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India on the eve of elections

—S. A. Dange

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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India on the eve of elections

S. A. DANGE

I.

INDIA'S RULING CLASS politicians are very fond of telling the world that India is the largest democracy in the world. They will not agree to qualify it and say that it is the largest bourgeois democracy.

And due to realism or perhaps scorn, they will also not call it socialist democracy, despite the fact that for the last fifteen years they have been claiming to build "socialism" in India!

No, it is just democracy—and the largest one. They advertise this particularly when in America.

India touched the figure of 500 million population last year.

Thus, it is the second largest population in the world, China's being the first.

The most outstanding fact that makes it a democracy is that India is governed by a Parliament, which is elected every five years on the basis of adult franchise. Since independence came in 1947 and the Constitution of the Republic of the Indian Union was adopted on January 26, 1950 we have had three general elections—first, in 1952, second in 1957 and third in 1962. And the fourth is coming in February 1967.

We are a democracy in this sense. Moreover, the Constitution guarantees to every citizen not only to vote and elect a Parliament and Government. It also guarantees certain fundamental democratic rights and lays down directive principles to guide state policy. The rights and principles by themselves are no doubt good, if properly implemented. For example, it was because these rights came to be established in 1950 that the Communist Party, trade union and other organizations which had been declared illegal and sup-

pressed in 1948 were legalized and thousands of our people were released from prison.

But within the framework of this very Constitution and the Fundamental Rights, a new law called the Preventive Detention Act was passed in 1952 under which once again many political workers continued to be imprisoned.

And since 1962 and the India-China conflict, the country has been under a state of Emergency, by which, though the Parliament sits and deliberates as before, all the Fundamental Rights, which were claimed to be the basic ingredients of this largest democracy, have been suspended, without any remedy before the Supreme Court of the land.

In view of this state of Emergency and the Defense of India Rules, the necessity for which vanished long ago, thousands have been sent to jail for the mere expression of political opinions or for conducting strikes or other struggles for the defense of people's rights and living.

In short, we have a Parliament and we have elections to the Parliament despite the state of Emergency. You may say that elections are free, as far as they can be in a bourgeois democracy, where the power of the purse, the press and the policy is in the hands of the ruling bourgeoisie and its landlord allies. You may form any political party and nominate candidates. And if your candidate gets the highest vote as against his other rivals, he is declared elected. The vote is cast by the name of each candidate and his symbol which is given to him for identification by illiterate voters. The vote is not for the Party as is the case in some countries. Nor is there proportional representation in the voting system.

Out of a population of 500 million people, 240 million are registered voters in this year.

In the 1962 elections they numbered 216 million. Thus one can see that the number of registered voters in India is fifty million more than the total population of America, and ten million more than the population of the USSR. The vastness of this number itself would show how difficult it is for a party not in power and without the vast resources of the bourgeoisie to mobilize the people for the vote.

We have direct elections to the Parliament of the whole country. But the country is divided into 17 States roughly on linguistic and historical basis. Then there are 9 territorial areas under the Union Government.

The 17 State Assemblies also are elected on the same day by the same voter in the same booth but with a separate ballot box. The following table shows the number of voters, seats and booths in the coming elections.

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1962</u>
Registered voters (million)	240	216
Parliament—seats	521	497
State Assemblies—seats	3,563	3,405
Polling Stations—Number	270,000	250,000

Each booth serves 1,000 voters and it would require at least five cadres for a party to man one booth. Thus if a party were to contest all the seats, it would have to put into the field on the polling day at least one million organizers, which is beyond the capacity of any democratic opposition party in the present conditions.

In the existing Parliament (as of January 20, 1965) there are 504 members. The ruling Congress Party holds 365 seats and all the opposition parties and individuals make up the remaining 133 (in which three were vacant). The ruling party has an overwhelming majority over all the opposition parties together.

In this opposition total, the Communist Party of India (before the split) held 30 seats out of 133. Even then we were given the first role in the opposition as no other single party by itself had as many seats as ours.

After the split in the Party, we retained 18 members of Parliament, and they numbered 12. The three other parties of importance are the Samgukta Socialist Party with 16 Members of Parliament, Jan Sangh with 13 members and the Swatantra Party with 16.

There are 13 other parties with about 30 MPs but since they did not get five per cent of the votes cast, they are not acknowledged as all-India parties for the purpose of listing in the Parliament. Such parties worth noting are, for example, the Republican Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Moslem

League, the Hindu Mahasabha. Some parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) are limited to certain states and areas only, though they have a sizable following. The next election battles are going to be fought around the platforms of these parties and their fronts or combinations, on an all-India and local scales.

The Congress Party remains the most formidable force in power. It is being opposed mainly by two forces—one representing the progressive democratic masses of the toiling people drawn from the working-class, the peasantry, the middle classes, as also from sections of the national bourgeoisie opposed to monopoly capital, and the other representing Right reaction. There are intermediary groups who hover between the two on the basis of group interests and not purely on programs and policies.

The elections this time will show some new features and new combinations and upsets in almost all parties, including the ruling Congress Party and the opposition parties of the democratic Left and the reactionary Right.

II.

The Indian electoral system is based on the majority vote and not on proportional representation. The majority-vote system has had the peculiar result that the Congress Party in India has been in power without ever getting the majority of the votes of the total poll in all the three elections. Of the total votes cast in the three elections, the Congress Party got

45.02 per cent votes in 1951-52
47.78 per cent votes in 1957
45.06 per cent votes in 1962.

And yet with such a minority of the popular vote, the Congress Party secured the overwhelming majority of the seats, both in the Parliament and in the States. Only once in Kerala, the Congress Party was defeated by the Communist Party which got three more seats than all the other parties combined and formed the first Communist Ministry in India, which remained in power for two years and four months. But that result was an unexpected one for all, and was not repeated in the next two elections in Kerala.

The major reason why the Congress Party wins the majority of seats on a minority of votes is that the block of the majority votes is divided between several parties, who not only oppose the Congress Party but oppose each other also. In the 1962 elections, for ex-

ample, on the basis of 45.06 per cent of the popular vote for the Parliament, the Congress Party obtained 73.2 per cent of the seats.

With the growing discontent of the masses against the policies of the Congress Party and the consequent mass struggles, fought with heavy sacrifice in the last two years and particularly in this year since the crisis of devaluation, a large number of political parties of the democratic opposition have come to recognize the need for a left democratic front to oppose the Congress Party in day-to-day struggles as well as in elections.

Not that such proposals were not there in 1952, 1957 or 1962. Our Party has all along proposed to all the parties of the democratic left opposition that unless they united on the basis of a minimum program aimed against the capitalist-landlord policies of the Government, the country will not attain complete economic independence, the masses will not reap the benefit of the growing wealth of the nation and the nation as a whole will be subject to neo-colonialist pressures despite the general line of non-alignment followed by the ruling party. But many of the parties of the left democratic opposition, adopting the postures of "anti-communism," well-known as the postures of the Right wing of the Social Democratic leadership in Europe, fought our Party more than the Congress or the parties of Right reaction. Some had the theory of "equi-distance" between communism and communalism. Some opposed the very idea of democratic or united front on the alleged ground of guarding the so-called "purity of their own principles and program." Some would agree with us on joint strike struggles but keep the trade unions separate or dis-united. Some would have common action and common trade union work but would not have a common *political* front.

Some opposed us on the ground that we, as Communists, did not believe in parliamentary democracy though we agreed to participate in Parliamentary elections and in bringing about changes in the state power and national economy through parliamentary democratic methods as long as the bourgeoisie allowed us to do so. We declared this in the Constitution and platform of the Party especially in the Amritsar Party Congress of 1958. But neither the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, who suppressed the masses and us with all the violence at their command, nor the comrades and friends of the democratic left who were themselves victims of that violence and who with us shared common blows and common prisons, would agree to believe in our statements. The Congress Party as a whole took pains to foster this anti-communism,

though some of its leaders may not have fully relished such a crusade.

Some of the left democratic parties accused us of not being "patriotic" and hence not trustworthy in the matter of defense of the country. Even when we took up the position of national defense against the Chinese invasion in 1962 and called it a "manifestation of their narrow nationalistic and chauvinist ambitions," some of these parties attacked us, taking advantage of the equivocal positions taken by some party leaders, who later on split the Party and formed a rival one. But now this question has been cleared up so far as our Party is concerned, removing one of the hurdles in the formation of a united democratic front.

The growing political and economic crisis leading to common struggles in which our Party stood shoulder to shoulder with the suffering masses and led them has helped to weaken the anti-Communist hysteria, for the time being at least. Our two big demonstrations before the Parliament in Delhi wherein we mobilized under our banner nearly a quarter of a million people from all over the country, once on the 13th of September, 1963, and again on the 1st of September, 1966, facilitated preparing the ground for the formation of joint fronts or electoral adjustments among the left democratic forces, as also in bringing about more united common mass actions in the trade union and other fields.

One of the peculiarities of the Indian situation is that while the masses are greatly attracted by socialism, due to the successes of the socialist camp in eradicating poverty, unemployment and backwardness and espousing the cause of world revolution and national liberation, none of the parties in India that swear by socialism has clearly defined what it means by socialism. When even the ruling Congress Party, the national bourgeoisie and some monopolists declare their goal as "socialism," it is no wonder that almost every party of the left democratic opposition declares socialism to be its goal also. But very few of them have ever defined socialism in terms of the working class or in terms of Marxism-Leninism.

In the left democratic opposition in India we have now two Communist Parties, namely, the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party (Marxist) as the other party calls itself for election purposes. In day-to-day propaganda, however, the other party uses our name to confuse the people. We have in India the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), the Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCPI), the Bolshevik Party, the Forward Bloc (Marxist), the Samukta So-

cialist Party (SSP), the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), the Peasants and Workers Party, the Lal Kishan Party, the Janata Parishad, and so on. Some of them function on a local state level. Some are of an all-India character. And all of them have socialism as their goal, some of them arguing it in terms of Marxism as they understand it.

The three parties of the left democratic opposition who today provide the main forces and the main initiative for forming the bloc of left democratic candidates to fight the Congress Party are—one, the Communist Party of India; two—the Communist Party (Marxist); and three, the Samgukta Socialist Party (SSP).

These three parties mainly rely on the revolutionary working class, on the town intelligentsia and on sections of the working peasantry. But unfortunately, all the three have no united platform or approach though some sort of minimum program has been agreed to by all.

The SSP, led by Dr. Lohia, S. M. Joshi, Madhu Limaye, George Fernandez and others, while allying with the parties of the Left, is also entering into alliance or understanding with such parties of the Right reaction as the Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party. They say that the main need of the hour is removal of the Congress Party from power, no matter with whose help. A minimum program for the election should be a single-line program—Defeat the Congress.

What will you do and how will you run the country if you defeat it in conjunction with the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra is no question for them. Leave it to history, they say.

As for the Communist Party (Marxist), while their leadership in Kerala has arrived at a democratic front with us and the SSP, RSP and others, their leadership in West Bengal and other states has decided to fight our Party as the main enemy and if in the process they help the Congress Party they have no scruples in doing so. In fact, they welcome it and facilitate it. They also try to split the trade unions and other mass organizations.

They proceed from the reasoning that undiluted Right reaction in power at one end of the pole helps to broaden the base of the revolution and enables the masses at the other end to understand its need better. Hence the victory of utter reaction, whether from inside the Congress or outside, need not worry the democratic forces. Secondly, the elimination of all groups and parties except their own, which, they consider, is the only "truly revolutionary and pure Communist Party," bringing about a situation in which they and

reaction alone will confront each other, is the only road to the success of the revolution. They consider our Party the main "revisionist" impediment in the revolution and hence it must be liquidated first. Hence unity with us on any question is ruled out.

In Kerala, however, the leadership of EMS Namboodiripad, while serving the largest number of seats for itself, has agreed to be in a united front with us along with others, because the greatest possibility of defeating the Congress and forming a Government of the democratic coalition exists there and in the coalition the Communist Party (Marxist) there will have a majority. The whole problem of Kerala has its own peculiarities and exceptions. And hence the CPM there has chosen its own line, despite their general agreement with the main approach of their Party Center in West Bengal.

The traditional stronghold of Communist vote in all the three previous elections has been the states of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal. Hence the split in the Party has affected these three states most and has thereby strengthened the Congress Party in those very states where it faced the challenge from the left democratic forces most.

Due to certain historical reasons, when the Party suffered a split in 1964, the majority of the cadres in Kerala and West Bengal went with the rival party. Hence they retained the opposition leadership in the states in their hands, which they now want to use to destroy our Party. But in Kerala, as already stated, some realism has helped to establish a united front, though it has been otherwise in other states.

Our Party has all along refused to put up rival candidates against the CPM, in the interests of defeating the Congress and building a united front.

But the CPM leadership is putting up its candidates in all the major areas in the whole country against our Party and refuses to come to an overall understanding to defeat the Congress. Wipe out the Communist Party of India wherever possible, even at the cost of letting the reactionaries win—is their slogan. Hence in Bengal, even in their strongholds, they refused to put up candidates against the most reactionary Congress leaders and Ministers, while they are fighting our main and major leaders, including sitting members of Parliament and Assemblies.

And by this splitting tactic, they are working up a position to do a lot of harm to our Party candidates.

In this, the CPM people are also helped by certain leading Congressmen of the Rightist variety and many Rightist groups in the coun-

try and some ultra-left elements. One reason for this is that the Right reactionaries inside and outside the Congress consider our Party as a serious danger to their power, because of our strength in the working class and because of our sober and realistic approach to the problems of the country and the need for the Democratic Front. Hence they consider us a greater potential menace. And the other reason is that our Party is not prepared to enter into opportunist compromises for a temporary gain which ultimately may land us in the camp of counter-revolution or facilitate its advance.

The discontent against the Congress regime is being utilized by parties of the Right and also by such agencies as the American CIA, whose agents are very active in India these days. The crisis of the capitalist system, the system that the Congress Party has been building in the country, has inevitably affected its own organization also. The Congress Party as the political party of the national bourgeoisie is now undergoing splits in its own leadership. The various sections and factions of the bourgeois-landlord classes, in their wolfish cut-throat competition to seize the resources and the wealth of the country and to exploit the labor of the working people, are trying to seize the Governmental machine for their own factional and sectional interests, without bothering about the interests of their class as a whole inside the country or the menace of the imperialists and their neo-colonial maneuvers from outside. Except for the dissident Congress in West Bengal, the splitting sections are generally on the extreme Right and are backed by Rightists in the Congress. These forces are making alliances with the Jan Sangh and Swatantra parties. Together, they hope to capture the State legislature in the three states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujerat.

The economic and political crisis of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system in India is being used by the feudal princes who, though deprived of their State power, continued to retain their economic assets in land and capital and certain of their personal privileges and pensions. This helped them also to retain their hold over the people in the areas where they once had their princely states.

Another peculiarity of the situation is that well-known monopoly houses who formerly were content with financing the Congress Party and wielding influence from behind, have now split among themselves and some of them are standing for election against the Congress, which also has its own monopolists

and princes in its fold and on its list of candidates.

The forces of extreme reaction have forced a split on the ruling Congress Party, in order to make it come out wholly on their side and give up whatever of non-alignment or anti-colonialism and independent development is left in its policies. The forces of the Right are consolidating at a faster pace than before.

At such a time, the democratic opposition should have united faster and better. But they have not done so. That is the most serious lag in the situation which, if not overcome, may lead to a situation detrimental to the independence of the country and the well-being of the people. Some say that if this is the situation, would it not be wise for the left democratic parties to unite with those elements in the Congress who are definitely opposed to Right reaction who favor the monopolies and the neo-colonialists? Such an alliance with the Congress organization and leadership, as it is, would be quite out of place, as was decided by the Vijayawada Congress of our Party. There are hardly any crystallized Left forces in the leadership of the Congress, whether at top or lower levels. The Rightists in it have become powerful. But what remains of the centrist or "left" in its leadership is in confusion. This was very vividly seen when Krishna Menon, ex-Defense Minister and close friend of Nehru, was thrown out of his constituency by the Rightist pro-American group of S. K. Patil and others and had to resign from the Congress. The Left Democratic Opposition Parties have declared their support for Mr. Krishna Menon. They have also made an electoral front with that section of the Congress which split away from the Rightist group in West Bengal and formed the Bangla Congress.

A general alliance with the Congress Party by the Left Democratic Opposition with the idea of saving it from the Rightist reaction would simply repel the masses and strengthen the hand of the reactionaries whom we wish to fight. The left Democratic Opposition forces must try to fight and defeat the Congress Party and in that process help the progressive elements therein to expel the reactionaries or form a new organization.

III.

How is it that the Congress Party, which headed the anti-imperialist liberation movement and which ruled the country under the leadership of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, faces the prospect of being defeated in three states by the forces of reaction, while elsewhere it will be severely weakened, though it may

succeed in retaining its majority with depreciated strength in the Parliament and elsewhere? How is it that in two states the Left Democratic Alliance also may displace it from power?

It has happened because the Congress, as the party of the national bourgeoisie, after attaining state power, pursued the path of capitalist development, betrayed its promises to the people, failed to develop the economy even as a fully developed capitalist economy and has been succumbing gradually to the influence of U.S. imperialism, while retaining its economic links with the socialist camp and its verbal loyalty to phrases of socialism and democracy. The present crisis in the Congress Party and in the country is the inevitable accompaniment of the growth of monopoly capitalism. That is why even after attaining independence and taking power as the leading party of the anti-imperialist struggle, the Congress never secured a majority of the popular vote in the three countrywide general elections. Nor will it do so in this election.

Hence, the Election Manifesto of our Party describes the situation in the following words:

"All objective conditions for the overthrow of the hated Congress rule and for carrying forward the national democratic revolution to completion are now maturing as never before."

But the greatest lag in the situation is the absence of a unified organized revolutionary leadership having a hold on the masses and capable of leading, boldly and yet soberly, the unprecedented mass movements that are sweeping over the country. Our Manifesto says:

"The pre-election year of 1966 has witnessed the largest number of political strikes and bandhs. In defense of their wages, their rights and their living standards, the working people all over the country in their tens of millions have gone into massive political and economic actions. Middle class employees have been drawn into mass actions in ever greater numbers and in varied forms. One remarkable feature of the present-day mass upheaval is the country's student upsurge before which the barriers of so-called discipline have collapsed. The heroic student community has faced the fury of the Congress and the bullets of its police during the just struggle for much-needed but long-denied academic amenities so that the boys and girls can get proper education, secure gainful employment and grow up as worthy citizens of our republic.

"In rural India, the vast peasant masses, land-starved and stricken, are in a restless mood and in many places they too have moved

into mass actions alongside the working people in the urban areas . . .

"People's rightful protests and movements are, however, met with wanton police firings and orgies of violence. Even the army is called out to put down legitimate popular protests. Leaders and workers of mass movements are imprisoned in thousands and not even members of Parliament and state assemblies are spared persecution and humiliation at the hands of the police . . ."

What is the record of the Congress regime in the most vital matters of national life? As the Manifesto says:

"The record of Congress regime since the last general election five years ago has been one of dismal failures almost in every sphere of our national life. Our *agriculture*, especially food production, is stagnant, notwithstanding heavy financial outlays. Famine and near-famine conditions, largely the creation of man, stalk the land. Even at this moment, starvation deaths are taking place in Bihar and in UP and in other parts of the country and the government refuses even to declare them as famine areas. It is the greatest indictment that after 19 years of uninterrupted power, the Congress has failed to ensure even the minimum food requirements for the masses, who are either starving or live on the borderline of starvation.

"Under Congress rule the plunder of India's wealth by imperialist exploiters continues. Foreign private investments in our economy, which are a source of this loot, today amount to nearly Rs. 900 crores and every year tens of crores of rupees are siphoned off from this country by British and American monopolies. Add to this the huge foreign debts which the Congress government has incurred. India is the biggest debtor among the newly-free countries; its external debts, mostly to the USA, stand around Rs. 5,000 crores, involving annual repayment liabilities in principal and interest of over Rs. 100 crores . . .

