposed submitting to the congress all the problems relating to a common program and its implementation. This congress, as our Party pointed out later, could have elected a national committee empowered to advise the government, which would have had to take this advice into account. The idea of such a congress was again advanced at the 9th Congress of the Communist Party in December 1937.

Regrettably, however, the Socialist and Radical leaders rejected the Communist proposals. The concepts of the Popular Front as a cartel of organizations on local and departmental scale and at national committee level prevailed. The road was opened for the degeneration of the Popular Front from an alliance of the working class and the middle strata with deep roots in the country, from an expression of a real mass movement against fascism and for an advanced and dynamic democracy, into a simple top-level association of affiliated organizations susceptible to reactionary pressures and vulnerable to disruptive maneuvers.

In June 1937, with the reactionary counter offensive threatening the very existence of the Popular Front, the Communist Party, which until then had not taken part in the government, declared its readiness to enter a broad government which would champion the interests of the working people. This was the only way out of the difficult situation that had arisen. But it could become feasible only if it had sufficient support throughout the nation. And here too it became apparent that the absence of a ramified mass democratic Popular Front organization had made an adverse imprint on the country's political life. The proposal to appoint Communist ministers to a government of national salvation, a proposal that was never withdrawn, was not accepted.

THE POPULAR FRONT—A NEW FORM OF ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE MIDDLE SECTIONS

The Popular Front existed for only two or three years. But it left a vivid and ineradicable mark in French history. To this day the parties and the masses frequently refer to it. In the memory of those who lived in that period, in the history that has recorded it for others, the Popular Front is not just a transitory and commonplace episode in the coalition of democratic forces with a democratic government of a more or less traditional type. Memories of it are evoked today by the new situation, a new spirit representing a break with customary politics; they are linked with a genuine, developing democracy, a dynamic democracy in a continuous process of evolution.

June 1936 witnessed the birth not only of a great popular hope, as some historians see it, but also of a profound conviction that a mutually advantageous alliance of the working class and broad middle strata, primarily the peasantry, is possible. Both the working class and the middle strata suffered from monopoly policy, longed for reform, and together formed the living heart of the nation. All this refuted the "theory" current among bourgeois sociologists and historians that in the conditions of the twentieth century, the small and middle bourgeoisie are bound to side with the big reactionary bourgeoisie, are fated to fall under the political influence of the latter and hence join force with it against the working class.

The Popular Front was not an electoral combination of secondary importance. Nor was it a temporary common front of resistance to the fascist danger (fascism raised its head on February 6, 1934). It was something more, a great militant initiative aimed at accelerating the march of history, at striking a blow by the united forces of the sound, hardworking core of the nation, against the two hundred families who were plundering the country and were set on betraying it. The Popular Front was a new departure, the product of a broad movement uniting the proletarian and petty bourgeois masses who had awakened to the fact that their common interests were injured by the monopolies and that they bore a joint responsibility for the future of the nation.

The Popular Front had nothing in common with previous "Left blocs", in the first place because it included the General Confederation of Labor and other organizations which were not political parties, and, secondly, which is

most important, because the political content of the coalition was quite different. In the "Left blocs" and "Left Cartels" of the old type, say, before 1914 or after 1918, which took in the Socialist and Radical parties, the working class was at best an ancillary force, a mere political appendage to same capitalist parties and sacrificing its freedom of action. In 1936, on the contrary, the working class began to fulfil its historical role, to act as a force determining and guiding the destinies of the country.

No longer did the working class confine itself merely to proclaiming its leading role. It began to exercise that role. In particular it worked out a completely new social policy and effected a profound change in its own mode of life. This is evident from the fact that the social legislation of 1936 underlay the reforms carried out after liberation in 1945-46 and to this day determines the tenor of the workers' life (despite such setbacks as, for example, the abolition of the 40-hour week).

The working class proved that it is loyal to its alliances, and that the middle strata do not lose by cooperating with it. The demands of the latter were in considerable measure satisfied. More could have been achieved as regards, for instance, the demands of the peasants, had the persistent representations of the Communist Party on their behalf been heeded.

In upholding the interests of the middle sections, the Communist Party was the champion of the Popular Front of which it was also the initiator.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE POPULAR FRONT

The Popular Front did not spring up spontaneously and not simply because of the objective need to combat fascism and extend the united front of the working class. The broad masses undoubtedly went into action and were awakened to political activity by the consequences of the economic crisis and the threat of putsches. The birth date of the Popular Front of struggle for bread, liberty, and peace is known precisely, October 9-24, 1934. And so is its initiator: the French Communist Party. It was then that Maurice Thorez on behalf of the Party put forward the idea of creating such a front and defined it as an alliance of the working class and the middle strata.

Subsequently, too, the Communist Party played an indispensable role in the development of the Front. At each stage it was the

Communists who provided the theoretical groundwork for a policy expressing the aspirations of the masses.

The entire period from 1934 to 1938 offered daily evidence of practical steps taken by the Communist Party to build, develop and safeguard the Popular Front even at the most difficult times. But no less important was the Party's theoretical work in this period.

Particularly noteworthy was the Party's sober assessment of the results of the 1936 elections. The returns revealed the limited nature of the victory won at the polls, for millions of peasants and members of the urban middle sections continued to vote for parties hostile to the Popular Front.

Should the country have been left split in two? All the forces of reaction were working to deepen the division. In particular, the Church hierarchy made full use of the June strikes of 1936 and later of the Spanish events to set the Catholics against the Front. The Communist Party, which at its 8th Congress in January 1936 steered a course towards uniting the nation, advanced on August 6, 1936 the idea of a broader alignment, of expanding the Popular Front by bringing in representatives of other parties on the basis of a democratic and national program.

This initiative was epitomized by the slogan of a *French Front* reflecting a striving to save France from being divided into two irreconcilable blocs capable of leading to civil war or to the collapse of the Popular Front. This slogan embodied a resolve to unite the nation in the face of the growing danger of war and betrayal on the part of the ultra-reactionary elements of the big bourgeoisie.

The Socialist and Radical leaders did not accept the proposal for a French Front. Some chose to regard it as a means of "heightening patriotic feeling . . . in anticipation of a conflict which they in their heart of hearts believed to be inevitable". Actually the issue was one of averting war, curbing those who would instigate conflicts and engineer aggression, by building an alliance of all the sound forces of our country. The French Front, which was rejected in 1936 when it could have prevented the subsequent development of events and forestalled disaster, was formed only much later, in the grim but glorious years of struggle against the Nazi invader.

In any case the French Communist Party was farsighted. Its role in the Popular Front was decisive. History has confirmed this.

THE LESSONS REMAIN TIMELY

The trends which emerged in French society

thirty years ago have become more pronounced since then. The lessons of the epoch-making experience of the Popular Front, if due account is taken of the dictates of our time, have lost none of their significance. What was then an alliance of the working class and the middle strata now takes the form of the unity of all anti-monopoly forces against the finance oligarchy and its instrument, one man rule.

To achieve this union the aims must be precisely defined. Just as in 1936, the program of the united democratic forces remains the basic issue. The question of the program of the united democratic forces is as basic an issue today as it was in 1936, a question of political clarity and integrity in the relations between classes and the democratic strata of the nation, in relations between the parties which speak in their name.

On January 12, 1936, when the program of popular unity came into being the importance and novelty of this development was clear to all. For the first time since the establishment of the Republic all the Left parties and groupings came to agreement on a precisely defined range of demands. The previous types of purely electoral alliances had had no common program. But this time the country was offered a bold and realistic platform and perspective marked by a creative, pioneering spirit.

As for the program the democratic forces need today, it can learn a great deal from the lessons of the Popular Front. The period of the Popular Front was one of economic subversion by the "two hundred families" whose sense of civic duty and patriotism is no keener today than it was thirty years ago. These families should be stripped to the maximum of economic and political power through nationalization of monopoly-owned industry. There should be profound democratization of management in the nationalized sector, vesting real economic power in a democratic parliament, and extension of the rights of the working class at both nationalized and non-nationalized enterprises.

Moreover, much was said at the time of the Popular Front about "instilling a republican spirit" in the state institutions. Little was achieved in this respect. Diplomacy and higher financial bodies, for example, remained in the hands of the oligarchy. There was no clean-up in the police. The consequences were grave indeed. By and large the old office-holders retained possession of the levers of administration. Today democratization of the political, administrative, military, and judicial bodies as well as educational institutions should be the concern of all the Left parties.

If the state administration was not democratized during the Popular Front period, the fact remains that democracy flourished in everyday life. The social gains of 1936 ratified by Parliament were above all the result of the activity of the masses. The Popular Front signified the release of new energy, the conscious participation of the masses in public affairs. Maurice Thorez never tired of repeating that working class unity, the Popular Front should mean *activity, real and constant, carried on jointly and on all sectors*. Nothing could be more *timely* than this lesson. The new and dynamic republic which will take the place of one-man rule should rest on profound democracy in public life, on extensive initiative from below, and the combination of parliamentary activity of the people's representatives, faithful to their mandate, with high-minded civic activity on the part of the electorate. This is an essential precondition for the new democracy to become a powerful driving force of progress.

The Popular Front offered confirmation of the decisive role played by the working class. This class cannot be reduced to a subordinate role, relegated to the background, as is desired by the advocates of today's "centrist" combinations designed to substitute one reactionary policy for another in order to enable the big bourgeoisie to continue the Gaullist home policy without de Gaulle. And since the working class is destined to play the leading role it is of the utmost importance that it ranks be united! The unity of action of the parties speaking in its name is precious beyond measure.

The social gains of 1936 were the fruit of Communist-Socialist unity. The same was the case in 1945. Unity, then, is the way to victory.

Lastly, nothing is more urgent than the need to bring home to the people the close affinity of the working class, democratic and national interests. The program of the Popular Front which called for collective security and the application of sanctions against aggressors was a just and national program. The foreign policy program of the two hundred families was anti-national and disastrous for

the country. Is not collective security in Europe an obvious necessity today too? The interests of the working class are inseparable from the interests of the nation. Peace is a blessing for all, and to safeguard peace practical steps are needed.

From this standpoint the study of the foreign policy problems of the Popular Front period acquires particular significance today. As never before, the world is now the witness of a confrontation of two antagonistic policies, the policy of aggression and intervention, manifested in the events in Vietnam, and the policy of safeguarding peace. Today, as thirty years ago, the defenders of peace must seek the support of all those forces which for one or another reason are opposed to aggression and want an improvement in international relations.

In our time the aggressive policy of the militarists in West Germany is encountering a stronger rebuff than thirty years ago, but it is dangerous nevertheless. Yet a durable peace should have been established in Europe immediately after the Second World War, a peace ruling out the resurgence of the German militarist threat. Bonn insists on recarving the map of Europe and clamors for nuclear weapons. It allows inveterate Nazi killers and war criminals to remain at large, even those who have been convicted by Federal German courts. This is a situation which calls for vigilance and maximum activity on behalf of peace.

Children are the richer for the experience of their fathers. The new conditions require of today's generation not restoration of the Popular Front, however great its significance and however high a pitch the working class and democratic movement reached at that time. Today's generation should learn from the lessons of the Popular Front in order better to accomplish its own tasks: to rally all the anti-monopoly forces of the nation around the united working class in order to establish genuine democracy, a democracy in which the working class would fulfil its role and convince the people of its country of the need to embark on the road of rapid advance to socialism.

Anti-Imperialist unity—an imperative of our time

OSMAN BABIKER

THE PRESENT STAGE of the revolution on the African continent is marked by the rapid march of events and the interweaving of a multiplicity of urgent tasks. Only a few years ago the problem facing the African peoples was that of winning political independence. This question remains in the countries still under colonial and racial domination. At the same time in most of the young African countries vitally important and complicated tasks relating to the development of the productive forces and the realization of deep-going social changes have come to the fore. The strength of the progressive forces of the African revolution to resolve these tasks is proceeding in extremely complex circumstances characterized on the one hand by incessant attempts on the part of the imperialists to preserve or restore colonial exploitation in one or another guise, and on the other hand by the growth of social and political contradictions in the African countries themselves.

All this requires of the revolutionary forces flexible tactics adapted to the peculiarities of the present situation — tactics based on the idea of unity of all the revolutionary forces, the idea of deepening the united anti-imperial-

ist democratic front by attracting to it new social strata and political groups, by enlarging its mass base and by isolating the reactionary elements and pro-imperialist groupings. The struggle for cohesion of the revolutionary forces develops both on the national and continental levels.

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The necessity and the possibility of the united anti-imperialist front follows from the character of the tasks of the present stage of revolutionary development. Consolidation of political independence, development of the national economy on a modern technological basis, freedom from the grip of imperialist monopolies, gaining and upholding genuine democratic rights and freedoms are tasks common to broad sections of the people in the African countries. Especially pressing is the struggle against any further attempts by imperialism to expand on African soil, to encroach on the independent states and to curtail and even annul the gains of the African revolution. Practically all classes and strata of African society, with the exception of those whose interests are directly connected with imperialism and its agents, are ready to take part in the solution

of these tasks, tasks so vital that the destiny of the African revolution depends on their successful solution. This circumstance can greatly stimulate the active participation of the masses in united struggle against imperialism.

At present united action acquires the greatest significance in face of the attempts of imperialism and internal reaction to thwart, by means of conspiracies, military coups and political intrigues at the top, the revolutionary aspirations of the masses, to halt and even to reverse the advance of the revolutionary process. Without united mass action, without common organizational and educational activities by all progressive forces, it will be impossible to rally large sections of the population in Africa to defeat the subversion of external and internal reaction.

The necessity of a united front is dictated also by the alignment of class forces. On the one hand, reaction still retains strong positions in Africa where the big capitalist monopolies serve as its main foundation, holding in their grip the weak economy of the young states. Imperialism actively, and sometimes not in vain, seeks to establish a social base in Africa. This base consists of that section of the national bourgeoisie which is dependent on the monopolies and collaborates with them, representatives of the tribal hierarchy, feudal and clerical circles, officials of the former colonial apparatus and part of the officer corps in the army and police. Exploiting its influence in Africa, imperialism strives to export their capitalist relations in ready-made forms and in doing so recruits into its service, directly or indirectly, the exploiting and parasitic elements engendered by such transplantation.

On the other hand, not a single class is at the present stage of the African revolution able fully to assume the leadership of society in either politics or the economy. Because of its insufficient political maturity and organization, the young working class, though in the front ranks of the fighters against imperialism, nevertheless does not yet exercise hegemony in the revolutionary movement of most countries. At the same time it should be emphasized that the role played by the working class is growing in the course of the advance of the revolution. Deeply interested as it is in the socialist prospects of revolutionary development, this class adheres to the most consistent anti-imperialist positions and is the mainstay of the revolutionary forces.

The peasantry, the main motive force of the national-liberation revolution and most numerous class of African society, cannot by itself exercise political leadership of the revolutionary movement because of its position, which is aggravated by the onerous aftermath of colonial rule. The urban petty bourgeoisie and democratic intelligentsia, which are ideologically and politically the most active social groups, have no place of their own in the system of social production. The most progressive and revolutionary sections of these groups

can play the leading role only if they rely on and secure the support of the working class and peasantry. The national bourgeoisie is either too closely linked with foreign monopoly capital and has lost its revolutionary potential or is too weak to play any serious role in revolutionary development.

The revolutionary anti-imperialist forces of Africa have no other way to defeat such a strong enemy in so complicated a social setting than by cohesion in a united democratic front capable of rallying the masses on the widest scale.

It might seem that there is nothing new in this tactical line in comparison with the period of the African peoples' struggle for political independence. However, if the problem is examined more closely, one cannot but notice essential differences. Whereas formerly the liberation movement directed its main blow against naked colonial enslavement, now the struggle is chiefly against the influence of imperialism operating in disguise, through its agents. The enemies of the true interests of the people often make use of Africans, paying lip-service to national solidarity to conceal their real designs.

The content of the revolutionary process is growing deeper. Whereas formerly the social content of the national-liberation revolution was to some extent eclipsed by the immediate tasks of winning political independence, now it is the problems of radical socio-economic change, raising living standards and overcoming cultural backwardness that are coming to the fore.

Finally, class alignments are changing. Whereas practically all classes of African society, including many of the tribal chiefs and the emerging national bourgeoisie, were interested in winning national sovereignty, and even the colonial officials expected some profit from independence, now significant groups expected some profit from independence, now significant groups of the African population, having attained a privileged position, are moving over to resistance to any further development of the revolution. On the other hand, the masses of the working people, who constituted the army of national liberation, are now taking an active part in political life, becoming conscious of their rights and demanding radical improvement of their position which is possible only through deep-going socio-economic changes. This testifies to the acceleration of class differentiation of African society, the development within its framework of the class struggle, in the course of which the working masses are beginning to play a more independent role, to move to decisive political positions.

Thus the composition and character of the united democratic front are changing. Certain social strata, which earlier constituted the extreme Right of the national-liberation struggle, are moving over to reactionary positions. However, new forces representing the working masses are joining the movement, adding to

its dynamism and scope. The mass base for common actions can be expanded also by drawing in formerly neutral or wavering elements. At present the conscious and creative revolutionary activity of the masses in the united democratic front is gaining scope and can be extended to every village, plantation and workshop. The whole front of the struggle is shifting leftward, acquiring a more consistent anti-imperialist character.

Due to the more clearly defined class composition and new tasks of the united democratic front, its ideological foundations are also undergoing considerable evolution. If formerly the programs of the liberation movements set general tasks of winning political independence and outlined the most urgent measures needed to do away with the most disastrous consequences of colonial rule, now socialist concepts are becoming more widespread.

The leadership of the united anti-imperialist front is changing. Many of the old leaders produced by the propertied classes are becoming more and more isolated and losing influence. Working people are beginning to play a more active part in the struggle, and the radical, anti-imperialist parties and groupings are coming to the fore. The prestige of leaders of a new type originating from the working masses, representing their true interests and closely connected with them, is growing. It is natural then that Marxist-oriented leaders and functionaries should become more influential in many mass political parties of the African countries and that ideas of scientific socialism should find a growing response.

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Notwithstanding the variety of historical conditions and political situations in Africa, two groups of independent states with different directions of development can be distinguished. One group UAR, Guinea, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), etc.) is steering a course towards complete freedom from dependence on imperialism, towards socialism, and the other (Sudan, Senegal, Nigeria, the countries of the Concord Council, Malawi and others) pursues a neocolonialist policy. Naturally, the tasks of the revolutionary forces working to build a united national democratic front in these countries with differing social and political conditions are bound to differ.

In the countries with progressive regimes the ruling parties are essentially broad organizations of the national front type, uniting in their ranks people of different classes — workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and patriotic intellectuals. These parties are the political mainstay of governments expressing the interests of the masses. Revolutionaries in these countries therefore regard it as their most important task to ensure the organizational and ideological consolidation of the parties and of political, economic and cultural life, to rid them of bourgeois and pro-imperialist elements and views, to heighten their role in all spheres. For all practical purposes this task

fully coincides with the task of consolidating the united democratic anti-imperialist front

Nor does the creation of a vanguard party run counter to this task, for it is through a democratic national front, by basing all its political activities on this front, that the vanguard can establish and consolidate its links with the masses. The establishment of an "institute of activists" in the Democratic Party of Guinea and the plans for the organization in the UAR of a party of the most conscious and active representatives of the working people show that there is a growing awareness of the need for such parties. This corresponds to the interests of the working people and, consequently, of all the revolutionary forces.

In countries with neo-colonialist regimes the situation is complicated by the fact that the leading parties are headed by pro-imperialist leaders, disguised or outspoken advocates of capitalist development. Taking advantage of the backwardness of the masses, the traditional tribal relations and the state propaganda machine, these parties are able to exert considerable influence on the masses. In order to win the latter away from this influence patient explanatory work is of prime importance. This can be done by consistently exposing the policies of these leaders with concrete examples understandable to the masses in the course of the daily struggle in defense of the vital interests of the working people. The conditions in which this struggle is waged are often extremely difficult. In such countries as Senegal, Nigeria and Morocco, the revolutionaries have been forced underground. In other countries, for instance, Kenya and Somalia, though functioning legally, they are subjected to serious restrictions and at times to persecution. Unity of the progressive forces is an urgent issue there. Under these conditions the united democratic front tactics presuppose above all advancing concrete demands and slogans which, expressing the urgent needs of the working people, are capable of uniting the rank and file of the different parties regardless of the political programs of their leaders. The task of Marxists in these conditions is, in our opinion, to pose scientifically substantiated national questions around which unity of action could be built between social groups retaining their revolutionary potential as well as between their political organizations.

The Sudan is a case in point. Due to a number of reasons, the achievements of the revolution of 1964 were not consolidated and the reactionaries with imperialist support assumed power.

The coalition of Sudanese ruling parties, representing the interests of tribal chiefs, semi-feudal elements and upper stratum of the bourgeoisie, pursue policies detrimental to national independence and social progress. To stifle the growing opposition to these policies the reactionaries launched a campaign against the democratic rights guaranteed by the constitution. Having banned the Communist Party and

expelled its deputies from the Legislative Assembly last December, they are now seeking to deprive the trade unions of the right to strike and to abolish all forms of free speech.

But the reactionary onslaught is being met with firm mounting resistance. The Communist and People's Democratic parties, the trade unions, peasant unions, and other organizations are waging a resolute struggle against the attempts to establish a police state in the Sudan. The struggle centers around the demand that democratic rights and liberties be restored and extended. This demand is attracting all supporters of democracy, even the adherence of "Westminster democracy."

Thus a broad front is being created. The Sudanese progressive base themselves on the correct thesis that victory in this struggle will open the doors wide for the further development and deepening of the revolution. This is borne out by the fact that the reactionary coalition is being isolated not only in the more advanced areas but also in the backward regions of the country.

The formation of the united anti-imperialist front is not achieved at one stroke. It is the result of a serious, often prolonged, political and organizational preparation in the very process of political struggle. Depending on circumstances, the forms of the united front may vary, ranging from spontaneous common action of the masses to agreements among political parties and mass organizations on united action and the creation of temporary or permanent coordinating bodies. The greater the intensity of the struggle and the more actively the masses participate in it, the more imperative — and nearer — becomes the task of finding higher and more effective organizational forms of united actions.

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In the complex of problems of the struggle for a united democratic front a special place belongs to the attitude of the Marxist and revolutionary democrats to the one-party system and to the development of democracy in the African countries. During the first stage of the national-liberation revolution in many countries, especially in Tropical Africa, the idea of a one-party state reflected the cohesion of all social strata in the struggle against the direct political domination of imperialism. Imperialism on the contrary often utilized the multi-party system for splitting and weakening the liberation movement. Suffice it to recall how in Kenya the British imperialists set the opportunist KADU Party against the leading national KANU Party. In fact, at that stage the idea of a one-party system was tantamount to the idea of a united national democratic front.

The further deepening of the revolution, the departure of reactionary circles from it, and the differences between the ways of development of the African countries, considerably changed the meaning and content of the one-party system. In the countries which chose the non-capitalist way of development the one-party system help-

ed, as before, to consolidate the national front. Here the people's participation in political life is not a matter of inter-party struggle but of developing intra-party democracy. The task of the most advanced, Marxist forces in these countries therefore consists not in creating opposition groupings but in obtaining various forms of participation by the working masses in the management of the state and the economy on the basis of consolidating the ruling party. The experience of the UAR, Guinea, Mali and some other countries shows that the masses are being enlisted, through the trade unions, cooperatives and other organizations, in solving political and economic problems connected with revolutionary transformations.

In a number of other countries in Africa the one-party system has become a hindrance to revolutionary development, a means of suppressing the progressive forces. Where the rulers seek to keep their countries dependent on the former metropolises, where the leaders have become big landowners and industrialists, and where the top administrators and party functionaries have become directors and members of the boards of capitalist monopolies, the political meaning of the one-party system has completely changed. The halo that once surrounded the one-party system is now unscrupulously exploited, on the pretext of defending national unity, to persecute the genuine champions of the people's interests who are demagogically branded as splitters. Kenya, where the most consistent anti-imperialists have been expelled from the ruling party, is an example. Naturally, in such conditions the revolutionary struggle can be developed further only through consistent defense of the basic democratic liberties, through the establishment of opposition organizations pursuing a policy of unity of action with the rank and file and the activists of the ruling party. Strictly speaking, national unity no longer exists in such countries. Instead they are witnessing a struggle waged by the popular forces against the pro-imperialist elements.

In various forms and using various methods, imperialism and neo-colonialism are striving to penetrate deeply into all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life in the majority of the newly-independent African countries. Using the neo-colonialist governments for its ends, imperialism has redoubled its efforts to split the united anti-imperialist front of the African peoples and to paralyze the Organization of African Unity.

In these circumstances, it is imperative for the African revolutionaries to unite. Inasmuch as the imperialist aspirations are not limited to national confines, they cannot be successfully combated if the various countries remain isolated from one another. The alliance of imperialism and its African collaborators can be defeated only by a united front of the revolutionaries of the whole continent with the support and solidarity of the world anti-imperialist front.

United action can take the form of mass campaigns in solidarity with progressive regimes threatened by imperialist conspiracies, campaigns to render effective material aid to peoples fighting against colonialism and racialism, and campaigns in defense of democratic rights and freedoms in countries with pro-imperialist regimes.

The struggle against the offensive of neo-colonialism is not the only factor which makes the unity of the African revolutionary forces imperative. In fighting for complete liberation and for radical social and economic change they are encountering numerous problems which demand fresh and original solutions. Since no little has been done in this field, this is indeed a formidable task. In this respect, exchanging experience and popularizing the way in which these problems have been or are being solved in countries with progressive regimes could be very useful. The same applies

to exchange of opinions between African organizations on problems affecting the continent.

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The national-liberation revolutions in Africa are a component of the world revolutionary process. The close cooperation and militant solidarity of the revolutionary forces of Africa, the socialist countries, of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, and of the revolutionary movement in Asia and Latin America are vital to victory in the anti-imperialist struggle. A highly important factor is the tri-continental solidarity movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America which came into being early this year.

But changes have taken place in Africa in the last few years. And there are bigger changes ahead. It is only through the united action of the revolutionary forces on both national and continental scale that the African revolution can triumphantly advance.

Crucial battlefields of African freedom

PULA KEKHOTSO

RECENT STATISTICAL CALCULATIONS by UNESCO and others show that the present population of the African continent is approximately 300 million. The great wave of patriotic struggles over the past decades has resulted in the emergence of 37 politically independent states.

But a vast area of Africa, comprising over 1.6 million square miles with a population of over 33 million, is still dominated with ruthless savagery by foreign or local white imperialists. The liberation of the peoples of these territories from the regimes of terror and oppression they now endure is the aspiration and patriotic duty of all Africans. It is also, because of their crucial economic, strategic and political importance, the most vital issue affecting the independence and progress of the entire continent.

The principal remaining direct colonies of West European colonialism are the Portuguese-

occupied territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. Portugal also occupies the Cape Verde islands off the west coast. Spain occupies part of Morocco and Rio Mundi.

The British "protectorates" of Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Swaziland are a somewhat special case; formal independence is being conceded — but with the confident expectation that their geographical position and extreme economic backwardness will ensure that they remain under the "safe" influence and domination of the Republic of South Africa.

Finally there are the territories of the 'Slave South' — Zimbabwe, South-West Africa and, at the heart of colonialism in Africa, Verwoerd's fascist Republic.

Unfree Africa is dominated by what has well been described as the "Unholy Alliance": Salazar-Smith-Verwoerd. But behind this "Unholy Alliance," arming it, financing it and enabling

it to deny the will of the masses for freedom, stand the mightiest imperialist powers: United States, Britain, West Germany and their NATO partners.

Let us examine more closely the main features of these anti-African regimes.

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The "Portuguese" territories of Angola and Mozambique are an important part of the white-controlled area of Southern Africa, not only do they reap rich profits for the Portuguese ruling class, they act as buffers between independent Africa and South Africa, the heartland of white domination.

Angola and Mozambique, with a combined population of 12 million and covering an area of one million square miles, are run by the fascist administrators primarily for the exploitation of their greatest "natural" resource — human labor. The mining and plantation monopolies are supplied with plentiful cheap labor by the provincial officials, backed up by the terrorist methods of the PIDE, the secret police. The men not forced to work on farms or mines in the colonies are drafted into slavery in the South African mines — 300,000 go to the mines from Mozambique alone each year — or are compelled to plant on their miserable patches of land crops which will be profitable to Portugal's monopolists.

Portugal is a small, weak and poor country, one of the most backward in Europe. Without the super-profits which the Portuguese bourgeoisie extorts from the "overseas departments," Salazar and his henchmen would be unable to withstand the Portuguese people's hatred of his regime, and the organized resistance to fascism of Portugal's democrats. In a real and direct way, the colonial people are being forced to work, not only to fatten the imperialist bourgeoisie, but to shore up the tottering structure of the most loathed regime in Europe.

The people of all these Portuguese-occupied African countries have come to see that against such a brutal oppressor, there is only one answer — armed force.

With the growing strength of the national-liberation movements in the colonies, Salazar has been threatened with total collapse. It is essential to the continued existence of his regime that the grip of the Portuguese bourgeoisie on the African colonies grows tighter and more secure. While Portuguese fascism depends for survival on the African territories, it has also become plain that they could not be held without outside help.

The people of Angola have been waging armed struggle against the Portuguese since 1961. After a series of setbacks, caused both by increased colonialist pressure and the pseudo-revolutionary activities of Holden Roberto and his so-called "government in exile," the struggle is once more forging ahead, under the leadership of the Movement of the People for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The colonial

forces have suffered especially heavy losses in the northern province of Cabina, and action has been started in the eastern part of the country.