"The Congress regime is unable to keep the industry running. Transport is in chaos and fatal accidents on the railways go on increasing.

"The rate of growth in our national income has fallen and the rate of increase in per capita income has declined still further. The rupee has drastically lost value due to runaway, sky-rocketing prices. People are groaning under crushing tax burdens. Rising prices, as well as taxes on the common man, are of course the inevitable result of Congress government policies to fatten the millionaires and feed the greedy bureaucratic state machine. Plunder of the toiling people goes side

by side with colossal but unchecked administrative waste.

"The Congress regime is now a hotbed of corruption. The source of this rampant corruption and graft is the unholy link-up between the Congress Ministers and Congress leaders with the Birlas and other big business families as well as the corrupt top bureaucracy that thrives on bribery . . .

"The ruling Congress party is ridden with factions and power groups, each jockeying for position for self-aggrandizement. Their aim is to utilize the huge funds that flow under the five-year plans to build themselves up, as well as their bourgeois-landlord circles, into thriving capricious millionaires. Every Ministry is disorganized and disrupted by internal rivalries, by graft and corruption. The leadership of the Congress Party and the government has lost its prestige and it has no moral stature at all. The awe and terror in which the state machine seeks to hold the people is gradually ceasing to frighten them. All these years the Congress rulers have been pampering the reactionary monopolies. They are now making prodigious concessions to American imperialists. This line of appeasement and surrender has been lately climaxed by the blackest national betrayal since independence—DEVALUATION . . .

"American imperialists are today out to exploit the hunger of our people in order to cripple and sabotage our economy in crucial sectors. They are out to destroy our independence and humiliate our country.

"In spite of India's friendly relations and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which are undoubtedly very beneficial to our nation, the Congress rulers restrict the scope of this cooperation under pressure of Indian and foreign monopolists and rely heavily on imperialist 'aid' even at the cost of national self-respect and paramount national interests."

In the recent period, particularly since the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the U.S. imperialists have been holding up supplies of machinery, raw materials and food, which they had promised so far. Instead of utilizing the crisis to carry out independent and self-reliant development and swift agrarian reforms, whose failures have been the cause of the food and raw material crisis, the Government of the Congress Party began to further vacillate in its postures of non-alignment. It has failed to condemn the American aggression in Vietnam and lend firm support to the Vietnamese people. It has failed to give recognition to the German Democratic Republic for fear of West German and U.S. displeasure.

Even then, during the food and industrial

crisis, it appealed to the Soviet Union for aid, which was promptly given. The dispatch of 200,000 tons of grain as a free gift to the people of the drought-ridden areas came as a surprise and shock to the vilifiers of the Soviet Union, and within hours the Americans rushed to announce their "aid" which they had been so far holding back.

But being tied to the apron strings of monopoly capital, the Congress regime is unable to utilize all the goodwill that India draws from people all over the world to forge a democratic path of development, free from imperialist, monopolist and landlord influences. Hence the need to defeat the Congress Party in the coming elections.

IV.

FOR SAVING THE NATION AND SERVING THE MASSES: PROGRAM OF IMMEDIATE MEASURES

Life has shown that the Congress party cannot be trusted with power any more. In its hands, even the existing gains of our people's struggles are not safe. What the nation desperately needs is far-reaching, radical changes in our present economic and political structure.

With this objective in view, the Communist Party of India places before the people a positive program, implementation of which will save the country from the present crisis, stimulate production in industry and agriculture, ensure at least minimum needs of living, strengthen and extend democracy and avert the danger of India falling a helpless victim to American neo-colonialism.

1. End foreign exploitation

The Communist Party of India stands for the total elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy in order to secure economic independence. All industrial concerns, financial and business enterprises owned by foreign monopolies—oil, tea plantations, jute mills, etc.—will be nationalized.

It demands an immediate ban on remittance of profits, dividends, royalties, etc., and repatriation of foreign capital and moratorium on all debt repayments.

The Communist Party of India stands at present for taking over by the state all export-import trade. Along with this, in order rapidly to reduce our dependence on the world imperialist market and to save the country from imperialist exploitation through non-equivalent exchange, progressive planned diversion of our foreign trade towards the socialist states and Afro-Asian countries is necessary. It is also necessary to see that all

trade is conducted as far as possible on a rupee basis.

The Communist Party of India stands also for organizing and rapidly developing the movement for self-reliance and import substitution, enlisting the full cooperation of our scientists, technicians, intelligentsia and the trade unions, and for compulsory employment and utilization of Indian know-how by Indian industry.

2. Curb monopolies

Effective measures to curb the monopolists and to break up in particular the 75 monopoly houses exposed in the Monopolies Commission Report are necessary.

With that end in view, some sections of private industry and capital must be taken over by the state immediately.

Coal-mining, non-ferrous metals like copper and zinc, and electricity must also be in the hands of the state, as also the manufacture of cars and trucks since they are needed not only for civilian use but also for the army.

The medium and small-scale industrialists will get all the help they need without waiting at the doors of the bureaucrats or losing the cream of their gains to the overriding monopolists.

Reasonable compensation will be paid on the merits of each case. The Communist Party wants to make it clear that it does not think that all industries and trade can or should be nationalized at the present stage of development.

3. Nationalization of banks

The entire financial capital, accumulated in the banks and now used according to the will of the millionaires for their private gain, must be brought under the most effective state control and planning. For this purpose, all banks must be nationalized.

4. Close speculative markets and exchanges

The speculative markets and exchanges, whether in shares, bullion or commodities, are the worst disturbers of the economy and will be eliminated.

5. Resources for development

Resources for national development must be raised through such means as nationalization of banks, earnings from nationalized foreign trade, state-trading, by mopping up the accumulated wealth of the monopolists and former princes, by stopping the payment of compensation to the big landlords and cancellation of privy purses by unearthing black money, by more efficient running of the state-owned industries, by drastically reducing wasteful top-heavy administrative expenditure and by further improving trade and other economic relations with the socialist countries.

6. Tax relief for the people

The Communist Party stands for overhauling the entire present tax-structure which fleeces the poor, hits and harasses the middle sections and allows the wealthy all avenues of escape and evasion. The Communist Party demands that land revenue should be abolished and replaced by a steeply graded tax on agricultural incomes, with exemption for all uneconomic holdings.

7. Democratize and reorganize the public sector.

The Communist Party of India stands for a comprehensive program of rapid industrial development in which the public sector must have the commanding positions and the capital-goods industries pride of place. The public sector must be democratized and the ICS and IAS officials, who carry with them their obsolete rules and often sabotaging practices, must be replaced by suitable technical personnel. Production and pricing policies will be radically changed, enlisting the cooperation of the trade unions so that the public sector becomes an effective weapon for curbing and fighting monopoly.

The Communist Party demands that the state sector be rapidly expanded and become the dominant sector of our economy in all branches.

8. Management and trade unions

A conference of all the trade unions, unit-wise and industry-wise, will discuss the problems of production and make concrete proposals and undertake fulfilment of tasks as democratically decided by them. The management will participate in these conferences and make suggestions.

Then the execution and fulfilment will be a joint responsibility, with the technical managerial head being the day-to-day authority in execution.

There is at present only supervision of the workers by the boss. There is no supervision of the boss by the workers. Unless the two are combined, the present chaos and sabotage cannot be overcome. This combination alone will stop corruption and root out the agents of the imperialists, the CIA and others who sabotage production, as transpired in the Ranchi Plant fires, or as is happening in the case of many railway accidents.

All trade union rights and laws must be scrupulously observed.

9. Workers' conditions and rights

The working class will be assured the minimum need-based wage as agreed upon in the tripartite agreement and wages and working conditions will be decided on a national and industrial level by means of collective bargaining between unions and employers. The

right to strike will be guaranteed and democratically exercised and the category of so-called illegal strikes abolished.

All unions will be asked to find ways and means of uniting in one organization, which will have full rights of recognition.

The state will introduce new legislation or improve existing laws, as the case may be, to ensure proper linking of dearness allowance with the cost-of-living index, rightful share of the workers in profit as bonus, unemployment insurance, improvement of social security schemes, including a gratuity scheme for retirement, etc.

All schemes of automation will be subject to the decisions of the workers' organizations who will be asked to show ways and means of reorganizing work and speeding it up without unemployment or increase in the work load, and ensuring human safety as in transport, aeronautics, atomic research, etc.

10. Peasantry, agriculture and food production

Our country is in the grip of an acute and chronic food crisis. The first and foremost requirement to solve the problem of food production and raw materials is to enforce effective and far-reaching land reforms which would break up the present land concentration, give full security of ownership and tenure to actual cultivators, share-croppers or otherwise.

All surplus land secured by imposing a ceiling on holdings should be distributed among agricultural laborers and poor peasants. The burden of onerous rents and survivals of the feudal past will be done away with.

Along with the implementation of these agrarian reforms, the peasantry should be provided in an adequate measure with the wherewithal to improve and develop production on modern lines, by provision of cheap and adequate credit, machines and tractors, fertilizers, irrigation, fuel supply and fair price for the produce.

The present system of land taxation should be thoroughly overhauled in order to strengthen the capacity of the peasantry to invest more in land.

Agricultural Laborers: Agricultural laborers who form quite a large percentage of the rural population are economically the worst exploited sections of our society. The majority, belonging as they do to the scheduled castes are also subjected to social oppression by high castes in various walks of life. This section of society has to be given the maximum consideration by the government in all matters relating to their economic, social and cultural life. The agricultural laborers must

be ensured decent living wages and proper conditions of life and work.

11. Uneven development and the states

The demarcation of linguistic states, a principle accepted by the Congress long ago as a necessary corollary of democracy and wantonly violated by it at the behest of exploiting interests, is now more or less accomplished. Some areas of injustice and conflicts have still been kept to divide the people. All internal problems of border disputes must be solved by faithfully adhering to the triple principle of linguistic and cultural homogeneity, geographical contiguity and taking the village as the unit, not *tehsil* or *taluk* or district which were mostly created in the old days according to the convenience of the British.

Following the growth of monopoly capital and concentration of industry and capital in a few hands, in certain regions a demand for removal of regional disparities arising from the unevenness of capitalist development by a democratic and balanced plan of development has gathered momentum. This just demand for removal of disparities in location of new industries and investments is, however, used by the various sections of the bourgeoisie and the factions of the ruling party for their own aggrandizement. The Communist Party stands for effective measures to reduce and overcome regional disparities and help the industrially backward states and regions to forge ahead.

12. Tribal problems

India has many tribal societies at different levels of growth. The capitalist-dominated economy and administration of the Congress Party has ruined their ancient organization without giving them a better one, or even of the kind that the rest of the country has. Hence, there is general revolt among them, such as among the Nagas, the Mizos, the Gonds, etc., which again the government seeks to suppress with the use of armed force.

The Communist Party of India has always held that the key to the solution of the problem of the tribal peoples lies not in military suppression and police terror but in conferring upon them autonomous statehood wherever possible or regional autonomy, depending upon their size, area they live in, etc., which would open further their own avenues of employment, education, culture and democratic advancement in all fields.

13. Languages

Abolition of English and the introduction of Hindi as the all-India official link language shall be done in a gradual manner, with the consent of non-Hindi speaking states; full encouragement and development of the regional

mother-tongues will be ensured in the states for all purposes including education up to the university stage.

14. Muslim and other minorities

Muslims, who constitute the second biggest community in India and occupy a distinctive place in our national life, shall be guaranteed full protection in regard to their specific cultural, social and religious rights. Every form of discrimination against the minorities, whether in recruitment to government services, in trade and commerce and administration or in the sphere of educational and cultural development must be ended.

Communalism in India is a serious danger to our democracy, freedom and progress and as such must be ruthlessly combated and conditions created to give both the majority and minority communities equal rights and opportunities to grow and flourish together as inseparable, integral parts of one Indian nation.

15. Scheduled castes

Large sections of our people officially described as scheduled castes continue to suffer humiliation in all spheres of life, whether in services, trade, education, political status or social and personal equality. Of course, laws have been passed against untouchability and all Congress leaders speak against it. But in actual life it still exists, though not in the old virulent form. In the factories and towns it is less so, but it survives quite strongly in the villages.

Millions of person belonging to the so-called scheduled castes embraced Buddhism. In many places, they have given up claiming special privileges as scheduled castes. All this however should not mean that the state should not give them special help to overcome their backward conditions of living, work and education, and due place in services.

16. Casteism and class unity

The Communist Party of India believes that a strong ideological campaign and education attacking and eradicating the very roots of casteist thinking in all layers of the society and especially the working class is the prime duty of all progressive and socialist forces. Remnants of caste are a hindrance to the solidarity of the working class as the standard bearer of the future society of democracy, equality and socialism.

17. Clean up the state machine

In order to ensure rapid and faithful implementation of urgently-needed democratic reforms, the first step will be to clean up and overhaul the state administration.

With this end in view, the parliamentary system will be strengthened in form and substance by bringing it increasingly close to the

democratic urges and aspirations of the masses and extending democracy in all spheres of the state.

The useless, wasteful and parasitic institution of the Governor, as also the paraphernalia of the upper chamber, will be abolished.

Proportional representation shall be introduced in all elections so that public opinion is duly reflected in the elected bodies and the monopoly of power for any single party based on minority of votes is ended once and for all. All the legislators shall be subject to recall to ensure their accountability to the electors and assert the latter's supremacy over those whom they may elect.

All the old British-trained ICS officers who are still in service will be forthwith retired and pensioned off.

However, those who have shown a patriotic and democratic approach in their work will be given useful employment in order to utilize their abilities.

A top-heavy highly-paid government apparatus will be drastically pruned without causing unemployment and salaries scaled down to around Rs. 1,000.

Police administration will be reformed and handed over to the local elected organs of the people.

Long-term political prisoners languishing behind prison bars for many years shall be immediately released, unexecuted warrants and pending cases shall be annulled and political vendetta against those valiant leaders of the people shall be ended.

18. Education

The educational system even after 19 years of Congress rule has not yet been radically changed to meet the needs of a developing India. The burden of fees and price of textbooks has become unbearable for the ordinary student, and not all who are lucky enough to get through their higher education find a living or a job.

When the student rebels against this the ruling party tries to silence him with police repressions. It even proposes to invest the heads of educational institutions with police powers. The sanctity of educational institutions and the dignity of teachers and students are violated.

The Communist Party of India therefore stands for:

—Free and compulsory education up to secondary stage for all boys and girls and total reorganization of the entire education system to suit the needs of a modern industrial India and reduce cost of education, with provision for adequate salaries for the teaching staff, provision for industrial training for workers, ensuring the democratic rights of

students and freedom of the academic bodies from police interference.

19. Women

In order to liberate women who are doubly oppressed—by the rule of capital and by evils inherited from feudalism such as disabilities and unequal treatment on the basis of sex—it is necessary to take all measures to ensure them equal rights in every sphere of our national life including inheritance of property; maternity benefits, creches and other amenities; equal pay for equal work; special facilities in education, including higher and technical education.

20. Protection of cattle

Under Article 48 of the Constitution of India (directive principles) the state is required to take steps "for preserving and improving the breeds and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle" for the promotion of "agriculture and animal husbandry," which the Party supports.

At the same time, the Communist Party cannot support the demand for a total ban without discrimination throughout the country on slaughter of cattle as this demand is unscientific, harmful and against the interests of the poor peasant himself.

The present agitation for a ban on cow-slaughter is conducted in a manner which is repugnant to the concept of India as a secular and multi-religious state. This agitation creates an atmosphere of hysteria and intolerance, harms the unity of the democratic masses, and goes against the social habits of minority communities like Muslims, Christians and other sections. Further, this agitation in its present form is utilized by imperialist and reactionary forces to divert the people's anti-Congress wrath into wrong and disruptive channels. The Communist Party warns the people against falling victim to this conspiracy.

21. The armed forces

The armed forces of our country, both the ranks and the officer-cadre, are drawn from all the states and in a way represent the federal unity of India. In the recent conflict they have shown patriotism, skill and heroism.

But still retained in the defense forces are many of the inhibitions, nuances and anti-democratic and obsolete practices of the old imperial army. India has yet to build her armed forces with a national-democratic ideology, imbued with pride in our great nation and equipped with Indian-made weaponry. Our top officers and cadres still carry the imprint of the British Sandhurst imperial army training.

Our soldier-jawan must be allowed to become a citizen and defender, democrat and

army-man, combined in one, in ideology, outlook and culture. More sons of the working class, peasantry and middle class must be promoted to ranks of officer and command corps. Such an army alone can be a mighty bulwark of peace and democracy and national independence.

22. Defense, taxes and profits

Our party supports the strengthening of the defense of our country. At the same time, it is opposed to levying unconscionable taxes on the toiling people in the name of defense. Defense expenditure has become the source of high profits for many and the utility value of every rupee spent on so-called defense is far less than it ought to be, because in the capitalist system the life of the jawan and the defense of the country are also made into a source of private profit and graft, which ultimately spells danger to the whole nation.

23. Foreign policy

The Congress Government generally pursues a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism which should serve to strengthen independence and give her international prestige.

But it is accompanied by vacillations and compromises under the pressure of Anglo-American blackmail. In recent times, it has made a series of concessions which weaken and undermine these policies and in particular emasculate their anti-imperialist content.

The new escalation of aggressive activities by imperialism, particularly by U.S. imperialism, demands that our non-alignment policy be strengthened and firmly based on active and consistent anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism particularly in regard to the following questions:

—full support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnam people against U.S. aggression, effective action together with other non-aligned powers to halt the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam and recognition of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front as the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people;

—granting diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic which is a factor for peace and against West German revanchism;

—safeguard the Tashkent spirit, work for the further realization of normal relations between India and Pakistan;

—despite the continued hostile attitude of China, it is in the interest of the Indian people and the country as a whole to explore all avenues for a peaceful settlement with China either directly or through the good offices of

friendly neutral powers and propose a no-war pact to China.

—India should quit the British Commonwealth.

24. Parliament

The Congress Party is trying to rule more and more by the use of force, bypassing even the well-established ways of parliamentary institutions and the constitutional rights of the people. The Congress Government has been rightly accused by eminent jurists of tending to become a constitutional dictatorship." The Communist Party will fight such subversion of India's nascent parliamentary system. It will try to make parliamentary democracy a genuine instrument of national democracy, reflecting the will and interests of the masses and all other anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and democratic forces.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA APPEALS

In recent years, as in the past, the Communist Party of India has been in the forefront of all struggles to uphold the independence, honor and integrity of our nation. Our Party has been second to none in organizing heroic

economic and political mass actions of the working people throughout the country for the defense of their vital rights and interests, against plunder and oppression by the ruling classes. In this our party has never faltered or spared any sacrifice. Members of our party have faced police bullets and suffered imprisonment in their hundreds all over the country. Our party's record has been one of unflagging devotion to our great cause and of ungrudging suffering for the good of our people. It is this credential of humble but fearless service that gives us the title to claim the support of our people in the coming election.

To build a new India of the dreams of our martyrs and of the living generations and to fulfil the challenging task of the new era in the service of the toiling millions of our country, of its independence, its democracy, its economic rejuvenation and its all-round prosperity, its cultural, scientific and spiritual values, resting on world peace, freedom, democracy and socialism, the Party appeals to the people of India that the candidates of the CPI and its allies be elected everywhere.

The wage movement in Canada

A. DEWHURST

THE CURRENT WAGE movement in Canada reached a particularly high level during the summer months of 1966. William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party, described it as representing a powerful upsurge in rank and file action in the working class movement which this country has not witnessed for many a year.

Commencing in the winter of 1964-65 the wage movement gained momentum in 1966. In January 1966, there were 66 strikes, in March 90, in July 108, in August 132 strikes involving 216,080 workers and accounting for a time loss of 968,260 man-days. The August figure contrasts sharply with the strike record for the *entire* year of 1963 when there was a total of 332 strikes involving 74,332 workers with a time loss of 917,140 man-days.

Workers involved in contract negotiations and strikes during 1965-66 included white-collar as well as industrial workers, and covered almost every section of the economy—the major manufacturing industries, all branches of transport, civil servants and municipal employees, miners and woodworkers, non-medical hospital employees, brewery workers and barmen, steel and construction workers and others.

The movement is not only outstanding in respect to number of strikes, numbers of workers involved and industries affected; it is marked also by a high degree of militancy which is expressed equally by manual and white-collar employees alike.

SHARP RISE IN LIVING COSTS

A number of factors account for the mili-

tancy. First and foremost is the sharp rise in the cost of living. The official cost-of-living index places the rise as being 5.5 points, from 139.4 in August 1965 to 144.9 in August 1966. Breaking this down to the biggest spending items on workers' budgets: food prices increased by 10.3 points, and rents by 16.0 points.

The interest rate on bank loans was by law raised from the former six per cent annually to seven per cent. This increase will find reflection in the whole consumer credit structure, including house mortgages. Consumer credit, mainly for time purchases, as of last summer stood at \$6.42 billion. To this must be added mortgages, mainly on dwelling houses, amounting to \$1.84 billion. (DBS statistics).

In addition to the major costs items of working class budgets there is the constantly rising tax burden imposed by three levels of government; i.e., federal, provincial and municipal. Direct personal income taxes now make up almost half of the state income. In 1939 this tax made up 15.9 per cent of the federal tax revenues; in 1962 it yielded 41.5 per cent. The largest portion of this tax is collected as a wage tax. Then there are provincial retail sales taxes ranging from three to five per cent of purchase prices. Municipal taxation, levied mainly on real property (land and buildings), is constantly rising in accordance with general price increases and civic service demands which include education. These taxes bear directly on working class families either on privately-owned housing or as a hidden component of rental charges.

RISE IN PROFITS AND PRODUCTIVITY

A second factor bearing on the wage movement is the record of profit-taking by the monopolies as compared to wage increases. Figures released by the Canadian Labor Congress show that corporation profits in the period 1961-65 had a general increase of 67 per cent. In the same period the general rise in wages was only 16 per cent. The biggest monopolized industries are all reporting record profits for the first six months of 1966. Dividend payments are up 13 per cent over the year-earlier period.

Reported profits, however, do not tell the whole story. Trust and sinking funds, research foundations and other devices siphon off many millions in undisclosed profits, while at the same time serving to rob the public treasury in escaped taxation. Other large sums are paid out to company executives in the form of bonuses charged against company operations as a legitimate expense. For instance, Ford (Canada and U.S.) paid out \$52.3 million in such bonuses in 1965, up 34 per cent over 1964.

A third factor is the rapid rise in the rate of exploitation of the working force which accompanies the introduction of ever-more modern production methods. Official productivity (per man-hour) figures show a rise of 83.3 per cent in productivity over the past 15 years. This average figure tends to cover up the real picture for it lumps together the production results achieved by the highly monopolized branches of industry with the most backward. For instance, over the past ten years the auto industry has doubled its production per employee.

WAGE DEMANDS AND GAINS

In these conditions the wage movement assumes two aims. The immediate one is to catch up with the price rise. The second is a striving for an increase in real wages. This second aim is based on the documented knowledge that improved production methods and profitability make possible an improvement in living. As a result economic demands include not only substantial wage demands; they include also a number of other monetary demands upon employers in respect to medicare, retirement pensions, more paid statutory holidays, longer paid vacation periods, and training and retraining with pay.

Monetary gains won in 1966 in terms of wages and fringe benefits have been substantial, reaching a high of 35 and 30 per cent over a two year period. While these are not typical, they have influenced other major

settlements. Government figures for the first half of 1966 show that major settlements signed provided for money gains of 15.4 per cent over two years.

LONGER-TERM AIMS

Besides the economic demands of the movement, other demands of a longer-term nature and of a decidedly democratic character are playing an important role.

First, is the demand of the right of a worker to his job. For despite good wage settlements, the still continuing high level of business activity and the relatively low level (for Canada) of unemployment of 3.5 per cent, there exists a real feeling of job insecurity amongst the workers. This fear arises mainly as a result of the role and way in which mechanization and automation are being introduced into industry, changes invariably accompanied by worker redundancy. The democratic demand of the right of the worker to his job finds expression at the bargaining table in such points as: the employer to consult with the unions before introducing automated machinery, in re-scheduling work loads, and in long-term production planning; and for worker training and re-training at full wages. In 1965 striking oil-workers forced the oil companies to include provisions in the union contract along these lines. Meat packinghouse workers did likewise in 1966.

The deep concern of the workers with the problem of job security was highlighted during last year's general strike of railroad workers because of impending railway line abandonment and longer rail runs. The parliamentary and public debate around the strike showed how strongly *all* unions support the right of workers to job security. The report of a government commission (the Freedman Commission) which investigated the effects of an attempted railway run-through in 1964 concluded that management should consult with employees before making technological changes that affect them materially, and that management has an obligation to minimize and provide compensation for the adverse effects of such changes. Commenting on the reaction of the trade unions to the Freedman report, a well-known financial consultant publicly warned businessmen that the report's conclusions have, understandably, become enshrined in Labor's own particular bill of rights.

The second longer term demand of the trade unions is for the right to bargain collectively and to strike *during the term of a collective agreement*. This right, presently

denied by law, is of particular importance in these days of fast-changing production techniques. Serving to emphasize its importance is the fact that many union agreements run for two, and some for three and even four years. Many employers planning the introduction of new production methods or automated machinery deliberately delay these changes pending the conclusion of a new agreement. By such sharp practice the workers are, by law, denied the possibility to protect their legitimate interests which are adversely affected by production changes in the form of heavier work loads and reductions in the size of the work force. Herein lies one of the chief causes of the "wildcat" strikes.

Shielded by the unjust laws prohibiting strikes during the life of a collective agreement, the employers are able to assert their claim of having the sole right, by the fact of ownership, of determining working conditions not specifically limited by the union agreement or restricted by law. This concept, termed by the employers as "managements' residual rights," is upheld by all courts of law and by most arbitrators of labor-management disputes. Workers and their unions have no choice but to challenge such an outmoded concept. This challenge is made when they demand the right of a worker to his job, or the right to negotiate technological change introduced during the life of a collective agreement, or for a say in scheduling work loads and in programming production.

The struggle for the abolition of laws barring strikes during the life of a collective agreement is a political one which does not end with the conclusion of collective agreements. For, contract provisions that deal with the introduction of new production methods which have already been won must be backed up with the right to strike during the life of the agreement in order to have real meaning. This element which played a role in the current wage movement will undoubtedly grow in importance as an integral part of future wage struggles.

THE ANTI-INJUNCTION FIGHT

The fight of the trade unions for the democratic right to picket without court restriction enforced by police violence is a burning issue in the organized labor movement at the present time. For, the right to unrestricted picketing, which is fundamental to the wage movement, is under severe employer attack.

The favored method is to emasculate a picket line by securing a court injunction limiting the number of pickets and the scope

of their activities. Once such an injunction is granted the employer can mount strike breaking action against the workers under the protection of the courts and the police. There are two types of injunction. The first is the *ex parte* (temporary) injunction which prohibits mass picketing and is granted immediately upon application by the employer and without the judge hearing argument against it from the side of the union. This type of injunction is good for four days while the applicant prepares his case to make the injunction permanent for the duration of the dispute. This later application is argued in court with the union contesting. However, by this time the employer has had the crucial first four days in which to resume operations with strike-breakers usually recruited prior to the commencement of the strike.

The anti-injunction fight began with individual unions taking up the cudgels in defense of the democratic right to picket. Some of these local struggles, while being heroically fought, suffered defeat because of the forces arrayed against them and the lack of sufficient official trade union support. In other cases where the local trade union leaders and the rank and file spoke with the same voice, many ingenious methods were devised to mount massive picket-lines supported by brother unions and the broad labor movement. In such cases victories were won. Early in 1966 mass picket-lines were officially mounted by the trade union movement in support of striking workers who had injunctions served against them. In one case, a strike of newspaper employees, a smashing victory was won. In two other cases, 35 leaders of the mass picket-lines, some of them quite prominent unionists, were arrested and jailed for defiance of the law.

The fight against injunctions serves to help weld labor unity on a wide scale as fellow unionists and brother unions rally in mutual support and aid.

The anti-injunction fight assumed national proportions when the Canadian Labor Congress, the country's largest trade union body, adopted in convention last summer a program which committed its leaders, provincial federations and affiliated unions to: a) engage in a vigorous militant campaign to eliminate the use of injunctions in labor disputes; b) challenge injunctions wherever and whenever they are granted; c) organize systems of mutual aid for trade unions and members affected by the use of injunctions; d) promote legislative, political and other activities in opposition to the use of injunctions in labor disputes. The CLC followed up its convention action by convening a national conference in

October, 1966 to examine what further steps should be taken to develop the fight against injunctions.

The national campaign to end the use of injunctions in labor disputes is being developed in a serious manner. For the temper of the workers is such that they are prepared to defy injunctions and they demand an equally militant stand on the part of their leaders, some of whom tend towards collaboration with the employers. What is at stake in this fight is the creation of more favorable conditions for waging the struggle for economic advance and the protection and extension of workers' rights in the face of monopoly opposition.

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTIONS

The current wage movement has witnessed a growing tendency for the federal government and various provincial governments, acting in their capacity as agencies of state-monopoly capital and outside of regular labor department procedures of conciliation and mediation, directly to intervene in the settlement of wage disputes. Settlements achieved as a result of these government interventions were not all unfavorable to the workers. In the case of Quebec dockers the settlement was for a rise of 80 cents in hourly wages over two years. Such settlements no doubt reflected in part the desires of the governments concerned to enhance their public images whilst being concerned to cover up the real nature of their interventions. For such interventions, favorable or otherwise to the workers, signal a dangerous tendency for governments to take a direct hand in regulating wages and working conditions on a national scale in the service of the general interests of monopoly.

The most ominous measure being introduced by government for state regulation of workers' incomes and conditions of work is the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. This measure is being introduced in a piecemeal manner. To break the railway strike the federal government caused Parliament to enact an emergency Bill to compel the workers to resume work and for the dispute to be referred to arbitration, the findings of which are to be compulsory. To soften the blow and to appease public opinion the Bill provided for the companies (one of which is government-owned) to pay an interim wage increase of 18 per cent over two years. Thus around the concrete case of the railway strike, the principle of compulsory arbitration has been endorsed by Parliament. Last September the provincial parliament of Saskatchewan en-

acted a Bill providing for compulsory arbitration without appeal in disputes involving workers providing essential public services and the employees of hospital and other like institutions. This Bill was patterned on an earlier Bill adopted by the Ontario provincial parliament. (Ontario is the biggest and most important industrial province.)

The stated aim of the government in intervening in wage disputes and for the introduction of compulsory arbitration for railway workers, is to protect the present high level of business activity and to curb inflationary tendencies. The Minister of Finance has stated that if a reasonable degree of price stability is to be maintained then the increase in wages should not exceed four to five per cent a year. He threatened that he would ensure that the unions should lower their sights, either voluntarily or otherwise. If forced, the government would, he said, aim at a lower level of employment in order to avoid inflation. He then called upon management to end "the spiral of wage and price increases" by hard bargaining and some risks of strikes even if such strikes may cause some harm to both private and public interests.

SOME ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FACTORS

The Canadian economy is, to an alarming degree, integrated with that of the USA. This integration means that, either directly or indirectly, Canadian production is heavily committed to the U.S. war production. Thus U.S. wartime prices find an almost immediate reflection in Canada. Consequently U.S. economic pressures arising from its Vietnam aggression, plus monopoly price-rigging and profit-taking in Canada, combine to threaten the country with inflation. Yet the government refuses to take the logical steps of reducing the military budget, curbing profits and imposing price controls which could effectively halt inflationary tendencies threatening to get out of hand. It refuses to do so because big business interests are opposed to such measures and the democratic pressure is as yet not strong enough to compel such action.

Monopoly opposition to price controls is one of the main reasons why the government seeks to find an alternate method of regulating wages and working conditions other than through direct government controls. The better method, in the opinion of the government's advisers, is a national system of compulsory arbitration which could more or less fix national wage levels in line with

government policy. Another important reason why the government hesitates to have legislation enacted to regulate wages is its minority position in Parliament. The government is weakened further by policy divisions of a "right" and "left" character in the ruling Liberal Party. The official opposition Conservative Party has its policy divisions as well. Besides some real differences in respect to the development of the economy and social matters relating thereto there are important tactical considerations confronting these two parties which have a bearing on the next general elections. Policy relating to the regulation of wages and prices as well as to the measure of social improvements has to be weighed up by the government in terms of voter appeal vis-à-vis itself and the opposition. And by far not the least important factor that must be taken into account in this respect by both the Liberal and Conservative parties is that the reform party, the New Democratic Party, last year polled 1.3 million votes out of the 7.5 million cast. Enhancing the challenging position of the NDP is the fact that it enjoys the official endorsement of the Canadian Labor Congress and the affiliation of many important trade unions. Its 21 members in Parliament where no party has a majority speak for the progressive opposition in the country.

THE MOVEMENT BROADENS

Meanwhile the wage movement continues on a high level. Autoworkers, whose strikes in the winter of 1964-65 helped to launch the current movement, are again in negotiations. One of their main demands is for wage parity with U.S. autoworkers who work for the same companies as do Canadian workers. It should be noted in passing that the auto companies enjoy a free market in autos and auto parts between Canada and the USA which constitutes a favorable factor for Canadian autoworkers in achieving wage parity. However it can be expected that the auto companies will vigorously oppose the principle of wage parity, for wage parity would be a blow against the special profit-making position of U.S.-owned industries in Canada.

Joining with organized labor with their own special income demands are the farmers (including practically all categories). There are mounting signs of the possibility of non-delivery strikes by milk and grain farmers for increased prices for their products. The farmers are caught in what they term the "cost-price squeeze." In 1964, the federal index of farm costs rose 2.3 per cent in the year while the index of farm produce prices de-

clined by 1.3 per cent. Estimating the farmer's labor at \$1 an hour, the Farmers' Union concludes that the average Ontario farmer receives a net \$472 yearly as a return, exclusive of the wage allowance of \$2,698 and capital loan retirement and interest charges, on an average capital investment in land and machinery of \$50,000. Another survey showed that the farmer gets only 38 cents for each dollar spent by the consumers for food products.

In 1965 Quebec farmers staged a big demonstration at the Quebec parliament buildings followed up with tractor blockades on the highways in support of their demand for lower land taxes. Last year Ontario farmers secured 40,000 signatures to a petition demanding an increase in the government-guaranteed price of milk. Two tractor demonstrations supported by marchers at the Ontario Parliament buildings were carried through in the spring and summer of 1966. Last fall grain farmers in the prairie provinces, with record crops and a buoyant export market, were forced to consider calling a non-delivery strike to fight back against high land taxes and the cost-price squeeze.

Housewives all across the country have organized to fight back against government policies which allow monopoly to manipulate prices at will. The government and members of parliament have been deluged by letters and petitions demanding government intervention to stop the price increases. Mass picketing is a form chosen to back up the demand for a boycott of the big food chain stores in public protest against high prices.

COMMUNIST PARTY DEMANDS

In this situation the Communist Party accuses the Canadian government of cynical disregard for the real facts and of using the danger of inflation as an excuse to delay medicare, abandon student scholarships, curtail public works and research, while ignoring the real sources of inflationary pressures such as profiteering, price gouging, the U.S. war in Vietnam and the arms program in Canada. The Party condemns the arbitrary slowing down of economic expansion and curtailing expenditures on housing and construction. It criticizes sharply the government call for restraint, when the only restraint it imposes is on the working people striving to catch up with rising prices, rising productivity and profits and who seek a growing share of the wealth they produce. The statement criticizes also the government's proposal to impose a compulsory savings plan on the people.

Canada, the party statement declares, needs

an anti-inflation program that will: 1) ensure planned, steady independent development and economic expansion; 2) restrain the profiteers and price gougers by placing a ceiling on profits and a freeze on prices, increase corporate taxes, and establish a Prices Review Board with labor, farmer and consumer representation; 3) curtail unnecessary government expenditures starting with the arms program and the U.S. war in Vietnam; 4) increase purchasing power through substantial wage increases as well as by implementing medicare and student scholarships now; 5) stop the proposed compulsory savings plan, secure additional government revenue out of high incomes and capital gains; 6) institute genuine collective bargaining, guarantee to all working people the right to strike; 7) insure that workers and their unions have a say on technological changes as well as on production, economic policy, investment and trade.

It should be noted that the present wage movement has not been able to solve important questions facing the working class which are growing as a result of the introduction of technological changes in the production

process. Nor has it been able to put an end to the use of court injunctions in labor disputes. Or of reversing the trend to limit collective bargaining through the introduction of compulsory arbitration. However, the current wage movement, which is making substantial money gains as well as winning inclusion of protective clauses against the effects of technological changes in some union agreements, is serving to advance the day when favorable solutions will be achieved.

The longer-term demands which have moved strongly to the fore cannot be solved through collective bargaining alone. Political solutions are needed as well. An intensification of working class political activity merging with the developing actions of the farmers and housewives would strengthen the hand of the progressive members in Parliament, and facilitate the winning of governmental policies to protect the people's welfare, halt the erosion of living standards by inflation, profiteering and price-gouging, and reverse the dangerous tendencies now evident in the economy pointing toward economic crisis and mass unemployment.

Africa: National and Social Revolution

In this issue we continue publication of the papers read at the seminar "Africa: National and Social Revolution" held in Cairo over October 24-29, 1966, and attended by scholars and political leaders from 25 African progressive and revolutionary parties and other organizations.

Below we print excerpts pertaining to the African revolution as part of the world revolutionary process and showing how this process has been influenced by the October Revolution in Russia, the 50th anniversary of which will be celebrated this year.

The African revolution — component of the world revolutionary process

MAC LAURIN

MODERN HISTORY is a long succession of conflicts, some open, others concealed, but all invariably dramatic, between oppressed peoples and classes, on the one hand, and their oppressors, on the other—a record of successes and defeats for these peoples and oppressed classes in the fight against their oppressors, a fight which adds up to the world revolutionary process. The fact that the successes vary in magnitude, assume different forms and often are remote from one another in space and time frequently conceals the logical and political interlocking in the ever-lengthening chain of history leading Man towards its ultimate goal—a society in which all will be free, happy and equal.

The world revolutionary process entered upon its decisive phase when the question was posed of abolishing the entire system of exploitation. This happened in October 1917. For the first time in history the oppressed classes of a country took over power and began to build a new kind of state presaging the future of humanity as a whole.

Previous revolutions, such as the French revolution of 1789, for instance, posed the question of the emancipation of the individual. But even when the bourgeoisie of countries that had engaged in the slave trade (Britain and France) declared for freedom for the slaves, it reserved the right to oppress other peoples and to continue colonial plun-

der over vast areas (Latin America, Asia and Africa).

In the 19th century the world revolutionary process acquired its own theorists in the persons of Marx and Engels. But at the time the slogan "Workers of all lands, unite!" directly applied only to the technologically most advanced part of the world whose class structure was the main object of Marx's research. In those years proletarians were to be found only in limited areas, and because of this Marxist revolutionary theory had less bearing on the masses in those parts of our planet which today are called—though not quite correctly—the third world.

After the October Revolution in 1917 the world revolutionary process acquired a new and broader connotation of unity as exemplified by the slogan: "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!" Because of this Lenin is for all peoples a towering figure in the revolutionary movement and in the process of world development in general.