Mozambique's armed struggle has been shorter, but already the guerrillas are winning spectacular successes against Salazar's forces. Led by the national liberation front, FRELIMO, the people of Mozambique are fighting a determined battle for their country's freedom. FRELIMO, operating from Tanzania, began the struggle in September 1964. Since then, over 2,000 Portuguese soldiers have been killed, ten planes have been downed, and military convoys carrying troops and supplies have been destroyed. The entire northern sector of the country has become a battleground, with the colonial forces not daring to venture outside their barracks at night. People's rule has been established in liberated areas in four of Mozambique's northern provinces, where schools and medical stations have been established, and rehabilitation work is under way.

"In "Portuguese" Guinea (Bissau) too, the liberation forces are fighting on. Already, the colonial forces in Guinea are totally unable to wage offensive campaigns, and are forced to rely on holding strongpoints, supplying them by helicopter. More than half of the country has been liberated, and it is only a matter of time before Portuguese rule in Guinea is completely wiped out.

ZIMBABWE

While the people of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea are scoring significant successes against oppression, in Rhodesia a temporary victory belongs to the forces of reaction. The settler regime has been able to consolidate itself in power, while Britain's half-hearted imposition of economic sanctions against the Smith gang has served only to expose the Wilson government as an enemy, not a friend, of African freedom. But Britain's betrayal of Zimbabwe's four million Africans should come as no surprise, when it is recalled that it was the British government which created this situation, with the racist 1961 constitution.

This document which placed legislative power in the brutal hands of the 200,000 settlers is identical in its main provisions and intentions with the South Africa Act, passed in 1909 by the British Parliament, which led to fifty years of oppression culminating in the neo-Nazi regime of the present-day Republic of South Africa. The repetition of this outrageous betrayal in 1961 (continued by the Labor government) is the complete answer to, and exposure of pious British imperialist verbal "condemnations" of apartheid expressed at the United Nations and elsewhere.

The Smith regime's illegal declaration of "independence" embarrassed the Labor leaders not because they had serious intentions of introducing majority rule under a one-man-one-vote Constitution — they have no such inten-

tions — but because, at one stroke, it exposed the hollowness of their pretensions. If they were sincere in what they said they would have marched in at once (London had no hesitation in doing so in a hundred colonies which rebelled against British rule, from Ireland to Aden), arrested Smith, and installed Mr. Nkomo and other majority leaders in the government.

Their failure to do so has shown once and for all that their only real concern is to preserve their profits, their financial and commercial interests, not only in "Rhodesia" (where they have £200 millions invested) but also in the Republic of South Africa (where they have £1,000 million).

It is impossible to understand the Zimbabwe crisis without also considering the neighboring Republic across the Limpopo River. Economic aid from the Verwoerd's Republic makes sanctions against Smith a farce. (While a big fuss was made about stopping a tanker at Beira, thousands of gallons of oil and petrol were flowing and continue to flow unchecked across Beit Bridge from the Republic. The oil comes from Britain and the USA, both of whom opposed oil sanctions against South Africa at the United Nations. The Republic is without natural oil resources of its own.)

Smith and his "rebels" rely economically and in the end militarily on the Republic. That is what emboldened them to declare "independence." They know that no effective steps can be taken against them without at the same time acting against Verwoerd's apartheid republic. And they are confident that imperialism will never take effective steps against the Verwoerd regime, which is of crucial economic, political and strategic importance to the colonialists' plans in Africa.

IN THE APARTHEID REPUBLIC

The Republic of South Africa is the most important and powerful bastion of imperialism in the entire continent.

South Africa has been formally independent of the British Empire since 1910. Indeed the former Cape Colony was granted "responsible government" as long ago as 1872. Yet the African majority of this country (12 million out of 17 million people) suffers a degree of subjection and oppression hard to parallel in the modern world. The apparent contradiction is well explained in the Program of the South African Communist Party:

"The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain in 1910 was . . . designed in the interests of imperialism. Power was transferred not into the hands of the masses of the people but into the hands of the White minority alone. The evils of colonialism, as far as the non-White majority was concerned, were perpetuated and reinforced. A new type of colonialism was developed . . ."

The South African type of colonialism, carried to extremes under the slogan of *apartheid*,

has aroused universal anger and indignation. Innumerable resolutions have been passed and statements issued by assemblies ranging from the United Nations General Assembly and international Afro-Asian and Latin American conferences, to local branches of trade unions, religious and sporting bodies in every corner of the world. These statements express outraged protest against the neo-fascist barbarity of the Verwoerd regime; call for international sanctions and isolation and other forms of action against apartheid and support for its victims.

It is not difficult to understand this resentment against a system which slams in the faces of the non-white majority the doors not only of the polling-booth, but also of every opportunity of economic, educational and cultural advancement; which declares 87 per cent of the land the exclusive property in perpetuity of members of the "white race"; which answers the just protests and demands of the masses with mass arrests, censorship, illegality of organizations, meetings, strikes and demonstrations; terror and massacres.

International sanctions and arms embargoes against South Africa have repeatedly been agreed upon by the majority of states at the United Nations, at African and Afro-Asian official meetings, and elsewhere. African and Asian countries (with the exception of Japan) have broken off all diplomatic and economic relations, and the socialist countries have done the same. Yet these measures have been rendered completely ineffective because South Africa's main partners — Britain, the United States, West Germany and Japan — have not only ignored these decisions but have steadily increased their investments, trade, arms supplies and other links with the hated apartheid regime.

This continuing and bitter struggle for the isolation of the regime from its sources of strength and aid will reach a new climax with the forthcoming decision of the International Court of Justice at the Hague, concerning South Africa's illegal annexation and incorporation of the former Mandated Territory of South-West Africa. This vast former German colony is the only surviving heritage of the League of Nations mandate system not to have achieved independence. Instead it has been seized by the alleged mandatory power, the land taken from the indigenous inhabitants and given to white settlers from the Republic, and all the nauseating apartheid and Nazi legislation of South Africa extended to it.

It is hardly credible that the Hague Court could do other than demand that the Verwoerd regime relinquish its hold over South-West (Africa) and grant independence to the indigenous peoples. Should Verwoerd — as seems most probable — arrogantly defy this ruling, a clear and urgent duty will rest on the whole world, and especially the United Nations, to check this aggression and threat to peace, and

to take stern measures to bring the Republic to heel.*

Such measures will be bitterly resisted by the imperialists. As Lord Lambton, M.P., writes in the *London Evening Standard* (June 30, 1966):

"This (demand for sanctions) will place the British government in an impossible position. For so large is our trade with the Union (South Africa) and South-West Africa that if the United Kingdom agreed to these sanctions the devaluation of the British pound would inevitably follow, with other adverse effects to the British economy and consequently the American dollar."

And he quotes official trade figures to show that British exports to the Republic and South-West Africa are currently at a figure exceeding £76 million for the *four month* period of January to April, 1966.

Lord Lambton may be right — though one suspects that he has in mind the interests of the monopolists and investors rather than the "British economy." The British pound would be in no danger if the Labor government would, as it promised it would, drastically cut its grossly inflated arms and military expenditure designed to uphold imperialist interests "East of Suez."

But, be that as it may, the rest of the world cannot be expected to agree that the maintenance of the value of sterling is of sufficient importance to warrant the perpetuation of the most poisonous regime in the world and a vital threat to African and world peace.

If the British and American economies really rest on the basis of Verwoerd's Nazi terror and the fierce exploitation of the native population in Southern Africa it is the most damning indictment of the capitalist system as a whole and a clear indication that its continuation in its present form is incompatible with the peace and freedom of Africa and the entire world.

AFRICA AND THE "SLAVE SOUTH"

Abraham Lincoln once said: "this nation cannot endure, half slave, half free." These words are true in the most literal sense of Africa today, in relation to the unliberated territories and particularly the apartheid regime in South Africa.

For this is not only a matter of solidarity with suffering brothers and sisters in the prison house of nations which Verwoerd has made of South Africa. It is more than a question of the intolerable insult to African dignity which that regime constitutes by its structure and doctrine, by its every word and action. It is above all because the fascist Republic of South Africa presents a most real and urgent threat to the independence, peace and security of every African state.

Mercenaries from South Africa (sent with

the blessing of Verwoerd) played a vital role in the suppression of the revolution in the Congo. The South African government is spending more on military and para-military forces than it did at the height of the Second World War. (Total arms budget to 1965-1966 is R1, 156,900,000 (over £578 million). It has, out of a white population of 3.5 million, armed forces of 21,700, plus 43,600 armoured police, plus 55,000 reservists and other para-military forces.* They are provided with modern tanks, armoured cars, aircraft and warships, provided — despite nominal arms embargo by British and the United States — by the NATO powers who are helping to construct an armaments inside the country. In collaboration with the United States and Bonn Germany, South Africa, a major uranium producer, is developing nuclear resources capable of producing nuclear weapons. Under a secret treaty with Bonn, Verwoerd is developing the poison gases which were already in an advanced stage in the latter years of Hitler's Germany.

By agreement with Portugal, South Africa is sending "settlers," in reality disguised mercenaries to Mozambique. Liberally endowed with funds of millions of Rand, South African government agents — spies, saboteurs and subversionists — are active throughout the world, including Africa.

In all parts of Africa, South African mining, banking and financial institutions — typified by the great Oppenheimer-De Beers-Consolidated Gold Fields — Anglo-American Corporation octopus — have extended their tentacles. South African imperialism, economic, political and military, casts its shadow over the entire continent of Africa.

The people of South Africa, despite conditions of fascist terror imposed by the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship, are struggling valiantly against this monstrous regime. Conducted under the leadership of the Communist Party, the African National Congress, the fighting organization Umkhonto WeSizwe (Spear of the Nation) and other organizations, this struggle takes a wide variety of forms including preparations for armed struggle.

Fifteen years after the illegalization of the Communist Party, and five years after the banning of the African National Congress, trials of arrested Communists and Congressites continue to crowd the courts and are featured in South African and world headlines.

We shall shrink from no sacrifice, we shall continue to fight, inspired by the noble sacrifices of heroic leaders like the martyr Vuyisile Mini, like Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Bram Fischer and many others, until victory has been won, white supremacy overthrown, freedom and democracy enthroned.

So too, the brave patriots of Mozambique, Angola, Bissau, Zimbabwe, South West Africa, and the rest of enslaved Africa are fighting. But

*This article was sent to press before the International Court of Justice delivered its judgment in favor of the Verwoerd regime.—Ed.

*Estimated by the British Institute of Strategic Studies, June 1966.

they do not fight for their own freedom alone. They are fighting for all Africa; its freedom, independence, unity and dignity.

Africa will never be truly free, independent or secure so long as the South remains in chains.

Only when the South, with its advanced industry and technology, is free to place its resources at the service of our fellow country-

men, will our Continent be able to advance with rapid strides to overcome the imperialist heritage of poverty, backwardness and underdevelopment.

Liberation of the enslaved fellow-Africans in the South is at the same time the only guarantee of African freedom, and the key to the door of a bright and happy future for our people and the whole world.

Some problems of Tropical Africa

THIERNO AMATH

THE IMPERIALISTS have been particularly active of late in the countries of Tropical Africa, stopping at nothing to halt the spread of the national-liberation revolutions. To this end they use the internal forces of counter-revolution and seize upon the objective difficulties encountered by these countries. The military coups engineered in the course of the past year in a number of Tropical African countries too can be traced to this activity. Though the settings have differed, coups have put the army in the saddle in Dahomey, Upper Volta, the Central African Republic, Congo (Kinshasa), Nigeria and Ghana.

The world press has variously assessed the reasons for and the nature of these take-overs. Some attribute them exclusively to internal factors. Others tend to explain all these political upheavals by external factors, ignoring the political situation and the alignment of forces within the countries concerned. But neither explanation is complete. The fact is that both factors have operated, with imperialist intervention playing the main role. The aim of the imperialists is to undermine the positions of the patriotic forces irrespective of whether they stand at the head of the state or are leading the masses against reactionary regimes. Thorough examination of the objective conditions and the subjective factors which the imperialists are seeking to use for subversion in Tropical Africa will no doubt facilitate a more effective mobilization of forces to forestall reactionary coups.

In this article, without minimizing the importance of other issues, we propose to dwell only on a few of the problems and difficulties

confronting the African anti-imperialist forces, above all in the economic sphere but also in the ideological and political areas. The posing of these questions and their solution by the revolutionary democratic forces would, in our opinion, help to narrow down the imperialist sphere of influence and deprive the imperialists of opportunities to subvert the African revolutionary movement.

* * *

To clarify the reasons for the present instability in Tropical Africa it is necessary, we believe, to go into the difficulties and unsolved problems that have arisen in the national-liberation movements of most countries in this part of the continent in recent years. The alignment of social forces in these countries and their attitude towards the former colonial powers and world imperialism generally can be largely traced to the conditions in which independence was won, to the level of the political activity and organization of the working people and the masses generally at that time. In the countries where the revolutionary, patriotic forces came to power, a relatively favorable situation was created for more profound socio-economic change. In the others, however, and especially in the former French colonies, imperialism, though compelled under pressure from the liberation movement to grant independence, managed to retreat to positions prepared in advance and to leave loyal henchmen in the political key posts. In these countries independence brought no appreciable change for the common people. Foreign capitalists retained and are tightening their grip, and political and often military control

remains in the hands of the former colonial rulers. Consequently, the raising of the national flag over the colonial Government Houses did not prevent the sharpening social contradictions from spilling out more and more into the open.

The policy of the governments which have entered into a compact with the imperialists is encountering growing opposition from the people, who continue to suffer from poverty, ignorance and disease as they did under colonial rule. In order to cling to power these governments resort to suppression of the popular struggle. The repression and terror is stepped up as mass discontent grows.

In those countries too where the patriotic revolutionary forces came to power and the building of a new life began, a number of social problems arose. In particular, policies pursued in the interests of the working masses necessitated a struggle against the parasitic, pro-imperialist elements — against the representatives of the so-called "internal colonialism," i.e., the officials of foreign enterprises, companies and commercial firms who constitute a sizeable stratum which feeds on imperialist handouts, and government officials who often arrogate to themselves the privileges once enjoyed by the colonial administrators. This stratum, known as the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie," is a grave danger since it undermines from within the progressive regimes and patriotic mass parties and takes advantage of its position to enrich itself, causing discontent among the masses and discrediting the achievements of the national-liberation revolution.

Politically, these are people without a program of their own. Political demagoguery and ideological mimicry is their forte. They are quite capable of doing lip service to socialism when this is to their advantage and helps them to retain their government and other political posts, although in reality they could not care less for socialism and utterly ignore the people's immediate needs. In order to remain in a position to line their pockets and to lead a parasitic mode of life they are ready to sell themselves to imperialism and neocolonialism.

True, in countries with progressive regimes this section is smaller and does not have the opportunities it has elsewhere. But it exists here too, and the need to wage a determined struggle against it is evident, for instance, from the decrees issued in Guinea in November 1964 to combat corruption, profiteering and abuse of power.

The deepening of the African revolution and the tackling of social problems with more far-reaching implications cannot but alarm the imperialists.

The imperialist intrigues and conspiracies are directed primarily against the patriotic forces and leaders in countries which have taken the road of progress. Capitalizing on the objective difficulties of growth and the subjective mistakes of the leaders in these countries,

as well as on the lack of organization and political experience on the part of the revolutionary and patriotic forces, imperialism is out to overthrow these regimes and to install obedient puppet governments instead. It succeeded in doing so in Ghana, where the revolutionary regime of the Convention People's Party, which proclaimed its resolve to lead the people to socialism, was overthrown. Similar plots are being hatched to this day. For example, in Abidjan, the capital of the Ivory Coast, a special organization clearly supported by representatives of imperialist powers has been set up to oust the Democratic Party of Guinea from government. The imperialist press brazenly speaks of Sekou Touré as being next in line for removal. Nor have imperialist intrigues ceased against the revolutionary government of the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville).

Imperialism and the local reactionaries are also working to strengthen their positions in countries with neocolonialist governments. Moreover, the imperialists are aware that foreign bayonets alone are not always enough to preserve utterly discredited regimes. In Gabon they sufficed, but in the Congo (Brazzaville) the imperialists met with failure.

In Upper Volta, the Central African Republic, Dahomey, the Congo (Kinshasa) and Nigeria the coups took place at a time when the civilian regimes had discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses and the political situation had become highly explosive. As we see it, the military take-overs are a matter of the imperialist circles and their local allies taking advantage of the popular discontent to change the men at the helm of the state so as to check, at least temporarily, the revolutionary upsurge of the masses and prevent the patriotic forces actively opposed to imperialist domination from coming to power. And by no means the least important factor is inter-imperialist rivalry and struggle for influence in Africa.

In the above-mentioned countries the military coups mostly met with the tacit approval of the masses, primarily because the people felt that things could not get any worse than they were. Why the counter-revolutionary seizure of power in Ghana did not encounter mass resistance is more difficult to explain. Many objective factors could be cited, the most important of which were the economic difficulties and the material sacrifice demanded of the people in order to consolidate economic independence. The fluctuation of cocoa prices on the world market hit hard at the country's economy. On the eve of the coup the price of cocoa and, consequently, the intake of foreign currency, reached its nadir. Economic difficulties were aggravated by the strain imposed on the country by a number of key economic construction projects, though their completion would have soon begun to bring returns, easing the overall economic situation and improving the conditions of the masses. The fact is that the country was on the threshold of a decisive

turn, and it was because of this that imperialism and the local reactionaries chose this particular moment to strike.

The relative ease with which the coup was effected is explained also by the absence of a well-organized vanguard party capable of rallying the masses to the defense of their gains, by inadequate mass political work, and by survivals of tribal strife. Besides, the Ghanaian army did not become part of the patriotic political forces after independence and was not placed under the effective control of the national democratic state. The positions of pro-Western officers trained in Britain remained extremely strong.

At the same time it is clear that mistakes and shortcomings in the sphere of economic and social policy were an additional cause of discontent. Hence in engineering the coup, the imperialists and domestic reactionaries could count on the passivity of the public. No small role in this connection was played also by the widespread discontent with corrupt elements in the machinery of state and the ruling party belonging to the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" mentioned above.

The immediate causes of the coups are to be found in economic and political conditions engendered primarily by the aftermath of the most inhuman colonial rule in history.

Even today few countries of Tropical Africa have a per capita annual income exceeding \$100. This is no more than one-tenth of the figure for the developed capitalist countries and the gap is hardly showing any signs of diminishing. In some cases the rate of economic growth does not exceed and in others is only slightly in advance of the population growth.

We find in Tropical Africa today a wide diversity of forms of economic structure and a corresponding multiplicity of classes and social strata. Most of the countries still have a strong foreign capitalist sector controlled by the metropolitan and international monopolies. True, in many of these countries there is a growing state sector, and there are enterprises in which both foreign capital and the national state are represented. There is a private sector, owned by the small national bourgeoisie (both urban and rural), and a mixed private and state sector. In some areas, for instance, in Northern Nigeria and Uganda, feudalism still exists, though the forms of feudal exploitation in Africa differ greatly from those in other parts of the world.

Most widespread in Tropical Africa are the small commodity and natural economy sectors. The traditional natural economy of the African village is disintegrating and becoming a small commodity economy. Elements of the two often intertwine. Small commodity production in its pure form is represented by the multitude of handicraft enterprises in the towns and the countryside. Clearly, these sectors are bound to coexist and compete for some time. Moreover, the breakup of the traditional subsistence farming leading to the emergence of

small-scale commodity production tends spontaneously to generate capitalist relations, with parallel development of the still small national bourgeoisie. Needless to say, foreign capital seeks to channel the development of the newly emerged countries precisely in this direction. For the state and cooperative sectors, i.e., the forms involving public ownership of the means of production, to gain the upper hand in the competition between economic structure and the constant struggle between the social forces representing them, conscious activity of the masses, the revolutionary forces and the national democratic state is imperative.

In order to resolve their socio-economic problems, such countries as Ghana (before the coup), Guinea, Mali, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Tanzania chose a way which, though difficult and attended by hardships, opens up the prospect of a new life, of achieving not only a high level of material wellbeing but of social justice unthinkable under capitalism. They have already registered considerable achievements which should be assessed not only from the standpoint of quantity but mainly from the standpoint of the far-reaching qualitative changes effected in the political and social structure. At the same time the experience of these countries has shown that a transitional period of greater or lesser duration is needed to create the preconditions for the extensive building of socialism.

The basic economic task facing the African countries is to build up the national productive forces, primarily in agriculture. In those countries where feudalism is still strong and private capitalist plantations occupy a prominent place, radical agrarian reforms are imperative. In many of the Tropical African countries, where as a rule there is no shortage of land, the problem of diversification and modernization of agriculture comes to the fore. This should ensure the evolution of the traditional low-yield, subsistence economy barely able to provide the daily food of the peasant, into a market economy. In these countries, according to experts, the task is to advance from the hoe to the plough, to introduce irrigation, fertilizers and up-to-date methods of cultivation.

Noteworthy, too, are the efforts made to regulate the process of disintegration of the peasant community by introducing various forms of cooperation conforming to the local conditions. A positive role in advancing the African village is played also by the model state farms where the peasants are taught modern techniques.

In the present circumstances extensive introduction of the more advanced forms of producer cooperatives is complicated by the fact that no government in Tropical Africa is financially or otherwise in a position to provide the villages with the wherewithal for highly productive agriculture—machines, trained personnel, select seed, etc. Yet it is essential to ensure a high level of productivity and production for the market in the producer cooperatives if the

remains in the hands of the former colonial rulers. Consequently, the raising of the national flag over the colonial Government Houses did not prevent the sharpening social contradictions from spilling out more and more into the open.

The policy of the governments which have entered into a compact with the imperialists is encountering growing opposition from the people, who continue to suffer from poverty, ignorance and disease as they did under colonial rule. In order to cling to power these governments resort to suppression of the popular struggle. The repression and terror is stepped up as mass discontent grows.

In those countries too where the patriotic revolutionary forces came to power and the building of a new life began, a number of social problems arose. In particular, policies pursued in the interests of the working masses necessitated a struggle against the parasitic, pro-imperialist elements — against the representatives of the so-called "internal colonialism," i.e., the officials of foreign enterprises, companies and commercial firms who constitute a sizeable stratum which feeds on imperialist handouts, and government officials who often arrogate to themselves the privileges once enjoyed by the colonial administrators. This stratum, known as the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie," is a grave danger since it undermines from within the progressive regimes and patriotic mass parties and takes advantage of its position to enrich itself, causing discontent among the masses and discrediting the achievements of the national-liberation revolution.

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Most widespread in Tropical Africa are the small commodity and natural economy sectors. The traditional natural economy of the African village is disintegrating and becoming a small commodity economy. Elements of the two often intertwine. Small commodity production in its pure form is represented by the multitude of handicraft enterprises in the towns and the countryside. Clearly, these sectors are bound to coexist and compete for some time. Moreover, the breakup of the traditional subsistence farming leading to the emergence of

small-scale commodity production tends spontaneously to generate capitalist relations, with parallel development of the still small national bourgeoisie. Needless to say, foreign capital seeks to channel the development of the newly emerged countries precisely in this direction. For the state and cooperative sectors, i.e., the forms involving public ownership of the means of production, to gain the upper hand in the competition between economic structure and the constant struggle between the social forces representing them, conscious activity of the masses, the revolutionary forces and the national democratic state is imperative.

In order to resolve their socio-economic problems, such countries as Ghana (before the coup), Guinea, Mali, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Tanzania chose a way which, though difficult and attended by hardships, opens up the prospect of a new life, of achieving not only a high level of material wellbeing but of social justice unthinkable under capitalism. They have already registered considerable achievements which should be assessed not only from the standpoint of quantity but mainly from the standpoint of the far-reaching qualitative changes effected in the political and social structure. At the same time the experience of these countries has shown that a transitional period of greater or lesser duration is needed to create the preconditions for the extensive building of socialism.

The basic economic task facing the African countries is to build up the national productive forces, primarily in agriculture. In those countries where feudalism is still strong and private capitalist plantations occupy a prominent place, radical agrarian reforms are imperative. In many of the Tropical African countries, where as a rule there is no shortage of land, the problem of diversification and modernization of agriculture comes to the fore. This should ensure the evolution of the traditional low-yield, subsistence economy barely able to provide the daily food of the peasant, into a market economy. In these countries, according to experts, the task is to advance from the hoe to the plough, to introduce irrigation, fertilizers and up-to-date methods of cultivation.

Noteworthy, too, are the efforts made to regulate the process of disintegration of the peasant community by introducing various forms of cooperation conforming to the local conditions. A positive role in advancing the African village is played also by the model state farms where the peasants are taught modern techniques.

In the present circumstances extensive introduction of the more advanced forms of producer cooperatives is complicated by the fact that no government in Tropical Africa is financially or otherwise in a position to provide the villages with the wherewithal for highly productive agriculture—machines, trained personnel, select seed, etc. Yet it is essential to ensure a high level of productivity and production for the market in the producer cooperatives if the

very idea of cooperation is not to be discredited. Lenin in his cooperative plan underscored the need to conduct patient work among the peasants and to build the cooperatives in step with the maturing of the necessary economic and ideological-political conditions in the countryside. Besides, in Africa it should be borne in mind that the various forms of organizing the peasants may well be used by elements of the tribal hierarchy, which still retains prestige and privileges in some areas, to enrich themselves and to subject others to capitalist exploitation.

Experience has shown that proper assessment of the possibilities and observance of the right proportions in building up the economy in keeping with the requirements of the time and the place, proportions determined by economic factors and not by wishful thinking, are of prime importance for ensuring steady progress in building the material and technological groundwork of a modern society.

* * *

Maximum effort by the people over a rather long period is essential to ensure the rapid economic progress in the newly independent countries. Clearly, then, it is of utmost importance to attend to the political and ideological education of the masses, enlisting all the people, and, what is most important in Africa, the peasants, for conscious, creative effort in national upbuilding.

Ideas become a material force when they capture the minds of the masses. It will not be so easy for the imperialists to engineer palace revolutions in countries where the people take an active part in public life.

At present the job of rallying the people to secure the gains of the revolution and to expose the intrigues and aggressive designs of imperialism acquire priority in the political-education work of the African revolutionary democratic parties. In Guinea, Mali and the Congo (Brazzaville) public meetings are being held throughout the country at which party workers explain the meaning of the recent events and call for redoubled vigilance and intensified effort to promote the national economy and culture.

In order properly to resolve the fundamental tasks of the transition, i.e., to lay the material and technological base of modern society and to raise the cultural and ideological level of the people, it is necessary to have a revolutionary vanguard dedicated to socialism and guided by the scientific theory of building socialism. This vanguard can provide a solid basis for political stability by ensuring a close bond between progressive governments and the people.

As regards the class composition of the vanguard, the idea is gaining ground that in order to forge ahead to uphold the revolutionary gains it is necessary to have the solid support of the working classes, primarily the working class and the peasantry. In Mali, Guinea and the Congo (Brazzaville) the ruling parties are

paying much attention to training political cadres. Mali and Guinea already have acquired some experience in this respect. A party school has been functioning in Conakry since last September and similar schools are to be organized in the provinces. In Mali, by decision of the Sixth Congress of the ruling party, party schools were established in all six regions of the country; in Bamako there is a higher school for party officials which, as the newspaper *Essor* pointed out, enables them to "complete their ideological education, to combine theory with practice and to assimilate the fundamentals of scientific socialism, without knowledge of which no leader can play an effective part in the work we have begun". Students in these schools study the laws of social development, the role of the masses and of revolutionary parties, the nature of imperialism and neo-colonialism and their methods. The curricula also include international affairs, history of the parties and their organizational and ideological foundations, history of Africa and of the national-liberation movement, political economy and the principles of socialist planning.

Our era, the chief feature of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale, offers an opportunity to begin to lay the foundations of the new society in the countries of Tropical Africa even before all the prerequisites for this as regards class structure have fully matured. Owing to the limited numbers, youth and insufficient political maturity and organization of the working class, the guidance of the progress development of these countries is for all practical purposes in the hands of other revolutionary democratic groups. Time, however, is bringing these groups to the positions of scientific socialism. Moreover, industrialization will be accompanied by the growth of the working class, which, being by its nature the most highly organized class associated with the most advanced means of production, will of course, assume the role properly belonging to it in building socialism.

Close cooperation with the socialist countries is a condition for the strengthening of the progressive forces in the Tropical African countries, which, as many African leaders concede, cannot develop at the present stage without outside aid. The working class of the former—a working class organized as the state—selflessly drawn on the fruits of its labor in order to render direct aid to the peoples striving to build a new life for themselves. This aid ensures for the newly independent countries better conditions for maintaining the contacts they find necessary with the capitalist system of economy without making political concessions to imperialism.

Growing cooperation between the progressive forces of Africa and the socialist world in the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction, for freedom and social progress, is a reliable guarantee of the ultimate victory of the revolutionary liberation forces.

The course of the Egyptian Revolution and its future

KHALED MOHY ED-DIN

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY 23, 1952, was not a matter of chance; it was the logical consummation of the liberation process which could not find any other outlet. In October 1951 the popular forces secured the repeal of the shameful 1936 Treaty with Britain. Guerrilla actions in the Canal Zone grew into a popular armed movement, ready to grow over into a nation-wide, anti-imperialist war. The people mustered all their forces to achieve victory over imperialism.

The rulers never realized how deeply rooted the movement was. Consequently, they lagged behind, leaving the masses to a process of spontaneous development, at times even trying, without success, to stem its advance.