The new relationships which crystallized between the formerly oppressed peoples of the Tsarist empire and Soviet Russia created both in theory and in practice a prototype of the future relationships between all nations, big and small, of the world. *The USSR developed into a great power which defeated fascism, weakened imperialism, and created the conditions for the rise of the socialist world system and for an unprecedented growth of the revolutionary forces throughout the world.*

Since then the advance of the world revolutionary process has been marked by signal triumphs. The Chinese Revolution, the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the emergence of Cuba as the cradle of socialism in the Americas, the winning of national independence by the peoples of most Asian and African countries, and the momentous achievements of the international working class are some of the landmarks in the revolutionary reconstruction of our world.

By unleashing the Second World War imperialism accelerated its own downfall. For, despite the devastation and sacrifices, the progressive forces everywhere were able to strengthen their unity. And after victory the conditions emerged for changing the balance of forces on the international arena.

There is no doubt that the African revolutionary movement gained enormously from these changes.

The people of Algeria gained national independence after eight years of war during which the Algerian question deeply stirred the entire world revolutionary movement. The vast majority of African countries won

liberation through political struggle marked by countless sacrifices (Um Nyobé, Moumié, Lumumba) and heroism but which did not take the form of war against the colonial powers. The reason why there was no such war was not that the imperialists were any more humane in 1960 than they had been in 1947, when in Madagascar, for instance, they slaughtered 90,000 people rather than make the slightest change in the machinery of oppression. The reason was that the overall development of the popular political struggle throughout the world in 1955-60 enabled the people of Africa to deal a decisive blow to imperialism, which had suffered a resounding defeat ten years earlier at the hands of the Chinese revolutionaries, who abolished the oppression which had ground down their country since time immemorial.

Whatever the policy pursued by the newly independent African countries, the very act of their gaining independence and the national and international consequences following therefrom all add up to a victory for the world revolutionary movement. This is at once the contribution made by the peoples of Africa to the revolutionary process and a consequence of this process.

An important role in smashing the colonial system was played by the organizations of the working class in the imperialist countries which took an active part in the struggles that completed the first stage of the African revolution. The example of such a great liberation movement as the African Democratic Union and its relationships both with the French working class (the General Confederation of Labor and the Communist Party) and with the international democratic trade union movement (the World Federation of Trade Unions) shows the extent to which the African revolution was in contact with the world revolutionary movement.

This solidarity of the revolutionary forces in the world with the African revolution is not a transient thing. It is a manifestation of the global character of the world revolutionary process. Imperialism knows this full well. By its long succession of criminal acts—first the attempts to crush the Russian revolution and then the policy which led directly to the Second World War with the aim of destroying socialism; the current rearming of West Germany and the organization of provocations against the socialist countries; the attempts to isolate China and the war of aggression in Vietnam; the murder of Lumumba and the overthrow of the government of President Nkrumah; the threats to Guinea and the blockade of Cuba—all show that imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, is fully

aware of the nature of the contemporary revolutionary movement as a continuous, indivisible chain of revolutionary transformation. The African revolution is a link in this chain.

This continuity is not always easy to discern and understand. At one time—due to the systematic imperialist propaganda which, in order to isolate our African revolutionary movement, skillfully capitalizes on some of its features, such, for instance, as the originality and uniqueness of African culture and political life—it was denied that any such inter-connection existed.

As the various components of the world revolutionary process are brought into motion, the process as a whole develops unevenly, experiences ebb and flow. *At the first stage following the Second World War the African revolutionary movement surged to the crest of the wave caused by the action of all the progressive forces of the world;* this determined both the external conditions and the forms of the political and military battles fought at the time.

Imperialism, having suffered defeat in the cold war of its own making, had to agree in principle to peaceful coexistence with socialism. It suffered defeats in Korea and Vietnam. And it suffered a set-back in Africa, where, hard pressed by the peoples fighting for their lawful rights, it had to grant independence to many countries.

But imperialism has not become reconciled to its fate. It continues to commit acts of aggression and to plunder peoples which it believes are on the peripheries of the world revolutionary movement, at the fringes of the world revolutionary process. If it no longer harbors illusions as to the possibility of destroying the Soviet Union and the other European socialist countries, it continues to exert every effort to retard the development of the world revolution by waging war and conducting subversive activities against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this period of growing aggressiveness of imperialism the African revolution is entering upon its second phase, more complex than the first. It is necessary to win national independence for those millions of Africans still suffering from colonial oppression and waging war against direct imperialist political domination. Racial discrimination by governments of exploiting minorities in the service of imperialism has yet to be abolished and the sovereignty of the South African and Rhodesian peoples ensured. The peoples which have won national independence are faced with urgent tasks of national upbuilding in the economic, political and cultural spheres. And, lastly, Africa has still to take

its rightful place in the world, to make its weighty contribution to the defense of peace and the fight for progress.

These are formidable tasks, and it should be frankly said that the initial steps towards their realization are costly for the African revolutionary movement. It is faced with numerous obstacles: economic instability in most of our countries; dependence of many on imperialism; subversion by the imperialists and local reactionaries everywhere; coups, differing in nature but invariably associated with all kinds of complications, and in some cases, as for instance in Ghana, directly aimed against the interests of the African peoples; absence of a developed democracy, and cultural backwardness; constant efforts on the part of imperialism to divide the revolutionary movement and overthrow the progressive regimes.

The success achieved in the process of decolonization in Guinea, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), the United Arab Republic and in some other countries does not alter the overall picture presented above.

That the African revolution is encountering formidable obstacles is not surprising in view of the fact that the world revolutionary movement is beset by what perhaps are the most serious difficulties of growth it has ever experienced. But, the gravity of the times notwithstanding, there are theorists who advise the African revolutionaries to isolate themselves from the other progressive forces in the world. Some claim that scientific revolutionary theory is not applicable to African conditions. Others hold that the developments in our society cannot even be examined by the methods of the most progressive social science. And still others argue that the imperialist threat emanates not only from the West but also from the East, and that the world today is divided not into progressive and reactionary forces but into rich and poor countries (bourgeois nations and proletarian nations).

These claims have two things in common: firstly, they are intended to cover up the deep-seated reasons for the economic backwardness and to keep the peoples dependent on neo-colonialism; secondly, they obscure the chief global contradiction of our time, which in the final analysis is the conflict between imperialism in all its forms and socialism in all its forms.

The main object of this propaganda is, on the one hand, to divide the peoples, to perpetuate the dismemberment of Africa into economically weak states completely at the mercy of external factors, and, on the other hand, to make it appear as if the African re-

volution stood outside the mainstream of world development with a view to making it more vulnerable to the ceaseless overt and covert attacks by home and foreign reactionaries.

But the African revolutionary movement as a whole does not accept these concepts. It is closely linked with the other progressive forces in Asia, in the Americas and in Europe. It has taken its place in international, Afro-Asian and tri-continental organizations, has joined the fight for peace together with people of good will in all countries, and maintains fraternal contact with European working-class organizations and the socialist world.

Socialism is finding a growing response not only in the ranks of the African revolutionary movement; it is increasingly winning over all patriots striving to ensure their countries' progress. Many political leaders and African democratic parties have openly declared that for them scientific socialism is a source of inspiration in tackling their economic and political problems. The youth, especially the students, are as a rule supporters or sympathizers of socialism.

But acceptance of socialism in principle is no substitute for a profound study of African reality, for the concrete and correct implementation of theory in everyday life. It is in this connection that problems most frequently arise both before the revolutionary parties and the movements of the neo-colonialist countries and the democratic African countries engaged in building their statehood.

As for the diverse, more or less deformed variants of socialism that have sprung up in recent years in Africa, it can be said without going into detail that the very fact of their emergence is proof of the defeat suffered by the ideology of capitalism. This, to say the least, is a concession made by vice to virtue.

The imperialists and their neo-colonialist allies are doing their utmost to erect a wall between the African revolutionary movement and the socialist countries. Whenever some agent of imperialism seizes power his first step is to break diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries.

But the African revolutionary movement is aware that it cannot stand up to the gigantic political and economic machine of imperialism without aid from the socialist countries and cooperation with them. Could revolutionary Guinea have withstood the economic blockade in the early years of independence without Soviet aid? Or could the democratic regimes in Mali and Congo (Brazzaville) solve their problems without cooperating with the socialist world? Is imperialism in any way

interested in increasing the cultivated area in the UAR, and did it not refuse to build the now famous Aswan Dam? The thousands of Africans who graduate annually from the universities and colleges of the socialist countries are the only alternative to the intellectual Malthusianism rife in the neo-colonialist countries of Africa where education and training of personnel has been left entirely in the hands of the imperialists.

After winning political independence the African countries found themselves facing complex problems, the most important of them relating to economic development. An almost complete absence of industry, negligible use of power resources for building the national economy, a backward agriculture, non-equivalent exchange on the world markets, shortage of technical specialists, and other pernicious consequences of colonial rule which reduced the entire continent to a mere source of raw materials—such is the situation in which our peoples have to solve what is one of the main tasks of the second stage of the African revolution—the task of weakening imperialism, depriving it of its hinterland through independent development of Africa's vast potential resources and their use in the national interests.

The fight for economic independence is a blow at the very heart of imperialism, and hence the growing aggressiveness of the latter in the face of the victories gained by the peoples in this sphere. The imperialists' hatred for that section of the African revolutionary movement which has taken over power in the democratic countries of the continent is expressed in their efforts to overthrow the regimes in these countries. Every possible means—conspiracies, subversion, reactionary coups, economic blockade and political assassination—is used to retard progress.

In the colonial countries the imperialists are waging a ruthless struggle against the patriotic parties whose programs call for economic and political independence. In particular, in Angola and "Portuguese" Guinea they support the less progressive and less popular groups with the sole purpose of safeguarding their basic economic interests after the inevitable victory of the national-liberation movement and the ending of colonial rule.

The African revolution is opposed not only by international reaction. In the countries which have set to work to overcome backwardness, the conservative classes and strata, conscious of the threat the reforms and proclaimed aims bode for them, are openly entering into an alliance with foreign imperialism and undertaking the role of its

agents at home. Those who persecute the patriots in the neo-colonialist countries and those who support the subversive activities of the CIA in the democratic countries are the deadliest enemies of the people.

To foil the strategic designs of the imperialists all sections of the African revolutionary movement need unity—unity of all the patriotic forces in each country, unity of all the popular forces in the various countries, solid support for those governments which have chosen ways of development corresponding to the fundamental interests of their people. Our revolutionary movement should rid itself of the petty differences sown by imperialism. The danger of re-colonization which hangs over the continent, following the retreat of imperialism to positions prepared in advance, faces the African revolutionary movement with the need to mobilize all its forces for joint struggle for complete freedom and independence.

Working towards this end, the revolutionary movement plays its part in the world revolutionary process, making a major contribution to the world-wide struggle waged by the peoples to put an end to imperialist exploitation. *Unless the African revolution solves the tasks confronting it, imperialism will continue to threaten the peoples of the world, confident that it has preserved the strategic and economic reserves needed to ensure its neo-colonialist domination over our continent.*

The identity of the aims of the African revolution and the world revolutionary process is, therefore, no fleeting phenomenon. It is a fundamental question of strategy.

Each link in the revolutionary chain has its particular function, plays its specific role. Our task is to do away with the disastrous consequences of colonial rule, win economic independence, defeat imperialism on our own territory, and create a political and social system that will facilitate the all-round development of our peoples and rule out the possibility of internal and external enemies restoring their positions.

The specific nature of the tasks of the

various contingents of the revolutionary movement at each given span of time sometimes creates the impression of contradictions in the world revolutionary process. But revolutionary theory and practical cooperation between the African revolutionary movement and all other forces of the world revolution show that we have one enemy: imperialism and its allies, i.e., those social forces whose interests run counter to the immediate and ultimate aims of the revolution. Hence the building of a united front for liberation from colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa is inseparable from the common struggle of all the peoples against imperialism.

The march of history has resulted in a situation where the African revolutionary movement, the socialist countries and the international working class have coalesced into a single whole. As part of the whole, our movement can develop and triumph by marching together with the other components, all of which must stand united. Common struggle tolerates neither neutrality nor hegemonism.

The struggle under way in our time between imperialism and socialism is becoming increasingly complex. The various contingents of the world revolutionary movement take part in this struggle in different conditions, but each bears its own share of the responsibility of the outcome, which determines the development of the world revolutionary process. Historically, the African revolution is a part of this process. When it enters upon its decisive phase—the abolition of the old relationships of dependence and the establishment of social justice in Africa—it will merge on a still more profound basis with the rest of the world's revolutionary forces.

While deriving its strength primarily from its own wellsprings, the African revolution has time and again seen how this strength is multiplied by the solidarity of the socialist countries and the world working class. The steady strengthening of the unity of the revolutionary process is a guarantee of its further development, of further success for all its components.

The nature of imperialist "aid"

MICHAEL HARMEL

IT IS HIGH TIME that a more thorough and profound investigation was made into the whole question of imperialist investments and so-called aid in Africa and other areas politely referred to as "developing" areas—a euphemism for the fact that they are areas of extreme poverty. This poverty is of course the result of a recent past (in some cases, of a still continuing present) during which their peoples suffered the ravages of colonialism.

Such rare studies as exist on the question of imperialist investments are almost exclusively from the point of view of the investor. And it hardly needs saying that their studies are of no great value to the African and other peoples who are seeking to understand the nature of imperialist investments and "aid."

Nowadays almost every transaction involving the transfer of capital, goods or personnel from the developed capitalist states to the poor countries is described under the general heading of "aid." Whether the transaction consists of certain grants, often thinly disguised bribes, or old-fashioned private investments, or even military equipment actually destined for use against the "recipients," it is all lumped together as "aid." Thus a picture is gradually, insidiously and persistently built up of "rich" countries as "donors" who generously, benevolently and out of the goodness of their hearts are disposing of vast amounts of "aid" to the "poor countries" which are strangely unappreciative and, even more strangely, do not seem to be getting any richer, but are even falling back in their living standards, both relatively to the rich countries, and even in many cases, in absolute terms of average income per head.

The "flow of assistance to less developed countries" from the group of capitalist countries associated with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) comprising the U.S., Canada, Turkey, Japan and all the West European capitalist countries) is estimated in an official publication of this organization at the sum of 8,655 million U.S. dollars for the year 1964. But the text makes it clear that "the totals are made up of many forms and types of assistance. Grants and

loans are added together, as are capital goods, consumer goods and technical assistance."

It should be said that this method of presenting statistics savors more of advertising techniques and propaganda than of serious economic analysis. It is true that, especially in recent years, and under the stimulus of genuine, disinterested and fraternal help given by socialist countries to help overcome the heritage of colonialism, some real and valuable aid has been given by some Western governments. Though, one should add, even here it has frequently been offered under conditions, written or unwritten, which are unacceptable to any country which values its independence. We recall, for example, the action of the West German government on the occasion of the decision by Tanzania to authorize the opening of a consulate in Dar es Salaam by the German Democratic Republic. The Bonn government thereupon unilaterally broke a Five-Year Training and Aid Agreement with Tanzania. Tanzania, on its part, cancelled all its other aid agreements with Bonn. As explained by President Julius Nyerere: "The choice before Tanzania was then clear: we could either accept dictation from West Germany and continue to receive economic aid until the next time we proposed to do something they did not like, or we could maintain our policies and lose the aid immediately. In effect, therefore, we had to choose whether to become a puppet state of Germany in return for any charity she cared to give us."

Capitalist governments have not changed their nature—they will not easily be found giving "something for nothing." The newly-independent African countries may desperately need capital for development projects; but the purpose of development is to safeguard and consolidate independence; if the granting of capital is the price of independence then its purpose is defeated from the outset. Thus, even the ceding of outright grants is not the simple and straightforward transaction it may appear to be. The "rich" donor (grown rich, let us remember, by the very process of imperialist exploitation and downright looting which has

made the recipient "poor") is by no means actuated by purely benevolent and altruistic motives. Bullying, blackmail, intrigue, interference and corruption are often the ugly accompaniment of what is paraded as charity.

Another form of "aid" is loans, whether "soft" (long-term, low-interest) or "hard" (short-term, high-interest), on a government-to-government basis. Again we must question the semantic basis of calling this type of transaction "aid." Usually the loans are "tied"; they are meant for the purchase of specific equipment from the country which makes the loan. If Government money is lent, it amounts to the taxpayer in the capitalist country financing the private manufacturers and middlemen who supply the equipment or services concerned. In his "International Aid" the Oxford economist, I.M.D. Little, makes the shrewd observation that: "It is misleading to lump these (loans) (and some other kinds of "aid") together when assessing either the costs to donors and lenders or the benefits to recipients. *Moneylenders may benefit their clients, but we do not think of them as giving aid.*"

It must also be observed with respect to the granting and receiving of state-to-state loans:

(a) that very often loans are "sold" by high-pressure imperialist salesmen, for the purpose of buying goods and equipment of no real value in development, and

(b) that many African countries are finding an increasing proportion of their already low revenues going towards "servicing" previous loans—that is, to paying them back, plus interest. With states as with individuals, it is not sound practice to find oneself in the clutches of the moneylenders.

According to the *London Times* (26.9.1966), the rate of accumulation of new debts has fallen to a 10 per cent increase a year compared with 15 per cent in 1964, "but the burden of debt repayments is costing the poorer countries *nine per cent of their export earnings.*"

According to a U.N. Report, seven African countries (Rhodesia, Malawi, Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, Morocco and Tunisia) alone spent 143 million dollars a year in 1963 (as against 31 million in 1956) in repaying loans.

Thus, one finds that unless the utmost caution is exercised in analyzing exactly what kind of "aid" is being given by the capitalist countries, we shall be merely contributing towards creating the absurd and distorted picture they are trying to draw of kind, wealthy "donors," on the one hand, and poor, ungrateful "receivers," on the other. To take an extreme example: At enormous cost to the American taxpayer, all kinds of bombs and missiles, chemical and biological weapons, are manufactured in America, transported in American ships, loaded into American aircraft and dropped by U.S. military personnel on Vietnam villages to kill women and children and to destroy the hard-won economic achievements of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. And this ghastly project, with grotesque and unbelievable audacity, is

labelled "aid for Vietnam" and paraded before the world as part of the "program for assistance to developing countries."

A particularly blatant misuse of this over-worked expression "aid" is its application to the field of private investment in Africa and other areas rich in raw materials but poor in living standards. The monopoly firms which invest their capital in our countries have no intention of "aiding" anyone except themselves. They seek only their own profit and enrichment.

Investing their capital, the imperialists proceed from the following:

1. The presence in large quantities of valuable raw material which can be removed and taken abroad for sale. This accounts for the preponderance of imperialist investments in African countries with large deposits of oil, gold, diamonds, copper, etc.

2. The existence of what they call "political stability." This means in practice regimes which are sympathetic to the needs of foreign investors, give them priority in the supply of power, transport, water, etc., see that labor is cheap, docile and abundant, guarantee against militant trade union or radical political opposition. The "ideal" regime from the point of view of the imperialist investor is the old-fashioned colonial administration. But as that is no longer possible they would like to have a regime which conforms as closely as possible to the pattern set in colonial times, with the difference only that Africans are found to fulfil the functions of the previous imperialist administration. Unfortunately, such Africans are to be found among the social strata which have adopted the outlook of the West European and North American bourgeoisie—selfish individualism and "get-rich-quick" at all costs. It is from such strata that personnel is recruited for the neo-colonialist regimes of which, unfortunately, several examples are to be found in Africa.

Of course, one cannot deny that, subjected to proper control and provided that it does not play a dominant part in the economy, foreign investment, from whatever source, can play a positive role in the development of independent economies. But neither should one forget that the export of capital by the monopoly-finance capitalists forms the very heart and essence of modern imperialism. Lenin defined this essence in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Although written some fifty years ago Lenin's work is a perfectly valid and correct description of the main character of imperialism at the present time.

African governments which are prepared to modify their internal and external policies in order to "attract" imperialist investment may have the highest motives, but in fact they are placing their independence in the gravest jeopardy.

It is true that imperialist investment does provide the appearance of change and development. Mines and oil wells and other enter-

prises are provided, an infrastructure of railways and communications may be developed and be of lasting value. But we must never lose sight of the underlying reality — the purpose of the export of such capital to our countries is not to put wealth into Africa but to extract wealth from Africa for the benefit of foreigners. Any marginal and incidental advantages (and often these are illusory rather than real) for African countries are subordinate to the purpose of the investments.

My own country, South Africa, is a striking example of the effects of unrestrained admission of imperialist capital on its own terms. South Africa was "made safe" for foreign capitalists by the Boer War of British imperialism seventy years ago. It became the pioneer example of neo-colonialism already at the beginning of this century when political power was transferred to the white minority. Since then more imperialist investment has poured into the South of our continent than into all the other countries and regions of Africa put together. British investment alone, on the basis of real, not book, values of shares, is estimated at over £1,500 million. Other foreign investments, U.S., French, West German, Japanese, etc., are rapidly increasing. In 1960 alone, during the massive "rescue operation" mounted by U.S. finance capital to prop up the economy of the apartheid regime, American investments (including loans from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) were poured in to an extent exceeding \$200 million.

How was South Africa "benefitted" by these investments? It can be said that we have a good transport system, modern railways, ports, roads. We have big and imposing cities, shops crowded with luxury goods, a vast and costly state apparatus unparalleled in Africa, developed agriculture and secondary industries.

But what a price has been paid for these "assets" which exist in our country but are the exclusive property of foreigners and the privileged white minority! Here are only some of the debit items:

1. Eighty-seven per cent of the country is in the hands of the alliance of indigenous whites and foreign imperialists. This 87 per cent includes all the industries, developed agriculture, cities, harbors, airports and other wealth — largely the creation, let us remember, of the labor, the sweat and the blood of our enslaved African majority.

2. The remaining overcrowded 13 per cent "reserved" for Africans is a vast rural slum, typical of "undeveloped" Africa, entirely incapable of supporting its population or developing its resources.

3. Politically, socially and economically the price of this one-sided development has been the establishing of a regime of unbridled terror and racialism, whose crimes and outrages against humanity are on a par with those of Hitler Germany.

4. The vast state machinery is basically a

frightful engine of oppression and aggression to subjugate the revolutionary masses and threaten the independence of the entire continent of Africa.

One could prolong this list of negative results of imperialist investment in Southern Africa indefinitely. Let those African leaders who are so keen to encourage foreign imperialist investment at any cost pay heed to the lessons of the South. It may cause them to think again.

It is precisely because the Republic of South Africa is an investors' paradise that the big imperialist powers are out, at such pains, to protect and save the evil Pretoria regime from the anger of the South African masses and their supporters in Africa and all over the world.

To deceive world opinion, and with loathsome hypocrisy, they pretend to condemn apartheid as morally indefensible. But in practice the imperialist powers obstruct every international attempt to make South Africa observe elementary human rights. They sabotage solemn decisions for sanctions, boycotts and isolation of this vile regime. They defy UN resolutions and maintain and extend their diplomatic and commercial relationships, their military links with South Africa. They protect Smith and his gangsters in Zimbabwe, they arm Salazar in Mozambique, Angola and "Portuguese" Guinea. They pack and maneuver the so-called International Court of Justice so as to condone the illegal annexation of the mandated territory of South West Africa.

More and more it is becoming clear that the regime of the Nazi hangman Vorster is in fact not an independent government at all. South Africa is in the pockets of the international financial-capitalist monopolies. In fact Vorster and his gang are their junior partners, their caretakers and their policemen.

Imperialist investors in African countries ask and receive a high rate of return on their investments. They expect to see their capital outlay back again in about four years. That means an annual rate of profit of 25 per cent or more.

We hear much about the "flow of investments" from the "donor countries" to the "recipients." But very little is said about the *reverse flow* — the flow of profits, dividends, interest payments and invisible exports from the "poor" countries back to the "rich" ones. The imperialists have been exporting capital to Africa for over fifty years. Many of their "investments" have been repaid many times over in the natural wealth and the creative labor of our working people. The figures for so-called "aid" are well publicized, but the figures for the *reverse flow* are discreetly hidden away and hard to get. I suggest that this reverse flow is far bigger in volume than all the so-called aid put together.

I suggest that these figures will go a long way to explain exactly *why we are "poor" and they are "rich."*

The imperialists have been draining our countries for generations, and they are still doing so. We shall never overcome our backwardness and establish true independence and

equality for our people until this drainage is stopped. That means, above all, that Africans must be masters in their own countries, must restore their wealth to its rightful owners.

Rally the patriots and revolutionaries

RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO

MADAGASCAR IS AN ISLAND of strategic importance due to both its geographical location and to its considerable deposits of fissile material.

These assets impart to our country special value in the eyes of the imperialists, who resort to various methods to maintain and extend their domination, from fomenting intertribal and religious strife to supporting of the Malagasy bourgeoisie.

The colonialists have always sought to rob our people of their dignity and to break their will for national independence. With this aim in view they have never hesitated to take the most ruthless measures, as they did in 1947 when 90,000 of our countrymen were slaughtered.

Ever since our country, like most African countries, hoisted the flag of independence the imperialists have been trying new forms of expansion. The greatest single menace in our view is U.S. imperialism, which is anxious to move into the position vacated by the former colonial power.

The Americans have built in Madagascar a satellite-tracking station which they hope to develop into the biggest NASA base outside the USA. Now that France has set out to safeguard its independence from aggressive blocs, the Americans are casting covetous glances at Diego Suarez Bay, where they would like to have a big military base. They have been pursuing the notorious policy of "handouts" or free gifts with the result that Madagascar has been flooded with the surplus products of American industry; the "gifts" are used as an instrument of political corruption and blackmail.

We are calling attention to the case of Madagascar because we consider that all Africa and

every African country are confronted in varying measure with similar problems.

The imperialists want to turn Africa into a strategic stronghold. And they stop at nothing in their efforts to do so.

While it is true that the forces of imperialism and reaction have become more active, we should not underrate the inter-imperialist contradictions. We should bear in mind that the main purpose of neo-colonialism in respect to Africa is to perpetuate exploitation and keep Africa as a component of the capitalist world economy. We can hold our ground against the united strategic front of imperialism and reaction only if we close our ranks on the continent as a whole and in each particular country.

The instrument of revolutionary unity in our country is the Independance Congress Party of Madagascar (AKFM), a coalition of several parties advocating scientific socialism, which, unlike the many pseudo-socialist theories, makes it possible to analyze all national and international phenomena in an objective light in search of the best solutions to the many vital problems of the country.

The firm socialist orientation of the AKFM at a time when public opinion in the country had been poisoned by anti-communist propaganda was a genuinely revolutionary factor. The rise of the AKFM in our country initiated a development which is bound, despite all the artifices of capitalism, to culminate in the establishment of a system of social justice and in deliverance from imperialist exploitation.

AKFM realizes that in its every move it will be confronted with difficulties arising from the very nature of our country and its population, from survivals that have left a deep imprint on local political thinking.

A prime need is the unity of all the national

forces. But our attempts to achieve unity have not so far yielded the desired results. This relative failure was due to organizational shortcomings in the national movement and to a certain overestimation of our revolutionary potentialities.

We need an objective analysis and a sober appraisal of the situation if we are to advance to unity. We must be prudent and avoid making things more difficult. We know, for example, that the imperialists often take advantage of religion to bolster their position. However, this should not prompt us to lump together religion and imperialism. Our experience has shown that religion as such does not necessarily promote reaction. Sometimes it can and should be a factor making our task easier.

In tackling the problem of alliance and fronts, we should take stock of the political trends, which vary from country to country.

We should also recognize that the forms of action are not always identical, and that unity by no means implies uniformity. The widely

differing conditions in our countries may enable us to use legal means in one case and underground methods in another, but our goal in either case will be the same, namely, to further the interests of our people by abolishing relations based on force.

Africa needs aid from the socialist countries to win complete freedom. We believe this aid should go, first of all, to those governments sincerely striving to lead their peoples to socialism. However, the socialist countries should not neglect their relations with other African countries inasmuch as these relations objectively help to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary forces in the countries concerned, to arouse and promote anti-imperialist consciousness.

Our people are learning that unity of action of all the revolutionary forces of the world, primarily those championing socialism, is indispensable if mankind is to be freed from injustice and the imperialist threat of destruction.

We build as we fight

VASCO CABRAL

WE IN "PORTUGUESE" Guinea have not only liberated more than half of our country's territory, we are building in the liberated areas a new life of peace, happiness and progress.

Militarily the initiative has been wrested from the Portuguese colonialists, who are now compelled to stay in the barracks, receiving supplies by air or sea. Our troops periodically mount attacks, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy and expanding the liberated area. Our armed forces are growing in numbers and acquiring new equipment. For instance, we now have medium and heavy artillery.

In addition to the military operations, our African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGCV) conducts large-scale political and educational work; educating politically-conscious fighters for the interests of our people is seen as its principal task. We are first of all freedom-fighters who have had to take to arms because it is the only way to free our people from the foreign yoke.

During the ten years of the existence of our

Party we have won victories and have accumulated a wealth of experience. True, grave mistakes too, have been made, but these are being rectified. We consider it right to work in many directions simultaneously: not only to fight against the enemy, but also to conduct political work, develop the economy, organize a health service and public education, promote the training of personnel. We are doing this because the fight for complete national independence does not end with driving out the colonial administration.

In short, our policy is to combine destructive and constructive work.

In destroying the enemy's economy and weakening his positions we carefully study the situation and choose our targets in keeping with the common interests of our struggle.

The economic structure forced upon our country is a single-crop one, based on ground-nuts in the continental part and on maize in the islands. We decided to sabotage in every way the cultivation of the colonial crops, especially ground-nuts, in the areas still under

colonial rule, through passive resistance by the population and the armed actions of our guerrillas.

At the moment our Party is pursuing two main economic tasks: 1) to begin the reconstruction of the country while the war is still going on, and 2) to supply ourselves with everything necessary primarily through our own efforts.

We are promoting agriculture by tending the sown area, organizing timely and high-quality field jobs, and introducing new crops. Special attention is paid to livestock and poultry farming, fodder procurement and preservation of pastures. In some areas we have sharply increased the output of agricultural produce, particularly rice, which is now our staple crop. Now we can feed both the population and our armed forces. Moreover, part of the produce remains for export.

Our Party is creating conditions for introducing, at the appropriate moment, rational planning of all our economy.

New social relationships are developing under the guidance of the Party, which encourages mutual aid between families and villages. Currently we are organizing jointly worked banana and pineapple plantations and, where conditions favor this, experimental agricultural cooperatives. Property abandoned by the colonialists and their henchmen is administered by citizens' committees.

Mindful of the public welfare, we are improving the health service and care for the

wounded. Schools have been opened to train junior medical personnel. The health of our civilians and soldiers is looked after by doctors who have been trained abroad.

From July till September 1966 we conducted refresher courses which enabled about 200 teachers to catch up with developments in pedagogy and other subjects. The matter of training personnel has always been a prime concern of the Party. Between 1961 and 1964 we trained three times as many people as in the five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule. In 1966 we had on the liberated territory 127 schools with 13,500 pupils, as against 50 with 4,000 pupils in 1965. This is proof of the determination of our people to wipe out the legacy of colonial obscurantism and prepare the young generation for building the new life.

We consider that if the economic backwardness is to be eliminated as speedily as possible, priority must be given to training junior technical personnel. This will enable us to organize an agriculture-based economy of the transitional period and prepare the ground for industrialization, the cornerstone of genuine progress.

The view of our Party is that we should not occupy ourselves solely with problems of the armed struggle. We see our liberation as a series of successive stages, and we disagree with those who hold that the concentration should be on liberating the whole country first and thereafter begin to organize life in a new way. For us the revolution is a continuous process of social reconstruction.

Emergence of a revolutionary vanguard in the Cameroons

ABDOULAYE KONE

THE CAMEROON People's Union, now on the way to becoming a vanguard party, was founded on April 10, 1948.

At the time, as in the preceding period, our people were subjected to the most ruthless exploitation. But race discrimination, forced labor, physical violence, the vicious system of degradation and humiliation and the dismemberment of the country by the imperialists awakened in the masses a sense of national dignity, an awareness that they belonged to an oppressed nation.

The popular discontent found expression in diverse forms, and mainly through uprisings, strikes and demonstrations, which towards the end of the First World War increasingly assumed a political nature. After 1945 many internal and international factors helped to accelerate the growth of national consciousness. One of these factors was the placing of the country under United Nations trusteeship after the Second World War, when it came to be formally regarded not as a colony but as a territory on the way to independence under the temporary administration of France and Britain.

Another significant factor was the participation of Cameroon volunteers in the Second World War on the side of the Allies. While in Europe they absorbed the ideas of freedom and independence which were already shaking the positions of imperialism and colonialism. As we know, these ideas appeared and gained ground especially after the Great October Socialist Revolution and the rise of the powerful socialist camp.

The emergence of the Cameroon Peoples' Union on the political scene sharply changed the overall situation in the country, ushering in a new era and opening to the Cameroon nation perspectives of development diametrically opposed to the future which the colonial powers were preparing for it.

The struggle waged by the masses developed

into an organized nationwide struggle; it transcended the bounds of purely economic demands and became essentially a struggle for political power. The Cameroon Peoples' Union enlisted hundreds of thousands in the political struggle, making it the common cause of broad sections of the population.

The objective situation in the national and international political arena which determined the class base of the Union, its organizational structure, and its strategic and tactical line, also accounted for its signal success towards the end of the first stage of its activities (1948-55).

The Cameroons entered the postwar period as a colonial, semi-feudal and semi-patriarchal country the main branches of whose economy were controlled by the imperialist monopolies to the detriment of the interests of the bulk of the population. Everybody, from the emergent working class to the incipient bourgeoisie, including the peasants, experienced national oppression and hence could be enlisted in the struggle against their common enemy—colonialism.

Proceeding from this, the founders of the Union created it not as the party of a particular class, but as a movement destined to unite in its ranks the workers, peasants and members of the bourgeoisie—all those resolved to fight colonialism, for national sovereignty and the restoration of the country's territorial integrity.

In this way people of different social origin, including patriotic members of the lower feudal strata, found themselves standing side by side.

From the very outset the People's Union set itself the aim of defeating colonialism, winning independence and reuniting the Cameroons. In order to put forward demands of such magnitude at a time when no country of France's African colonial empire could even hope to win internal autonomy the founders of the

Union utilized the international trusteeship status of the country and the opportunities this afforded for political struggle.

Our main strength derived from the oppressed and exploited masses and all the emerging classes subjected to colonialist national oppression. The only kind of class struggle understandable to the masses was resistance by the entire people to French and British colonialism.

As we worked towards our goal we saw our main task in isolating the henchmen of imperialism, the middlemen of colonialism, such as the feudal element and the parliamentary bourgeoisie who had joined forces with the colonialists and sought to win over the middle strata. The Union worked through numerous cultural and other public organizations set up throughout the country to strengthen its link with the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.

Fighting for liberation under the leadership of the Union, the people of the Cameroons had the support of other African peoples whose national consciousness had been awakened and who had joined the battle against colonialism. They enjoyed the support of the working class and other democratic forces in France, the socialist camp and the entire world revolutionary movement.

In the spring of 1955 the revolutionary movement reached culmination point. An insurrection seemed inevitable. In effect people's rule had been established which challenged the corrupt and loathed colonial rule. In April 1955 the people issued their historic statement proclaiming the downfall of colonialism in the Cameroons. The slogan of immediate independence was now advanced and taken up by the masses in place of the old demand that the United Nations set the time limit for the proclamation of the Cameroons as an independent state.

The colonialists, however, taking advantage of the international situation, anticipated the uprising and slaughtered more than 5,000 Cameroon patriots in June 1955. The terror was so brutal and sudden that our Party did not have time to bring its reserves into action, nor was it able to effect an organized retreat. The reorganization of the Party in the difficult conditions of illegality required time.

Today the significance of the gains made by our people under the leadership of the Union in combating colonialism and capitalism is easy to see. Witness the high level of the national consciousness and the failure of the policy of ultra-colonialism as evidenced by the winning of independence and the partial reunification of the Cameroons.

It is above all to the credit of the People's Union that it dispelled the myth of the invincibility of colonialism and the invulnerability of colonialist property, that it led its people out from the darkness of the colonial night, developed their national consciousness and clearly charted the path to liberation.

In the Cameroons today the members of the Union are looked up to as the embodiment of courage, a high degree of national awareness and supreme devotion to the nation's cause. They are esteemed by the masses as an example to follow, and thousands of young people who are increasingly gripped by revolutionary enthusiasm are rallying around them.

Throughout the nineteen years since its founding the People's Union has been the unquestioned leader of the fight for genuine independence and democracy. If today the people of the Cameroons are striving towards real social revolution—and any serious observer will confirm the fact—this is thanks to the Union, which has helped to imbue the minds of the people with national awareness and a striving for democracy and progress.

Ever since the foundation of the Union the people have forced the imperialists and their agents to retreat. The independent statehood gained on January 1, 1960, was one of the greatest victories for the people, and the same can be said of the numerous economic and social reforms effected since then, and above all of the partial reunification of the country in the autumn of 1961.

The expansion of foreign-monopoly capital is continuing in new forms. In the past 20 years French, West German, British and U.S. companies and monopolies have invested more than 160,000 million colonial francs in the Cameroons, and they control all the key branches of the economy, including mining, manufacturing industry, transport and foreign trade.

The present government has placed itself in the service of the foreign companies and monopolies. Its role consists in ensuring the political and other conditions for the infiltration of foreign capital and providing guarantees to imperialist investors.

The social scene, which is constantly changing under the impact of the influx of foreign capital, is marked by the following features:

—first, the working class is growing in numbers and in maturity;

—second, the peasantry remains the biggest class, accounting for 85 per cent of the population, although its numbers are declining due to migration to the towns and the proletarianization of many poor peasants;

—third, the economic and political interests of the national and small urban bourgeoisie are suffering heavily from the policy of infiltration and plunder pursued by the foreign capitalists;

—fourth, the feudal element and the "bureaucratic" bourgeoisie are the only social groups which are gaining politically and economically from the existence of the neo-colonialist regime. This stratum is closely associated with foreign capitalists.

In other words, despite the fact that it has won independent statehood, our country is not genuinely free but remains semi-colonial and semi-feudal.

In the semi-colonial and semi-feudal Came-

rooms the revolution must necessarily be at once national and democratic in character. Its main aim is to abolish neo-socialist domination and to establish a new democracy which would pave the way to socialism.

Today the People's Union is called upon to lead the struggle in far more complex conditions than yesterday, when the issue was the overthrow of colonial rule with the help of a broad-based party.

Ever since the promulgation of the "Loi-cadre" of 1966 and the creation by the French imperialists of favorable economic and political conditions for the development of the bourgeoisie, the Cameroons have been an arena of a steadily mounting class struggle. Indecision and doubt have gripped many of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Corrupt elements seeking to enrich themselves regardless of the means often augment the land-owning class and the "bureaucratic" and "parliamentary" bourgeoisie.

In view of these objectives processes, the People's Union, in order to retain its vanguard positions and the confidence of the people, must base itself only on the most revolutionary classes in the country—the working class and the poor peasantry.

At the present stage of the struggle the main force of the revolution consists of the workers and poor peasants, while the middle and well-to-do peasantry as well as the urban small

bourgeoisie provide a reserve of strength for us.

The main objective is a dual one: isolation of the top bourgeoisie, which has allied itself with the foreign monopolies and is seeking to win over the peasants and alienate them from the revolution; and neutralization of the French imperialists, who must give up their policy of imposing puppet regimes on our country.