The masses forged ahead, calling for the abdication of the King and for a break with Britain. Yet the movement lacked real political leadership. Even the Lefts, taken by surprise, were unable to harness the wave, since at that time they were victims of police persecution, and also lacked experience in armed struggle. The inevitable result was the burning of Cairo instigated and organized by reactionary elements and imperialism for purely reactionary ends.

Martial law was proclaimed, and was used to facilitate the arrest of progressives, nationalists and guerilla elements. The traditional rulers proved incapable of offering a solution that would satisfy the national aspirations. The moderates were scared and practically lost their bearings. Governments followed one another in quick succession.

In this situation the army emerged as the only national force which had not yet been hit.

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Its ranks were seething with revolution. The nationalist movement which swept the country found an echo among the army officers. The efforts of the reactionaries to use the army as a tool of direct suppression, against demonstrations and strikes, created direct contact between the army and the political events and gave the younger officers a feeling of real power. It also posed the vital question: why shouldn't this power become a weapon in the hands of the people and against the enemies of the people?

The army movement was the decisive answer to this question. It was also the anticipated action and a direct result of the pre-revolutionary political crisis. It was such a natural reaction that none of the political forces opposed it.

The revolution took place only to find that the masses had lost confidence in the traditional leaders and in all constitutional and party formations.

It also discovered a void; no program, no clear-cut demands, no organized movement reflecting the real will of the masses. Immediately the revolution adopted a motto which had no social content but which could be accepted by all trends: unity, order and work.

The leaders of the revolution represented by a group of young officers possessed two specific features: firstly, profound faith in the cause of national independence, coupled with a deep hatred for imperialism, the Palace and their agents and, second, independence from all other political forces and organizations and their resolve to safeguard this independence.

It was natural that this group should be surprised by the void, and should feel a disappointment which found expression in President Nasser's book *The Philosophy of the Revolution*:

"The leaders had accomplished their mission.

They stormed the strongholds of oppression, dethroned the despot and stood awaiting the holy march in close orderly ranks to the great goal.

"They waited long, however. The masses did come. But how different is fiction from facts.

"The masses did come. But they came struggling in scattered groups. The Holy March to the Great Goal was halted, and the picture in those days looked dark, dastardly and foreboding.

"It was then that I realized with an embittered heart torn with grief that the vanguard's mission did not end at that hour, it had just begun."

The leaders of the revolution began to equip themselves to carry on with the government until they could translate their hopes and those of the masses into a crystallized idea and a defined program.

Since the group was independent and unattached to any other political grouping, and because it came to power without any preliminaries, it began to develop its ideas and executive programs through two channels:

1) Legislation.

2) An effort to approach the people through an organized political action independent of any previous trends.

All through its phases, the revolution moved through these two channels in a sincere and realistic fashion which was an expression of the growth of consciousness among the leaders. It was also an expression of the relationship with the social consciousness and world events.

It is my belief that the revolution has passed through three phases:

First: The realization of national independence, 1952-56.

Second: The assurance of independence, the eradication of the last vestiges of imperialism and the initiation of economic development, 1956-1961.

Third: The phase of socialist conversion.

But before explaining these three phases let me say that no hard and fast divisions separated them. From the scientific point of view these divisions could not exist. All three were intermingled and telescoped; indeed the seeds of one phase could be sown in the previous one.

First Phase: Its aims can be summed up as follows:

1) To rally all the popular forces to achieve independence.

2) To strike against reaction and the traditional politicians collaborating with imperialism and to abolish their influence, especially in the countryside.

3) To create a settled climate for the new rule, to improve the economic situation and to introduce reforms designed to influence the masses into giving more attention to the political battle against imperialism.

The national goal was the basis for all the action that took place during this phase. The Revolution took certain concrete steps: it

solved the problem of the Sudan which had always been an obstacle in the way of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations. It did so by offering a solution which was the beginning of a series of realistic steps designed first and foremost to solve the national question.

The negotiations with the British encountered difficulties, since the leaders of the Revolution were opposed to the principle of common defense and insisted on genuine independence. To express this intention to carry out their national aims and to exert pressure at the negotiating table the leaders of the Revolution organized armed guerrilla action in the occupation zones.

During this period the government was exercising its legislative authority on behalf of the people. It started by striking at the political forces siding with imperialism. A few days after the Revolution laws were enacted abolishing ranks and titles (August 1952), introducing Land Reform (September 1952), setting up the Ghadr Courts (January 1953) and the Revolutionary Court, etc.

These laws aimed at undermining the political and social influence of a certain class, namely the big landlords who were at the same time the traditional politicians. The Revolution deprived the class of all its weapons, the land, the political parties and its prestige. It put them on trial and found them guilty of corruption, graft and squandering the people's wealth. This was a public condemnation of an entire class.

The Land Reform Law had, perhaps, affected the people and at the same time the destinies of the Revolution more than anything else. It liberated the peasants and transformed them into a political power on the side of the Revolution. It also liberated them economically and made them consumers in possession of purchasing power.

Indeed from the first day it was promulgated, the law presented a definite position. Agrarian Reform Laws in other countries had been used as a democratic weapon against feudalism. The weapon might have been a bourgeois one in the struggle against feudalism. In Egypt, however, where land ownership had always been a symbol of royalty, of power and control, the big landlords were also industrial tycoons. In fact, many shareholders used part of their profits to purchase land that would bring them both extra profit and power. Thus the groups who were affected by the Agrarian Reform Law were, in one way or another, capitalists and investors. Abboud, Serag Ed-Din, Khashaba, Abdel-Maksoud Ahmed and Al-Sham-si were both big landlords and capitalists. This may explain the attitude of the industrial capitalists to the revolution and its achievements, even to such steps as would encourage industry.

Industrialization was also part of the independence struggle.

Hence the Revolution took steps towards strengthening and protecting existing industries and building new branches. In this respect a

number of laws followed: higher custom duties on articles made abroad, coupled with a decrease in the duty for means of production, engineering equipment and other industrial requirements. It also encouraged the direction of savings towards industrial investment, and the exemption of new companies from taxation for seven years (Law No. 43, 1953) as well as a five-year exemption for new contributions.

To encourage the small saver to participate in the industrial development shares were floated at £2 instead of £4.

All these measures were aimed at strengthening the national economy so that it could survive the battle of independence. It is clear that these were traditional measures within the old economic framework which aimed simply at reviving the economy of the country. The main goal at the time was development, and to encourage private capital to take part in it. A number of laws facilitating the import of foreign capital were passed in this period.

This, however, did not mean that the leaders of the Revolution believed in the capitalist pattern. One can say that the policy was two-pronged: to encourage national capital and at the same time to deprive it of political control.

The National Production Council was the first step taken by the government to organize production. Its efforts, however, were at first devoted to a study of plans and the preparation of research and study necessary for the development of private investment. The Council also worked out the first 4-year-plan for government investment, which could be regarded as the basis of future planning.

State intervention came again when a law was issued setting an age limit of sixty for board members. This meant the exclusion of the traditional members to be replaced by more revolutionary ones.

Another law stipulated that no person could be a board member of more than six companies, then another law restricted remuneration of board members to 10 per cent of total profits, after the distribution of 5 per cent to shareholders.

The adopted measures went beyond the mere re-organization of the companies and took on social significance. These measures undoubtedly reflected the feelings and aspirations of the revolutionary leaders, although not yet formulated in a definite program.

In August 1952, a law was promulgated increasing gradual taxation on high incomes. Then came another law introducing gradual taxation on legacies. In contrast a law was issued exempting small holders from taxation.

Although these laws reflected the belief of the revolution in social reform, they were all confined within the framework of the old society, preserving its essence.

This was reflected in political action. The leaders of the Revolution felt the need to come out into the sphere of mass action. Under pressure of a rapid succession of events—dissolution of political parties, conflict with cer-

tain traditional political leaders and the declaration of a state of emergency—and in the absence of a clear line of social and political action, the Liberation Rally was formed. Its national aims and program were devoid of any fixed social content. The slogan "We are all in the Liberation Rally" reflected a real desire to unite in one organization all forces of the nation regardless of their contradictions.

The Liberation Rally was not a Revolutionary Party. It was simply the realignment of all the existing forces regardless of their contradictions and problems. Although the traditional leadership was excluded from the Rally, many members of the old parties joined it. Many of the middle bourgeoisie, traders, businessmen, rich peasants, part of the intellectuals who had no opportunity in the old parties, joined in the hope that they would have a chance in the Liberation Rally.

The failure to transform the Rally into a real party of the Revolution was, in itself, a manifestation of the absence of a clear intellectual line for political action. This may also explain the concentration on legislative and executive measures.

In fact the Liberation Rally was not able to strike root among the masses. When the triple-alliance aggression took place the Rally doomed itself to extinction when it failed to lead the masses against the invaders. Thus the initiative from below took the new form of committees for popular resistance.

During that period the Revolution was able to achieve a number of things which acted as landmarks for the next phase: the concentrated attack against the Baghdad Pact and imperialist pacts in general, Egypt's important role at Bandung, the Soviet arms deal which broke the imperialist monopoly of arms and dispelled the myth of a Soviet threat, and, of course, recognition of People's China.

Second Phase: This phase began with the publication of the January 1956 Constitution which, in my opinion, was an effort to evolve a program for the Revolution and to crystallize it into definite concepts. Among other things it stressed that:

- social solidarity is the basis of the Egyptian society;

- national economy should be organized in accordance with plans which safeguard social justice and aim at expanding production and raising the standards of living;

- capital to be used on behalf of the national economy and its use should not clash with the public interest;

- the Law guarantees the cooperation in the public economic sphere and promotes business activities.

- the state shall supervise the organization of insurance.

When the imperialists tried to delay the development plan by their refusal to finance the High Dam, the effective reply came, a true expression of the revolutionary leadership's determination to carry out the plan. The

nationalization was the result of a political reaction, yet it became, internally, a policy which aimed at abolishing the economic positions of imperialism, especially British and French.

The revolutionary wave which resulted from this nationalization swept the Arab world and opened the doors for all Arab revolutionaries to rally around President Nasser who became the leader of the Arab revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The battle for national independence provided a base for the public sector. The state controlled the banks, insurance companies, British and French economic institutions. If imperialism used its control over banks and insurance companies as a means to control the national economy, the 'Egyptianization' of these institutions enabled the government to exercise full control over the entire economic machinery.

Following the aggression Egypt felt that to ensure this internal action it had to stand up to imperialist influence in the Arab East as a whole. It thus began to exercise an effective role in inter-Arab relationships and the question of Arab unity began to assume an important place in our policy. This, while it had many advantages, left a certain imprint on the social content of the Revolution at a time when it lacked complete clarity. It pushed Egypt into taking more moderate ways in dealing with questions of social evolution in order not to widen the gap between the different social systems in the Arab countries.

In short, one can say that the need for Arab unity among systems that were socially unequal was imposing itself on thought, tendencies and politics, foreign and domestic alike. It was reflected also in the repeated talk about unity of ranks, all ranks, and forgetting the contradictions, the hatred and the past. These ideas were echoed in the formation of the National Union which decided to exclude the extreme right and the extreme left. It had to unite all other forces under slogans denouncing class struggle and class hatred.

On July 22, 1959, President Nasser formulated the policy thus: "the National Union is the means through which we can realize a socialist, democratic, cooperative society, and by which we can protect our goals in establishing this society. We can also achieve our development without a civil war, without killing, not by class war, but by love and brotherhood."

This line of thought was also reflected in the economic field. The state, having increased its potential and control, urged private capital to participate in the development. It sought to control the direction of investment, and to submit private capital to the requirements of the general plan, without hindering its development.

President Nasser laid down the principle of these relations on a definite basis. In the same speech on July 22, 1959, he announced: "Under our socialist and cooperative system we regard

the state as a patron of everything, private as well as public ownership. The state is responsible for the protection of the individual against anyone who wants to exploit him. The state is responsible for the protection against economic and social exploitation. I believe that we should give freedom to private capital, at the same time balancing it with public capital which is the state sector, thus preventing it from exercising any control over the government. I must protect the consumer, and find income for the owner of capital."

This phase saw the emergence of the public sector in the sphere of investment, and the establishment in January 1957 of the Economic Organization as state agency for directing all Government investment, and for drawing up new plans. It also acted as its agent for the enforcement of a development plan on private enterprise. A Planning Committee was entrusted with the task of drawing up a long-term development plan and of mobilizing all private and public effort for the realization of a serious and comprehensive plan for raising the country's economic power.

Industrialization was still a slogan. The state expressed its interest in it in many ways, in political speeches and in legislation. But the best expression of this interest was participation by the state in the plan by 61 per cent of the budget, as well as its concentrated attention on heavy industry, leaving light industry to the private sector or other companies.

Yet private capital was still reluctant to participate. This reluctance threatened the development plan, and impelled the government to exercise more intervention in industry and to strengthen its hold on it. Legislation was enacted aimed against private capital, blocking its way and keeping it within the framework of the industrialization plan. New legislation was issued to hinder its mad rush to transform its savings into property and building. But all was in vain. In the face of this the government had to resort to drastic measures. The research undertaken by the Planning Committee on the resources available for development proved that family savings did not exceed 10-15 per cent of all savings. The government tried hard to get the private sector to participate with their profit in the development plan, but with no appreciable results. At long last and after a great deal of persuasion, the government had to issue in 1959 a law putting a ceiling on profit, prohibiting distribution of any profits over 10 per cent of the 1958 profits.

The truth is that the capitalists regarded the plan for doubling income over 10 years as too ambitious and exaggerated. They also believed that should it be carried out it would be at the expense of their non-distributed profits. This is why they resisted the law, and voiced their doubts about the success of the plan, insisting on non-participation. Moreover, they began to wage a war against the plan and

against what they called "sacrificing this generation for the future generation."

At that time revolutionary thinking was at the cross-roads. The capitalists availed themselves of this opportunity to turn the Revolution away from its course and used the political situation to create an economic atmosphere more favorable for them.

But the revolutionary leaders took a decisive stand which came to be a basic landmark on the future road of the Revolution. They refused to give in to the pressure of the capitalists, and instead took vigorous action against those who opposed the development plan. By this time an agreement was reached with the Soviet Union for financing the second stage of the High Dam. This was followed by a blow against the capitalist positions, indeed against all capitalist tendencies, ideas and values, namely, the nationalization of the Misr Bank, the National Bank and the press.

Thus the real course of the Revolution was charted in no uncertain terms.

As a result capital became more reluctant to take part in the development plan. This necessitated more control until gradually the development plan was transformed from a mere national struggle into a battle with a social content. Its features were clearly drawn in the July 1961 socialist measures.

Both the organizational work and the political thinking moved side by side with economic development. The National Union began its work for the unification of the ranks of the people to guarantee the success of the development plan. The President explained this in his speech in Beni Suef on November 14, 1958:

"The National Union is a Union which groups all forces, the sons of one Arab nation, no deviation towards the right or the left, no division or haggling between us."

The main aim of this phase was to establish a political organization which would include all moderates in Egypt and in the Arab world. The slogan of cooperative, democratic socialism was raised and for a certain time the state put much emphasis on the ideas of cooperation. In an interview with Karanjia, an Indian journalist, on July 17, 1959, Nasser said:

"We intend to make cooperative agrarian societies the basis of democracy on which the National Union depends."

Cooperative conferences followed in succession, receiving every possible help from the state and from President Nasser personally.

True, by that time the concept of socialism was still not clear, not in the sense of control by the people of the main means of production. But it was gradually emerging along with the growing need to make the plan a success, and in view of the reluctance of the capitalists to participate.

The government realized that, given half a chance, the capitalist class would certainly reap big profits. In the official development plan the estimate of the national income in 1959 was £E 1,282 million, £E 570 million in

salaries and wages, that is 44 per cent, while the returns of the right of possession (profit, interest, rent) 56 per cent, that is £E 712 million. Wages here are the aggregate of wages for workers and employees in all sectors including cash payments, insurance, savings, overtime and social services.

The development plan aimed at increasing the national income by 1964-1965 to £E, 1,795 million with 42 per cent (£E 759 million) in wages and 58 per cent (£E 1,036 million) in returns from properties.

Official statistics show that in the domain of agricultural ownership between 1952-1957, individual ownership above 20 acres increased by 162,000 acres, that is 10 per cent of their previous ownership.

This development constituted a real danger to the course of the Revolution, especially since the rich, whether they were in the agricultural or industrial sectors, continued to boycott the plan. In this way the Revolution was forced to take some concrete and decisive steps to define the inevitable course as well as its form and content.

A search for a well-defined course began in an atmosphere of class struggle. As time went on both the leaders and the people were accumulating the experiences of successes and failures. There arose the urgent need for a sober study which would lead to the elaboration of definite theoretical concepts.

It was only natural that capitalists, and intellectuals with capitalist tendencies, should try to impose certain theoretical concepts coinciding with their way of thinking. While the Revolution refused to yield to their influence, it was, at the same time, aware of the mass pressure and of the genuine need for an intellectual program and a theoretical commitment which would clarify the vision for the political, economic and social actions. At the same time such a theory would affirm the course of the revolution.

The enlightened intellectuals were asked to evolve such concepts, and all through that period a search continued for a theory, for a formulation. But the composition of the National Union and the separation between the Revolution on the one hand and the moderate intellectuals on the other, together with the rigid isolation forces on the Left, made it impossible to arrive at a formulation which would meet both the hopes of the leaders and the ambitions of the masses.

Under these circumstances President Nasser had to undertake this responsibility. Being in close contact with the objective development of the Revolution and thanks to his nonaligned contact with international experience and constant changes in socialist thought and program, Nasser was able to enunciate a number of definite theoretical formulations.

It was impossible to realize the development plan without an almost complete control of available resources for investment in the sector of organized business. There was no other

way save nationalization and the imposition of the people's control, and urging the working masses to take part in the process of construction.

Thus President Nasser became convinced both from the practical and theoretical points of view that it was not possible to follow the capitalist way, and that the development plan could be carried out only through a socialist solution. He announced to the people his commitment to the inevitability of the socialist situation. In this way he evolved the formulation of a complete theory for political and economic action.

The monopolization by the Revolution leaders of political action and the systematic and continual blows directed against private ownership helped to weaken all forces opposed to socialism. President Nasser stressed in the Charter of National Action that class struggle is inevitable and cannot be ignored; the peaceful solution of this struggle cannot be guaranteed unless the reactionaries—the alliance of capital and feudalism—are deprived of their economic and political weapons.

Thus the July socialist laws came into being.

Third Phase: Thus the Revolution passed through an important phase by realizing and establishing genuine independence and beginning the process of economic development and agrarian reform. It was able to build up a situation which accepted scientific socialism as a program of thought and economic and political action.

The nationalization of most if not all industrial and commercial institutions and public enterprises and the successive confiscation of big properties furthered the development of the political content of the Revolution.

In the social content of the Revolution, developed by successive stages, these decisive economic measures were a qualitative change which determined firmly and clearly the landmarks of the further development of the Revolution. Thus the features of the third phase emerged.

The Revolution is advancing towards socialism, and is now presenting a theory which is both conscious and committed to the scientific socialist program. It frankly declares its enmity to the capitalist way of development, indeed it proves the guilt of the latter in the Charter. It also announces its opposition to exploitative capitalism and declares its intention to resist it. This was followed by isolating a number of elements and subjecting them to measures of nationalization and confiscation. The "isolation" laws were issued and there was a sort of cleansing process in the field of political action. Some names, which in the previous phase held important positions and made use of the available opportunities for influencing the political life of the country, were eclipsed.

Now the class struggle became crystallized. The enemy camp was clearly defined, and was joined by a number of people who went along

with the Revolution in the hope that by so doing they could halt its progress. It was also joined by conservative elements who thought that the socialist slogans were simply designed for mass consumption, and that they signified nothing more than formal changes in the existing facade.

It was essential at this stage that the Revolution should activate the camp of its friends. It proclaimed itself as representing the masses of workers, peasants and all working people. It was inevitable, too, that socialism be translated into concrete gains for the workers. A series of measures followed: 25 per cent of profit for workers, to bring about a balance in the distribution of income between wages and returns on property; workers became eligible for board membership, and a 50 per cent representation guaranteed for workers and peasants in all popular councils and parliament. The basis of local government is laid down as a form of democratic rule. A minimum wage was also fixed, and so on.

In agriculture the second Agrarian Reform Law emerged, realizing yet another revolution which led the masses of workers and peasants to have confidence in socialism and to try to protect the gains of the Revolution. More measures were taken: enterprises which the private sector shared with the state now became the property of the state; the capitalists who escaped nationalization in 1961 became subject to nationalization and confiscation.

In 1963 a maximum of £E 15,000 was fixed for compensation payable to shareholders, thus putting a limit to the possibilities of enrichment.

This new situation offered a glowing picture, and socialism became the test to prove who are the enemies of the Revolution and who are its friends.

All this is reflected in the Charter which defines the features and aims of the Revolution and gives it its scientific theory. The Charter was formulated scientifically on the basis of an objective analysis of the Arab reality, its revolutionary potential and its ability to launch the battle for national reconstruction.

The Charter, moreover, is not an immutable formula. It recognizes the inevitability of change, of its being changed as a political document and a program of action, if the objective circumstances of the Revolution dictate such a change. The Charter fixes 1970 as a date for the resumption of a discussion to evolve a new formula which would suit the circumstances.

One of the most effective passages in the Charter underlines that "the socialist solution of economic and social underdevelopment in Egypt and revolutionary approach to progress was not a hypothesis based on free choice; the socialist solution was a historic inevitability imposed by reality and by the hopes of the masses as well as the changing nature of the world in the second half of the twentieth century". It also confirms that "scientific social-

ism is the suitable formula for the correct program of progress."

Thus there was a comprehensive change in values, the rich were trying to denounce their prosperity and to be regarded as workers and peasants. Many workers and peasants were able to reach important posts in the Socialist Union. At the same time the isolation of all those affected by the socialist measures meant isolation of a class nature.

Following this came the release of the political Left from camps and prisons and an effort to absorb them in the Revolution. While the work on the development plan experienced great difficulties, it was accompanied by one of the greatest rates of development in newly independent countries—which is 6 per cent—7.1 per cent of the annual national income.

Many industrial and agricultural enterprises were established, and state investment reached 94 per cent. The first stage of the High Dam was completed.

In the midst of this the elections to the General Assembly were held and the members of the rich began to play up to the workers and the peasants. That in itself was symptomatic of the basic change in outlook which resulted from the July 1961 measures.

The nature of the gradual and peaceful advance of the Revolution caused many slogans to change at one or another stage, including the slogan calling for 50 per cent representation of workers and peasants in the National Assembly. Slogans come up, are hailed by both friends and enemies, but some try to make use of these slogans to suit their own purposes, regarding them as simply a placard without application. Despite these errors, the slogans manage to dig deep and establish themselves in the masses, until eventually they become a reality. This is exactly what happened with the slogan of "socialism." For many years the leadership of the Revolution raised this slogan. For many years the rich elements in society tolerated it in the hope that they would be able to bring it down to a mere placard without content. But gradually the slogan took root among the masses until its application became inevitable. Socialism has now become a cause in which the masses believe and which they are ready to defend.

As regards the slogan of 50 per cent worker-peasant representation in the National Assembly, the definition which put directors of even big companies in the category of worker and the owner of up to 25 acres (this is a relatively big area in Egypt, especially in view of the rising prices of agricultural produce) in the category of peasant, allowed seats intended for workers and peasants to go to the middle groups. Moreover, if one bears in mind that the remaining 50 per cent of the seats in the National Assembly are meant for the middle groups, it becomes clear that the class composition of the legislature has changed in favor of the latter.

It was not the National Assembly alone

which suffered from this composition. Lower and medium-level organization of the Socialist Union also suffer, since the election brought to them the very same middle groups, big employers in institutions having basic units of the Socialist Union, traders and professionals. In the villages some old elements managed to infiltrate into important posts. Nobody can be held responsible for this.

Any class can lose its economic influence in a quick blow. Its social weight and its relations persist for a longer time, until it is replaced by another class. Carrying this out through elections is not an easy thing, nor can it be achieved overnight, especially in the countryside where family ties and influence are still strong.

The other thing to be taken into consideration is that the main enemy had already been hit with the complete exclusion of feudalists and big capitalists from the field of political action. When we talk about the existence of a middle class such as rich peasants, top-ranking employees, medium and rich traders this does not at all mean that we object to them. We merely underscore the importance of modifying the class structure of our mass and legislative machinery not by excluding these elements, but by giving the workers and the peasants more weight. The process of winning the middle class to the side of the socialist Revolution will require both time and energy.

At the same time we must distinguish between those productive middle groups which play a positive role in increasing production such as those practicing agriculture, and between parasites who play no part in the production process while they accumulate wealth by sponging on the public sector and through black marketeering and evasion of the laws.

The difference between the two is not simply moral, it is a difference which distinguishes between the producer elements which must be encouraged and the parasites who must be rooted out.

One important thing should be borne in mind, namely, that the representatives of the middle groups are not alone in the mass or legislative bodies; there have been gains for peasants and workers who have advanced some excellent people to important places, thus laying the basis for the realization of the slogan of socialism. At the same time they were able to present a unique example to the Arab and Middle East countries where the peasants have not yet reached such positions in society.

In any case the formation of the National Union, together with the constitution stability which followed the establishment of the Assembly and its legislative power and control, demand that the government should not lose sight of the class structure of the Assembly and formations of the Socialist Union.

A similar situation has arisen in the economic sphere. While the state has given the workers and peasants impressive gains through the years of the first plan (higher wages, guaran-

teed employment, social insurance, pensions, free medical treatment, a minimum wage, etc.), the part played by the middle class necessitated granting them some gains as well. It also compelled the state to reduce to the minimum the losses the middle sections incurred as a result of the execution of the plan. In this way the plan became no more than a succession of gains, and a steady increase in their incomes and standard of living. This changed almost completely the conditions of the middle class, and increased their ambitions and requirements. It was inevitable that all this should effect the spheres of thought and ideology.

Some of the middle groups made use of the inability of the public sector sometimes to meet its requirements or to find the needed specialists or managers. This led to the emergence of new social groups—contractors, suppliers, etc. These groups were able to gain social weight as a result of their growing wealth. They are trying to create difficulties in the public sector and to turn it, through bribery, into a source for their own profit alone. When we add to this the rising prices of agricultural products generally, we discover that the circumstances are ripe for the emergence of excessively rich groups in both town and country.

True, the accumulation of wealth does not constitute any direct threat to socialism, since the laws are there to stop the transformation of any cash accumulation into capitalist accumulation to be used for building private enterprises and therefore for capitalist exploitation.

Yet these rich groups, whose wealth is continuously growing, have actually begun to resist the building of socialism. The richer they become the more violent will be their enmity to socialism.

This had led to the sharpening of the class struggle. The old reactionaries pluck up courage and together with the new class of the wealthy form a united front opposed to progress. In their struggle they make use of anti-communism, and accuse any left tendency of being communist. They also try to describe any forward movement as a transgression of Socialism.

But the picture is not altogether dark.

First, it should be noticed that no one has dared or will ever dare to belittle socialism as a slogan and as a belief accepted by the people. Thus, the intrigues of these groups will concentrate around the principle, not daring to attack it directly. Socialism has now become a national cause for Egypt, the citadel of national independence. Secondly, our economy is characterized by a basic advantage which gives it the ability to survive and rid itself of all parasites. This advantage is that it has once and for all got rid of all foreign control.

Even more important is the fact that the leadership of the Revolution is in reliable hands. It has won the love and respect of the people as well as the ability to direct the decisive blow at the right time.

The leadership is working hard to create a capable machinery for the right solution of urgent problems. It is working to create a political organization, a party machinery, more integrated, more flexible and understanding the problems of the people, studying them and finding the right solutions.

In fact the formation of a political organization of this kind has become an urgent question. The Socialist Union with its 6 million members is not yet a party machine in the true sense of the word. The need is felt for a narrow political machinery that would encompass well-trained and cultured cadres, capable of rallying and leading the people and comprehending their problems.

Fulfilment of the second five-year plan requires the enthusiasm of the people and their deep conviction of the need for sacrifice.

It has been proved that the law alone is not enough to protect the public sector from parasites and corrupt elements. The law alone can never put an end to the black market. The answer is effective popular control.

The political organization is capable of solving the task of rallying the people to fulfil the plan and to abolish the corrupt and parasitic elements. If one of our main problems is the shortage of technical and administrative cadres loyal to socialism, the political organization is capable of giving the Revolution technical cadres of the required standard drawn from among the people.

The political organization is, therefore, one of the most important questions facing the Revolution. Its solution will, no doubt, enable us to make the next step towards getting rid of all obstacles in the way of the Revolution.

Such a step can take the following directions:

1. To take revolutionary measures needed to stem the rush of the parasites to enrich themselves at the expense of the people or the public sector. To close all the loop-holes which allow for such accumulation, at the same time directing certain measures against groups such as contractors and wholesale traders. No doubt, these measures will not be directed only against one group alone; they will extend to other groups hostile to the Revolution which will again be compelled to withdraw from the arena of public life.

These measures will also awaken the revolutionary spirit of the people, and rally them for the defense of the Revolution.

2. To work for the consolidation of the unity of the socialist forces in the ranks of the political organization and to make the class structure of this organization lean more towards the workers and peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals.

3. To raise the level of ideological work and information with a view to eradicating old concepts and developing new values.

4. To shake up anew the machinery of state with the aim of excluding from important posts all elements hostile to socialism.

5. To cut prices of some essential goods and

thus ease the burden on the masses.