Basic conditions for success are:

1) strengthening the People's Union, the vanguard party of our revolution, in its organizational and theoretical aspects; to this end constant attention should be paid to the political and ideological education of the members;

2) an alliance between the working class, which is gaining strength, and the peasantry and the middle strata under the leadership of the proletariat and the People's Union;

3) an alliance of all patriotic forces within the framework of a broad united front.

The present stage is marked by a decline of the revolutionary movement which began with the outlawing of the Party in 1955. But today, twelve years after the events which compelled our party to go underground and to begin the armed struggle, the conditions are maturing for a new nationwide upswing. In these circumstances active preparation of the forces of national and social revolution acquires decisive significance.

At the Cairo Seminar

(Reviewing the discussion)

2. THE FORMS AND METHODS OF IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

THERE ARE NOW 38 independent countries in Africa, accounting for practically 90 per cent of the population of the continent. Foreign monopolies, however, continue to influence the orientation of many of them and retain key positions in their national economies.

It was unanimously noted at the seminar that national independence has been marked by the beginning of a struggle of a different kind in Africa, a struggle which in addition to everything else will be a long one and of the greatest significance for the future of African peoples; we have in mind the fight for economic emancipation, for overcoming the backwardness and building a new society. The old-type colonialism has for ever lost its bastions, but the neo-colonialism that has taken its place is desperately trying to encircle and blockade the rebel continent, to keep it under its sway.

The forms and the methods of imperialist expansion and the fight against neo-colonialism and racist regimes were discussed by Ali Yata (Morocco), Jean Claude Njem (Cameroon), Abdul Fattah Abul Fadi and Yussuf Al Sebai (UAR), Gisele Rabesahala (Madagascar), Michael Harmel (South Africa), Gottfried Geingob (Southwest Africa), Dr. William Soliman, Kamel El Sayed and Mohamed Sid Ahmed (*At-Talia*), J. B. Marks (South Africa), Paolo Jorge (Angola) and other speakers.

"The changes that have taken place in the world since the Second World War," said Jean Claude Njem, "growing international cooperation and deepening political consciousness of the African peoples no longer make possible the old forms of colonialism. But that

does not mean that the imperialists intend passively to watch the process of the liberation of the peoples of the continent which they regard as the bailiwick of the West.

"Because of its economic power imperialism is able artificially to create division among the ruling élite, to further conspiracies, to use terror and violence to break the resistance of the forward looking people, to sabotage the economy of the new states and exploit their economic difficulties in order to dictate its will to them while formally recognizing their sovereignty.

"Imperialism seizes upon the slightest excuse to turn its military power against the newly independent states. The imperialist aggression against the Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa), the extermination of tens of thousands during the criminal attack on Stanleyville in the guise of a 'humane mission' vividly demonstrates the brutality to which imperialism resorts in order to prevent the independent orientation of the African states.

"Notwithstanding the fact that the African peoples are striving to put an end to the imperialist oppression and that political independence has been gained by most African countries, imperialism can still impose its will on them through the system of relationships defined as neo-colonialism."

Neo-colonialist domination, Jean Claude Njem went on, is manifested in the political, economic, social, cultural and other domains and in diverse forms: keeping the former colonies as suppliers of raw materials in the framework of the international capitalist division of labor; tightening the imperialist grip on the economy of the young states through economic integration effected to the detriment of the economically backward countries; predominance of foreign capital in agricultural and industrial investments; almost absolute control of the banks; absolute con-

*Continued from issue No. 1, 1967.

trol of fiscal policy; domination in foreign trade; hegemony with regard to fixing world prices for agricultural produce; economic pressure and intimidation; decisive influence in establishing political structures and organs of state power; engineering coups with a view to strangling any striving towards independence on the part of leaders and people in the newly emerged states; control over education; a policy of corruption and nepotism; support for local reactionaries, ideological subversion fomenting chauvinism, undermining African unity, etc.

Although ever greater profit is the basic aim of imperialist domination, a no less important objective of neo-colonialism is to secure maximum possible stability for the capitalist system as a whole.

By way of example the speaker referred to a paper headed "The policy of cooperation with developing countries," in which a special committee set up by the French government stressed the need to exert every effort to reach the strategic goal, namely, the maintaining of capitalist regimes in the newly independent African states.

Neo-colonialism, said Abdul Fattah Abul Fadl, is a deep-going, complex phenomenon. To say that neo-colonialism is the continuation of imperialist exploitation of the newly independent countries without the use of force and arms, and also without direct occupation, is to say nothing new. Imperialism has for long had recourse to this form of exploitation in Latin American countries. While it rarely resorts to arms and military occupation, imperialism nevertheless subjects them to the most ruthless exploitation.

Neo-colonialism, according to Abul Fadl, is not a tactical subterfuge but a policy which endangers the independence of the developing countries and jeopardizes their aim of complete liberation.

Elaborating the idea that neo-colonialism is primarily the strategy of imperialism aimed at maintaining the newly independent countries within the framework of the capitalist world system, Dr. William Soliman said:

"With the decline of the capitalist system and the onset of the era of socialism there has appeared the real concept of freedom, and it is for this concept and against imperialism that the peoples are fighting. That is why, instead of becoming satellites of imperialism as was the case with colonies that became independent in the past, a number of countries which gained independence after the Second World War have raised the banner of socialism.

"Circumstances have compelled imperialism to reconsider its plans. And that was how

neo-colonialism came into being. Neo-colonialism is a feature of the era of the decline of capitalism, when the peoples are turning more and more towards socialism. It is the response of the imperialist powers to the success of the national liberation movement. For this reason neo-colonialism could be defined as follows: *it is a front built by the imperialist powers (by each separately or by all in common) on the non-capitalist road taken by the former colonial countries with a view to making them turn—on both national and international planes—towards capitalism and to prevent them from embarking on the natural and inevitable road to socialism.*"

Agreeing with this definition, Mohamed Sid Ahmed pointed out that the imperialist countries use all means, including loans and economic aid, to preserve the status of dependence, to keep the newly free countries within the capitalist orbit and retard the development of a powerful public sector which is indispensable for the advance along the non-capitalist road.

Denouncing the neo-colonialist intrigues against the revolutionary regime in the United Arab Republic, Yussuf Al Sebai said:

"Our experience has shown that neo-colonialism is not confined to attempts to penetrate into the key branches of the country's economy after its political positions have been decisively eliminated; its aim is to disrupt the process of socialist reconstruction carried out by our people.

"Neo-colonialism is manifest most clearly in the efforts made by the imperialist forces to nullify the progress achieved in economic development. Neo-colonialism, aware that the climate in our country is not conducive to its penetration with the usual ways and means, has concentrated on organizing blockade and external pressure. It exerts on our country political, economic and material pressure, the intensity of which increases in measure as we advance along the path of creating the conditions which enable the working people to become masters of their destiny."

Many speakers warned against underestimating the new forms of imperialist expansion carried out under the flag of outwardly neutral international organizations, actual control of which is passing, increasingly, into the hands of U.S. monopolies. Gisèle Rabesahala stressed that U.S. imperialism, evincing a special interest in those countries where uranium ore, oil and other valuable minerals have been discovered, is the worst enemy of the African peoples.

Speakers pointed to the true nature of imperialist investments as one of the principal means with which imperialism reinforces its

positions and intensifies its plunder of the African peoples.

These investments, stressed Sid Ahmed, flow mainly into the extracting industries in order to ship Africa's mineral wealth to the developed capitalist countries for processing. That this is so can be seen from the following. Between 1960 and 1964 U.S. private investment in Asia, Africa and Latin America increased from \$11,600 million to \$13,600 million. In the same period the profits on these investments amounted to \$10,000 million. The imperialist monopolies, as a rule, reinvest only part of the profit, the bulk of it is ploughed into the economy of the developed countries.

According to conservative estimates, Sid Ahmed went on, at least \$1,500 million is pumped out of Africa to the developed capitalist countries each year. Thus, *imperialist investments have now become one of the principal forms of the economic exploitation of African countries.*

To illustrate what imperialist penetration means, G. Geingob mentioned Southwest Africa which remains under foreign control. Foreign companies are not interested in developing the country's economy. What attracts the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, are the rich natural resources of Southwest Africa, the deposits of strategic metals. Foreign capital has seized key positions in the economy of the country and effects undisguised plunder of its natural wealth.

3. WAYS AND MEANS OF OVERCOMING THE ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS

Independence could not solve at once all the problems of the young states of Africa. Colonialism bequeathed to them a legacy of backwardness, illiteracy, low level of production and productivity, and a deformed economic structure. It is this which accounts for the continuing dependence of some of the African countries on imperialism and impedes their progress. Moreover, after independence the social problems and economic handicaps inherited from colonialism have become more pronounced.

So that the task facing African countries is one of finding the most effective ways and means for overcoming the backwardness and solving all these problems. Understandably, special attention was devoted to these problems.

Among those who spoke on the subject were Youssef Samantar (Somali), Dr. Alexander Sobolev (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*), Mohammed Rifae (Morocco), Vasco Ca-

bral ("Portuguese" Guinea), Fedialah Keita (Guinea), Michel Kamel, Abdel Ghoneim, Abdel El-Razak Hassan (*At-Talia*) and Ali Yata (Morocco).

Significantly, the progressive revolutionary representatives of Africa did not even discuss the perspectives of capitalist development. As M. Kamel pointed out in his paper: "There is no need to discuss which road to choose—capitalist or non-capitalist. The conditions of Africa, the international situation and experience as a whole have indicated the direction. The world balance of the class forces, the current stage of world development, the aftermath of the domination of colonialism, colonial plunder, the domination of foreign capital in the economy of African coun-

THE RICHES OF AFRICA AND ITS POVERTY

The riches of the African continent are beyond description and the possibilities of development are boundless. Today 90 per cent of the diamonds realized on the capitalist market, 81 per cent of the cobalt, 62 per cent of the platinum, 70 per cent of the gold, 50 per cent of the magnesium and chromium, 36 per cent of the manganese and 32 per cent of the copper are extracted in Africa.

It produces 66 per cent of the cocoa, 60 per cent of the sisal, 95 per cent of the peanuts, 25 per cent of the coffee and cotton.

Africa's iron ore deposits are twice those of the United States.

While the population of Africa comprises eight per cent of the world population, it accounts for only two percent of the industrial output of the capitalist world. Raw materials account for 67 per cent of African exports; 80 per cent of the trade in African raw materials and agricultural produce is with the capitalist market.

The share of industrial output per head of population in Africa is 24 times lower than in the industrially developed countries.

tries, brutal exploitation, the weakness and backwardness of local capitalism—all these factors completely rule out the capitalist path."

Capitalism was unanimously rejected by all the speakers; for them the solution lay *solely along the non-capitalist road, along the road leading to socialism.*

"The newly-independent states," Youssef Samantar said, "will be able to solve their economic tasks only by taking the socialist way and by securing the active participation of the people in the national upbuilding."

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in a paper that was read for him, made the point that progressive

politicians in Africa should endeavor to impart a socialist direction to the reconstruction of African society, for under socialism a society founded on advanced technology is coming into being without the outrageous social crimes and upheavals associated with the rise of capitalism.

Speakers noted that the non-capitalist way presupposes definite stages varying from country to country and in their duration. Any attempt to skip stages would be fraught with grave dangers.

Planning, ways and means of solving the agrarian question, sources of accumulation, and industrialization—these were among the many points discussed.

In the opinion of Mohammed Rifae, for *effective planning* it is necessary first to complete the required social and economic changes; agrarian reform, nationalization of the vital sectors of the economy, the state retention and distribution of the major part of the social surplus product, etc.

The necessary extension of the public sector to take in the "commanding heights of the economy" would provide the state with the means with which to plan the fundamental proportions and to determine the tasks of the leading branches, as well as the necessary investments and the means of financing them.

Throughout the transitional period, Rifae maintained, there should exist, side by side with the dominant public sector, a certain private one as well. And as far as this sector is concerned, the planning would be strictly "indicative." The economic policies of the state will aim at impelling the private sector to coordinate its actions with the general directives of the plan through finance, credits, allocation of foreign currency, price fixing, state-capital participation in mixed companies, and establishing contract relations between the state and private enterprises.

Part of the public investments could be left at the disposal of regional institutions endowed with economic management which should be given the possibility of using them, under certain conditions, independently of the basic objectives of the central plan, so as to ensure harmonious economic development on the entire national territory and to encourage initiative at regional and local levels.

Planning, the speaker concluded, cannot be successful unless it is based on an accumulation of funds that make it possible to finance all the investments envisaged by the plan.

The agrarian problem. On the African continent, where the peasants are the main force of production, the agrarian problem occupies the central position. Speakers pointed out that the agrarian question is one of the basic prob-

lems of the strategy of comprehensive economic development of the African continent, where agriculture is the chief source of national wealth.

African countries, Abdel Ghoneim said, need "a genuine revolution in agriculture to be carried out by way of transforming poorly-developed small-commodity production into a developed socialist agriculture founded on producer cooperatives using the achievements of science and technology."

The speakers pointed out that no ready-made universal prescription could be given for the solution of the agrarian problem. The nature of the problem differs from country to country, depending on economic, social and political levels of development, property relations and class structure, psychological and ideological factors, population density, etc. Therefore in each case the solution must be different.

Nevertheless, the multiplicity of the objective and subjective circumstances, it was stressed, does not negate the general laws of the social revolution which govern, in the final analysis, the strategy of the agrarian revolution, i.e., the democratic and socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The core of the agrarian problem in present-day Africa, in the opinion of Abdel Ghoneim, is the liberation of the peasants from all aspects of feudal and capitalist exploitation, that is to say, the liberation of the productive forces from semi-feudal and semi-capitalist production relationships.

Referring to the example of Egypt, the speaker observed that in societies characterized by a developed class structure the agrarian revolution suggests two stages:

—a *democratic stage* aimed at abolishing the semi-feudal production relationships connected with big land ownership. This can be effected by a radical agrarian reform which transfers the land to the tiller;

—a *socialist stage* aiming at abolishing capitalist exploitation and preventing any possibility of capitalist development in agriculture. This can be achieved by organizing the peasants in agricultural cooperatives.

Stressing the need for socialist changes in agriculture, the speakers pointed out that these should be effected gradually, in a way that coincides with the growth of the productive forces and parallel with the expansion of the material and technological base of agriculture.

It is obvious that the agrarian revolution will take a different course in those African countries (West African countries, for instance) in which the class structure is poorly developed and private ownership of land prac-

tically non-existent. It was suggested that the essence of the agrarian reform in these countries consists primarily in raising the rural economy to the level of modern production and in a gradual advance towards cooperative farming.

Speakers saw in agricultural cooperatives not only a medium for creating a modern, diversified agriculture but also a means of raising the material and cultural standards of millions of peasants.

Marketing cooperatives have attained remarkable success in a number of African countries. Their activities have appreciably expanded and their number has increased. Producer cooperatives are the highest cooperative organizations in agriculture. In addition to marketing the produce, they engage directly in the organizing and managing of farm production. Socialist production relations and methods of distribution are the rule in these cooperatives. Distribution according to work done gradually replaces distribution according to the property contributed. True, the African producer cooperatives are still in the early stages of development and come up against not a few technical and economic difficulties (shortage of technical, scientific, administrative and political personnel, shortage of agricultural machinery and implements). Moreover, serious mistakes have been made in some African countries in the course of establishing the cooperatives. Many proved ineffective, with the result that output dropped.

The seminar displayed keen interest in what Abdel Ghoneim had to say about the *experience of the UAR*. Prior to the July 1952 revolution a semi-feudal system of production predominated in Egypt's agriculture. There was a high degree of land concentration in the hands of a tiny group of feudal lords and big landowners, who owned 34 per cent of all arable land. The smallholders (90 per cent of the total) owned only 33 per cent. There were 12.1 million landless peasants in the country.

After the July revolution and agrarian reform the situation changed basically; the estates belonging to the royal family were confiscated; maximum family ownership was established at not more than 100 feddans, and land was distributed among the tillers.

Cooperatives uniting small farmers who had received 2-5 feddans as a result of the land reform, were set up.

The revolutionary leadership, Abdel Ghoneim went on, pursued a consistent policy of promoting cooperative marketing of such cash crops as cotton, rice and onions. As a result the positions of commercial capital have been

undermined so that today the state completely controls the sphere of export which is the principal source of accumulation.

Since 1964 the public sector began to take a hand on a growing scale in agriculture in the UAR. The cultivated area comprises only four per cent of its territory. Hence it was vitally necessary to extend the crop area. The total area of fallow land reclaimed so far since the 1952 revolution amounts to about 700,000 feddans. It is estimated that another two million feddans will be irrigated as a result of the Aswan High Dam project. The reclaimed lands are the core of the public sector in agriculture (state farms).

"The land reform regulations have dealt strong and successive blows to feudalism and land monopoly," Ghoneim said. "The tenant system has been undermined and its sphere of influence has shrunk. For the first time a cooperative-public sector has been established (in land reform areas) and now covers 16 per cent of all arable land."

The agrarian problem and that of developing agricultural production were examined not in isolation but in common with other aspects of overcoming the economic backwardness. For many African countries agriculture remains the major source of the accumulation needed for industrialization which, as Vasco Cabral correctly pointed out, "is the cornerstone of any genuine development and progress."

African countries have to grapple with enormous difficulties in solving the problem of accumulation.

Speaking about countries with neo-colonialist regimes Mohammed Rifae observed that their sources of internal accumulation are either weak or misused because of the existing social relations, and not infrequently they are monopolized by foreign capital. In these countries, the speaker said, a sizable part of the social product has been lost for the accumulation funds.

Part of the surplus product, grabbed by ruling classes of the pre-capitalist type who directly exploit the peasant communities, is spent for non-productive purposes. Another part is appropriated by middlemen and usurers who dominate the sphere of trade and finance. The profits made by this stratum are exceedingly high and generally used for the purchase of land, extension of merchant capital, acquisition of luxury goods, etc. Another part of the surplus product is exported by foreign concerns. A large portion of the public funds is wasted by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The problem of accumulation was also examined in detail by Abdel El-Razak Hassan

who suggested that, relying exclusively on agriculture at a time when it does not yield high and stable revenue leads to a dwindling of the national income in Africa and, consequently, of the annual per-capita income which ranges from \$77 in regions of East Africa to \$179 in northern regions.

"National capital, being unable to meet the needs of development, he went on, "gives rise to many problems, compelling African countries either to open the doors to foreign capital or take foreign loans. Opening the doors to foreign capital is fraught with grave dangers to independent development. As regards foreign capitalist loans, they are not easy to get, inasmuch as the imperialist powers might attach conditions the acceptance of which would involve economic and even political sacrifice. Moreover, the lenders often stipulate that the loans should go to the private sector."

Many speakers stressed the role of the socialist camp in the economic development of newly-independent African countries. Loans and credits granted on favorable terms, equal and mutually advantageous trade, aid in building industrial projects, the substantial contribution made by the socialist countries in training of technical personnel—all help the African states successfully to tackle their problems of overcoming economic backwardness. Moreover, the very existence of the socialist camp compels the imperialist countries to modify their relations with African states, to meet them halfway as regards loans and credits, aid and so on.

Recovering their right (or part of their right) to be their own masters and independently run their affairs, African states turned to industrialization as an effective factor in the development of modern society. Experience has shown, however, that industrialization is not an easy matter.

The long years of colonization resulted in Africa being tied to the colonial countries, which used it as a source of raw materials and a market for their products. This engendered the many problems with which independent Africa is now faced. If we examine the structure of national production, we shall see that the bulk of it is agricultural production.

Among the many difficulties young African states have to contend with in tackling the problem of nationalization, A. Hassan mentioned the shortage of technicians, socio-political instability, the high rate of population growth (in some countries), the predominance in the towns of the Western way of life with its extravagance, etc. This, however, should not, in the opinion of the speaker,

frighten the newly independent countries.

From this study A. Hassan drew the following conclusions:

—despite all the difficulties, industrialization is the principal means with which to accelerate progress and overcome the backwardness;

—in building their industry African countries must rely primarily on themselves, no matter what sacrifice this involves;

—African countries control much of the mineral wealth needed for industry in advanced countries. They can either sell these resources at suitable prices or exchange them for machinery and equipment;

—the industrialization stage necessitates sacrifice, revising norms of consumption and bringing them into conformity with the economic conditions of society;

—industrialization cannot be left to private

DYNAMICS OF GROWTH OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT AND NATIONAL INCOME IN THE UAR

	million Egyptian pounds		
	1952	1959/60	1965/66
Gross national product	1,824	2,548	3,738
National income	806	1,285.2	1,884
Budget	200	—	1,206
Investments (including in industry)	125	171	442.1
	2		141.6

Income per head of population rose from £E 36 in 1952 to £E 60 in 1965.

By 1970 the national income will have doubled compared with 1960.

capital. There is need for state intervention and the adoption of a definite plan;

—however important industrialization is, its burden cannot be shouldered by the working classes alone;

—lowering the prices paid for local products and raising the prices paid for imported machines and equipment are due chiefly to the weakness and disunity of the African countries. More than any other countries they are in need of solidarity to ensure stable and more advantageous prices for themselves;

—consistent implementation of a non-alignment policy by the African states and their activities to lessen tension in their relations will enable them to allocate more funds for industrialization;

—realization of African unity will facilitate the successful implementation of the industrialization and development programs.

(To be continued)

The planned inter-American armed force is a grave threat to peace

WALDO ATIAS

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT has long nurtured the idea of creating a military and political system that would ensure it undivided rule on the American continent. As far back as the thirties the Pentagon suggested in one of its documents that maximum use should be made of the military potential of Latin America, its air and naval bases to ensure political stability in this part of the world; to create a favorable climate for the objectives of the United States and to ensure it access to sources of strategic and raw materials.

The document revealed the military, economic and political trend characteristic of U.S. imperialism's attitude to the Latin American countries. In recent years this trend has been embodied in attempts to create a permanent armed force via the inter-American system. The Pentagon is pressing hard to attain this objective. On repeated occasions, riding roughshod over the formally independent Latin American states, it has resorted to the fait accompli policy causing no little embarrassment to the State Department.

On the other hand, the ideological and organizational growth of the national liberation movement on the continent as a result of the Cuban revolution has made it increasingly difficult for the reactionaries to realize their plans. However, this has not impelled the imperialists to reconsider their policy. If anything, they have redoubled their pressure, spurred on by President Johnson's pompous statement to the effect that the American countries cannot and must not allow another Communist government in the Americas.

The Pentagon wants, through this policy, to tighten its control over the armed forces of the continent. However, for these objec-

tives to be attained they need to be legalized by the Organization of American States (OAS). Hence the plan to get the forthcoming Third Extraordinary Conference of Foreign Ministers of the OAS member countries to endorse an agreement to this effect before submitting it for final approval to the meeting of heads of states scheduled for the first half of the current year.

Intensive preparations are now under way in this direction. The U.S. imperialists are using as their principal mouthpiece the "gorilla" government in Brazil. Its Foreign Minister, Juracy Magalhaes, recently toured the continent to try win over the more "obstinate" governments. The bait offered was the plan to revise the OAS Charter in the economic sphere—the main thesis advanced at the August 1966 meeting of presidents of Colombia, Chile and Venezuela and representatives of the presidents of Peru and Ecuador. The demand for increased U.S. aid on the pretext of Latin American "economic integration" might be exploited for purposes of intimidation and pressure to push through the aforementioned plans.

The peoples of Latin America, especially the workers, peasants, students and progressive intelligentsia, i.e., the sections most consistently anti-imperialist, are all too well aware of the fact that the United States dominates the OAS. They realize that the matter of the liberation of their countries will be decided not in the meeting hall of the foreign ministers. They are confident that the formation of an armed force for repression will be powerless to paralyze their struggle. Experience has taught our peoples that in big revolutionary battles violent resistance on the part of the imperialists and their reac-

tionary allies is inevitable. Hence they actively oppose the Pentagon's war plans and are exerting pressure on the governments of their respective countries, often obliging them to resist in one way or another the maneuvers of U.S. imperialism.

The most active forces of the people want to close ranks and thus create the conditions for broadening and strengthening the united anti-imperialist front, for promoting solidarity between the Latin American peoples and the forces fighting for peace, socialism and democracy in all parts of the world.

LEGALIZED LAWLESSNESS

At the time of the Second World War the United States, turning to account the struggle against the fascist bloc, began systematically to infiltrate into the Latin American armed forces. It continued to do so after the war on the pretext of "defense of the Western Hemisphere." In its drive to have the continent's armed forces abide by the regulations of its own army, the United States is step by step trying to eradicate the long-standing European influence. To this end it is supplying only obsolete armaments, insisting on a standard uniform and implanting its ideological, military and technological concepts and indoctrinating Latin American officers in the spirit and regulations of the U.S. Army.

Under the aegis of the inter-American system a multitude of organizations and missions have been formed whose job is to step up subversive activities and establish an espionage and intervention network. Officers are granted liberal allowances for training in the United States or at U.S. military bases abroad. The purpose, clearly, is to corrupt the officers, to undermine their national dignity.

To date these maneuvers have yielded the following results: in 1947 the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed in Rio de Janeiro; in 1948 the OAS Charter, juridically sealing the military-political alliance, was adopted at a conference in Bogota; in 1952-53 the United States concluded bilateral agreements with 12 countries; this was followed by joint maneuvers (operations "America," "Unitas," "Fraternitas," "Ayacucho") directed by the U.S. military. All this, plus the establishment of the Inter-American Defense Board and multifarious activity of a military and semi-military nature, carried out under cover of inter-Americanism, can be described as the beginning of the integration of the continent's armed forces.

These initial measures, which required

several years to put into effect, were followed by a second stage in imperialist policy, the stage when the Pentagon decided that an institutional mechanism was needed to enable it to control the continent's armed forces. The growth of the liberation movement in Latin America, the supreme manifestation of which was the Cuban revolution, accelerated the elaboration of the corresponding schemes. That is how the question of organizing an inter-American army first arose.

In 1960 Senator George A. Smathers (Florida) suggested that the then Secretary of State, Christian Herter, should consider *the formation of an inter-American police force designed to maintain the security of the Hemisphere against internal danger*. Several months later as a result of the debate in the U.S. Congress on amendments to the Foreign Aid Bill, Article 502 was adopted which declares that *the creation of an international military force under the authority of the OAS would be an important contribution to peace*. Thus, without preliminary consultation with the governments of the interested countries, the United States announced, legislatively, its intention to form an inter-American armed force.

DIPLOMACY DISCARDED

With the crudeness characteristic of the militarist mentality, the Pentagon discarded all tact and pushed ahead with its plan. Thus, in August 1960, General Theodore Bogart, U.S. commander in the Caribbean, suggested at the Panama conference of commanders of the armed forces of the Latin American countries, the establishment of an exchange-of-information system; on the pretext of carrying out coordinating functions, this system would have enabled the Pentagon to act as a kind of continental general staff. The proposal, unprecedented in the history of international relations—if only because it envisaged concluding an agreement directly between army chiefs, over the heads of their own governments — naturally aroused the suspicions of the latter and had to be dropped.

Later, Washington tried to rectify its procedural blunder by despatching General Robert Burns, Chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board, to tour the continent and discuss the matter directly with the governments concerned. But the Burns mission had little success. With the exception of Paraguay, the other countries expressed weighty reservations. These, evidently, were prompted not so much by an unwillingness to use foreign armed forces to crush the popular movements in their countries, as by the fear

that they themselves might become the victim of a powerful military machine wielding unlimited powers.

These difficulties forced Washington to revise the methods of exerting pressure employed up to then, to assess the results and plan accordingly.

OLD OBJECTIVES, NEW METHODS

After taking stock of the situation it was decided to proceed with the plan, but more systematically and gradually. Hence the idea to form integrated armies in different areas, which subsequently would be integrated on a continental scale.

The meeting between the President of the United States and the Presidents of the countries of Central America, held at San Jose (Costa Rica) in March 1963, prepared the ground for putting the revised plan into effect. In addition to discussing economic integration it also laid the basis for similar measures in the military sphere. Six months later the armies of Nicaragua and Honduras coordinated their actions against the guerrillas in the border areas. And when El Salvador and Costa Rica agreed in principle to organize supra-national army formations they were joined shortly after by Nicaragua and Honduras. This paved the way to the establishment of the Central American Defense Council.

The Pentagon was most assiduous in forming and strengthening the CADC, regarding it as a model for the rest of the continent. However, the resistance of the peoples of Central America and the contradictions between the governments and the military brass of the countries concerned delayed matters. It was only in June 1965 at a meeting in Managua of the CADC that representatives of the governments of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador signed an agreement whereby each pledged to provide 500 soldiers trained in anti-guerrilla tactics, to be used in any of the said countries whenever "necessary." (Military contingents of Honduras and El Salvador were used on several occasions against popular actions in Guatemala.) In June 1966 Panama was accepted into the Organization of Central American States; it was also agreed that she would subsequently join the Central American military system. In this connection Julio Adalberto Rivera, President of El Salvador, enunciated a principle which can be regarded as a "theoretical substantiation" of military intervention. "In the event of one of the countries being subjected to internal aggression," he said, "the other governments of the Central

American states should come to its aid, striving, however, to avoid declaring a traditional or conventional war."

To test the preparedness of the newly-formed army it was planned to carry out "Operation Nicarao" in Puerto Cabezas.

News of this evoked widespread protests among the people of the Central American countries. In Costa Rica and other countries there were demonstrations and clashes with the police.

The aggression against the Dominican Republic was used by the U.S. imperialists to breathe life into one of the first offshoots of the inter-American army. To impart a semblance of legality to the intervention Washington prevailed on the OAS to adopt a resolution to combine the troop contingents of Brazil, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Costa Rica. These were used not so much for waging effective military actions but rather as an inter-American screen shielding the brutalities of the U.S. marines and paratroops.

PREPARATIONS ARE STEPPED UP

In connection with the scheduled continental meetings the military began to step up their activities in all the countries of the continent. Thus, in May 1966 the Sixth Meeting of chiefs of the air forces of the OAS member countries was held at Lima. A month later the military school in Tolemaida (a suburb of Bogota) started advanced courses "specializing in the technique of anti-guerrilla warfare." These were attended by officers from the United States, the Argentine, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. In August 1966, the Fifth Meeting of heads of the naval forces of American states convened in Caracas. In October-November Buenos Aires was the venue of the Seventh Meeting of commanders-in-chief of the ground troops of the OAS member countries. In October 1965 "Operation Unitas VII" of the naval and air forces was carried out with 53 ships and 50 aircraft of the United States, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela participating.

Considerable importance was attached also to the maneuvers of the Brazilian army (October 24-November 9, 1966) in Rio Grande do Sul. These maneuvers, in which more than 9,000 men participated, were devoted to the same old theme of "government troop actions against the insurgents." The intensive military activity in 1966 was coordinated with corresponding propaganda around the question of establishing an inter-American armed force. This activity culminated in a meeting in November in Buenos Aires of the com-

manders-in-chief of the ground troops of the Latin American states. The decisions of this meeting were not published. But it is known that basically they concerned the "institutionalization of an OAS military system" which, in the final analysis, is tantamount to an inter-American army (nothing has been said in public about this so far, in view, evidently, of the possibility of resistance).

This haste to form an inter-American armed force should be seen as one aspect of the Pentagon pressure, as a continuation of the notorious policy of *fait accompli*.

Another form of pressure is the threat to suspend military aid to countries resisting the formation of such an army. Washington reckons that the High Command of the respective countries will urge their government to accept the Pentagon plan for, according to the logic of the imperialists, without U.S. aid the given country will be defenseless in the eyes of the neighboring states.

Similar threats are used to step up the arms race. An example of this is Argentina's recent acquisition of U.S. fighter planes and bombers. This development initiated a kind of chain reaction. Shortly after, the Chilean government acquired jet aircraft from Britain. Peru, not to be outdone, is likewise planning to buy a large number of military aircraft. Venezuela has started corresponding talks with the British Aircraft Corporation. Brazil, for its part, has purchased 40 U.S. training planes and is presently negotiating the purchase of supersonic F-5 aircraft and Bell and Hughes helicopters.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, bent on extending the scope for suppression, foments discord between the Latin-American countries and exploits it. Cases in point are the attacks made by Brazilian "gorillas" on Uruguay, the pretext being that Uruguay gave political asylum to representatives of the opposition to the Castello Branco dictatorship; the territorial claims made on Chile by the Argentine reactionaries in the extreme south, and by the military government of Bolivia in the north; the border disputes between Peru and Ecuador, and Venezuela's claims on Guyana.

Thus, Washington is constantly weaving the web of intrigue, seeking to exacerbate tension, to foment chauvinist tendencies in the national liberation struggle and thus accelerate realization of its military plans.

Another Washington trick is to threaten to set up a military bloc between the United States and the "gorilla" governments of Argentina and Brazil should its original proposals fail. This threat, widely spread by the pro-militarist press, is all the more realistic

considering that the *de facto* Argentine president, General Onganía, and Brazil's future president, Marshal Costa e Silva, stated a year ago when they were in command of the armed forces of their respective countries, that they had signed an agreement directed against the civil governments of Chile and Uruguay.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE PENTAGON

From the purely military viewpoint the formation of an inter-American army is making headway. This proves, incidentally, that the military now have a big say in government matters. The U.S. Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, recently admitted this when he told the *New York Times* that under the former administrations, especially when John Foster Dulles, James Byrnes and Dean Acheson were Secretaries of State, the State Department had the sole right to decide such (foreign policy—W.A.) matters. Thus the Pentagon association with foreign policy matters began to bear a much more comprehensive character.

As regards the matter which concerns us, this "association" means, in effect, that the Pentagon holds the initiative, leaving the diplomats of the State Department no choice but to trail behind, their task now being confined to finding the right juridical formula in which to clothe the *fait accompli* policy, to eliminating as far as possible the danger of the inter-American repressive armed force revealing its interventionist character since this would make it impossible for the Latin American governments to accept the Pentagon's plan. Even though most of these governments obediently carry out Washington's orders, they sometimes try to display at least a semblance of independence, hoping in this way to lessen the discontent of their people.

The ideologists of imperialism, in fulfilment of the role assigned to them, have elaborated a system of arguments designed "theoretically to substantiate" the aggressive foreign policy.

Thus, at the Ninth Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers (July 1964) the U.S. delegation, resorting to the usual bombastic phrasemongering, got the meeting to accept a new definition of the term "aggression." In its new definition it now implies not only an armed attack by one country against another, but also so-called "subversive activity."

Nor is this a mere juggling with words. The new definition is fraught with dangerous consequences for the sovereignty of the Latin American republics. In the anti-Communist

terminology of the United States the words "subversive activity" are invariably preceded by the adjective "communist," and the latter word, according to the same absurd logic, presupposes "foreign intervention." Thus, the mechanism has been prepared for action: in the event of a reactionary government assessing a popular movement as a threat to its existence all it has to do is to invoke the Rio de Janeiro Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, invoke the words "subversive activity." The country concerned does not have to prove that it is the object of attack from without or within the Western Hemisphere.

President Johnson, speculating with this theory, declared, in the effort to justify the dispatch of marines to the Dominican Republic: "In today's world with the enemies of freedom talking about 'wars of national liberation', the old distinction between 'civil war' and 'international war' has lost much of its meaning." As noted earlier, it was during this barbarous aggression that the so-called inter-American army was engendered, which has as its object to cover imperialist intervention in the guise of the legality contrived by the OAS Charter.

REVISION OF THE OAS CHARTER

In its efforts to legalize the position which runs counter to the principles of the sovereignty and self-determination of the Latin American countries, the State Department is encountering difficulties with the very instruments which it helped to fashion. Such is the case, for example, with the OAS Charter. At the time the Charter was drawn up, active participation by the people in foreign policy — a consequence of the situation brought about by the anti-Hitler war — resulted in the inclusion in the Charter of the principle of non-intervention, a principle which the democratic forces of the continent have traditionally counterposed to the policy of the colonial powers.

This is not to the liking of Washington, particularly Articles 15, 16 and 17 of the Charter which are wholly at variance with the objectives of the international repressive force. According to Article 15 no state, or group of states, shall interfere directly or indirectly in the internal or foreign affairs of another state. Article 16 prohibits coercive measures of any kind being taken against a member-state of the inter-American system. Under Article 17 the territory of a state is inviolable and may not be used as the object of military occupation or for any other forcible measures.

Since it is a matter of legalizing an armed

force that will violate the principles contained in the said articles, it is essential to Washington that they be modified.

And this is exactly what U.S. diplomacy tried to do at the Second Extraordinary Conference of Foreign Ministers in Rio de Janeiro (November 1965) through the "gorillas." But this maneuver was scotched owing to the opposition of the representatives of Chile, Mexico and Uruguay, a stand which influenced other hesitant delegates. The matter was then referred to the Third Extraordinary Conference. It should be noted that during the Second Extraordinary Conference all kinds of "theoretical" concepts were advanced in support of the interventionist leanings of the imperialists, which will undoubtedly come up for discussion again at the next meeting since the matter has not yet been settled.

The principles of sovereignty and self-determination are countered by such concepts as "interdependence" and "ideological frontiers." Here it is pertinent to recall the statement made by the ex-foreign minister of Brazil, Leitao da Cunha, at the Rio de Janeiro conference where he supported Washington. "The orthodox and rigid concept of national sovereignty," he said, "was formulated at a time when the nations which had assumed the responsibility failed to fulfil their obligation of mutual cooperation in the search for common aims . . . At present, especially on the American continent, historical evolution and the evolution of ideas renovate the classical understanding of this tenet of international law. The natural frontiers of states have become outmoded and in their place we should pay attention to ideological frontiers."

Another argument used to distort the concept of sovereignty is an a priori fixing of the system each country should have. Much of the anti-Communist demagoguery of American imperialism is based on the puerile concept that the United States is the pillar of the "free world" as opposed to the notorious "Communist slavery." Hence at the inter-American conferences the "representative democracy" of the United States is lauded as the only regime capable of effecting sovereignty which, according to this reasoning, should be guaranteed in different ways, including a supranational authority.

This attitude is quite obviously a cynical and inconsistent one, especially when we bear in mind the support Washington has rendered and continues to render to military and civil dictatorships on the continent. And yet the minutes of the inter-American meetings invariably contain enthusiastic praise of "rep-

representative democracy" by the representatives of the most tyrannical regimes.

It is interesting to observe the State Department's efforts to attenuate the contrast between the fervent expressions of love for democracy and the spread of "gorillism." The tendency now is to create, under the mask of pseudo-democracy, a legal front for illegal pro-imperialist regimes. The election of Balaguer in the Dominican Republic and the scandalous appointment of Marshal Costa e Silva in Brazil are typical examples.

THE ARMED FORCES AGAINST THE PEOPLE

The use of such concepts as "ideological frontiers," instead of national frontiers, and "interdependence," instead of national sovereignty, is designed to help the vassal governments of Latin America to present to their peoples in a more favorable light the absurd plan to turn their armed forces, formally created and maintained for the defense of the country, into a component of a multi-national police corps that can be used at any time for armed aggression against their own territory.

Apropos of this the writer Edesio Alvarado commented in the Chilean journal *Plan*: "The 'ideological frontiers' concept signifies not only the complete disappearance of geographical boundaries, territorial integrity and even national property. It also means total revision of the concepts of the invaded country and the aggressor country. If during a 'war against subversive activity' one country should happen to attack another to 'save it from communism', the military supporters of the 'ideological frontier concept' will then have to regard the aggressors not as enemies but as allies, as something like 'fellow citizens' in the common struggle against subversive activities and will, therefore, collaborate with them in the wholesale murder of their compatriots."