6. If the gap between incomes is widening, then the slogan of eradicating class distinctions should resound with redoubled force and the battle for its implementation should be fought on both the intellectual and practical levels.

7. To unite all the revolutionary Arab forces in a single front capable of facing up to the challenge of imperialism and home reaction and of becoming a new center for the revolutionary wave to sweep Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In this way the Egyptian Revolution can clear the way in the face of any local or international obstacles, thus expressing the will and hopes of our people, as well as all Arab and African peoples. The Egyptian Revolution is not Egypt's alone. It belongs to humanity, which looks upon the unique experiment of Egypt with faith and respect.

Nor does it belong to this generation alone. It is the sum total of dreams and hopes of all past revolutionaries and those of the future. It is a heritage not only of the Egyptian people, but of all the peoples who have won the battle for independence and are looking for a new path.

In this light we can define our responsibility for decisive action to protect and advance this Revolution. The protection of the Egyptian Revolution and its advance towards socialism is the task of all progressives in Egypt and in the Arab world. It is indeed the task of all progressive and revolutionary forces throughout the world.*

*After this article was written, on May 6, an agent of a feudal family, in the village of Kamshish, shot and killed a member of the Socialist Union, a peasant.

From the very beginning it was clear that this was a politically motivated murder—the purpose being to instil into the peasants fear of the survivals of feudalism and exploiting capitalism.

The murder aroused a wave of national feeling against the survivals of exploitation. The Revolutionary government formed a committee headed by Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, Vice-President, to abolish all survivals of exploitation in the countryside, economically and politically. It took over all the lands of the families still evading the socialist laws, removed these families from the countryside and took measures to weaken the political authority of these traditional forces. This will influence, to a great extent, all the other anti-socialist forces and give great support to the socialist forces in their struggle to overcome all hostile elements.

The measure taken by the government in connection with the Kamshish incident will be the beginning of important political transformations, of no less importance than the July 1961 economic decisions, and will consolidate the positions of the socialist revolution in the United Arab Republic in the coming years.

Tactics of the struggle against dictatorship in Brazil

ALFREDO CASTRO

IF THE PRESENT dictatorial regime in Brazil is to be combated effectively it is essential to clearly define the actual character of this regime. But first it is necessary to review the national scene prior to the military coup of April 1964 which overthrew the Goulart government, and the economic and social changes that have taken place in the country in the past twenty years.

During this period Brazil has developed from an essentially agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country, with a sizeable part of its population concentrated in the urban areas (in 1964 the figure was 37.5 million out of a total population of nearly 80 million). The annual growth rate of the urban population has been 6.4 per cent, i.e., double that of the general annual population growth.

The average annual value of the gross product during the period under review totalled \$30,000 million, which places Brazil eleventh in the world in this respect. Between 1944 and 1956 the gross product doubled, bringing Brazil to first place on the continent.

In 1962 per capita income was \$380. Consequently, Brazil is among the more advanced of the economically underdeveloped countries, being midway, so to speak, between the underdeveloped and the highly developed countries. Between 1947 and 1961 average annual growth of the gross product was 5.8 per cent, or 3 per cent per capita. During the second half of this period, i.e., from 1957 to 1961, it registered a 7 per cent growth, or up to 3.9 per cent per capita. In agriculture average annual growth for the same years was 4.6 and 4.8 per cent respectively, in industry—9.6 and 12.7 per cent respectively.

Industrial output grew by 80 per cent, including steel, 100 per cent, output of the metal-working industry 125 per cent, electrical equipment and means of communication, 380 per cent, transport equipment, 600 per cent.

Whereas up to 1930 industrial production was only one half of agricultural production, or one-third of the gross product, in the years under review it increased to 51 per cent, outstripping agriculture. The share in output of means of production rose from 20 to 33 per cent. Some economists estimate that since 1964 it has risen to about 50 per cent.

This rather rapid economic progress collided with the anachronistic social structure, causing conflicts which in turn affected the political life of the country. It was primarily a question of the new productive forces coming into collision with the obsolete agrarian structure. The structural crisis was further exacerbated by the cyclical decline in economic activity. The result was that beginning with 1964 Brazil's finances and economy began rapidly to deteriorate.

In February 1964 the Central Committee of the Party drew attention to the decline in investments and the fact that stagnation and unemployment were making themselves felt in big industry. The rate of growth of the gross national product which, as noted above, averaged 7 per cent during 1957-61, dropped to 5.2 per cent in 1962 and to 2 per cent in 1963. The bourgeoisie made drastic investment cuts in industry. It now preferred to export capital giving as the excuse the "uncertain situation" and "political instability" in the country. Meanwhile Brazil was being subjected to strong imperialist pressure.

The deterioration in the financial and economic situation laid its imprint on the development of the democratic and national movement. The fight for reforms began to acquire a mass character. However this movement essentially continued to be somewhat amorphous and organizationally loose. Far from advancing towards unity of the social forces and political trends, it was rent by internal differences. With the different trends advancing their particular extremist demands establishment of a broad united democratic front was hampered. For example the trend headed by Leonel Brizola, ex-governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the so-called "compact wing" of the Trabalhista party, some people in the "Politica Operaria" and "Accion Popular" groups, including Francisco Juliao, leader of the peasants of the state of Pernambuco, advocated forms of struggle which clearly did not correspond to the concrete conditions and were at variance with the desire of the majority of the people for constitutional action.

Some members of our Party were also influenced by some of these seemingly radical trends. We also failed to point out in good time to the Party and the groups supporting it the weakness of the popular movement which still had to muster forces strong enough to compel the government to change its policy of conciliation. The working-class movement was still weak organizationally and its success depended, to a large extent, on government support. The peasant movement was just becoming organized under the aegis of the Ministry of Labor. On the other hand, the reactionary forces had preserved their positions. They had been repelled but not defeated by the movement in defense of democratic legality.

The line of the 5th Congress of our Party, which emerged following a big political and ideological struggle, became a powerful weapon which enabled the Party to consolidate its contact with the masses and actively to participate in the political life of the country. This line required that we concentrate our fire on U.S. imperialism and work for united action by all democratic forces—from the working class to the national bourgeoisie—using every legal avenue to achieve this. Proceeding from this, we participated in the 1960 election campaign which helped to awaken broad sections of the people and to popularize the slogans of the national movement in the outlying areas. Later, after the resignation of President Quadros, the 5th Congress line made it possible for us to participate in the powerful movement which defeated the reactionary generals and put Joao Goulart in office. Here it should be stressed that this success became possible because we succeeded in raising aloft the banner of struggle in defense of the Constitution.

However, after these events we began to depart from the line of the 5th Congress. Instead of concentrating fire on the main enemy we, in effect, directed the main blow against our ally on whom the responsibility of govern-

ment rested. True, we had to fight against Goulart's vacillations and his policy of conciliation.

Our mistake was that we regarded this fight at the time as a concrete form of struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The political events of 1962-63, and particularly the success of the national and democratic movement, led to our overestimating our strength and underestimating the strength of the enemy; we ceased to follow objectively the changes taking place in the country and on the international arena.

We did not consolidate our positions after our successes. Instead we made excessive demands which only alienated more and more of the national bourgeoisie from the united front. For example, we demanded confiscation of "surpluses" (foodstuffs) and their distribution among retailers, nationalization (with compensation) of the flour mills, refrigerating plants, factories producing powdered milk and pharmaceutical enterprises belonging to foreign capital, etc. We demanded that 75 per cent of all credits in agriculture be granted to farms under 100 hectares, thus hurting the interests not only of the rural bourgeoisie but also of the middle peasants.

Our demands showed that we acted under the influence of a false conception of the Brazilian revolution, a conception that was essentially of a petty-bourgeois, putschist nature. According to this conception which made itself felt at decisive moments of the struggle, the revolution was seen not as a movement of the masses but as a result of the activity of political leaders and, at best, of the Party. We underestimated the importance which the people attached to the elections. In a situation when the influence of the bourgeoisie predominated, it was sheer adventurism to call for the re-election of Goulart. This meant amending the constitutional procedure. In the event of parliament refusing to do so it would be dissolved. This would have been an unconstitutional act.

On the other hand, we paid all too little attention to the international situation and especially to the growth of U.S. imperialist aggressiveness after the assassination of Kennedy.

We slipped down more and more to extremist positions until finally the reactionaries, the agents of imperialism, taking advantage of our blunders, became the standard-bearers of democratic legality.

Hence, unlike the usual Latin-American coups, the coup d'etat of April 1, 1964, was able to enlist the firm support of the small urban bourgeoisie, especially in Guanabara, Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais. Heterogeneous forces combined against the Goulart government to prevent an upsurge of the popular movement. The leaders of these forces had the backing of U.S. imperialism.

The coup therefore became possible because of the changes in the balance of social forces, because broad sections of the national and

petty urban bourgeoisie turned to the camp of reaction. When the coup took place the radical groups of the united patriotic and democratic front found themselves isolated. *They had suffered political defeat several months earlier.*

In its essence the military coup could be described as a *preventative movement* meeting the interests of U.S. imperialism and the ultra-reactionary forces in the country. It was directed in the main against the working class and its vanguard. Its purpose was—and the dictatorship is pursuing precisely this course—to halt the democratic process and direct the political and administrative life of the country along reactionary lines.

Of all the putschist groups, the one able to achieve the aim it set itself was the Centre formed in the Military Academy. Trained by Pentagon advisers, the members of this group evolved a system of views based on the principal concepts underlying U.S. aggressive policy, namely, that the world is divided into East and West and world war is, therefore, inevitable, sooner or later. For a number of years this Centre carried on systematic and persistent work to convert to these ideas high-ranking army officers, diplomats, parliamentary deputies and leaders of the so-called "productive classes."

In the days immediately following the coup this group established itself as the ruling core. It centered its attention on foreign policy. The plans of the International Monetary Fund became the official doctrine of the Brazilian government. Foreign policy began to be shaped according to the principle that "what is good for the USA is good for Brazil." The concept of geographical borders was replaced by that of ideological borders. According to this concept if U.S. "interests are affected" in any part of the world, say in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic, Brazil's interests too will be affected there.

This concept makes it easier for the imperialists to plunder Brazil. It has already served as a pretext for establishing a U.S. missile base in the north-east of the country, for turning Brazil's armed forces into a striking force against the fraternal people of the Dominican Republic.

In order to give effect to this concept the dictatorship is pursuing an anti-labor, anti-popular and, of course, anti-national policy. Legislation has been passed prohibiting wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. This legislation means a further cut in real wages, intensified exploitation and added hardships for the working people. The minimum wage of agricultural workers has been reduced in various areas. Rights won years ago by the working class have been wiped out. This concerns primarily seamen, dockers, railwaymen and other contingents of the urban proletariat. Under the axe is the guarantee against dismissal after ten years' uninterrupted work in

one enterprise. Meanwhile services cost more and taxes have been raised.

This policy spells the abolition of democratic liberties, the replacement of the social system constitutionally established in 1946 with the participation of broad sections of the people, including the Communists, by another, autocratic system of a fascist type. The people have been deprived, in effect, of the right of the ballot. Presidential elections are now indirect, carried out by an intimidated parliament whose membership has been greatly reduced, the dictator having deprived dozens of deputies of their mandates. The dictator has also arrogated to himself the right to expel from parliament anyone who opposes him. Not only have the prerogatives of the legislative bodies been curtailed (they have been turned into a mere registrar of the will of the head of government), the judicial organs too have been shorn of their independence. In constant fear of being persecuted, they no longer have the power to give effect to their decisions, which are often ignored by the dictatorship. So-called political crimes are now tried by military tribunals.

The repressions have as their purpose the beheading of the national and democratic movement. This is being done by depriving of political rights for 10 years more than 500 political and trade union leaders, including the three last presidents of the republic as well as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Luis Carlos Prestes (recently sentenced in absentia to 14 years imprisonment together with 60 other Communists). Even the three governors who at first fully supported the coup are now being persecuted. They are Carlos Lacerda (Guanabara state), Magalhaes Pinto (Minas Gerais) and Ademar de Barros (Sao Paulo) who have all been deprived of political rights. In violation of the law, military-police commissions are trying thousands of citizens. The first sentences have already been passed, ranging from 15 to 30 years imprisonment. Intellectuals are being terrorized in every possible way. Mass dismissals of professors, expulsion of students and the public burning of books are now the order of the day.

However, despite this the people are continuing the struggle which is taking the form of united action by workers, students, writers, journalists, theatre and cinema artists, painters, architects and musicians. The peasants for their part are restoring their organizations, undaunted by the brutal repressions. The workers in the sugar industry in the north-east of the country recently carried out a big strike.

In the fight against the dictatorship, the Party is combating two trends current among the opposition forces. One is underestimation of the anti-national essence and fascist character of the regime. This trend engenders constitutionalist and legalist illusions that it will be possible eventually to change the situation by compromising with one of the putschist

groups, i.e., by taking advantage of the contradictions among the ruling forces. The other trend maintains that there is no longer any possibility for mass action in the economic and political spheres. This trend engenders ultra radicalism — words rather than deeds — abstract concepts of revolution—the idea that the only possible form of struggle is armed struggle regardless of the existing objective and subjective conditions. Both trends, seemingly opposite ones, paralyze mass action, negate the need to organize and to prepare the masses through struggle for concrete demands.

Resistance to the dictatorship through actions by the masses who will become more active as they achieve partial successes, will aggravate the contradictions in the government and determine the forms of struggle, including armed action. We believe that all forms of struggle, beginning with the most elementary and ending with the highest, can be successful only if based on the voluntary and conscious participation of the masses, on the will of the people to fight.

Inflation is making the conditions of the working people and middle sections of town and countryside more and more intolerable. The national bourgeoisie is beginning to feel the effects of economic controls, restricted credits and other difficulties caused by the "economy" plan dictated by the International Monetary Fund.

Two years after the coup it is becoming

clear that it has not struck root among the masses. On the contrary, it has lost the confidence even of those circles of the small and middle bourgeoisie which supported it in the beginning. The regime's social base is steadily narrowing and the possibilities for creating a powerful anti-dictatorship front are broadening correspondingly. Many political forces, including influential government circles, have no liking for the present system. The call for democratic liberties, the key demand of the people, is uniting all sections of the population.

From the standpoint of tactics the immediate task of all who are openly opposed to the dictatorship is to *unite and organize* without discrimination so as to isolate the dictatorship and create the prerequisites for its overthrow. The immediate objective of the struggle is to set up a representative government that will ensure political freedom.

The Communist Party is fighting to give the people a progressive government. We realize that the government which will replace the dictatorship will reflect the balance of forces at the time of its establishment. It would be incorrect to impose narrow patterns limiting the forces prepared to fight the dictatorship.

Once a government has been established that will ensure all political forces the right to organize, the right of assembly and the right to conduct public activity, the people will be able to express themselves freely on all matters affecting the nation.

CANADIAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK

The anti-monopoly struggle

TIM BUCK

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA recently held its 19th Convention. One hundred and sixty delegates participated in its work, including the fraternal delegates from the USA, and Chile, as well as a number of observers from other bodies. All the Communist and Workers' parties from the socialist countries had been invited to send fraternal delegates to the Convention but the Canadian Government refused to grant them entry visas.

The Party had a pre-convention discussion extending over a period of three months in which various aspects of Party policy were critically examined.

The keynote address, given by William Kashan, the General Secretary of the Party, was unanimously adopted as was the policy statement and resolutions on labor, the Party, the youth movement and ideological work. A number of amendments to the Party Constitution were likewise adopted.

The Convention stressed that the developments in the country show that conditions are ripening for significant changes in Canadian political life. The prospects are opening up for new alignments with some sections of monopoly working for a turn to the right while the growing movements of the people are compelled to turn more and more against monopoly and to the left. It can be seen in the upsurge of peace action throughout the country in reply to criminal U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It can be seen in the ever growing struggles of workers and the trade union movement for job security, democratic rights and rising living standards. It can be seen in the protest actions

of farmers who are entering the fray against monopoly exploitation. It can be seen in the growing activities of students and young people for peace, civil liberties, democratic reform of education and for social change. It can be seen in the ferment among intellectuals and in the faculties. It can be seen too, in the growing number of white collar and professional groups who are entering the trade union movement and taking the path of strike action in defense of their interests.

These are but part of an ever growing opposition to monopoly and its policies which reaches out to the most varied sections of the Canadian people. The results of the Federal election reflected this process. In its own way the return of another minority Liberal Government expressed dissatisfaction with, and the lack of confidence in, the old capitalist parties. On the other hand the increased support given the New Democratic Party showed that an ever growing body of Canadians are seeking new policies and new paths for democratic advance.

The Convention underlined the extension of the movement for peace which includes within it the struggle for a truly independent and democratic Canadian foreign policy. It pointed out that the international situation had worsened and that U.S. imperialism had embarked on a course which makes the danger of world nuclear war more serious than ever.

Instead of drawing conclusions from its setbacks and bankrupt policies in Vietnam the U.S. Government is calculatingly escalating the war while pretending it wants to negotiate a settlement.

"This is not a matter of indifference for the Canadian people," stated the General Secretary of the CPC W. Kashtan. "Canada is deeply involved and will be seriously affected because of the extent to which the Government has integrated our country in U.S. war plans. The road to escalation is the road of incalculable danger for all mankind."

The Pearson Government claims it is for a peaceful solution of the conflict. Yet at the same time it sells arms to the USA, arms which are used to kill, maim and destroy innocent people in Vietnam.

The General Secretary continued: "Our Party solidarizes itself fully with the four and five point programs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam which are a concrete expression of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. We salute the heroic people of Vietnam whose epic struggle for freedom and independence will go down in history. We pledge to do all in our power to unite all Canadians to bring an end to U.S. aggression. And we will not rest until this is achieved."

Having analyzed the world situation the Convention came to the conclusion that the forces of peace, democracy and socialism are superior to those of imperialism. They are strong enough to curb the imperialist aggressors and prevent them from dragging the world toward atomic disaster. This is why world war is *not* inevitable and why peaceful coexistence *can* be won. But peace and peaceful coexistence of different social systems will not come on a platter. It can only be won by the ceaseless and united efforts of the people.

The strength of the people would be multiplied a thousand fold were the world Communist movement united. U.S. imperialism has taken advantage of the divisions in the world movement to step up its aggressive actions. Nowhere is the danger of division as evident as in Vietnam and nowhere would unity of action be as decisive as in compelling U.S. imperialism to retreat.

"Our Party will continue to work perseveringly for such unity of action on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," said W. Kashtan. "We will strengthen in every way our solidarity with all the anti-imperialist forces in the world, be it in Latin America, Africa or Asia. We will strengthen cooperation with Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence and the common struggle against imperialism and for socialism."

It was stated that Canada needs a foreign policy which could make her a vital force for peace in the world. The best place to begin is by the Government publicly dissociating Canada from U.S. aggression in Vietnam and demanding U.S. withdrawal from that country. Canada should oppose joining the OAS which is a cover for U.S. imperialism and instead extend the hand of friendship to the peoples of Latin America and demand that U.S. troops leave the Dominican Republic.

The time has also arrived for Canada to re-examine its relationship to NATO and to NORAD. NATO is in a deep crisis, dramatized by France's withdrawal from its military structure. The crisis arises from the fact that the widely publicized pretense of a threat of Soviet aggression has been exposed as a malicious lie, and from the efforts of the U.S. Government to commit NATO to its military adventures in the Far East.

The struggle for an independent and democratic foreign policy goes hand in hand with the need for a new direction in domestic policy. At the very centre of this problem is the fact of increasing U.S. domination of the Canadian economy, the danger it holds to the sovereignty and independence of our country and its ability to pursue an independent course in foreign affairs, in trade and in independent economic development.

U.S. control and domination over the Canadian economy has already reached a stage which, unless checked and reversed, will lead to the complete loss of our independence and sovereignty. In fact it is now suggested in some monopoly circles that it is already too late and that no other course is open to Canada except more and more integration with the USA.

The Communist Party long ago proclaimed there is another path which could and must be taken to ensure genuine national independence for our country. It pointed out the complicity of Governments and Canadian monopoly in this sell-out and the need for policies of Canadian control including nationalization of U.S.-owned industries in Canada as a means of re-asserting Canada's sovereignty.

The facts show that the Communists were correct in saying that the capitalist class is not united and that sharp differences exist among them over the path Canada should take. There are differences between those who base themselves on the home market and those who are based on export trade, between small and medium business and big monopoly, between sections of Canadian monopoly and U.S. monopoly itself.

"The working-class movement and our Party need to take these differences and real contradictions fully into account in developing its policies and tactics," said W. Kashtan. "They are directly related to the question of what forces there are that can be united to weaken and eventually eliminate foreign control, curb monopoly and open the door to independent economic and political development and the march to socialism in our country."

The position of the Communist Party is clear and forthright. It calls for democratic public control and public ownership as the way to decisively curb and end U.S. domination of our country. At the same time we will support all intermediary measures and steps which lead to greater measures of democratic Canadian control over our resources and industry.

The possibility of an independent course for Canada exists precisely because the world is not dominated by the USA, because there is a

growing world socialist system and rising movements of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America striving for their freedom. Genuine Canadian independence is directly tied up with the prospects of curbing U.S. aggression and achieving peaceful coexistence. *This is why the fight to end foreign control cannot be separated from Canadian foreign policy, in fact it is part of the fight for world peace and the prevention of nuclear war.*

Inseparably linked with the issue of independence from U.S. domination is that of the survival of Canada as one country, as a democratically united bi-national state. In the last few years the whole question of French-English Canadian relationships, of self-determination for French Canada has come to occupy a central place in the public life of the country.

The Convention supported the solution of the national question through adoption of a Canadian Constitution recognizing the right of self-determination of the two nations living in Canada. The Convention pointed out that what is lacking as yet is the unfolding of a powerful enough national and democratic movement in English and French Canada to compel adoption of such a Constitution. What could accelerate such developments is the merging of this struggle for a new Constitution with the movement for an end to foreign control over the Canadian economy.

The Convention greeted the decision to establish a Communist Party of Quebec as a distinct entity adopting this action as an integral part of the struggle of the Party for a voluntary equal partnership of English and French Canada.

The Convention made a deep examination of the trends of Canadian state monopoly capitalism.

The basic contradictions between capital and labor continue. Anarchy of production, arising from the essential nature of capitalism, the contradiction between expanding production and the limited consumption of the people, competition between monopolies on an international scale, all have sharpened in the recent period. This, in turn, has resulted in intensified speed-up and increased exploitation of working people here, as in all capitalist countries.

State monopoly capitalism has striven to modify the operation of the economic cycle and thereby to pursue policies of economic growth. This is a new feature in the situation.

But policies of economic growth under State-Monopoly Capitalism also create their own contradictions. They create a growing demand for workers, men and women alike, when in turn strengthens the working class numerically and gives it confidence to fight for a larger share of the values it creates. They also lead to rising prices and accentuate inflationary tendencies.

The problem confronting Canada is not old-time inflation but monopoly-rigged prices through which huge profits are amassed at the people's expense. Here is where the problem

lies and it is here where action is necessary and in two ways. First, by increasing taxes on the big corporations, secondly, by providing the means by which consumers can resist monopoly gouging, can get the facts concerning prices, and can place demands for a public review of price increases.

"We are not among those who lecture the workers about 'keeping their place' and not 'rocking the boat'," said W. Kashtan. "We leave this to the monopoly press. As for us, we take pride in our class, its rising militancy, solidarity and growing unity, all evidence of a growing consciousness of the need for action against monopoly. We support the workers and trade union movement unreservedly in all their struggles to improve their living standards and extend their democratic rights. These struggles are a necessary part of the battle to curb the power of monopoly."

The technological revolution has likewise placed to the fore the necessity of a united trade union movement and of a trade union structure which will strengthen it through unification of unions in each industry. *In fact, as the trade union movement involves itself in the struggle against foreign control, for independent economic development and public ownership, it will create the conditions for strengthening its autonomy, its unity and its independence.*

The technological revolution places sharply some other demands. In addition to the struggle for job security and for full employment based on continuous and independent economic development, the labor movement ought to step up its fight for a guaranteed annual wage and for a guaranteed annual income not only for workers but for farmers as well, including the demand for wage parity with U.S. workers.

Moreover, automation raises in sharp relief the entire problem of leisure time based on the necessity of reducing hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay as productivity rises. Culture and the arts is not something only for the rich and for the middle classes with the workers finding their culture in the pubs. It is the democratic heritage of all the people and should be made available to them.

The growing actions of labor have their counterpart in the widening of the democratic and anti-monopoly movements and struggles of the people. New demands are being raised reflecting the changes taking place in the country and in the economy.

While many of these demands can be won now through united democratic pressures, in the final analysis the new policies Canada must have to become a vital force for peace, to strengthen its independence and make the technological revolution serve society, can only be realized if a democratic majority replaces the old-line parties in Parliament and embarks on far-reaching measures of democratic reform, including public ownership.

All the work of our Party should be directed to help bring this about. In our conditions it is

the path through which we will advance to socialism.

The Canadian Communists have already declared in their Party Program that they seek and work for a peaceful transition to socialism. They say further that with the achievement of socialism in Canada all the democratic rights and institutions of the people will not only be protected but extended. *Socialism will in fact give them a far richer content than capitalism ever can.* Moreover, in the conditions in Canada, distinct from what occurred elsewhere because of different historical circumstances, the Communists reject the idea of a one-party government as being a necessary condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism, and work for the formation of a multi-party government whose aims will be the building of socialism. The Communists see the possibility of opposition parties continuing to function providing they respect the laws of the government building a socialist society.

Such a government would not undertake wholesale nationalization. It would nationalize the key sectors of the economy, in the first place those that are foreign owned, the banks and credit system. There would be room in a socialist economy for medium and small business to operate until the conditions which made them necessary to society disappeared.

"However, it is not enough to want socialism," declares the key address. "One must find the path to it and know what forces can bring it about. This is why we work for the unity of the working class and its allies as the foundation upon which a socialist society can be achieved."

This is not yet fully understood in the new left, many of whom consider that individual and non-class action can achieve fundamental social change and reject all political parties, including the Communist Party. We need to organize a friendly dialogue with the members of the new left, out of which it may be possible to not only clarify positions but also create the conditions for some of them to join the ranks of the fighters for socialism in our country.

A dialogue is necessary not only with the new Left but with others as well, in the first place with religious-minded Canadians, Catholic and Protestants alike.

The Convention stressed also the necessity of improving the Party work. It was pointed out that the Party had not yet given sufficient thought to the significance of the growing and varied movements of labor and the people reacting to the anti-national policies of monopoly and governments.

The Convention agreed that the specific role of the Party today was to help unite all the democratic forces and the labor movement in a mighty coalition against monopoly and to create understanding of the leading role of the working class in such a democratic coalition.

The first question for the Communists is not how big or small the Party is, but whether it is alive and doing things. At the same time it was made clear that the Party was not satisfied with the size of its present membership. The working class needs a strong Communist Party to help it find its way forward in the complex conditions of its struggle against monopoly. And the part of the material out of which the Party and press can be built is the growing militancy among workers and sharpening criticism of right-wing policy in the trade union movement, the emergence of a New Left among young people, in the universities and amongst intellectuals, the growing discrediting of the old-line parties, the increasing understanding of imperialism as the source of war danger, and socialism, as the force for peace.

The Convention instructed the incoming Central Committee to elect a committee on the Party Program to rework the Program, make it available for Party discussion within a year's time and for consideration and adoption at the 20th Convention two years from now.

A Central Committee of 51 was elected plus 6 alternates. At its first meeting during the Convention the Central Committee elected an Executive Committee of 17 and named Tim Buck Chairman of the National Committee and William Kashtan General Secretary and leader of the Party.

The road to becoming a mass party

NELSON CLARKE

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA is still a small party carrying on its work in the difficult conditions imposed upon it by twenty years of cold war, and intense anti-Communist propaganda, accompanied by widespread illusions among the working people about the "permanence" of capitalism.

Nevertheless, we do have organizations in all but three of the Canadian provinces. In Quebec, which is the homeland of the French Canadian nation, members of the Communist Party of Canada recently took the initiative in founding the Communist Party of Quebec.

The basic organizations of the Communist Party of Canada, the clubs (branches), are in the main territorial in character, that is their work is orientated towards a specific city or town, or in the case of our larger cities towards a district or ward.

This is not universally the case, however. Some of our members are grouped together in clubs based on the industry in which they work. For example, there are clubs composed of construction workers and transportation workers who may be employed in different enterprises, and in some cases be members of different trade unions. Such industrial clubs are viewed as a transitional form through which we work to establish clubs based on specific factories or shops.

Because Canada has been a country of immigration, and because our party has been greatly strengthened by socialist minded workers who have come from many different countries, it has been necessary to establish clubs in which these workers can discuss their Communist work among the people of their particularly national community in their own language. Naturally, this form does not continue to be necessary for the Canadian born workers of immigrant stock, who are fluent in the English or French languages.

There has also been some experimentation with youth clubs, that is clubs of young Communists who have assumed the full responsibilities of party membership, but who are

directing their work specifically to people of their generation, and who need to develop forms of activity and of inner-Party life in harmony with the aspirations and ways of living of this younger generation. There are problems with the form, since it tends to deprive other clubs of the party of the "rejuvenation" that comes from the presence of young people. It is too early to say whether the positive achievements of youth clubs can outweigh this negative feature.

Generally, then, our party adopts a flexible approach to the basis upon which our clubs are organized, at the same time emphasizing that any Communist club to be effective must have a clearly defined community of people in which to work, whether that community be based on territory, industry or on some other consideration.

We strive to help our clubs become lively centres of political activity in their community in which the basic issues before our country and the working class can be discussed and clarified, to which our members working among the people can bring their problems, questions and experiences and secure collective assistance.

We have to say that at this time the majority of our clubs still fall short of realizing this ideal. All too often the meetings of our clubs are devoted to inner problems, over-burdened by the very real problems of financing the work of our party, afflicted by routinism, and sometimes even by a sense of frustration on the part of the members.

While these difficulties reflect problems of isolation which our class enemies have succeeded in imposing upon our party in these difficult postwar years, we are not satisfied to write off these serious shortcomings as the result of "objective conditions" over which we have no control. Nor do we think they will be overcome by exhortations to the clubs to do better work.

Obviously we have a problem of leadership. Many of our club leaders (chairmen, organizers, directors of education) are not, at this time,

able to fully cope with the complex tasks of developing collective Communist work in their communities. But to say this is to immediately pose a criticism of the leadership of the Party as a whole, of our provincial and regional committees, and above all of our Central Committee and Executive. The leading committees must improve the system of Party schools for club leaders, and to give assistance on much more of a day-to-day, week-to-week basis in a live, personal way to our club leaders. There is the need also to break sharply with a number of past practices and habits of thinking.

For far too long, we allowed an atmosphere to exist in our Party which fostered the idea that we have "leaders" to do the thinking about Party program and policy who then hand down directives to the membership who are expected to go out to do the "leg work," the distribution leaflets, the canvassing, the organization of money raising projects, and so on. This has served to deaden the initiative of our clubs, and of our individual members. It is indeed a tribute to the deep loyalty of our membership that they have worked as hard as they have in such a situation.

We are determined now to fight for a new relationship between leadership and membership. We in no way deny the responsibility of leadership to study the reality in which we work, and to draw conclusions from that reality based on Marxism-Leninism. We emphasize the necessity of our Party leaders setting personal examples in their own work among the people. But at the same time, we are fighting to raise up the sense of *personal responsibility* of every member for the policies and line of our Party.

To do this we must create a situation in which there is the fullest opportunity within our clubs to raise questions about Party policy, to advance proposals for its change, and to bring these views effectively to the attention of leading committees. There is nothing to fear from such continuing discussion of questions of policy providing that it is understood that until new policies are established by the Convention or Central Committee, our members are expected to carry out the existing policy in their work.

Linked to this problem is another reflection of past practices. This is the strong tendency to *universalize* the tasks of Party membership, to expect every member in his or her practical work to do more or less the same things.

This does not take into account the individual interests of different members, that one may be intensely interested in the problems of the school where his children are being educated,

that another may be primarily concerned about the struggles of his union, that a third may be a keen student of art and literature, and anxious to develop his talents and his contacts in this direction, and so on. Yet in all cases, there is opportunity for fruitful Communist work among other forward-looking Canadians with similar interests.

This universalization does not take into account the different capacities of comrades, the physical inability of older comrades, for example, to work with the same energy which they employed in the past. As a result either demands are put upon the membership which some cannot fulfill, or demands are reduced to a minimal level which fails to challenge and provide an outlet for other members who are able and anxious to do more.

Nor are the changes taking place in the life of the Canadian working class properly taken into account. Through struggle the organized working class particularly has made gains in its living standards and in the leisure time available. Even though often pressed by debt, some workers are able to enjoy a home of their own, an automobile, sometime even a motor boat, and a cottage at the lake. This does not necessarily make them less militant, in fact the relatively well paid workers are often the most militant because they have established a standard of living which they want to defend and advance. Communist workers also achieve the same gains, and are subject to the same changes in their ways of living. This does not mean that they cannot continue to do good Communist work.

It only means that the ways in which we organize our campaigns and activities need to take these changes into account, and in such a way as to encourage the idea that members of our Party need to develop their work in different conditions under which they live and work. Our clubs must be so constructed and so lead as to provide our members with the stimulation to work in varied ways among different groupings of our population, and as participants in different movements and organizations of the people, always retaining a sense of purpose, and a determination to find the methods of winning people to our viewpoint through our press and literature, and bringing them as new members to our Party.

While the points made here by no means exhaust the examination of the problems which we face, they serve to illustrate essential first steps to be taken on the arduous road to becoming a mass party of the Canadian working class.

Ideological-educational work

NORMAN FREED

THE NEED TO INTENSIFY the struggle for Marxism-Leninism is dictated by the developing situation in the country itself. We can effectively uphold the fundamental principles of Marxism and be its worthy representatives if we approach social developments creatively, tackle the new problems and show how to solve them.

Schematic thinking and sectarian intolerance are still encountered in Party life. Dogmatism hampers free creative work. It stands in the way of properly assessing the changing situation, of examining the new socio-economic processes from the standpoint of creative Marxism. The struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism is an indispensable condition for rapid advance.

Characteristic of the present period is a growing public interest in fundamental problems that underlie the urgent political issues. This is due both to the immense impact of developments in the socialist world and the national-liberation struggles, and to the acuteness of economic, social and political conflicts in monopoly-capitalist society. The issue of peace leads to a questioning of the social order that engenders war. The Canadian dilemmas of independence and survival and of two nation unity involve matters of social structure (monopoly domination, economic viability and growth) as well as those of national identity and equality. The H-Bomb, anti-matter, lasers and cybernation have to do with both man's relation to nature and the relationships within society. The technological revolution as well as the social revolution is central to today's world, and basic questions of individual and collective freedom are invoked and debated in relation to both.

Let no one think that these great fundamental questions are "over the heads" of workers. The ferment of radical social criticism involves those in the plants and the working-class communities, as well as the campuses and other sectors, and the changes in workers' thinking

and approach are crucial for any political advance.

In our activity in behalf of our Party's program and policies three areas show up that are particularly important for ideological-educational work:

—the *point of contact* with non-Communist progressive, democratic people, NDPers, trade-unionists, young people, housewives, professionals, church members, how we speak with them (and how often), what material we can offer them, what is our degree of "openness" of approach, as against tendencies to withdrawal or rigidity.

—the *confidence, born of conviction*, with which we resist reactionary pressures that would like to silence us, whether through violence, intimidation, misrepresentation, or the illusions of the "affluent" society. Confidence and understanding are further put to severe test by the division in the world Communist movement: a situation which lends special urgency to the need to master the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory in relation to all the most pressing issues of our time. We have to combat both opportunist surrender to difficulties, ("idealizing" capitalist society, "soft-pedaling" the realities of class struggle) and sectarian withdrawal, dogmatic complacency, "left" gesticulation. Both tendencies lead to abandonment of a sound class position, abdication of the role of the Party.

—the *animation* of work with ideas, *enlivening and bringing closer to reality* the study and and discussion of vital problems, becoming better acquainted with the actual changing currents of thought and opinion throughout Canadian society, reading more, and getting more actively into the debates that are going on. We have still to overcome a certain isolation from (and hence ignorance of) some of the main currents of intellectual life, in which social criticism is an increasingly notable ingredient. This is a matter of concern to all Communists, not to "specialists" or "leadership" alone. We need to study the ferment in

the churches, the controversies in the field of culture and the mass media, the manifold and lively polemics in Quebec, the new debates on political orientations and social-economic realities. Only then can we effectively unfold a critique of bourgeois ideology, convincingly argue the fundamental positions of Marxism-Leninism, and further develop, in a creative and original way, the application of its basic truths to our complex and changing Canadian scene.

Our Party needs to elaborate and strengthen the presentation of our stand on a number of the matters currently debated: on our attitude to the *nation* and Canadian identity; on our conception of *democracy* in relation to the prospect of cybernation and the "technological society", and also in relation to freedom of expression and research in the *arts and services* and freedom of *religious belief*, as we envisage these in our projection of a Socialist society in Canada. Further work on our Party Program should enable us to make a popular and effective presentation of our stand on all the main issues, immediate and long-range, that confront our country.

We have made a small contribution towards assuring a Marxist presence in gatherings of public and academic opinion-makers, scholars, researchers (at gatherings such as institutes of public affairs, symposiums on social and political studies, national and international meetings of learned societies, etc.). Experience has shown that when we put them forward, our views are received with interest, and we ourselves learn not a little from the interchange of ideas. This area of initiative should be extended further.

Our studies of Canadian society (for instance in following up on *The Anatomy of Big Business* need to embrace the external and internal politics of state-monopoly capitalism in this country, and problems of the Canadian state and the national question (in English Canada as well as French Canada). Regional studies such as *Automation: the Hamilton Prospect* and those being made of monopoly ownership in Western Canada are examples of theoretical production that helps develop policy and extend our influence. The Marxist studies of contemporary Canada and of Confederation, now in preparation, will contribute to the celebration of the Centennial. They will need to be followed by work on a number of other vital aspects of the class and national-democratic struggles and of the social and economic changes that underlie them.

This whole field of ideological work, if we are to cultivate it on the scale that the public debate and growing interest in Marxism would appear to necessitate, requires a strengthening of systematic research and production activity, in the direction indicated (to a very modest degree) in the work of the *Marxist Quarterly* and Study Centre, but on a firmer and broader base, and in both French and English-speaking Canada.

Together with a growth in the public educa-

tional and propaganda work of the Party organizations, and a stepped up participation by Communists in the debates and dialogues on vital questions, we should encourage the development of various "intermediate", non-party forms of study and discussion (e.g., Centres for Socialist Studies, Marxist Discussion Groups, etc.) for those workers, intellectuals and young people who are beginning to become interested in Marxism, but whom we are as yet ill-equipped to attract and bring closer to our movement.

Propagation of our ideas through the *written word* requires more attention, better planning and strengthened personnel:

- the paucity and often unsatisfactory *quality* of our written material points to the need for improving the calibre of the work of our publicists and training more young writers, as well as to the need for better utilization of existing forces:

- the small beginnings in getting our published material into circulation not only in the few Left-wing bookstores but in regular commercial outlets are a step in the right direction which needs to be pursued further.

Similar considerations apply as regards the quality and extent of our *oral* propaganda, the need for training speakers and particularly for seeking out ways of *access to the mass media*.

We need to re-vitalize our educational work throughout the Party, starting with the rebuilding of our system of schools, seminars, and club education. The three projected courses for trade-unionists, young people and French Canadian activists will be first steps in this direction. We have to overcome a certain perfunctory, routine pattern in our approach to the *planning* of schools, and see them instead as political projects, closely related to the needs of policy and action, and likewise in *selection of students* (as an expression of cadre policy), in our conception of curriculum and teaching methods, in which there is no place for "spoon-feeding" or uncritical learning by rote. Instructors have the responsibility of stimulating the thinking and the appetite for more study on the part of students.

Our educational activity should combine a basic grounding (and then steadily progressing to further studies) in the classics of Marxism-Leninism with a good, hard look at each of the urgent issues facing the working class and the country. Examples are the issue of guidelines, foreign investment and U.S. domination (is the battle for Canadian independence already lost?), the place of the Communist Party in the united front and anti-monopoly alignment, what is the common ground for united action, what is the distinctive contribution that we as a Party are able and called upon to make.

Much more systematic attention by Party leadership is needed to the work of our schools, seminars and club education, with particular emphasis on developing educational activity and *young people*, taking into full account the which meets the needs of *industrial workers*

specific problems of their work and study.

The aim must be to more adequately equip our members to take their place and make their contribution to movements of the people, and to overcome all elements of lack of confidence, sectarianism or passivity.

The process of strengthening education is directly related to our participation in the struggles of the labor movement and in the battle of ideas. This in turn poses for each of us the necessity of seeking answers to questions raised, of finding more effective, convincing ways to advance the Communist point of view and proposals for action. All of us need to read more. We need to make fuller use of our books and pamphlets, of *The Tribune*, *PT* and *Combat*, of the *Marxist Quarterly*, *World Marxist Review*, *Viewpoint* and *Scan*, in our clubs and in our individual work. This has to do with the way we use this material in work with friends and contacts, making it available to them, asking their opinions of the arguments and information contained in the material, arranging informal discussions (as well as larger, organized discussions or study sessions). And in relation to our own individual development, our own thinking, expressing our *opinion* about this or that article or booklet, exploring ways of following up the argument or train of thought or new area of interest. Wherever our inner-Party life suffers from inertness, there needs to occur *an animating of thought*, discussion, an active interaction of ideas beamed to reality, to coming to grips with and changing the condition of things.

In order to promote study and discussion of Party policies, to further the projection of our policy and Program, and to strengthen the

unity of education and action, it is proposed that *Viewpoint* be published regularly as a medium of Party political and education activity.

Ideological-educational work involves responsibilities that permeate every area of political and organizational work. At the same time it requires coordinated guidance, as part of the overall work of leadership. The press, literature, education, cultural work, research—all these departments are involved. A form of *coordinated direction* to these related fields is required which, without narrowing the scope of any one of them, assures the necessary cohesion and fullest possible effectiveness of our overall projection of policy and building the Party's influence and strength.

Areas such as publicity (campaigning, public relations, mass media), and cadres, are closely linked with one or other of the foregoing.

It is in the course of activity and struggle that our work to uphold and spread the truths of Marxism-Leninism is put to the test. Bold imaginative participation in the people's movements is the surest way to build confidence and deepen conviction. It is the way to impart to all our work a consciousness that is essential to the creation, with our help, of a social force capable of effectively challenging the Establishment. The complex but unmistakable movement of living history, whether seen in the vast achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, or in the growing social consciousness of the working people of our own country, bears witness to the truth of our theory, the justice of our cause, the certainty of its coming triumph everywhere.

New aspects of publicity work

JOHN BOYD

THE BASIC PROBLEM of publicity for all Marxist parties, especially in the capitalist and colonial world, is how to get views, ideas and programs to as many people as possible. In Canada, as in other highly developed capitalist countries, the problems are quite complex and formidable. Essentially they boil down to overcoming two main barriers:

(1) The wall of prejudice and fear that has been built up by the capitalist class and its propaganda machine against socialism, communism and Marxism-Leninism over the years, especially during the past two decades of the cold war.

(2) The highly organized, sophisticated, massive and complex galaxy of communication media, most of it owned and controlled by the capitalist class and its agents and apologists. This includes newspapers, books magazines, radio, television, films, theatres, etc.

The objective difficulties and problems Communists face in their publicity work in this setting are thus quite numerous. Perhaps the greatest of these is the limitation that is put on our access to the various media of publicity.

Television and radio, the widest and most popular of the media, are first of all prohibitive in cost. In larger centers, where the Party has its strongest organizations, the rate is very high and therefore all but prohibitive. In smaller cities the fees are lower but there the Party organizations are of course smaller and only rarely can afford to use these media.

Thus during election campaigns, for example, we have a situation where the national leader of our Party, running in the large metropolitan city of Toronto, cannot speak on television but while touring the country he is able to speak on television for 5 or 10 minutes in two or three smaller centers (at considerable cost to the local Party organizations, of course). Although the majority of Canada's radio and TV stations are government-owned, a ruling directed mainly against Communists allows free use of the radio and TV during elections only to

parties that have a certain number of representatives in Parliament.

Public halls all too often are not available to Communists. The owners of the halls refuse to rent them to the Party either because they themselves are anti-communist or because pressure is put on them. As a result most public meetings held by Communists in Canada are held in halls owned by left-wing organizations. In some areas more recently it has been possible to break through some of these restrictions but these are still exceptions.

Newspapers, of course, are owned and controlled by the big monopolies. The views and actions of Communists do not get reported on the news pages very often, and when they do it is either in a very limited or distorted way. One of the ways Communists and other left-wing organizations get around this problem is by placing paid advertisements in some of the daily newspapers to convey their message to the people. But this too, like the TV and radio, is very expensive, which means that such advertisements can be used only rarely and at great sacrifice to the Party and its supporters. Even then the newspaper owners sometimes reject ads with which they strongly disagree or insist on changes and deletions.

Our own Communist press does convey our message to the people but unfortunately its circulation is very limited. Because of the widespread anti-Communist prejudice and the fear of discrimination, many workers are afraid to subscribe to our press. For the same reason many are also afraid to come to Communist meetings.

But not all the obstacles in the Party's publicity work are objective. Unfortunately, we still have far too many of them that are self-imposed.

The two decades of the cold war have taken their toll. Too many Party members are reluctant to approach workers with our press or literature or to put forward Communist ideas, fearing that these will be rejected. Yet we find that people today, particularly young people,

are far more receptive to the ideas of Communism than they were 15, 10 or even 5 years ago. Even if they are not yet ready to accept our ideas, they are ready—even eager—to listen to them.

Sectarianism and conservatism are also big obstacles in our publicity. The past hangs heavy on our shoulders and often prevents us from changing with the times. The postwar period, and particularly the past decade, has brought about many changes. The advances in communication, the more sophisticated and more extensive media for conveying news and opinions, compel us to find more modern and more sophisticated ways for conveying our ideas. The younger generation looks quite differently at the world. To reach this generation we have to cast off old, outworn clichés and concepts. This of course is not always easy for older members to do. As a result, one of the biggest problems in our publicity work is to keep up with the changing times.

Sometimes the new media themselves compel us to do so. When one has to prepare for a 5-minute speech on the TV or radio, one has to learn to say a great deal briefly, simply, effectively. It is much easier to prepare an hour-long speech than a 5-minute one. The same is true when one has to prepare a newspaper advertisement, which has to be small because of the cost and which has to compete for the reader's attention with scores of other bright and breezy advertisements.

The image our Party presents to the public is another important aspect of our publicity work. The image most Canadians have of our Party is one that was created over many years by the capitalist propagandists—a false, distorted image. It pictures the Communists and their Party as agents of a foreign power and Communism as an imported, foreign idea, something alien to Canada.

One of the biggest problems we face in our propaganda work is to be able to relate socialism and the advantages of a socialist system of society to Canada and the Canadian people. When we speak of or project the ideas of socialism, people naturally associate it in their minds with the Soviet Union, China, Hungary, Cuba. To the extent that the truth about what has been achieved and what goes on in these countries gets to the Canadian people, and a great deal does get through, there is great interest and some of this leads to interest in our Party and the left-wing movement. But the majority of Canadians unfortunately, are to a greater or lesser degree still under the influence of anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism and therefore hostile to or at least suspicious of our Party.

In this respect, the errors, shortcomings and weaknesses that have been revealed in the socialist countries in the past (and those still in evidence) present an additional barrier or problem. They have helped to distort the image of socialism among the people and this dis-

torted image is assiduously magnified, fostered and propagated by all the propaganda media of the capitalist class. All of this presents us with the problem of putting forward our ideas of a socialist Canada and simultaneously trying to explain and correct the distorted image of socialism the Canadian people have.

All these barriers and difficulties, objective and subjective, explain why it is that our Party in Canada, as indeed the parties in many of the highly-developed capitalist countries, has not been able to record the progress in recent years that might have been expected.

This does not mean, of course, that there isn't both a great need and a great receptivity for Marxist ideas in our country. There is—more so than there has been for many, many years. There is today a widespread questioning of the status quo, a great search for answers to the many problems that beset our country and its people, and much thinking about what lies ahead. This is why our Party now puts public work, getting out with our ideas among the people, as its main task. Primary emphasis is now being placed on our press: first, to radically improve its contents and, second, to make the fight to increase its circulation the top-priority task of all Party members. It means also that more of our members must be prepared to act as Party spokesmen, prepared to speak to the various groups who want to hear what Communists have to say. That the opportunity for more public work is there was best illustrated recently by the wide interest shown in our Party's three-man delegation to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. There were wide demands from many groups all over Canada to have our delegates speak to them. They were interested in hearing the *Communist* view of the situation in Vietnam.

This decision to turn the whole Party organization to greater public work is only beginning to be implemented. Our biggest problem is first to convince the membership of the Party that the opportunities are there, that the objective difficulties can be overcome. This the leadership of our Party has decided to do mainly by setting an example through its own work. The fact is that while these objective difficulties in the Party's work are quite substantial they cannot be an excuse for our failure to achieve results. After all, they are a "fact of life" in our country; we have to live with it. Our job is to find how to bring our ideas to the people *in spite* of these objective difficulties.

Obviously the fact that we have not recorded as much success as we should have, shows that we have not yet found the ways of overcoming many of the barriers that stand between us and the people. Bold new and different ways of bringing the ideas of Marxism to the people are needed. Finding these new ways and boldly applying them is one of the most important and most urgent tasks facing our Party today.

For national self-determination of French Canada

LUCIEN JACQUES

AS THE CENTENNIAL of Canadian Confederation draws nearer (July 1, 1967) there is a growing feeling amongst Canadians that if the national question is left unresolved, the **British North America Act, the Canadian Constitution**, will not long survive the celebrations.

The **Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism**, set up by the Federal government more than two years ago to study and find ways to improve relations between French and English Canadians, reported in its preliminary report (summer 1965) that "Canada without being fully conscious of the fact, is passing through the greatest crisis in its history."

The report asked:

What is at stake is the very fact of Canada: what kind of country will it be? Will it continue to exist? . . . What does the crisis spring from? . . .

Our inquiry, the commissioners noted, is not far enough advanced . . . to enable us to establish exactly its underlying causes and its extent.

The Commission has since concluded its hearings and took into account the briefs submitted to it, including the one presented by the Communist Party of Canada, which the commissioners found to be "one of the best." However, the Commission has remained silent thereafter. It has not offered any solution to the "crisis of Confederation", although the future of Canada is indeed at stake.

In 1867 the English colonies in North America, Upper Canada (Ontario), Lower Canada (Quebec), together with New-Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, adopted a Constitution called the **British North America Act**. Other provinces later joined this Confederation to form the present State of Canada. Each province maintained a certain autonomy with self-government and guaranteed rights as to lan-

guage, religion, education, private property, labor and social matters. National defense, interprovincial commerce, external affairs, immigration, and transportation were administered by a central, federal government.

Because of growing U.S. imperialism threatening Canada and the necessity for a unified market from the Pacific to the Atlantic oceans, this federal structure was indeed progressive at the time. But, throughout the years, the growing French community in Quebec, more conscious of its national being, became increasingly dissatisfied with Confederation.

French Canadians constitute today one-third of the Canadian population; in the province of Quebec 80 per cent of the population is of French origin. This community has all the attributes of a nation, but the BNA Act does not recognize it. This is the heart of the question, the "underlying cause" of the crisis that has developed between the French and English Canadians. Quebec may be "autonomous", but it is just one province amongst ten.

Consequently, French Canadians are denied the right to national self-determination. While the Canadian constitution "protects the civil rights" of all citizens no matter where they live, the collective rights of French Canadians are not recognized, nor do they hold equal status with English Canadians, throughout the country: for example, French Canadian minorities in other provinces are not entitled to their own schools.

The Anglo-American bourgeoisie dominates the economy of Quebec. Less than 10 per cent of the economy in Quebec, in terms of total capital invested, is controlled by French Canadians. In order to make a living most French Canadians must speak English.

Without explaining here in detail the "underlying causes" for the crisis of Confederation in Canada, anyone even unfamiliar with Canadian

history will nevertheless understand that the denial of nationhood and national self-determination to French Canada is the essence of the problem. To solve it the separatists would declare unilateral independence for Quebec, while the bourgeoisie would only modify a few clauses in the BNA Act.

Canadian progressives, led by the Communists, hold that neither of these solutions would be in the interests of both French Canada and English Canada, and certainly not in the interests of its working class.

The Communist Party of Canada has been arguing for many years now that a new Constitution is urgently needed, which would recognize the existence of two nations in Canada and their right to exercise self-determination, up to and including separation.

It is the Party's opinion that a Constituent Assembly composed of equal representatives from French and English Canada should be called before the Centennial celebrations with the purpose of writing such a new Constitution. Otherwise, "there is grave danger", said the CPC in its brief to the Royal Commission, "that by 1967, relations between the two nations may have worsened to the point where Canada might be torn apart".

In order to reflect the binational character of Canada within its own structures, the CPC National Committee meeting on April 25, 1965, agreed with the Quebec Communists "to the effect that the Party in Quebec be established as a distinct entity and be called the Parti Communiste du Quebec; that a Convention be held in Quebec in the fall with a view to implementing this; that the NEC be instructed that such changes as may be made necessary in the Party's Constitution by the establishment of the Parti Communiste du Quebec as a distinct entity be drafted for submission to the National Convention."

The founding Convention took place in Montreal on November 26, 1965. First, a Constitution was adopted establishing a "distinct organization" called the Parti Communiste du Quebec "with complete control in Quebec over its policies and its structures."

Samuel Walsh, outgoing president of the former Quebec Committee of the C.P. of Canada (who was the next day re-elected president of the new Parti Communiste du Quebec) then made it clear that the Convention had the following choices:

- a) to form a separate party from the Communist Party of Canada;
- b) to associate the PCQ to the CPC;
- c) to integrate the PCQ within the structures of the CPC, while retaining its distinctiveness and its complete control in Quebec over its policies and structures;
- d) maintain the status quo.

The Quebec Committee presented a resolution urging that option c) be adopted, but it also recommended that no vote be taken upon its own resolution, so as not to place the

Communists in English Canada before "a fait accompli". Furthermore, the Quebec Committee proposed that its resolution and/or any other resolution which dealt with the kind of relationship to be established between the Parti du Quebec and the Communist Party of Canada, be referred for discussion to a joint committee composed of representatives from both the Quebec executive and the National Committee executive.

This met with the approval of the Convention. The outgoing Quebec Committee resolution for "a distinct organization with complete control over its policies and its structures in Quebec, *within the structures of the CPC*", together with a Committee member's proposal for the establishment of "a binational committee, to which would be submitted all decisions of the CPC National Committee", were voted as the only options to be considered by the joint committee.

When this Committee met, shortly after, it adopted the Quebec Committee proposal and rejected the other. The National Committee did the same at its January plenum.

The founding of the PCQ had become necessary and was consistent with the French Canadian nation's struggle for self-determination and with its increased class consciousness.

The 19th CPC Convention, which was held on May 21st, ratified the Parti Communiste du Quebec status, thus implementing within the structures of the CPC both the principle of democratic centralism, in the interests of the entire Canadian working class, and the recognition of the binational character of Canada.

The Convention adopted amendments to the Constitution of the Communist Party of Canada made necessary by this action. The amendments to the Constitution embody the following principles: "The binational character of our country and of its working class finds expression in the Communist Party and is reflected in the establishment of the Communist Party of Quebec as a distinct entity within the Communist Party of Canada, having complete control of its own policies and structures in Quebec. The principles of democratic centralism are binding on all Communists; the members of the Communist Party of Quebec, as members of the Communist Party of Canada, participate fully in its life and activities, in its Conventions, Central Committee and leadership, take part in the collective formulation of policy and share in the common responsibility for action in the interest of the working class of Canada."

The new relationship is intended to assure the working people of French Canada that the Communist Party of their nation develops its policies always in the true interests of the French Canadian working class, that its policies are not imposed from English Canada, the dominating nation.

It is essential that such a basis of confidence

be laid in order that Communists of French Canada can effectively argue for their position that the right to self-determination of the French Canadian nation, which is unqualified, should be expressed in a new Constitution which will place the two nations of Canada on a completely equal footing. It is in this way

that the people of the two nations can best unite to resist the continuing economic and political encroachments of United States imperialism. It is in this way that the working class of the two nations can best be united to fight their common enemy, the great U.S. and Canadian monopolies.

Communist work in municipal government

BILL ROSS

THIS YEAR WILL MARK the 40th anniversary of the election of the first Communist to public office on the North American continent in the person of William Kolisnyk as a member of the Winnipeg City Council. He was later re-elected for a second 2-year term. In the civic elections of 1933 the Communists in Winnipeg consolidated their role in civic politics with the election of Jacob Penner to the City Government and Andrew Bileski to the School Board. Ever since then there has not been a year without at least one Communist representative on either the City Council or School Board of this important Canadian City.

Jacob Penner who was one of the founding members of the Communist Party of Canada, was a remarkable working-class civic leader. He brought to the City Government a working class point of view and a civic program for the welfare of the working people. His devotion to his responsibilities as a member of the city council of Winnipeg and his record of service was such that for some 28 years he was elected and re-elected by the electors of the north-end of Winnipeg. The only interruption in this long term as a civic leader was during the early part of the Second World War when he together with other Canadian Communists was arrested and interned without a trial. When public pressure won his release he again stood for election as alderman and was re-elected at the head of the polls. He continued to win the confidence of the working people of his electors until his retirement at the end of 1961 at the advanced

age of 81. His seat on the City Council was immediately won and retained by another Communist candidate who had previously served 20 years on the Winnipeg School Board. The position vacated on the School Board was filled with the election of another Communist. So the tradition of electing Communists to Winnipeg's Civic Government continues.

What are the reasons for this continuing support for Communist representation in Winnipeg's Local Government? The first reason lies in the strong labor tradition of Winnipeg and particularly of the constituency of Ward 3. The North end of Winnipeg is a working class constituency and its population is composed of many national minority groups. In the early years of the century Winnipeg was a centre of many socialist circles and Marxist groupings and also an important centre of trade union struggles. The Socialists and Communists were and are part of this tradition. The trade union struggles of this City culminated in the general strike of 1919. Although this great strike was smashed with the arrest of the strike leaders, the working people of this City learned many lessons from this strike and one of these lessons was the need for increased political activity. It is interesting to note that some of the strike leaders were elected to public office while they were still kept in prison.

After the strike the labor movement, including the Canadian Communist Party which was formed in 1922, began to play a more active role in contesting elections at all levels of

government—local, provincial and federal. As indicated above the first election victory for Communists was achieved in 1926 with the election of William Kolisnyk as an alderman in the City of Winnipeg. During the turbulent days of the great economic crisis of the 1930's the Communists in City Council, Alderman Jacob Penner and Alderman Martin Joe Forkin championed the cause of the tens of thousands of unemployed Winnipeg workers. Their activities helped to do away with the prevailing practice of making the unemployed work at useless work for very low payments of relief and paved the way for legislation which resulted in the Unemployment Insurance Act. These aldermen also fought against evictions of people for being unable to pay their rent and they demanded drastic reforms to relieve the working people of unfair taxation. In the field of education the Communist representatives on the Winnipeg School Board pioneered in pressing for educational improvements and better educational opportunities for the children of the working people. Some of the issues which they raised in their election platforms, such as free text books at schools, scholarships for students coming from low income groups, the establishment of kindergartens in the public school system, better salaries for teachers, have been achieved.

Local government in Canada is that form of government which is closest to the needs of the people, and the fight for the people's interests is part of the fight against big business and monopoly interests and political reaction. The local government of Winnipeg like the local government bodies throughout Canada has been dominated by the representatives of the old-line capitalist parties, the Liberals and Conservatives. In Winnipeg and generally throughout Canada coalitions of the representatives of these parties control the civic governments.

The second major reason for the confidence of the electors of Winnipeg in their Communist representatives is in the civic program which has been developed over a period of many years and which places at its centre the needs of the working people and the best interests of the working people in the City. This program stresses the need for policies which will help the economic interests of the working people and relieve them of the increasing burden of an antiquated and archaic tax system which places too big a burden on the working people and too little taxation on the rich. In addition the program deals with the democratic rights of the people and seeks to extend these democratic rights and to strengthen democracy at the local level. Winnipeg was one of the first cities in Canada to grant the franchise in civic elections to all residents over the age of 21 without any property restrictions. The Communist representative in City Council has succeeded quite recently in having the City Council go on record in favor of giving the

vote to all who are 18 years and over but this reform has been blocked by the provincial parliament.

Communists have been active in raising the questions of more housing for people of low income, more hospitals, cheaper and better public transportation, the modernization of our educational system and the removal of financial barriers so that there would be better educational opportunities for those students who come from homes where wages are low. Communist representatives are also active in fighting against the growing practice of secrecy and closed meetings in the conduct of public business.

The third major reason for election of Communists to the local government is because of the record of the Communists in public office. By their deeds in City Council and School Board they have proven to be people of devotion to the people and representatives of great integrity who match their words with deeds. In contrast to other public representatives they make public reports of their work in between elections and keep the electors informed as to the issues in Council and School Board and as to how the various political groupings in public bodies vote on issues.

Because of these three factors, the labor traditions and political consciousness of the people of the North-end of Winnipeg, the civic program and the record of public service of Communist representatives, these representatives attract support of people far beyond the ranks of the Communist movement. The funds for the various election campaigns are gathered from contributions of working people and their supporters and this is in sharp contrast to what is happening in connection with the coalition of the Liberals and Conservatives who get their financial support mainly from business interests.

In civic elections the Communist representatives run under the auspices of the Labor Election Committee which consists of Communists and non-Communists. Our representatives do not confine themselves only to raising day to day questions of immediate concern to the people. One of the main objectives of our representatives is to present an alternative program to that of the old-time parties in local government and to advocate unity at the polls so that a majority of labor representatives, Communists and Socialists can be elected to win a majority on the Winnipeg City Council and School Board, so as to be able to introduce policies to serve the interests of the working people. Our representatives also seek to encourage the greater participation of the organized trade union movement in political activity at all levels of government so as to make the trade union movement a stronger force in the political life of our cities, our province and our country.

There is hardly one major question in local

government today which is not inter-connected with politics on the provincial or federal level. There cannot be any extensive housing development for people of low incomes nor a solution to the financial crisis of education without a change of policy on the provincial and federal levels. Time and again our representatives have raised the question that the welfare of the people must come first and that the tremendous sums of money which are expended on armaments should be reduced and the money saved should be made available to build more homes and hospitals and to meet the other needs of the people.

The experiences and victories of the Party in Winnipeg civic election contests over a period progressive movements in other Canadian cities. The path to serve the best interests of the working people in Winnipeg and other municipalities in civic politics lies in having a program which is in tune with the needs of the working people, in struggling for that program consistently and in building a united front around broad democratic issues to defeat reaction. To this important field of work the Party and its public representatives are making an honorable and positive contribution.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The wrathful voice of the peoples

JAN PRAZSKY

THE EXTENSION of the criminal war waged by the United States in South East Asia, the bombing of the outskirts of Hanoi and Haiphong and the raids on dams and other hydroelectric installations in the DRV, have evoked angry protests in all parts of the world. Peace-loving nations everywhere are shocked at the cynicism with which the United States is trampling the Geneva agreements on Indochina, flouting international law and placing brute force above elementary moral and judicial norms.

Everywhere people are expressing solidarity with the Vietnamese people, demanding that the U.S. government stop the outrageous bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the armed intervention in South Vietnam.

By advancing in its criminal policy to a more dangerous stage of escalation, the U.S. government is playing with fire.

The peoples of the world see this vandalism as an additional threat to peace on the part of American imperialism. The statement adopted by the signatories of the Warsaw Treaty at

the Bucharest meeting of the Consultative Committee notes that with the bombing of the outskirts of Hanoi and the port of Haiphong the war in Vietnam has entered upon a new phase still more dangerous to world peace and security. In violation of the Geneva agreements and the United Nations Charter, the United States is in Vietnam as an invader, as an oppressor of the freedom and independence of the people. It is out to enslave other countries of Indochina as well, and to this end is stepping up its bombing of Laos and continuing its provocations against Cambodia.

A statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DRV describes the latest act of aggression by U.S. imperialism as "grave violation of the sovereignty and national independence of the people of Vietnam, an outrageous provocation against the socialist camp and all peace-loving countries."

The Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of Vietnam has likewise denounced this escalation as a highly dangerous step and has called upon the government of the fraternal organizations and people all over the world, in the in-

terests of peace and justice, to take resolute and more effective action to curb the American aggressors.

According to a statement by the DRV Ministry of the Power Industry and Irrigation, more than 500 bombing raids on various hydraulic installations were registered between February and May 1966, including 49 on the network of dams and dykes. Thousands of tons of missiles and bombs, some of them weighing 1,500 kg., were dropped on dykes and other installations. "The bombing of these installations and dams with the aim of causing both flooding and drought is a heinous crime," the statement says.

"The Washington murderers," writes the newspaper *Nhan Dan*, "do not shrink from the most cruel and treacherous methods to achieve their ends . . . The pirates barbarously bombing Tinh, Namdinh, Jenbai, Phatdiem and other towns and inhabited areas in North Vietnam, committing grave crimes against the people, should be brought to trial by our army and people, just as the German fascists who bombed Warsaw, Amsterdam, London and Coventry during the Second World War were made to answer for their crimes before the International Tribunal. They must redeem their debt of blood."

The Bucharest conference issued a stern warning to the U.S. imperialists about their responsibility for the crimes against the people of Vietnam. In their statement they point out that in the war in Vietnam the United States is increasingly resorting to inhuman methods of annihilating the civilian population, including napalm and toxic agents. "Those who commit these crimes," says the statement, "are following in the footsteps of the Hitler war criminals. The actions of the U.S. troops and their satellites in Vietnam constitute a crime against peace and humanity punishable under international law. The aggressors would do well to remember the lessons of history, and that they will have to answer for their evil deeds."

The ruthlessness of the invader has not broken the will of the people whose courage is indomitable. "Our people," says the statement of the April (1966) session of the National Assembly of the DRV, "are waging a patriotic war, the greatest war in their history, against U.S. imperialism."

The aggressors are paying a heavy price for every crime they commit. Their losses in South Vietnam are steadily growing. As General Vo Nguyen Giap, DRV Minister of Defense, writes in the journal *Hok Tap*, "the American expeditionary corps has lost the political and military initiative, and however modern its military machine, it will be unable to utilize its fighting capacity in full measure, it cannot avoid the inevitable defeat that is the lot of any army of aggression."

In the course of the struggle the air and anti-aircraft forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are gaining strength, inflicting telling blows on the enemy. The ranks of the volunteer forces and self-defense units are increas-



Major Chan Han of the DRV air force who has brought down several U.S. planes.

Vietnam Information Agency Photo



A unit of the Vietnamese People's Army readies a missile for firing.

Photo from the newspaper *Nhan Dan*

ing. The newspaper *Nhan Dan* has called on the population to give effect everywhere to the slogan: "One hand on the plough, the other on the rifle. The hammer in one hand, the rifle in the other."

By carrying on the struggle against U.S. imperialism the people of Vietnam are not only upholding their own national rights. They are making a big contribution to the struggle of the countries of the socialist world system, of all the nations of the world, for peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

The staunchness of the Vietnam patriots, their loyalty to the ideals of justice and progress are winning them the sympathy and support of more and more people. The U.S. aggressors are morally and politically isolated, and are faced with growing support for Vietnam by the people of the socialist countries and by progressive men and women everywhere.

The parties, the governments and people of the socialist countries, conscious of the gravity of the danger threatening the world arising from the escalation have reaffirmed that they are rendering and will continue to render the Democratic Republic of Vietnam increasing moral and political support and every possible assistance necessitated by the new phase in the war, including economic aid and the means of defense, war materials, technical equipment and specialists to ensure the defeat of U.S. aggression. The Warsaw Treaty countries declare their readiness, should the DRV government wish it, to enable volunteers to go to Vietnam to aid its people.

The wave of protest against the atrocities committed by the American military has taken the form of an impressive demonstration of solidarity of the working people of all lands. Meetings, demonstrations and the collection of funds are the order of the day in all the socialist countries.

At mass rallies in the Soviet Union speakers are demanding an end to the bombing and the withdrawal of U.S. troops. In Poland a demonstration was held outside the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. Similar protest actions have taken place in the German Democratic Republic. H. Hoffman, GDR Minister of National Defense, handed over to the Aid to Vietnam Fund the sum of 700,000 Marks donated by the personnel of the People's Army of the GDR.

The Hungarian Peace Council sent a telegram of protest to the U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Budapest. In Bulgaria too protest meetings have been held.

Meetings are being held also in Czechoslovakia and Rumania. A statement adopted by the session of the Grand Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic urged all who cherish peace to raise their voice in louder protest against the bombing.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Korean People's Democratic Republic published a statement demanding that the United States call an immediate halt to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, and hostilities against the DRV and withdraw their troops from South Vietnam. "The latest step taken by the U.S. government in its dirty war against the heroic and valiant Vietnamese people," says a statement issued by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, "is another crime committed by U.S. imperialism that has evoked the wrath of all the people of the world."

The Warsaw Treaty countries have appealed to all states dedicated to peace, to all progressive and peace-loving forces, to world public opinion, to the international working-class movement, and the Communist and Workers' parties to extend the front of struggle against U.S. aggression, and take resolute action to stop the war in Vietnam.

The need for all peace-loving forces to unite against the threat to peace presented by U.S. aggression in Vietnam was stressed at the conference of the representatives of the Commu-

nist parties of the European capitalist countries.

The decision taken by many fraternal parties calling for more support for the people of Vietnam has met with a warm response among the public. Declarations on this question were adopted by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the 20th Congress of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica.

The French Communist Party characterized the new phase in the U.S. aggression as a "criminal act which shows that U.S. imperialism is bent on destroying a nation that is defending its freedom and independence." A statement by the British Communist Party characterized the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong as a fearful crime against the people of Vietnam and a challenge to the people of Britain. The Italian Communist Party in its appeal to all members stated that it regarded the pirate attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong as a challenge to mankind, a threat to world peace. It called upon the Italian people to organize a powerful movement in defense of peace. The Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan stresses that now that American imperialism has begun to bomb the outskirts of Hanoi and Haiphong, the urgent task of the anti-imperialist democratic forces throughout the world is to intensify international united action and strengthen the international united front of struggle against U.S. aggression and its expansion.

The Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party appeals to all members and sympathizers to dedicate their efforts to building up a broad militant and resolute movement against the Australian government's connivance in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Communist Party of Argentina urges all the patriotic forces of the country to condemn the U.S. actions in Vietnam and, "despite the present situation in the country, to intensify manifestations of active solidarity with the Vietnamese people." The Communist Party of Greece has issued an appeal to all Greeks to raise their voices in protest and demand the immediate termination of the bombing of DRV territory, an end to U.S. aggression in South Vietnam, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam, and respect for the Geneva agreements.

The World Peace Council at a session held in June appealed to the peoples to step up action in support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. "The situation in Vietnam," this document states, "is becoming more and more serious as a result of the military gambles of the United States. More than ever before the people of Vietnam need the energetic support of all nations in their struggle to secure the final defeat of the enemy."

The Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions, on behalf of its 138 million mem-

bers, appealed to working men and women all over the world to reply to the new phase in the U.S. escalation of the war by holding powerful demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth stressed in its statement that President Johnson, who ordered the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, is personally responsible for the gross violation of human rights and elementary standards of international law.

The Italian General Confederation of Labor has requested the Italian government to take the necessary political and diplomatic measures to stop the U.S. aggression. Mass meetings are being held all over the country. A huge demonstration against the bombing of DRV cities took place outside the U.S. Embassy in Paris. "The terror bombings of a sovereign state which for months has been the victim of daily aggression make the situation in Vietnam an ever greater danger to world peace," says the statement issued by the Peace Movement in France. Thousands of Londoners marched through the streets of the British capital demanding that the Wilson government refuse to support the imperialist policy of the United States.

In Federal Germany, whose rulers are acting as accomplices in the aggression, rendering the United States both political and material support, more and more sections of the population are joining the anti-war movement. A letter from Frankfurt on Main describes an anti-war rally recently held in that city.

"Thousands of students and young workers gathered at Frankfurt University. They belonged to the local trade union youth associations, the German Socialist Youth ("Falcons"), the Young Friends of Nature, the anti-Conscription League, the Campaign for Disarmament, students' union groups from Frankfurt Pedagogical Institute, the Students Humanist Society, the Social Democratic Association of Higher Schools and the Socialist Society of German Students. For the first time in more than ten years these organizations called their members together for a joint demonstration. "Peace to Vietnam!" was their slogan. Although these organizations often hold very different views on fundamental and current political problems they united for joint action to avert the common danger. The success of this demonstration, whose participants displayed not only a profound understanding of the need for joint action but also mutual respect and tolerance as well as the ability to advance to the force that

which unite them, augurs well for the possibility of conducting similar actions in the future. They share the belief that peace in Vietnam should be restored on the basis of the Geneva agreements on Indochina, and that support of U.S. aggression by the ruling circles in the FRG must cease. This found expression in the slogans carried by the marchers: 'Peace to Vietnam!' 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese!' 'Withdraw American troops from Vietnam!'"

The demonstration of the Frankfurt youth was the culminating point of the congress in support of Vietnam convened in that city by the Socialist Union of German Students.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America brand the aggressors with shame. The Executive Secretariat of the Asian, African and Latin American Solidarity Organization has expressed, on behalf of the peoples of the three continents, indignation at the barbarism perpetrated by the U.S. air force against Hanoi and Haiphong, and reaffirmed its pledge to render the people of Vietnam every support in their just struggle. The government of India, too, has expressed deep concern at the extension of the bombing of the DRV. Mass protest meetings are being held in India, Pakistan and Japan. In the latter country 60 democratic organizations joined in a protest against the U.S. acts of banditry, acts also vigorously condemned by the public of the United Arab Republic.

The peoples are warning the United States' allies of their responsibility, vigorously condemning the governments of Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines as well as the South Korean puppet regime which have sent or are about to send troops to take part in the war against the people of Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam is a source of grave alarm and anxiety to people in all countries however remote they may be from Indochina. Solidarity with Vietnam, fighting valiantly for freedom and independence, has become the banner of our time. Peace-loving nations are demanding an immediate end to U.S. aggression, the stamping out of the seed-bed of war in Southeast Asia, relaxation of tension and normalization of international relations.

The people of Vietnam are firmly convinced that they will be able to achieve victory in their just cause. "No matter what the aggressors may do, no matter how they may extend the war, they will never bring us to our knees," they declare. "The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and progressive mankind are on our side. Our class brothers, our comrades in battle and in labor are with us."

Important initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Letter from Berlin

A FEW WEEKS BEFORE the 20th anniversary of its founding the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in an effort to pave the way to mutual understanding of the working class of the two German states, an understanding needed to safeguarding peace and a peaceful solution of the German question, displayed an initiative of no little importance.

On February 7, 1966, its Central Committee addressed an open letter to the delegates attending the Dortmund Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and to the members and friends of the Social Democratic Party in West Germany.

The letter, which drew attention to the grave danger to peace and security in Germany and throughout Europe emanating from West German militarism, stressed that the two parties, as the biggest parties in the two German states, have a special responsibility for averting this danger and for ensuring a happy and peaceful future for the German people. The two parties, the letter suggested, should start a business-like dialogue on the vital national problems of the Germans and thus "achieve at least a minimum of rapprochement and agreement on the issues of peace and cooperation in overcoming the division" of Germany.

This initiative, based on the decisions of the SUPG 6th Congress (January 1963), met with a wide response in the GDR, in West Germany and among world public opinion. Both friends and enemies alike assessed it as an expression of the consistent, purposeful policy of the Socialist Unity Party. So far it has had three noteworthy results.

First, for the first time in many years a broad discussion has started in the SDPG and among the West German public generally on what should be done to safeguard peace, on the need

to normalize the relations between the two German states, on the future of a peace-loving, democratic and progressive Germany, and on the responsibility of the working class, its parties and organizations. There is a growing understanding that Bonn's present "policy on the German question" is getting nowhere and that no advance can be made towards a peaceful solution of the German question without the GDR and its leading party, the Socialist Unity Party.

More and more people in the Federal Republic maintain that the peace forces in West Germany and in the GDR can, by joint effort, bar the way to the revenge-seeking policy pursued by the West German militarists.

The first stage of the dialogue witnessed a rapprochement between the working class of the GDR and sections of the working class in West Germany. More and more people in West Germany, including many intellectuals, are taking part in the dialogue. The Social Democratic Congress in Dortmund was impressed by the SUPG initiative. Most speakers at the Congress dwelt directly or indirectly on the arguments and proposals of the SUPG.

Second, it has become clearer where the enemies of peace, disarmament and any agreement are to be found in Germany. The West German imperialists, their government in Bonn and the leadership of the CDU/CSU immediately rejected the Socialist Unity Party proposals. They stepped up their anti-communist propaganda and urged the Social Democrats to reject the proposals for a dialogue. In doing so they demonstrated anew their profoundly anti-national attitude and their desire to maintain and exacerbate the tension in Germany.

Moreover, it has been found that any policy of revenge spearheaded against the GDR, irres-

pective of its form, ends in a blind alley and that the Social Democrats cannot benefit from the policy of lining up with the CDU/CSU.

Third, for the first time in the past twenty years the SUPG initiative has resulted in correspondence between it and the Social Democratic Party, in official talks between the leaderships of the two parties. Whereas in the past the top leadership of the Social Democrats ignored SUPG proposals, they reacted on March 19 with an "open reply." The SUPG leadership replied on March 25 with a second open letter. To the second "open reply" of the Social Democrats dated April 15 the SUPG answered on April 27 with a detailed "statement arising from the exchange" and, on May 26, addressed a third open letter to the delegates to the Dortmund Congress and to members and friends of Social Democracy in West Germany. Official talks were held between representatives of the two parties at which the possibilities of holding two meetings, in the GDR and West Germany, were examined.

* * *

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party in April, Walter Ulbricht explained the purpose and meaning of the exchanges between the Party and the West German Social Democrats. "The history of the German people teaches us," he said, "that it is for our people now growing in West Germany" necessary to remove in *good time* the dangers. Therefore the SUPG "displayed initiative with regard to the talks in order to help the West German working class realize its historical responsibility and play its destined role in West Germany."

Federal Germany, dominated by the imperialists and militarists guilty of starting two world wars, is today second only to the USA as a center of war danger in the world. It is the principal violator of the peace in Europe. The political and economic position of West German imperialism has become more unstable due to the further change in the balance of forces in the world and in Germany in favor of peace and socialism. There is growing antagonism between West German imperialism and other imperialist powers, and also growing class antagonism in the FRG. But, unable realistically to assess the situation, West German imperialism, drawing on its economic potential and on its special alliance with the USA, is trying to solve the growing contradictions in an imperialist way, to achieve domination in Europe and, ultimately, to carry out its reckless plans for revising the results of the Second World War.

Proof of this is seen in Bonn's claims for the 1937 frontiers, in the crude pressure exerted with a view to gaining access to atomic weapons, and in the all-round support for the U.S. aggression against the people of Vietnam. Further proof is the accelerated drive in the Federal Republic against constitutional rights with a view to creating the internal conditions for their growing aggressiveness in the international arena. The monopoly bourgeoisie and its

political party — the CDU/CSU — have compiled a program of an "established society" designed to subordinate the people to the rule and policy of monopoly capitalism.

All this is fraught with grave danger to peace and security in Germany; it bars the way to rapprochement and agreement between the two German states and to their subsequent reunification. This state of affairs confronts the West German working class with the task of combating the aggressive designs of the imperialists, of restricting their political and economic power and of working for democratic changes which would create reliable guarantees of peace. To help the West German working class solve this task and achieve preponderance over the forces of imperialism and war, through at least a minimum of agreement and cooperation with the victorious working class of the GDR, has been and is the principal purpose of the initiative of the Socialist Unity Party. In open letters to the Social Democrats we took into account the complex situation in the Federal Republic and the contradictory conditions in which the West German workers, trade unionists and Social Democrats live and carry on their struggle. Hence, as Walter Ulbricht said at the meeting of the Central Committee, the SUPG did not pose questions or advance demands "which transcend the framework of what any sober-minded and peaceful citizen of the two Germanies can sign with a clear conscience." Its proposals correspond to the *urgent* demands of the situation and to the *now real* possibilities of rapprochement between the two Parties.

We proposed to the West German Social Democrats to start an exchange of views on the vital issues facing the German nation, on how we visualize the future Germany, and who should have the decisive say in it — the capitalist monopolies or the working people. The suggestion was made that in their statements the two parties should condemn, jointly or separately, the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and demand an end to the war and the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from that country. Four unequivocal questions were submitted to the Social Democrats:

—are you ready to work jointly with us to end the war by the two German states in possessing atomic weapons?

—are you ready to work jointly with us towards concrete disarmament measures in Germany?

—are you ready to come out in favor of Federal Germany living at peace and in good neighborhood with all European nations and recognizing the existing borders?

—are you ready to help in extinguishing the cold war and hostility, to take cognizance of the existing state of affairs in Germany and advocate equal talks between the governments of the two German states in order to bring about a *détente* and pave the way to future reunification?

These, then, are the main problems of Ger-

many on which views differ, these are the issues in the dialogue, and a positive answer from the Social Democratic Party would, undoubtedly, clear the way for placing the relations between the two parties on a business-like footing, for cooperation on behalf of peace.

* * *

The decision of the Social Democrat leadership, contrary to their own practice, to enter into correspondence with our Party had its source primarily in the following factors.

The growing prestige of the GDR and of its leading party, the SUPG, have to be reckoned with increasingly also in the Federal Republic. Moreover, rank-and-file members and functionaries of the Social Democratic Party, industrial workers, trade unionists, progressive intellectuals and other people in West Germany are concerned over the dangerous consequences of and lack of perspective in the policy pursued by West German imperialism. In the Social Democratic Party and in trade unions there are those who want a lessening of tensions in Germany and agreement between the working class of the two German states. The top men in the Social Democratic Party who in recent years have adapted themselves more and more to the policy of West German imperialism and its party, the CDU/CSU, had to take cognizance of this. The bourgeois press commented that the SD leaders replied to the open letters from the Socialist Unity Party chiefly with a view to counteract the discontent expressed by Social Democratic members and voters as a result of the retreat from policy.

Besides, some of the top men, Wehner, for example, wanted to let the West German bourgeoisie see that he and his followers could thereby best of all penetrate into the GDR "in a new way" and, as a vanguard, prepare the soil there for the revenge-seeking drive of monopoly capital. From the outset the SDP leaders were not interested in a genuine dialogue. Their intention was to launch a nationalist and revanchist psychological offensive against the GDR. The newspapers of the big bourgeoisie commented that in this struggle the SDP should be for the policy of monopolies. The statements made by the SDP leaders and the proceedings of the Dortmund Congress make this intention pretty obvious. Clearly this method of penetrating into the GDR is not likely to be a success.

In the two "open replies" the SDP leaders proclaimed devotion to the cause of peace, détente and disarmament. In the same breath they managed to uphold the line of the imperialist states and of the West German monopolies, supporting the latter in their policy of revenge. There is no community, they said, between the two parties, and it would be better to speak not about an exchange of views but about an "exchange of blows."

At the SDP Congress leading spokesmen rejected all the proposals of the Socialist Unity Party, including such elementary demands as condemnation of the U.S. aggression in Viet-

nam. Community with the CDU/CSU policy, inimical to the cause of agreement, was reaffirmed. They insisted on the claim of the Bonn government to act on behalf of all Germany, on the 1937 frontiers, on West Germany's association with NATO, on preserving the aggressive Washington-Bonn axis, on participation by the Federal Republic in the general strategic atomic planning of NATO, and on the refusal to recognize the GDR. They approved in principle the emergency legislation with which the West German government wants to abolish the vestiges of democratic rights in West Germany. They again prohibited their organizations from maintaining any contact with members and functionaries of the SUPG.

All this shows that the false "new tones" at the SDP Congress, the criticism of obsolete dogmas of the Bonn policy by some leaders, in addition to being insincere, are designed to deceive the membership and West German public opinion generally.

* * *

At the Congress the SDP leaders rejected our proposals for establishing normal relations between the two biggest German parties, for disarmament, détente and mutual understanding. By means of anti-communism they have brought the Social Democratic Party still closer to a common policy with monopoly capital. By so doing they have created new obstacles on the road to safeguarding peace and to solving the national and social problems of the nation. They have encouraged the West German imperialists to carry on the aggressive policy of revenge, a policy which spells danger to peace, and which has greatly hampered continuation of the exchange of views.

The SDPG leaders in league with the parties of monopoly capital voted in the Bundestag for an annexationist law according to which West German jurisdiction should apply to all Germans outside the Federal Republic, including citizens of the GDR. This gives former revanchist practice the force of law. It is now intended to formulate juridically Bonn's claim to be the sole spokesman on behalf of Germany. Attempts have been made to force representatives of the SUPG to submit to West German arbitrary jurisdiction, a claim which runs counter to international law. By approving this revanchist provocation the SDPG leaders not only failed to create any prerequisites for holding a meeting in West Germany at which representatives of the SUPG would be able to speak, but more, they have helped to aggravate the cold war atmosphere. Inasmuch as the SUPG and the GDR government had repeatedly and insistently warned against any endorsement of this law, it is evident that the CDU/CSU leadership and the top politicians from the Social Democratic Party deliberately sought to prevent SUPG representatives from speaking in West Germany.

This shows that the forces in West German Social Democracy which are ready for agreement have not yet been able to pave the way

in their party to a policy of ensuring peace and democracy.

As for the Socialist Unity Party, it stands by the proposals contained in its open letters and in the policy speech made by Walter Ulbricht on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Party. For its agreement on joint action by the working class of the two German states to safeguard peace in Germany and in Europe is one of the imperative demands of the times. Hence the dialogue between the working class, intellectuals and peasants in the two German states continues steadfastly and purposefully.

In view of the complexity of the situation in West German Social Democracy, the present policy of its leaders and the anti-communist bias of many SDP members and functionaries, the exchange of views is a difficult matter, one that will require time and patience on the part of the members and functionaries of the SUPG. But patience is necessary, since agreement be-

tween the workers and their organizations in the two German states on joint struggle for peace, against imperialism and militarism is, in the words of Walter Ulbricht, the key to the national question in Germany.

On July 2, the SUPG Central Committee issued an appeal to SD members and supporters in West Germany, to trade unionists, workers, peasants and intellectuals, to all in the Federal Republic for whom peace in Germany and for Germany is dear. This appeal reaffirms the determination of the SUPG "to carry on the dialogue in the broadest way, with a thousand times greater effort, and rid it of all the attributes of the policy of revenge and of Bonn's claim to unilateral representation of all Germany. The aim remains: the safeguarding of peace in Germany and for Germany, renunciation of claims to unilateral representation and agreement between the two German states."

H. GEGGEL

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Bard of Spain

Thirtieth Anniversary of the Death of Federico Garcia Lorca

RAFAEL ALBERTI

On August 19, 1936, Federico Garcia Lorca, one of the finest poets of our time, was shot by the Spanish fascists.

Lorca's life and work were an example of dedication to the people, to the ideals of democracy, progress and humanism, of affirmation of the incompatibility of true art with fascism.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Lorca's death we are printing, with permission of the author, the hitherto unpublished speech delivered in 1938 by the poet Rafael Alberti, a personal friend of Lorca. The speech, supplemented by some reminiscences of Lorca's last days, is written by Rafael Alberti specially for our journal.

IT IS DIFFICULT to speak of those we love who are no longer among the living. Harder still is it to speak of those who were murdered in cold blood. We who had the good fortune to be friends of Lorca, to belong to his literary

generation, have shrunk from speaking of him publicly. Numbed by the pain and horror of those evil days when we learned of his death, we could respond with little more than a few mournful lines to this crime, so monstrous and

so unjustified that many of us to this day still refuse to believe it, to understand it. I do not speak of the sincere and passionate admiration which the people of Spain cherish for Garcia Lorca. What we resented, and still resent, is the false commotion raised around the bullet-riddled name of the poet, the indecent hullabaloo, the croaking of birds of different feathers, those who in the poet's lifetime not only criticized him, but who hated him, seeking in the most insidious ways to hinder the free and natural development of his poetic gift. Our time is the heyday of speculation. Some speculate on the need or on the misery of their fellowman, others, the foulest, most abominable type, speculate on the fresh blood of our heroes.

I would not wish to drape in mourning this modest tribute by the Society of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals to the memory of Federico Garcia Lorca. No. Nevertheless the terrible circumstances of his death and the recollection of the tragedy compel me, in spite of myself, to tinge with sorrow the opening words of this speech which cannot but betray a burning hatred and an intense desire to see his death avenged.

In Spain, enslaved and degraded by Franco, a handful of opportunists and speculators in blood, hacks who falsify the history of our country, try to depict Garcia Lorca not as the national poet he is, but as a "nationalist," as "an imperial poet." And this is said by you, Eugenio Montez, who have doubtless forgotten how you shouted slogans on the streets of Madrid against the King and Primo de Rivera, and how on the night the dictatorship fell you and I set fire to the *Debate* news-stand. And you Jimenez Caballero, then so lavish in your praise of our friend, you too echo this calumny of Garcia Lorca. It is repeated by others as well whose names I will not mention, other, younger men, men indebted to the murdered poet for the little they have achieved in this lovely land that is temporarily theirs. "*The Crime in Granada*." This poem, this mournful melody poured out by the deepest and saddest poetic soul of Spain, has for the past two years sounded in the republican zone, echoing in the hearts of our freedom fighters, of all true Spaniards. This melody has crossed all frontiers. And in many tongues its charge has reverberated round the world:

... for the deed was done
in Granada,
In unhappy Granada, his
Granada.

If there was anybody in this world who did not deserve such a death, it was Garcia Lorca. I have written of this in the poem dedicated to him. The shooting of Lorca was a crime against innocence, against a nature as crystal pure as spring water, as a ray of sunlight. He had a childlike fear of water, of dark rooms. On the beach in Malaga I have seen him running away from harmless waves, as naturally and unashamedly as a child. Imagine then the

terror, the fear, the horror such a man must have experienced when the civil guards led him down that "long street" of which Antonio Machado writes. His shooting was a deed of unsurpassed cruelty. It was an expression of the age-old hatred for all that illumines, all that lights up, if only through a narrow chink, the gloom into which our people are being plunged.

But enough of melancholy words, enough evocations of death. I want to speak today of Federico as though he were alive and here with us in this hall.

Let us visualize, beside the image of the poet lying on the blood-stained earth, another image, that of a young, energetic, vital man, Picture for example, Federico at the piano in the student quarter before the window opening onto a garden and singing one of his romances. Or let us think of him working nights improvising his unforgettable theatrical performances. And what of his "canto"? Federico was the personification of the "canto" and the "cante". His first prose work "*Impressions and Sketches*" was dedicated to the music teacher who taught him to play the piano. In his teens he learned, and loved, our romances and our old Spanish songs. He knew many of them and never tired of playing them. Steeped in this tradition, he unconsciously recreated Spanish folklore with the same natural sense of continuity and freedom of interpretation as the people themselves. Many traditional songs and romances sound today as if he had created them himself. He had the same gift for imbibing popular art as Lope de Vega, who was deeply conscious of the need of a bond with the people.

In 1922 Garcia Lorca came to Madrid from Granada bringing with him his beautiful *Ballad of the Three Rivers*. Those were the days when in the gardens in the students' quarter, bordered by a small canal and sheltered by tall poplars, Salvadore Dali worked, oblivious to his surroundings; when Juan Ramon Jimenez would sally forth and sit under the acacia tree near the oleander, offering us an example of dedication and enthusiasm; when the voice of Antonio Machado reached us from the plains of Castille or Baesa. A whole generation of poets was awakening to activity, conscious of their responsibility to the people, and ready to elevate their country to the heights of the truly cultural renaissance then experienced by Spain. Time and the critics will tell whether their efforts were useful or not.

The generation to which Federico belongs appeared on the scene along with the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. All the poets of that generation came from bourgeois or enlightened petty-bourgeois families. With rare exceptions they acquitted themselves with honor in the fight against the monarchy. The best Spanish poets — and this needs repeating a thousand times — were with the Republic, and today, too, they are on the side of our embattled people. This is a significant coincidence. The finest Russian poets threw in their lot with the

October Revolution: Alexander Blok, Andrei Bely, Vladimir Mayakovsky, all the poets and artists of the vanguard, Pasternak, the bards from the steppes of Asia who composed epics. Young Spaniards, soldiers of the people! We, Spanish poets, who came to poetry in grim and troubled times, found ourselves creating an imaginary world which could give us what the real world could not.

You, my contemporaries, are entering life in epic times when, looking out of the window, the true poet sees amid the banners, the hymns and the blood, a great poetry that captures his imagination and sweeps him along with it. Should you fail to fulfil the mission Spain has entrusted to you, you will be forgotten by the people, you will leave no trace in their memory. Forgive me if I repeat myself, but I cannot understand poets who are not aglow with a bright flame, who are not continuously consumed by that poetic fever that has burned in their veins from birth. Away with frivolity and idleness! Death to the facile, the impersonal, the convenient, the commonplace! To give the people the minimum, that which comes without the slightest effort, on the plea that they are incapable of understanding more, means to bar the way to the blossoming of culture, to postpone their radiant future.

In the Spain of today everyone recites Federico's poems and romances. I do not know whether they are recited in the other camp as well, of whether those recited most are the best he wrote, but this, too, is proof of his creative powers. Let not the idlers and the intellectual eunuchs, those incapable either of feeling or perception, prate to us about "ivory towers." There are "ivory towers" that have given prestige to the culture of one or another country, that have furthered its progress. Isolation is not necessarily synonymous with indifference to politics. On the contrary, those who caution the people to "steer clear of intellectuals because the truth they seek can be found in any cheap booklet!" are distorting the future to which the masses aspire. They are traitors, for they depict as a boon to man low grade literature and mediocre theatre on the grounds that the ignorant masses will not understand anything better and that, as Lope de Vega sarcastically put it, "only by clowning can you please them."

Such disorientation of the people smacks of counter-revolution. How much pleasanter was it to see our Juan Ramon Jimenez coming down from his "ivory tower" into the streets and squares of Spain after thirty years of poetic labors which gave us more than 40 volumes of exquisite poetry, the pride of Spanish literature!

But forgive me, I digress. We were saying that Federico Garcia Lorca's poetry absorbed all the elements of folklore and the classical tradition. One of his first books, a collection of his poems from 1921-1924, is entitled *Songs*. Here already two lines can be distinguished: the line of the old Spanish songs, where the art

of the court poets is interwoven with folk art, and the folk line, Andalusian mainly, although here and there cadences from other parts of Spain can be heard.

Federico was for many years a close friend of the composer Manuel de Falla who helped to develop his musical taste. It was the fusion of the folklore element with the artistic that produced the lyrical poetry we know best of all. We find this also in his work for the theatre, where the music sometimes plays an even greater role than the action and the dialogue. And that is understandable. With his profound knowledge of our folklore he could not but strive to rescue from oblivion many almost forgotten verses.

I first met Federico in October 1924. It was in the students' quarter. I believe that within minutes of being introduced to him I was listening to him recite the *Somnambule Romance*, the best perhaps of his *Romancero Gitano*. This initial phase of Federico's poetic career will always be associated with the students' quarter, where he lived and where he was visited by his friends. It was here, between 1924 and 1927, that he wrote his *Romancero*. Long before it was published many of his friends knew the poem by heart. You all remember what a success it was when it first appeared in the journal *Revista de Occidente*.

The *Romancero* was published in America as well and was extremely popular, more so than any other volume of Spanish poetry. There is no greater happiness for a poet than to be recognized by his people, by the masses of his native land. Unfortunately for our literature, the Spanish people did not discover the author of the *Romancero Gitano* until he was killed on that day in August 1936. The *Nuestro Pueblo* publishing house put out an edition of the poem in a few thousand copies in honor of his memory. It was read by the Republican soldiers, whose hands were still warm from gripping their rifles and hurling grenades. "The test of true poetry is the power of its influence," Juan Ramon Jimenez once said. Garcia Lorca continues to influence practically all Spanish poetry, including the anonymous poetry, that is being written today in Republican Spain. "In less than ten months of struggle," I wrote in the preface to the edition dedicated to Lorca, "one man alone collected nearly a thousands songs. Nearly all of them—and this is to your everlasting credit—bear the imprint of your talent. Your voice, rising above other voices, rings out over our battlefields." We, in the Society of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals had ample evidence of this day by day in the host of poems, signed and unsigned, which poured accent, his metaphors and his folk idiom, in a word, his entire system of expression, affirming that the poet is not dead, that his voice is heard above the whining of the bullets, in current poetry, in the verse of the youth who found their way to poetry beneath the wings of fighter planes.

The fact that Garcia Lorca is a poet of his

people, or rather, that his poetry has its roots in folk sources and that our people consider his poetry their own, by no means implies, as was sometimes erroneously asserted during our war, that Federico is a proletarian poet. No, his poems do not extol the labor exploits or the struggle of the workers and peasants. He never was a member of any political, let alone proletarian, party. All the more monstrous was the crime perpetrated against him.

Federico was a liberal, a republican, whose true calling was poetry. He was born for poetry, he was steeped in poetry from head to foot. When he ridicules the civil guard he does so not in the way a revolutionary poet would. The civil guard in his poetry is another gypsy element in his Andalusian imagination. But of course neither the Spanish reaction, nor the civil guard got the point. The hypocrites from Granada hated Federico for his talent, for his play *Mariana Pineda* in which he tells of a young romantic Andalusian girl, a champion of freedom, who was executed in the town situated at the confluence of the Genil and Darro rivers.

Manuel Torres, the distinguished bard who died in Seville four years ago, once told us, with the wisdom and assurance with which a Gongora or a Mallarme might have spoken of his aesthetic credo, that he always eschewed the commonplace, the too popular, too facile type of verse. He expressed his thought in a unique, poetic form. "In the Andalusian 'cante'," he murmured, "one must look for the black body of Pharaoh." This was his way of saying that one should probe to the very essence of things, reach down to rock-bottom where the unknown and the new, the wellspring of the continuity, life and renewal of all art is to be found. And so it was the "black body of Pharaoh" that Federico sought and found in gypsy Andalusia and introduced into his *Romancero*. It is felt in the vibrant voice of artistic mastery, the faint touch of the dramatic, present at times in his lyrics. He seems about to tell us something, but then suddenly the thread of the narrative breaks off and it remains unfinished. In common with Juan Ramon Jimenez and Antonio Machado, Lorca contributed his share to the development of the poetry rooted in the old Spanish romancero, adding to the glory of the Castillian poetic tradition.

Federico was a man of the theatre. More so, perhaps, than anyone else. His first play *The Evil Spell of the Butterfly* was produced in 1920 or 1921. I do not know that play. Federico never published it. But I do know that its *dramatis personae* were insects. The author himself, chuckling delightedly, told me about the opening night. A large part of the audience had not understood the play. One of the "characters," a cockroach by the name of Curianito says: "I had a fly for breakfast this morning." At that point someone from the audience shouted: "Disgusting!" Federico, with his Andalusian humor, was vastly amused.

The theatre interested him from childhood. At home in Granada, with his brothers and friends, he had organized a puppet theatre. Death prevented Lorca from unfolding his dramatic gifts to the full. He whose personal charm and attractiveness caused him to be so prodigal of his time, had become absorbed by work that for him was an entirely new field. He was moving towards major theatrical discoveries. This is confirmed by such plays as *Sanguinary Wedding* and *Yerma*, and also by the little known and posthumously produced drama *The House of Bernard Alba*. The passionate, intense, almost "scenic" poetry of the *Romancero Gitano* was ideally suited for the stage, literally translated itself into action. Once again, as at other great historical moments, the Spanish theatre turned to poetry. When the theatre ceases to be poetic—and poetry is not merely rhyming—it dies, or enters that period of doldrums which the Spanish theatre is now experiencing.

A long road lies between *Mariana Pineda* and the *Bloody Wedding*, as long as that between Federico's first poems and his *Romancero*. He began to see the tragedy of Spain through the eyes of a playwright. His theatre was to have changed the direction and the understanding of the popular element in art. At the performance of *Yerma* given by the Enrique Borrás and Margarita Xirgu company in honor of the Madrid actors, Federico said "The theatre is one of the most expressive and useful implements for building a country, a barometer of grandeur and decline."

"A nation which neither helps nor promotes its theatre is either dead or dying, just as the theatre that remains deaf to the life of society, to history, to the drama of the people, to the color of the landscape, to the spirit, to laughter and to tears has no right to be called a theatre. It should be called a playground or a place for that horrible occupation known as 'killing time'."

These words reveal the anxiety felt by Lorca, who anticipated the oncoming drama which, when the war was over, would regenerate the entire life of the people. His words were filled with anticipation of the dawn, that dawn which his butchers prevented him from seeing and which would have illumined with radiance the whole of his theatre, his poetry, and enriched the new Spanish literature with the grandeur which the murdered poet carried within him and of which we have such abundant evidence.

Two years have passed since Federico Garcia Lorca was killed. At the beginning of my speech I said that we who had the good fortune to be his friends had not wished to speak of him publicly before this. Today, with the profound esteem in which we shall always cherish the beloved name of the poet, his relatives, the representatives of the propaganda delegation and the association of anti-fascist intellectuals, which includes some of the poet's closest friends, have decided for the first time to dedicate this meeting to him. I could talk endlessly

of Federico, of his inexhaustible fund of anecdotes, of his last poem which I have mentioned briefly here. Before closing this two-hour meeting dedicated to his memory at the height of the war—and I feel sure this is something of which he would have heartily approved—I would like to mention the names of his comrades, the fellow poets who remained loyal to him and who in their hour of grief mourned him in silence: Pablo Neruda, Emilio Prados, Manuel Altolaguirre, Luis Cernuda, Vincente Alexandre, Miguel Hernandez, Arturo Serrano Plaja, Antonio Aparicio. . . . On the occasion of the performance of his play *Yerma* given in honor of the Madrid actors, Federico said: "I should like to keep in touch with you all my life, and I hope that you will keep in touch with me."

His death, we say, has brought Federico together not only with a group of friends, but with all the people of Spain, who pronounce his name with deep feeling and with abiding faith in the future.

1938

SPILT BLOOD

When Lorca heard the news of the Franco insurrection he decided to join his parents at their estate in San Vicente where he could work in peace. Granada at that time was divided into two camps, which faced each other in silent hostility. On the one side were the workers, the people who had chosen the Republican doctor Manuel Montesinos, who was married to Concha, the poet's eldest sister, as mayor. On the other side were arrayed the dyed-in-the wool reactionaries, relentless in their judgments and verdicts, descendants of those who had stood at their windows and coldly watched the romantic heroine Mariana Pineda, who embroidered the banner of freedom, being led to the gallows.

It is said that Lorca's brother-in-law Montesinos, who led a group of workers in defense of the city, was shot in the cemetery on August 3. Some say that to teach the Republicans a lesson he was dragged through the streets as was the custom in the Middle Ages. The small republican force defending Granada was crushed. In that atmosphere of indescribable terror in which Spaniards have lived for nearly thirty years the butchers slaughtered some 30,000 people in Granada.

Power was seized by those who felt insulted by the sincerity of the journal *Gallo* and by the poet's description of Granada—more poetical than historically authentic—as a Moorish city. "A marvellous civilization has been lost," he wrote. "A unique poetry, astronomy, architecture and graciousness have been replaced by dullness in a drab land where dwell the most odious bourgeoisie in Spain." It was that bourgeoisie which attended the last act of Lorca's tragedy, totally indifferent to his fate, supremely confident of their right to destroy for the sake of their own salvation.

Of how many wonderful hours was Federico



FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA

robbed! He must have thought of his childhood as he trod the bitter path from his home to the house of the Rosales brothers, falangist friends who tried to save him. No doubt he remembered his childhood to which he always clung, as he confessed in a moment of triumph at a fete organized in his honor in Granada. "It saddens me to see my name on these walls," he said. "It seems to me that they rob me of my childhood and impose a responsibility upon me which I do not want to bear." Farewell to childhood, no longer could he seek refuge in flight.

Granada had donned military uniform, and the man whose name we know today, Ramon Ruis Alonso, commander of a punitive detachment, arrived at the house where Lorca was staying, armed with a warrant for his arrest. His first impulse was to flee. But the Rosales house stood at some distance from its neighbor. Evidently Senora Rosales was at home alone at first. Later her son Miguel arrived, an influential falangist, who promised to help Federico and actually did accompany him to the nearest police station. That was on the evening of August 18. The news of Lorca's arrest spread rapidly through Granada. Manuel de Falla, the composer, went to the falangist headquarters to find out what had happened to Federico. By appealing to the religious sentiments of the insurgents, (for it was their religion they were allegedly defending) he succeeded in gaining

admission to the governor's office where he suspected Lorca was being held. After a long wait he was told that his mission was fruitless, since the poet was already dead. Refusing to believe such cruel tidings, de Falla insisted on being allowed to see Lorca, but he was advised to drop the matter if he did not want to bring trouble upon himself. He told me these things later when we talked about Lorca in Alta Gracia, Argentina.

It happened that at the time of the insurrection I was in Ibiza, one of the Balearic Islands which had been recaptured by the Republican Navy on August 15. My wife and I took refuge in the woods to escape persecution. The moment the island was liberated we went to Madrid where we remained to the last day of its defense. One morning a man turned up in the premises of the Society of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals of which I was Secretary. I can remember his voice, but not his features. He was a worker deputy who had recently fled from Granada. We could not believe what he had to tell us, but soon all the newspapers were full of the tragedy: Federico Garcia Lorca had been shot. From that moment there rose before the eyes of the world the image of the poet from Granada, who fell on that very ground whence "gushed the five bloody streams" of his *Romancero*.

Next morning Lorca's sister Isabelita telephoned me and assured me that it was not true. "Don't write anything," she implored me, "I am certain that Federico is safe." But the terrible news had spread over the world, leaving but a dim hope. It was precisely because of this hope that H. G. Wells, then President of the Pen Club, wrote to the Governor of Granada requesting information about Garcia Lorca and an assurance that his life was not in danger. The brutal brevity of the reply no longer left any room for doubt. "I have no knowledge of the whereabouts of the said Senor Lorca," the Governor wrote. Later, the world learned that the poet had been taken from the building of the governor's office during the night and removed with other prisoners to a building near Viznar, a townlet 12 kilo-

meters away. Witnesses have testified that at dawn Lorca and another prisoner were taken out of the building and led along a path to a place known locally as the "fountain of tears". Here at the edge of a deserted field beyond which stretched the landscape Lorca had loved so well, the two men were shot, Lorca last. Filled with rage he resisted his captors. As the soldiers were about to depart, one of them ran away in fright upon hearing the poet shout: "I am alive! I am alive!" This was the "spilt blood", the blood which from his youth had washed the poetry of Lorca, imparting to it a powerful and sombre tonality which now and again broke through the laughter and the smiles.

Few have been mourned so deeply, few deaths have aroused such passionate protest. The first poem describing the horror that gripped the world was written by Antonio Machado. The refrain of this poem will sound forever like the tolling of the bell on that black night of the assassination:

*They killed him in Granada,
In unhappy Granada, his
Granada.*

I have never been to Granada. I had promised Federico many times to visit him, to spend the summer at his home. But somehow I always postponed the visit, confident that I could go there whenever I wished. The years passed. Nearly 30 years. The war in Spain, which destroyed my homeland, came to an end. The great war which shook the world ended too. Since 1939 I have been living abroad, and I often think of the visit to Federico I never made and which now I shall never make. But Granada is still his Granada. His blood cries out in the fountains of the Alhambra at the confluence of the Genil and the Darro. One day I shall go to that Granada as a victor.

And there beside the fountain of tears where his ashes lie in the earth beside the ashes of the others, I shall speak to him, and around me will be the air, the air of his native fields, now forever free, and the murmuring streams in which his name will sound forever.

1966.

How the multi-party system functions in the GDR

IN THE GERMAN Democratic Republic socialism has opened new horizons to all sections of the population, to all its citizens, who are making their contribution to the new society. Politically this is expressed in the multi-party system which arose in the struggle for an anti-fascist democratic system and became one of the essential elements of socialist democracy in GDR, ensuring the participation of different social sections and groups in shaping the republic's policy.

The multi-party system was one of the subjects recently discussed at a conference devoted to the Socialist Unity Party's policy of alliances, organized by the Institute of Social Sciences. The speakers, who included representatives of the democratic parties as well as foreign guests, noted that the multi-party system in the GDR corresponds to the national and historical conditions of the country and that in this sense it is part of the collective experience of the international revolutionary movement which engenders different forms of the multi-party system, depending upon the historical conditions in the countries concerned.

V. Michot (French Communist Party), speaking of the multi-party system in present-day France, noted that in their fight for democracy the French Communists are drawing also on the experience of the GDR. E. Aaltonen (Communist Party of Finland) stressed that this exchange of views and ideas on the role of the multi-party system was of considerable interest. L. Hornick (Communist Party of Austria) expressed the same view.

In Leipzig A. Leppanen and A. Weber of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* interviewed representatives of the democratic bloc parties. Taking part in the interview were Fritz-Karl Barnig, chairman of the Leipzig area executive of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Alfred Loewe, vice-chairman of the area executive of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Klaus Jakobs, chairman of the area organization of the National Democratic Party (NDP), and Werner Haerting, vice-chairman of the

area executive of the Democratic Peasants' Party (DPP).

Below we give a summary of the interview.

Question: All sections of society and all the parties in the democratic bloc are taking part in building socialism in the GDR. How do the respective parties contribute towards elaborating the socialist perspective and how do they tackle concrete problems?

A. Lowe (LDP): My party consists primarily of representatives of the middle sections, including intellectuals close to us. All our work is based on the bourgeois-democratic tradition of these sections. We united under the watchword: always to act in an anti-fascist, anti-militarist and democratic spirit and to combat anti-communism. Later, every party was confronted with the important task of giving its supporters a definite perspective, of explaining the principles of the multi-party system and of closer cooperation within a socialist democracy, and carrying out these principles all along the line.

In 1952 my party, after discussing the matter with the other parties of the bloc, announced that it would participate in building socialism. This decision met with the approval of most of our members although some opposed it. However, the existence of the anti-fascist democratic bloc facilitated our task.

In 1956 new economic forms were legislatively introduced in the non-public sectors of trade and industry, and conditions ensured for uniting handicraftsmen in cooperatives. All the parties welcomed and helped to give effect to these new forms of economic activity. We established a sound alliance in this sphere, both in the mixed enterprises (with state participation), and in trade run on the basis of commission agreements, as well as in the handicrafts cooperatives. Here I might note that today, ten years after the introduction of the system of state participation, many former private entrepreneurs have adopted a socialist attitude or are on the way to a socialist attitude.

Of course it was not easy in the beginning to

get the people to carry out these tasks. However, it was less difficult in 1956 than it was in 1952. Although some of the businessmen we approached at the time regarded partnership with the state only from the angle of their own profit, there were others, forward-looking entrepreneurs, who did much to help promote the economy and hence, the country's overall development. But it was not long before they all realized that the system of state participation and trade on a commission basis in the long run spelt security for them and made for fundamentally different relations with the workers who had, as a result of state participation, become co-owners of the basic means of production.

W. Harting (DPP): The present cooperation of our parties in the result of a complex and long process.

The Democratic Peasants' Party was formed in 1948, when all the other parties had for three years already been tackling the first post-war problems. Its specific task was, and is, to explain to the peasants in our ranks the vital necessity of a close alliance with the working class. Hence, it was considered essential before all also to give a practical and theoretical explanation of why the leading role belongs to the working class. This was always easier to prove on practical examples on the theoretical plane.

The peasantry is the natural ally of the working class. Under Hitler it was strongly influenced by the fascist ideology. However, with the introduction of a land reform, the annulment of the coercive fascist laws, the aid given by workers, the introduction of the principle of differentiated deliveries for big and small peasants and participation by the small and middle peasants in political life, a firm base for an alliance with the working class was created.

The foundation was laid for gradually drawing our members into the job of tackling new problems. Certain headway has been made in this respect in recent years. Our peasantry is now conversant with political and economic concepts, and it participates in the new system of planning and management. Only a short five or six years ago the peasant understood very little of all this.

K. Jacobs (NDP): The perspectives of the further socialist development of the GDR were charted by the 6th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party. We regard its decisions as our joint program because we participated in its elaboration, *firstly*, in the sense that it was preceded by a long record of cooperation, beginning with the early steps of the bloc, in carrying out the bourgeois-democratic revolution and then going over to the first stage of the socialist revolution, and, *secondly*, by advancing proposals originating with the members of our party.

Guided by the principle of cooperation, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party invites friendly parties to discuss current prob-

lems and to express their views and advance proposals. For example, the different parties participated in working out proposals which made it possible to pass over to new socio-economic forms.

Mention was made here of the system of state participation, of the producer cooperatives for handicraftsmen and trade on a commission basis. These are all questions which were first discussed jointly by the friendly parties, then at their respective party congresses, and finally incorporated in their platforms.

Both as regards national policy and the second stage of the new economic system it is now a question of concrete steps to give effect to this program.

This means that we must explain to our members the problems that today constitute the content of the political tasks to be accomplished. We consider it our first task to explain to our members the social content of the national question and the basic principles of socialist economy. This includes friendly cooperation in all spheres with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Question: What is the role of the parties in the bloc in shaping state policy, in the working of legislative and executive bodies?

W. Harting (DPP): We help to shape government policy and laws through the members of our party in the representative bodies, through our representatives in state bodies, and in general through our work as a party of the democratic bloc and the National Front.

F. K. Barting (CDU): We strive to share responsibility in all spheres of activity and to measure up to this responsibility. We are helping our members correctly to assess the trends of development in the republic, to understand the national tasks facing us and how to carry them out.

Once every member of the party understands these tasks and realizes that they are in the interests of all citizens of our country, he will readily tackle the job. It is up to every member of the party to do so wherever he happens to be working in an office, an agricultural or handicrafts cooperative, or in a factory.

K. Jacobs (NDP): Mention has been made of how the members of our parties in the representative bodies and councils influence state activity.

All the parties are represented in the various government bodies. Thus, the vice-chairman of our party (and this is true of other parties as well) is vice-chairman of the State Council, which includes another member of our party. Still another member of our party is in the Presidium of the People's Chamber. As you know, the chairman of our party, Lothar Bolz, was Minister of Foreign Affairs for more than 10 years. He is now deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Another of our members, Heinrich Meyer, is one of the deputies of the chairman of the State Planning Commission.

He handles questions of culture, public health and housing.

The same principle is observed in all representative bodies, except, of course, in communities where we have no organization. Since our party is based primarily on certain sections of the urban population it is mostly in the towns that we have enough members to form local branches. In the Leipzig area, for example, there are approximately 600 agricultural communities but we have branches only in about 100 of them. It goes without saying that there we take part in the representative bodies. We also participate in the work of the area, district and town councils.

Members of our party who carry out different functions in the machinery of state are also in most cases members of the party's leading bodies. This makes it possible to coordinate the ideological and political work of the party and the functions of the state bodies in carrying out the economic plans, to submit, on the basis of issues raised by members, corresponding proposals to the representative bodies and councils.

Question: The Socialist Unity Party, the leading force in building socialism, is a Marxist-Leninist party. What is the attitude of the other parties of the democratic bloc to Marxism-Leninism? What ideological or ethical motives guide your parties in building socialism?

K. Jakobs (NDP): Like the Democratic Peasants' Party our party was founded in 1948. It was the time when the imperialist forces were preparing to split Germany in order to restore and strengthen their own position in West Germany, and to this end were working hard to find allies in our part of the country. Naturally, they hoped to find these allies primarily among the petty bourgeoisie, the urban middle sections, handicraftsmen, small employers and clerical workers many of whom had formerly been members of the Nazi party. The object was to induce them to support the policy of restoring capitalism.

Those of the present members of our party who had worked in the Free Germany National Committee and in the anti-fascist movement among the war prisoners in the Soviet Union, called on the people to unite and form a party and, drawing on the experience accumulated at the time, to join the fight for progressive development.

This in itself was application of the conclusions drawn by these supporters of our party from Marxist-Leninist theory. But we did not demand of the people whom we urged to join the party that they accept socialism and Marxism-Leninism. We clearly stated that anybody who wanted to join our party did not necessarily have to accept a definite world outlook.

In 1952 our party welcomed the proposal and decision of the Second Conference of the Socialist Unity Party to begin laying the foundations of socialism. Since we naturally made a study of history, particularly German history, and also of the working-class movement, it

was clear to us that the only truly scientific teaching and theory of socialist construction was Marxism-Leninism. We therefore proposed to our party functionaries and to those of our members working in state bodies to study Marxism-Leninism. This does not mean, of course, that we insist on their accepting Marxism-Leninism as their world outlook.

The question of our political and ethical motives was raised here. I have already mentioned what section of the population our party appealed to. They were mostly people who had fallen under the sway of the nationalist and social demagogy of the monopoly bourgeoisie. That is why they joined the Nazi party in their time. We had to explain such concepts as: What is a nation? What is national thinking in action? Where is the true homeland of the working people? We had to explain that these ethical concepts have meaning only if they correspond to the interests of the working people.

F.-K. Barting (DU): The members of our party are not Marxists. Still there are many questions which can be settled jointly with Marxists on the basis of Marxist theory. Take the economic sphere, for example. There is no such thing as a special Christian economic doctrine. Christians in the different socio-economic formations took part in creating different economic systems. Whatever differences arise under socialism on economic systems. Whatever differences arise under socialism on economic issues the reasons are purely political and not ideological. Of course, the Christian world outlook remains. It could not be otherwise. Christians cannot be atheists.

Here it will hardly be possible to find a common solution. True, Christians do sometimes become atheists, just as atheists most probably sometimes become Christians. But this is something the individual decides for himself. Nonetheless, Christians and Marxists cooperate in our country on all political issues. It is true there are conflicts, difficulties and differences. But for all that we have learnt to cooperate.

At first it was more difficult, of course, than it is now. It should be remembered that formerly Marxists always encountered the Christian Church on the side of their enemies. On the other hand, Christians in bourgeois society are accustomed to thinking that it is impossible to discuss anything with Marxists in general. Thus, the experience of the past engenders or engendered many prejudices and doubts. Despite this, however, it can be said that the Socialist Unity Party has by its tactful and tolerant policy in matters of world outlook created conditions which not only promote cooperation between Christians and Marxists, but make this cooperation more and more sincere, effective and comradely.

In our joint activities we do not argue about whether the atheist is right or wrong from the viewpoint of world outlook. We do not consider this conducive to cooperation. It is possible to cooperate on all questions of practical politics, whether they are the national problems

of Germany, or economic or cultural problems. The experience of the last twenty years has borne this out. It should be added that Christian ethics have many points of contact with the ethical views of Marxists. Take the question of property. The Christian religion does not stipulate that Christians should possess private property in the means of production. On the contrary, public property corresponds more to the Christian views of brotherhood and love for your neighbor than does concentration of the means of production in private hands.

What I want to say is that on the question of exploitation Christians share the Marxist view, even though motivated by other considerations. Our experience shows that under no other social system can the principles of Christian ethics — love for peace, for the neighbor, brotherhood and social justice—be carried out better than under socialism. We share enough points in common with Marxists jointly to solve the practical problems facing the republic.

In our cooperation with the other parties of the bloc we have always met with respect for our faith, and have been able, as a result, jointly to tackle with Marxists and other citizens the common tasks of the republic.

Of course, not all Christians have fully appreciated this cooperation. There is still some opposition to it in top bodies of the church. But a careful examination shows that these prejudices are almost always of a political rather than of a religious nature.

For example, the statements of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI, and of the Ecumenical Council in Rome on peace and social issues meet with great response in the socialist countries than they do in West Germany. And Herr Erhard considers himself a Christian chancellor! The materials relating to the meeting between Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, and a group of theologians contain many examples of the coexistence and cooperation between Marxists and Christians. The report of that meeting contains an important thesis which Ulbricht formulated approximately as follows: there is no antagonism between the objectives of socialist society and the social principles, ideas and aims of true Christianity. Ulbricht and Bishop Mitzenheim also spoke about this during their meeting at Eisenach.

Question: How is the cooperation between the parties of the democratic bloc and their equality ensured and carried out in practice? Do differences arise between the parties in the course of this cooperation and how are these differences resolved?

A. Lowe (LDP): Work in the democratic bloc is not just a matter of discussions or of voting. Our parties consider constant cooperation as the main content of the bloc's activity. This means that all party work is carried out in the spirit of the bloc's policy, in the spirit of promoting its ideas. This is not always easy. In

some parties there are some who do not fully understand the nature of the bloc's policy. There have been, and occasionally still are, clashes at bloc meetings, but we are always guided by the desire — a correct one from the very beginning — to work together and unite, and overlook what divides us.

K. Jakobs (NDP): Concerning equality of the parties of the democratic bloc and how this is expressed in practice, we consider that everyone can and should speak his mind, that everyone has the right to ask that the bloc meet to discuss common problems. To cite an example. When the Bill on a unified educational system was being prepared, Paul Frohlich, leading member of the Socialist Unity Party, informed us of his party's special decision on this question. It was agreed that the area leadership of the Socialist Unity Party would give us more detailed information at a meeting of the bloc so that we could exchange views and reach agreement on the question.

This is but one instance of the mechanics of cooperation between the bloc parties. Now with regard to differences of views. From the very outset we have followed the principle that decisions are taken only when complete agreement has been reached on the issue under discussion. In this connection I might note that during the past 10-15 years there has been no absolute division of opinion among us. This is true of all levels of leadership: central, area and, I should say, also district. Whatever differences have arisen have been connected with certain practical measures as, for example, in connection with concentration and specialization in trade as a consequence of which the private sector in some towns was left out of account which made it difficult for this sector to meet its commitments in the sphere of supply. However, whenever this happens we, or the other friendly parties, take up the matter in the bloc or in the National Front committee and make the necessary proposals.

F.-K. Barting (CDU): I should like to cite another example or two of cooperation and how differences are settled. But first of all I would like to make the point that no differences exist on basic political issues although they do crop up, as noted earlier, on practical problems and sometimes over legislative matters. A case in point is the Bill introduced on the unified socialist educational system. It has long been the custom in our country to submit all important Bills for public discussion before being made law. We help to arrange these discussions. We also initiate discussions in the National Front.

In the course of these discussions, which last from three to six months, many proposals and amendments are submitted. This was so also in the case with the aforementioned Bill. All the parties and other mass organizations made their suggestions. We, for instance, proposed changing a number of formulations which we thought might be misinterpreted by Christians.

Our formulations were incorporated into the

final text. We also suggested that the Bill should more strongly emphasize the role played by the family. This suggestion was likewise taken into account. The same happened in the case of the law on youth welfare.

Question: Please tell us about the organizational principles of your parties. How are officials trained? In what forms and along what lines is research carried out?

K. Jacobs (NDP): Our party is built on the territorial principle. Its branches are formed in residential areas, communes and towns. The branches elect their committees, which we call executives, at the annual meetings of the membership. After the report of the outgoing executive has been heard, a working program is submitted for discussion and then adopted.

Branch meetings are held once a month. At least 95 per cent of our branches in the area meet regularly. Every branch has its study course which is attended by a third or half of its membership.

Every district and every area has its leading committees which are elected every two years at district conferences and every four years at area conferences. Party congresses are also held every four years.

Central leadership is carried out by an executive committee of about 100 members. From among these the committee elects the party board and forms a small secretariat. The board meets at least once every three months and the secretariat once every two weeks. In exceptional cases of course emergency meetings are called.

At their monthly branch meetings, I forgot to mention this before, the membership discusses matters directly connected with current political issues, which are linked up with discussions on cooperation in carrying out the economic plan in the light of local conditions.

Officials are trained at the party school which has ten-week and six-month courses. Besides this there are five- to six-week courses and also short-term courses (from two to three weeks) on economic or cultural subjects.

The party school also does research connected with the specific content of our activities. It studies, for example, certain traditions of the petty-bourgeoisie, its role in German history, its concept of parliamentary democracy, etc.

W. Harting (DPP): Our party has three schools, including the central party school. A special commission set up by the party board is now preparing a history of the first democratic peasant party in Germany, which is to be ready by 1968, the 20th anniversary of the party.

A. Love (LDP): We have several commissions under the central leadership which study specific problems, prepare proposals for the central organizations and decisions of the central board which are binding at all levels. Divisions coming from below are fully taken into account by the center. Party democracy is thus observed and promoted.

Question: With what foreign parties do your maintain contacts?

A. Lowe (LDP): In West Germany there is the Free Democratic Party (FDP), which is sometimes incorrectly referred to as a "fraternal" party. This is due to the fact that in 1945 we had the same status. But the FDP has now become a party of the monopolies. This has put an end to the possibilities for cooperation which existed some five years ago. We have, it is true, preserved our contacts with individual members of the FDP and some employers and merchants in the FRG.

We have official contacts, of course. For example, several years ago, Dr. Johannes Dieckmann, President of the People's Chamber, addressed a meeting in Marburg on the invitation of the Democratic Student League. Recently, in connection with the open letter of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party to the Social Democratic Party, the General Secretary of our party, Dr. Manfred Gerlach, also addressed a letter to Vice-Chancellor Mende, Chairman of the FDP, proposing talks at the highest level between the leading bodies.

W. Harting (DPP): Our party is in close contact with the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union and the Polish United Peasants' Party. These contacts are maintained mostly through the party executive. But since Leipzig is the site of agricultural exhibitions, all delegations from Bulgaria and Poland usually visit us. As a result we have established close personal contacts.

As far as West Germany is concerned we want to establish contact with the Peasant Union. But this is difficult. Although Herr Rehwinkel* talks a lot about democracy he does not encourage it. Although he says that the peasants in West Germany must be helped, that he does not agree with the measures of the Bonn government, he tries to prevent the West-German peasants, who want to learn from us, from coming here. Our party's letters remain unanswered.

We have better contacts with many West-German peasants than with the Peasant Union. Very many peasant delegations from West European countries, including Italy and France, have visited us on the invitation of our party. There have also been delegations from Denmark, Norway, Finland, Cyprus and Japan who are interested in making a study of socialist agriculture.

K. Jacobs (NDP): Regarding contacts with foreign parties I must say that we have not established firm ties with them. This is also true of our contacts in West Germany. We try, drawing on our experience and on the theoretical lessons of our party, to influence people in West Germany who are again succumbing to revanchist and nationalist demagoguery, or are in danger of becoming victims of this policy. As you know there is also a National-Democratic

*President of the Peasant Union—Ed.

Party in West Germany. But we have nothing in common with it, and have no intention of establishing contact with it. It is quite clearly a neo-fascist party. We have explained this to the members of our party. Of course we strive to keep in contact with those who vote for this party, our purpose being to help them see that attempts are again being made to orient them towards fascism.

Question: What concrete tasks have your parties set themselves for the immediate future?

A. Lowe (LDP): We consider it necessary to help our people more effectively to carry out the tasks facing the republic. All the parties of the bloc have declared that their members and especially the leaders and owners of private enterprises and semi-state enterprises should devote their abilities to the fulfilment of the growing tasks in the sphere of supply. They should also be made familiar with the political and ideological tasks connected with the carrying out of the technological revolution.

I myself head a factory of 50 workers of which the state is part owner. During Fairs and

on other occasions we often have delegations or visitors from the FRG who want to know the attitude of private enterprise to the state. Many of their questions are answered by the factory personnel. This is a sign of the political and ideological growth and, at the same time, of the increasing pride of the co-owners of socialist property.

K. Jakobs (NDP): The main task is to acquaint the members of our party with the problems of the second stage of the new economic system so that they can each, in their particular field, play a mobilizing and educational role. We are also concerned with the question of how to ensure that the private employers, handicraftsmen and small merchants measure up to the tasks of the second stage of the new economic system, and thus help to raise the efficiency of the economy. Of course, specific problems of concentration and specialization have to be taken into account. But there are already some examples which are ideologically preparing the members of the party to co-operate with the semi-state enterprises. There are also examples of mergers with such enterprises. But this is only the beginning.

Reader's guide to the study of Marxism

ALFRED DEWHURST

*A READER'S GUIDE to the Study of Marxism** is primarily a book about the utilization of socialist literature for the young, and not so young, students of scientific socialism, who needs must find their way amongst the wealth of socialist literature in their search for a deeper understanding of Marxism through self-study. The idea for this book, write the authors, Jack Cohen and James Klugmann, arose firstly from memories of their own difficulties when they first came into the socialist movement and longed to know "where to begin" in their quest for knowledge about socialism. Another compelling cause urging them on in compiling this Guide was the regular and insistent requests from young students of Marxism for "what should I read first?"

In their *Preliminary* to the *Guide* the authors modestly point out that because the choice of reading is "all too inevitably a rather personal one our *Guide* will not please everyone." To this one can only reply that the worth of the *Guide* is apparent in the first reading of the *Introduction* as the authors unfold their views on why study is imperative to the all-round development of a Marxist.

In the *Introduction* the authors write that some activists in the workers' movement argue: "Why should I study? I am not a philosopher, not a theoretician, not a student! I do, and have always done, a good practical, militant, political job!" To this, Cohen and Klugmann reply that if a socialist has not got in his head "the ideas, the philosophy of the working class," if he has not got "what might be called a socialist consciousness, a socialist understand-

ing," then his ideas, his outlook on things, his philosophy, "will be colored by the ideas, illusions, prejudices of the ruling class."

The authors stress that this is all the more true in contemporary Britain, "where almost from birth to death" every living being is constantly subjected to "brainwashing with the ideas of capitalism." This observation can be applied equally (and with greater emphasis to some) to all countries of contemporary capitalism. The choice then, they write, is not between theory and practice, not even between theory and no theory but "between working-class theory and capitalist theory, between a socialist and a capitalist outlook."

The *Guide* is so constructed as to be of use for students at all different levels of interest, experience and knowledge. That is: those who have never read a Marxist book, those who have some acquaintance with Marxist writings, as well as those who are more advanced students of Marxism. All will find useful advice in this book for the organization of systematic reading, joint study, tutoring, and in building a library of Marxist literature, supplemented by political, social and historical books written by non-Communists, novels, poetry and plays by both Communist and non-Communist authors.

The most striking feature of the recommended lists of books and pamphlets for both *main* and *deeper* reading, as well as the suggestions for building a library, is the breadth of selection. While the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin are predominant, the works of other socialist writers are included, as are contemporary works, documents and journals.

The *Guide* is divided into the following main

*J. Cohen, J. Klugmann. *A Reader's Guide to the Study of Marxism*. London. 82 pp.

fields: 1) Marxist-Leninist Philosophy—Dialectical and Historical Materialism; 2) Political Economy; 3) Peaceful Coexistence—Marxism-Leninism on Peace or War; 4) The State and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; 5) The Transition to Socialism; 6) Socialism and Communism; 7) The Role and Nature of the Communist Party; 8) British Labor History.

Each field is introduced by a brief outline of the main theoretical principles which arise in the given field of Marxism-Leninism. This is followed by suggestions of books, or sections of books, for reading. The reading is divided into two main sections. The first is called "Main Reading" and the second "Deeper Study." Under "Main Reading" are found suggestions

for reading aimed at providing a general grasp of the subject. Beginning with introductory and fairly elementary expositions of the subject, the lists are progressive, aimed at embracing a fairly comprehensive course of reading on each subject. Under "Deeper Study" are found recommendations for more detailed and specialized study of the subject concerned.

A Reader's Guide to the Study of Marxism is essentially a guide for the study of how the principles of scientific socialism apply to the British scene, and the British workers' struggle for the socialist alternative in that country. However, this book will interest educational workers of brother parties from the point of view of methodology, style and language.

Communists and Austrian sovereignty

R. SOKOLOV

PUBLICATIONS DEVOTED to the 20th anniversary of the Austrian Republic include *20 Years. Whither Austria?** by Leopold Spira, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria.

The subject of the book is Austrian national independence, a subject which has always figured prominently in the history of the country. It has long been a dream of German militarists to assimilate the Austrian people, to annex their land. Their last attempt is still fresh in everyone's memory.

Today the revenge-seeking rulers of West Germany, who have by no means given up the idea of taking hold of the Austrian industry, employ new methods of expansion adapted to the changed correlation of world forces. This time it is not through naked violence that they want to achieve their ends, but by means of "integration" through the Common Market and kindred organizations, aided by West German capital penetration.

The nonchalance with which some West German politicians regard Austria as their proper-

ty, as something belonging to Germany, can be seen from a statement by Goppel, Premier of Bavaria "The line separating Tyrol from Bavaria is simply a juridical partition!"

Bonn's propaganda pours into Austria through a multitude of channels—the press (including publications extolling Hitler's war), the radio and television, ex-servicemen's rallies, meetings of associations and organizations directly linked with the West German revanchist circles. The purpose is to kindle pan-Germanic sentiment. *Die Zukunft*, journal of the Socialist Party of Austria, commented: "All this shows with startling clarity how dangerous and strong Nazi influence is—not because of numerical strength, but because of ideological infiltration. . . ." The death of the veteran Communist Ernst Kirchweyer after being wounded by fascists during a demonstration in March last year was a reminder of the grave danger of reaction and neo-Nazism.

It should be added that the recent government crisis engineered by the clerical People's Party, and the pre-scheduled elections to the National Council were sequels to the CDU/CSU victory in the West German Bundestag elections. The Catholic APP with its strong Right-

*Leopold Spira. *20 Jahre. Wohin geht Oesterreich?* Wien, Stern-Verlag, 1965. 102 pp.

wing, based on West German capital, sought and won an absolute majority in parliament.

This state of affairs lends importance to Marxist works on Austrian history and the fight of the people for independence and neutrality, works exposing the Austrian pan-Germans. It is from this angle that Leopold Spira discusses Austria's postwar history.

Special attention is paid to the national problem, which has always been acute both as regards the attitude to other peoples (specifically those who formerly inhabited the Austrian-Hungarian empire) and to the Austrian nation proper, to its sovereignty and independence. Austria's weakness, the author notes, lay in the adherence of a part of the population to the ideas of pan-Germanism, and he shows how the German militarists took advantage of this, and the harm the pro-*Anschluss* parties caused to the country. It was only after Hitler seized power and the advocacy of the *Anschluss* became equivalent to support of Nazis, that the Social Democratic Party stopped campaigning for incorporation into Germany. The bitter lessons of fascism opened the eyes of many other Austrians who had been deluded by pan-Germanism.

As for the Austrian Communists, they had always fought for national independence, against union with Germany. Alfred Klahr, a Communist who died in a Nazi torture cell in 1944, wrote in the magazine *Weg und Ziel*: "Theoretically the view that Austrians are part of the German nation is unfounded . . . The economic and political conditions in which the Austrian people have lived differed from those in the German Reich, and therefore their national development has been different. . . . National oppression can exist even where the oppressor of a nation speaks the same language."

The Nazi occupation and the Second World War made a deep imprint on the conscience of the Austrian people. Their attitude to national identity has changed considerably. This is beginning to be realized in West Germany as well. *Die Welt* wrote, for instance, that by means of the *Anschluss* "the Austrian Adolf Hitler wanted to turn the Austrians into Germans, but he turned them into conscious Austrians instead . . . An awareness of identity with Austria has increased and become universal in the years of the Second Republic, in the years of peace and economic successes."

Much harm is being done to the struggle of the people for an independent Austria by the anti-communism incited by the Right-wing parties and organizations among the politically immature sections of the population. Shortly after the Second World War these organiza-

tions began to depict the Soviet Union, and not Nazism, as the chief enemy. The author points to the disastrous consequences of this for a country which had for many years been subjected to fascist brainwashing. The Communists had to leave the government, refusing to share the responsibility for its actions.

The anti-Soviet campaign was accompanied by provocations against the Communist Party. The big strike of October 1950 in protest against the growing capitalist profits at the expense of wages was depicted by the Rights as a "Communist coup." The strike was broken, with the authorities widely employing anti-communist slogans.

Referring to the international status of his country, Spira emphasizes the importance of Austria's perpetual neutrality, which alone made possible the conclusion of the State Treaty in 1955. He also notes the role of the nationalized sector as an obstacle to penetration by West German monopolies and a factor making for economic independence, itself an essential requisite for a sustained policy of neutrality.

The Austrian Communists, while keeping in sight the ultimate goal of building a socialist and communist society, are fighting today for concrete national and democratic objectives: the country's independence and neutrality; the preservation and expansion of the nationalized sector; redistribution of incomes; co-management in industry and the economy as a whole; greater state investments in the productive and social spheres; structural reforms and democratic planning; a bigger share of the fruits of the economic boom for the working class; extension of democracy. The Communists are combating all manifestations of neo-Nazism and pan-Germanism, the ideas of "social partnership," West German revanchism and militarism, and are working for the unity of the working class and all democrats in this fight. This is a class struggle based on mass movements and the initiative of the masses. Reporting to the 19th Congress of the CPA, Comrade Fritz Muhri, Chairman of the Party, thus defined the role of the Party in this struggle: ". . . The Austrian Communists are engaged in an important mission . . . We Communists are an integral part of the working class and democratic forces of our country, and we have no interests other than theirs. Our task is to act in the working class and in society as a conscious, constantly advancing force."

Leopold Spira has made a valuable contribution to the discussion going on in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Republic, and thereby to the struggle for a democratic and independent Austria.

The Left way in Sweden

G. OHMAN

THE LEFT WAY is the title of a book by C. H. Hermansson, Chairman of the Communist Party of Sweden, which has evoked a lively discussion. And this indeed was the author's object. His aim, he says, was to offer a basis for an exchange of views, above all in the Swedish working-class movement, on the political line which would enable the masses to secure broader democracy, curb the power of big capital and bring about a radical change in the social balance in Sweden. The program suggested by Hermansson naturally reflects the specific problems of that country and the views of the Swedish Communists on these problems.

The book primarily examines the political structure of Swedish society. The far-reaching changes in social and class relationships in the course of the past 30 or 40 years have not been accompanied by any appreciable modifications in the structure of the parties that have been on the political scene for the past half century or more. Today nearly 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population are wage and salary earners, and the middle sections (handicraftsmen, small proprietors, farmers, etc.) account for 20-25 per cent. That leaves only 5 to 10 per cent for the bourgeoisie. But in the last election, held in 1964, the workers' parties—the Social Democrats and the Communists, who above all represent the interests of the wage-earners — polled only 52.5 per cent of the vote. This in no way corresponds to the real structure of society. But since wage and salary earners, whose interests in the main are identical with those of the working class, account for 70 per cent of the population, the prospects of the working class winning greater electoral support and political influence are good indeed.

Here it is possible to mention only some of the main points posed by Hermansson in his critical examination of the policies of the Social Democrats and the capitalist parties. He

dwells chiefly on the vaunted Swedish "affluence" which is held up as a shining example of social reform in behalf of the working class and other working people. While acknowledging that the Swedish working class has won considerable social and economic gains, Hermansson adds that no radical change has taken place in social relations. On the contrary, the power of monopoly has grown. The working class and the Left generally see their mission in doing away with this dictatorship of a tiny minority. Concentration of capital is such that at present practically all the commanding heights in the economy are held by 15 big capitalist families. The state sector is infinitesimal.

Concerning the Swedish "welfare state," Hermansson points out that the capitalists derive a considerable part of their wealth by taking part in the general exploitation by capitalism of the underdeveloped countries. "Sweden's participation in this," he says, "takes, as before, diverse forms. We are one of a handful of rich, developed countries linked by countless threads to the other members of this elite club. The wealthy countries grow richer at the expense of the poor, and Sweden takes part in this collective exploitation. We share in a kind of collective super-profit variously extracted from the economically dependent countries." Proceeding from this, he sharply criticizes Sweden's policy towards the "third world," noting that a decision taken by the Riksdag in 1962 to allocate annually one per cent of the gross national product for aid to the underdeveloped countries is still far from having been carried out. He believes 5 per cent could be easily earmarked for this purpose. Moreover, how this aid is used is by no means immaterial. So far Swedish aid has largely gone to countries with bourgeois and reactionary regimes.

At the same time the connection must be seen between the development of the "third world" and the problems facing the working class of the developed capitalist countries. "No pro-

*C. H. Hermansson. *Vaensterns vaeg*. Stockholm, Raben och Sjogren, 1965. 192 pp.

gram of social and political development can be carried out in our country or in Western Europe generally if the solution of the problem of the poor countries is not made one of the points of departure. Some reforms can of course be carried out in one or another sphere and the working-class movement can, and surely will, substantially reinforce its positions within the national framework. But as regards the development of our economy over a longer period, not only for today, solution of the problems of the poor countries is a precondition for solving our own problems. No country can expect to get along in isolation, and Sweden's 'affluent society' is no exception. Our country shares a common future with the countries that still are poor."

Problems associated with the growth of armaments and the trend of Swedish foreign policy are examined at length. Sweden spends about 5 per cent of her gross national product on armaments, or just about as much as the author believes she should channel to aid to the "third world" countries. "The public would undoubtedly warmly welcome the idea of using the present military budget partly or wholly for aid to the poor countries, especially if this were done under an international arrangement."

Sweden's participation in the arms drive and the arguments advanced by the High Command to justify the heavy military expenditures are subjected to annihilating criticism. The policy of the military and the government is based on the so-called balance-of-terror theory. Hermansson writes: "The balance-of-terror implies, however, an identical approach to all states and their motives, which is utterly incorrect. This theory does not distinguish between aggressive and defensive policies, between states bent on achieving their ends by means of armed force and states standing for peaceful coexistence. Instead the Big Powers are regarded as two card-players prompted by identical motives and observing the same rules of the game."

Even those who do not fully agree with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, Hermansson notes, have had to admit that there is a radical difference between the basic foreign-policy lines of the socialist Soviet Union and the imperialist United States. These great powers adhere to diametrically opposed points of view as regards the national and social liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. "The Soviet Union," Hermansson says, "supports this struggle, whereas the United States in many cases intervenes directly or indirectly by military and other means in order to halt the national and social revolution."

He calls for an international ban on nuclear weapons, but until this is achieved the two big nuclear powers cannot be regarded in an identical light. "In one case it is a matter of a weapon which may be used to carry out an aggressive policy, and in the other of a means

of foiling policies of pressure on the part of an imperialist state."

As regard other aspects of Swedish foreign policy, the author suggests that Sweden should make a really big contribution to peace. A policy of peace is aimed at something more than security: "Our country should contribute in diverse ways to preserving peace throughout the world and support the movements and peoples fighting for freedom and social justice. Such a contribution would be the most effective way to safeguard the peace and independence of Sweden, or, if you wish, our security."

Turning to the "affluent society," and quoting statements on the subject by leading Swedish Social Democrats, Hermansson shows that the lauded "affluence" is very much of a myth, even if the working class has won certain gains. The policy of the Social Democratic government has not resulted in any fundamental change in the social relationships. There can hardly be any talk of any substantial equalization of incomes in favor of the low-paid groups of working people. There has been no appreciable improvement in the position of large families. In the sphere of medical care the situation, far from improving, has deteriorated in recent years. In the big cities the housing problem has in many respects become worse. The reason for this state of affairs, which is now openly criticized even in the Social Democratic Party, is that the government has based its policies on a principle which Hermansson formulates thus: "No basic change in the present balance of class forces. Instead of developing the state sector of the economy, reliance on the potential of what is called a free economy (meaning capitalism). In other words, let the profit motive be the main driving force of economic development." This has resulted in stagnation and serious setbacks for Swedish Social Democracy, the record of which is so often held up as an example of what can be achieved through a reformist policy.

The Norwegian Social Democrats, who basically have pursued the same policy as their Swedish colleagues and who were in government for thirty years, were defeated so heavily in the 1965 general election that a bourgeois coalition government was able to step in. This naturally alarmed Social Democratic followers in Sweden. They feel that a repetition of the Norwegian debacle can be avoided in Sweden only by changing government policy. Hermansson, agreeing with this viewpoint, adds that the Social Democratic government should not act as a conscientious manager of the firm "Sweden, Inc.," but should steer another course. "In order to find an acceptable solution for the present problems and to pursue a policy in line with the aspirations of the wage-earners it is imperative to intervene in the 'free' development of capitalism and to change in a purposeful way the correlation of social forces in favor of the broad public. This implies discarding the idea of preserving the status quo between classes which has been the working hy-

pothesis of the Social Democratic government."

The author discusses measures which should be implemented with a view to restricting and gradually abolishing the right of the monopolies to control economic development. Of these measures we shall dwell only on one—economic democracy. Economic democracy can be achieved basically in two ways: by enhancing the influence exerted by society as a whole on economic life and by giving the workers and office employees a bigger say in the enterprises. Democratization of the machinery of state and democracy in the enterprises are essential preconditions.

The role and nature of the state have long been the subject of controversy between the reformists and the Marxists. Hermansson characterizes the role of the state today as follows: "In a society in a stage of transition from monopoly capitalism to socialism, in which wage and salary earners are the majority of the population, and in which the working-class movement has a majority in the Riksdag and wields governmental power, the machinery of state should be used to overcome the economic positions of finance capital and to reconstruct society along socialist lines. In order best to serve this purpose the state machine should be democratized in the following ways: selection of personnel for government posts should be put on a footing more or less in accord with the social composition of the population, which means among other things that the leading posts in government bodies should be held mostly by people from the ranks of the wage-earners. Countermeasures should be taken against bureaucratic trends and the state apparatus better adapted to maintain contact with the people and to submit to public control. The civil service should be so constituted that all its functions facilitate the socialist reconstruction of Swedish society."

Democratization of the machinery of state

along these lines which the working class can bring about by militant action would also mean giving the civil servants and employees of state enterprises and companies a bigger say in regulating their working conditions. Enterprises run by the state and the municipalities should set an example of democracy at the point of production. The working class is fighting for this democracy not only in the state and municipal enterprises but also in private undertakings, though time alone will show to what extent it can be achieved during the transition period in the enterprises remaining in the hands of the capitalist shareholders.

The demand for democracy at the point of production is every bit as justified as the demand for political democracy. Hermansson rejects the view that the shareholders are the rightful owners of enterprises and that they, therefore, have the final say. "As an enterprise develops," he says, "it becomes less and less dependent on the initial capital invested by the shareholders. An ever-growing part of its income consists of value created by the workers in the production process. Hence it is only fair to insist that the latter should have the decisive say as regards the use of this income."

The book contains interesting views on the problem of alienation in highly developed capitalist society and the ways of overcoming this alienation, which, of course, cannot be reduced merely to achieving democracy in production. The author points to the need in all areas—at Government and municipal levels, in administrative bodies and institutions, and in the parties and other organizations—to find ways and means of ensuring the participation of the people, including young people, in discussing and deciding important issues relating to the economic, political and cultural life of society. As a precondition for this, the monopoly of the "chosen few" must be broken.

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