The advocates of the inter-American repressive force are now discarding the old, hackneyed phraseology about the Communist danger from without, which enabled them to disguise a clearly interventionist policy as "defense of the Western Hemisphere." Even the wildest of the anti-communists no longer use the old phraseology. They speak openly about combating "subversive activity in the country." Thus, on September 20, 1965, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a motion that gives Washington the "right" to invade any of the Latin American countries on the pretext of combating subversive activity or the threat of subversion.

It can be concluded, then, that the projected

inter-American armed force has nothing whatever in common with extra-continental aggression, that it is designed solely to ensure "internal order." The same is true of the Pentagon's "Plan Camelot" designed for Chile and under another name for Colombia, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. The purpose of this plan is to find, with the help of "sociological studies," optimal methods of preventing revolution. Its exposure by the Communist Party of Chile and the sharply negative attitude to it in other countries predetermined its failure even before the Pentagon admitted that the idea had been "to isolate the factors making for revolutionary change in the developing nations of the world and the means by which the Communists capitalize on these factors to try to take over a country."

Numerous U.S. military missions are displaying intensive activity in army circles trying to smuggle in imperialism's ideological and tactical contraband. The usual thing is to circulate translations of pamphlets and of U.S. army manuals, such as manual "FM 31.15" which examines the question of "operations against irregular troops" and discusses the tactics of armed struggle against popular movements.

Nor is the Pentagon's ideological offensive confined to the purely military side. As Professor Olga Poblete of the World Peace Council noted, participating in the imperialist actions of the USA "are not only its politicians, military strategists and businessmen but also university professors and research workers. Economists, anthropologists, historians, sociologists and psychologists are working to put into effect the deadliest aims which contemporary science can set itself. They are trying to change the course of history with the aid of science. Together with their colleagues—biologists and chemists—they are cooperating in elaborating programs designed to dull the conscience, enslave the intellect, undermine the will and, in the most direct sense, to poison or destroy the people with gases causing vomiting or affecting the nervous system."

WHAT THE PENTAGON WANTS

In summing up it can be said that although the existence of an inter-American force would make it easier eventually to involve the Latin American countries in Washington's aggression in Vietnam and in other areas, it is nevertheless designed essentially to crush the popular movements in Latin America and to unleash a "holy war" against Cuba or any other country where a situation may arise imperilling U.S. imperialist inter-

ests. Needless to say, the existence of a multi-national army would legalize direct intervention by U.S. troops in any country of the continent.

Viewed from the angle of the businessman's mentality, so characteristic of the U.S. policy makers, the outlook is promising. Although it is impossible, because of mutual distrust and other specific features of the Latin American continent, to give an exact figure for their armed forces in peace time, it is calculated to be in the neighborhood of 750,000. The Pentagon is well aware that from \$1,500 to \$2,000 million are spent annually on the upkeep of these forces, which in the event the project is realized can become a kind of source of indirect revenue for the Treasury in Washington. The prospects are rosy indeed.

Nor are the Pentagon's plans confined to the army. It wants to include in the praetorian armed forces in the service of imperialism also the police of these countries. And the necessary steps are being taken in this direction. At the end of July 1966 representatives of the secret police of the Central American countries met in San Jose. A month later the police chiefs of the continent foregathered in Lima. These meetings did not study, as might have been expected, problems of crime but rather technical and ideological aspects of the fight against "extremist activity" and "guerrilla warfare."

THE FIGHT OF THE PEOPLES

If the plan for a permanent inter-American armed force is examined from the standpoint of international law, it will be very difficult indeed to get conferences of foreign ministers and presidents of the continent to approve it, for a comparison with the principles in the UNO and OAS charters, especially in the section relating to the use of armed force at times of international conflicts, shows that this plan flagrantly violates these principles. It is contrary to the universal concept of the UNO to give regional blocs the right to employ armed force. A precedent in this sense could, apart from the fact that it increases the possibility of clashes between different blocs, endanger the very foundations of the United Nations.

One can anticipate, therefore, that despite the fact that Washington lays down the law in the OAS, the U.S. diplomats will have difficulty in getting the said plan approved. Another point, and one that should not be underestimated, is that the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the Latin American states have reached a point where they

are beginning to sap the roots of the inter-American system. In these circumstances many governments of the continent hesitate to accept the U.S. proposal because they realize that in the event of their doing so, this might be more than the people would stand for and, consequently, might lead to their own downfall.

However, it is not in the diplomatic field that the plans of the Pentagon will encounter major obstacles but in the struggle of the peoples of Latin America for complete national liberation. The intensified activity of the imperialists to form a continental repressive police force is their response to the spread of the revolutionary movement in this part of the world. In different circumstances the U.S. imperialists would have preferred to maintain their domination through traditional methods such as the "big stick" or "dollar diplomacy."

Indeed, if one takes into account the failure of the reformist experiment known as the Alliance for Progress (even considering the attempt to "rejuvenate" it by means of "economic integration"), and when we recall the dubious results of Washington's brutal aggression in the Dominican Republic and the chronic instability of the "gorilla" regimes in Brazil and Argentina, we cannot but draw the conclusion that the old policy of combining stick and dollar is no longer adequate to stem the tide of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

The situation on the continent has changed radically since the triumph of the Cuban Revolution which strikingly showed that the social schemes and subtle geopolitical concepts elaborated in Washington are meeting with failure. In our day and age it would be hard to find anyone who would subscribe to the view that willy-nilly 230 million Latin Americans must submit to the USA merely because they happen to live in the same hemisphere as the "Northern colossus."

The Latin American peoples, rallying their forces, are resolutely opposing U.S. domination, particularly the use of counter-revolutionary armed violence, i.e., the formation of an inter-American army. Workers, peasants, students, and progressive intellectuals who are being joined in increasing numbers by representatives of the small and middle bourgeoisie, are in a variety of ways expressing disagreement with the latest maneuvers of the imperialists.

And in the armed forces there are quite a number of men of different rank who refuse to become mercenaries blindly executing Washington's plans. These patriots are more and more actively opposing the machinations

to "Vietnamize" the Latin American countries, to turn their national armies into puppets ready to shoot down their own people. Here it should be noted that the establishment of armies in the Latin American countries bore, in most cases, a liberatory and anti-colonialist character. The system of corruption and deception so assiduously implanted by the Pentagon, and the efforts to elevate "gorillism" to the level of a party and ideological category do not always yield the desired results. The examples of the well-known Guatemalan guerrilla commander, Turcios Lima, although trained at Fort Benning (USA), headed the armed resistance of his people, and of Colonel Caamano in the Dominican Republic who resolutely opposed the imperialist aggression, are two of many.

Thus the explosive revolutionary situation in Latin America is a source of constant difficulty in carrying out orders from Washington. Things are complicated by the grow-

ing antagonisms in the United States itself where resistance is increasing to Johnson's aggressive policy, by the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the developed capitalist countries of other continents, by the growing struggle for national liberation of the colonial and dependent peoples, and particularly by the decisive influence exerted by the socialist countries.

Should the U.S. imperialists nevertheless succeed in imposing, in one way or another, a repressive armed force in the guise of an inter-American army, they will meet with a telling rebuff, for, as noted in the Statement of the Solidarity Organization of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, "the Latin American countries will be able to oppose revolutionary violence to counter-revolutionary violence and as the struggle for national liberation develops destroy the counter-revolutionary continental strategy of the U.S. imperialists."

New stage in the guerrilla struggle in Colombia

RAMON LOPEZ

MAY 1964 USHERED in a new stage in the guerrilla struggle in our country. Once again the peasants were compelled to take to arms to resist government violence, the immediate reason being the military offensive launched against the peasants of Marquetalia. This offensive, thoroughly prepared with the assistance of U.S. officers, had no precedent in all the years of *La Violencia* as regards the number of troops taking part (16,000 at the outset with additional forces steadily thrown in as the struggle developed), the use of modern weapons, and the range and variety of tactical maneuvers and the propaganda devices used to deprive the embattled peasants of mass support.

Previous punitive operations had been carried out with smaller forces and the simplest equipment and usually along conventional lines. Now new methods were introduced in keeping with the latest imperialist orientation on "irregular anti-guerrilla warfare unencumbered by any standards, codes or moral precepts whatever."

What is taking place in Colombia today is a "preventive war" by imperialism and the local oligarchy against the people, a war aimed at preventing the popular movement from gaining strength and developing into a struggle for power. The outcome will depend on the stamina of the people, their unity and their will for victory.

THE REACTIONARIES DRAW LESSONS

A textbook used in one of the special Colombian military schools where instruction is given in "irregular warfare" contains the following: "Guerrilla detachments have harassed the regular army, driven it to the point of desperation and dealt it far more defeats than they themselves have suffered. For fourteen years our army has fought the guerrillas without success, due to the wrong approach to this kind of warfare."

The emergence of pressures for "modernizing" reprisals is associated primarily with the fact that many Colombian officers have been to the special anti-guerrilla schools run by the U.S. military in Panama, Puerto Rico and in the United States itself for Latin American officers. As could be expected, the first graduates of these schools upon returning to their units in the late fifties campaigned against the traditional concept of war and advocated modernization; they drew on the experience of the colonial wars in Vietnam, Malaya, the Philippines and elsewhere.

The radical reorganization of the armed forces in 1960, based on the lessons of the unsuccessful efforts to smash the guerrillas, followed the Pentagon's insistence on more effective military organization of the counter-revolution. In particular, brigades of ten or more battalions were vested with administrative functions and powers not subject to any control by the civilian authorities. In this way each brigade became a kind of regional dictatorship empowered to arrest people and hand down sentences all the way to the death penalty.

Special schools were opened, notably the "Ranger" training centers for counter-guerrilla operations. A scheme was worked out for forming expeditionary groups (for operations in peasant areas) consisting of units of all arms of the service—infantry, light artillery, engineers, reconnaissance units, medical service, communication corps, etc. Air transport began to be used extensively to carry commandos and supplies and to effect evacuation and encirclement operations. The first airborne unit, trained by U.S. advisers, was formed not long ago.

On the other hand, military operations are now supplemented with political indoctrination by the authorities and influential local leaders. Both the official communiques and the national press give the public a distorted picture of events in the war-swept areas.

"A new attitude must be created towards the Army's new mission," a high-ranking officer wrote some time ago in one of the journals of the armed forces. This particular officer

and his colleagues regard the use of the armed forces of a country against the people as a "prophylactic measure" designed to prevent revolution. This doctrine was clearly formulated in another set of "theoretical" instructions studied in the anti-guerrilla schools: "He who wins the battle for the masses wins the war. Hence there is no place for scrupulousness in choosing the means."

This "philosophy" found practical application at once. Five secret police organizations are now functioning. Two of these operate as watchdogs in the army. One of the other three functions in the police, while two operate under the supervision of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Towards the end of 1965 a mercenary force about 1,000 strong, officially known as the "anti-guerrilla battalion," was attached to one of the brigades. This force is recruited from criminals, including notorious bandits, released from prison on the condition that they enrol in this battalion. They are highly paid, have special privileges and are absolved from barracks discipline and from the usual army routine. The special function of this gang of professional killers is to terrorize the civil population. It clearly represents the initial attempt to copy the old colonialist system of foreign legions, the only difference being that in the given case the legionnaires are our own countrymen.

IMPERIALIST INTERFERENCE

In 1960 when modernization of the army was begun, an event occurred which to the superficial observer might have seemed to be just another provocation.

The CIA, which has a well-organized spy network in Colombia, published a report describing several areas in the country as being, in view of their internal organization, veritable "independent republics." The report listed these districts and stressed that it was up to the government to abolish them with utmost speed. As subsequent developments were to show, already at that time a plan had been worked out for dealing primarily with the peasant districts where the "national front" (the government coalition) had lost influence. Simultaneously the plan was directed also against the democratic movement as a whole which at the time was on the up-grade.

The capitalist press gave wide publicity to the report and launched a high-pressure campaign for all-out war against the districts in question. This, then, was the origin of the term "independent republics" applied to areas now subjected to armed repressions.

More and more Colombians are beginning to realize that imperialism is directly involved in a war waged against our people. They know that it was the CIA which egged on the big latifundists to demand a war of annihilation against the peasant districts; they also know that the moment the war got under way, aid of all kinds began to flow in from the USA, including dollar loans within the framework of the Alliance for Progress. It is common knowledge that the Laso Plan, for example, for a "preventive war" in Colombia, was elaborated and imposed on the country by the U.S. military mission. And the Pentagon has supplied the planes and helicopters for the air force now engaged in bombing and other operations. All the arms, both light and heavy, used against the peasants bear the trademark "Made in USA."

Operation Marquetalia, which has been extended to the other areas indicated by the U.S. interventionists and the local latifundists, is an extremely costly matter. The \$30 million allocated at the outset was soon used up, and from time to time the word gets around that those in charge of financing the operation are pleading with their patrons for still more money.

The bulk of the "aid" received by Colombia under the Alliance for Progress program is squandered in repressive operations. All told U.S. financial institutions have loaned our country \$1,478 million. Yet the economy is virtually stagnant, and the present rate of investment offers no hope of progress in the foreseeable future. Whatever money is obtained goes either for such public works as sewer systems, roads, which are more of military than economic significance, maintenance of railways, for waterworks and power lines (the latter a sop to the public who are demanding the construction of urgent and vital projects), or it is spent on maintaining "public order," which is the bigger item of the two.

This combined effort of imperialism and the oligarchy, without which there would be no foundation for the reprisals and outrages, is, in effect, the opening through which Washington takes part in waging war against the people of Colombia.

"MILITARY-CIVILIAN ACTIVITIES"

The Laso Plan attaches particular significance to "military-civilian activities" as a complement to the use of armed force. A cover for the preventive war, the "military-civilian activities" are the embodiment in practice of the "battle for the minds of men" in the context of the two basic forms war of

this type takes—psychological warfare and anti-guerrilla action.

As a rule the first precedes the latter. The government forces first strike a philanthropic pose, pretending to be the champions of progress. Army doctors render first aid to the local inhabitants. Army barbers give the children haircuts, and army cooks supply housewives with recipes. The poor are given handouts of food, supplied by U.S. philanthropic associations CARE and Caritas. Poverty is made the point of departure in establishing "friendly relations with the population" in preparation for the actions to come.

The first step, then, is to allay the suspicions of the local people. Initial success paves the way for the military intelligence groups which collect information about the political views of the population and the political hue of the local organizations, conduct population censuses taking in both permanent residents and seasonal agricultural laborers, compile maps of the area and plant or recruit informers.

The same methods (adapted of course to local conditions) are used in the towns to build a veritable Mafia officially described as a "civil defense" organization.

Another pillar of the "military-civilian" set-up is the *Community Action* organization run by the government and the Church. Its purpose is to check the growth of discontent caused by inadequate public amenities. It exhorts the people to join in building various centers under the supervision of government-appointed specialists. In mid-1966 there were 4,900 community committees (mostly in areas affected by *La Violencia*), each headed by a secret agent or informer of one of the branches of the secret service. Since schools, roads, bridges and other utilities are urgent necessities, the local civil, military and church authorities influence the people through these committees in a paternalist spirit. While urging the people themselves to build facilities they need, the authorities use the committees to impose the will of the government in other spheres and to subject opponents of the system to political persecution. In fact, the "military-civilian activity" is designed to foster the illusion that the much needed local development can be effected only if the people will help the government to combat those labeled subversive.

The Community Action committees are directed by nearly 1,000 men of the U.S. Peace Corps, who also engage in espionage and help draw up and carry out the government's plans for maintaining "public order."

The propaganda conducted in the "military-civilian" context is aimed at winning support

for the policy of repressions. A manual on psychological warfare classifies propaganda as follows:

a) "white" propaganda disseminated by radio stations, news agencies, newspapers and other information media. This propaganda is conducted openly and in a sense is based on actual political and other developments, which are treated so as to "deprive the adversary of arguments." Propaganda of this kind is spread verbally through speeches, lectures, sermons and kindred means of direct indoctrination;

b) "grey" propaganda, the sources of which are not directly indicated although no special effort is made to conceal them, is spread in the same manner, though in a somewhat more round-about way. The "grey" specializes in rumor, fabrication and calumny. Its purpose is to poison minds with a view to achieving a particular result. It, too, makes use of actual facts and situations, but draws conclusions designed to sow confusion. Those who engage in this kind of propaganda hold that "lack of absolute certainty as to the source of information characteristic of this method makes it easier to play on the gullibility of the masses and on their emotions";

c) "black" propaganda. "The justification invoked for this type of propaganda, if it may be called that, is the thesis that ends justify means." Inasmuch as it is designed to undermine the morale of the opponents of the oligarchy, it is used in a big way. Based on deliberate falsehood, the effect depends on the extent to which the people to whom it is addressed are capable of independent thinking and analysis. This category of propaganda includes falsifying documents and statements issued by the opposition press, including the Communist press.

With the completion of the initial stages of "military-civilian activity," the strictest controls are established over the life of the particular district. Curfews are proclaimed from, say, six in the evening to six in the morning. All citizens are kept under observation, no one can move freely from one location to another, not even to work and back. Ultimately the day comes when all the inhabitants of the given zone are ordered to move to another part of the country. They are now sent to "assembly centers" where they virtually become prisoners of the forces of "law and order." And, lastly, the bombers go into action.

But even this combination of ruthless violence and psychological preparation has failed to intimidate the masses, to deprive the guerrillas of popular support.

THE FIGHT FOR LAND AND SELF-DEFENSE

Because of the widespread land hunger, organizations waging a fight against the class seeking to perpetuate its monopoly of land ownership came into being many years ago among the Colombian peasantry.

Of a total territory of 1,138,000 square kilometres, only 33 million hectares are farm land. A mere 10 per cent of this is planted to crops, the remaining 30 million hectares being pasture used for grazing some 19 million head of cattle.

Nearly two-thirds of the population live in the countryside. Most have only small plots, and many have no land at all; the bulk of the cultivated land belongs to a handful of latifundists.

Some 600 big landowners constituting the top crust of the landed proprietors own more land than the 750,000 small holders with less than 20 hectares each. More than a million landless peasant families are subjected to semi-feudal, semi-capitalist exploitation. Various forms of labor rent and rent in kind still exist. Rent paid in money is far less common.

In the circumstances more and more peasants are leaving the countryside with a disastrous effect on food production. Chronic shortage of home grown products is made good by importing U.S. surpluses.

To lessen peasant discontent the authorities have been carrying out for the past four years a land distribution program described as an "agrarian-social reform." Actually this is a land-purchase and resale scheme worked out by a semi-official agency; the latter buys from the latifundists whatever land they wish to sell, carries out some irrigation, makes dirt roads, and then sell plots to peasants on instalments over a fifteen year term with advance payment of a high interest. Moreover, the recipient has to mortgage the land which makes his title to it dependent on meeting the payments in time.

In the Colombian countryside the class struggle takes the most acute forms with the reactionaries resorting to arms to crush the peasant movement. The guerrilla movement first emerged as a defensive, resistance movement, which then gradually developed into actual warfare. In our country guerrilla movements have invariably been peasant struggles; the peasants have been forced (and this justifies their actions in the eyes of the rest of the population) to turn their political and economic organizations into combat units capable of meeting violence with violence.

The Communist Party has been working among the peasants practically from its foun-

dation in 1930. The prestige enjoyed by the Party among the rural working people was won in the course of these struggles. The revolutionary organizations of the peasantry, too, came into being under the influence of the Communists and with their direct participation. The peasants have learned much in these organizations, which have helped to awaken in them an awareness of their potential and the strength they represent when they stand united in the common cause and, drawing on their joint experience and relying on their own efforts, work to solve the problems facing them. This, too, might be described as "community action"—in this case action guided by a revolutionary force and directed towards revolutionary goals.

When the first wave of violence swept the countryside in 1949, the Communist Party urged the hundreds of thousands of victims of this onslaught to defend themselves, "to meet the force of the reactionaries with organized force by the masses." In subsequent years this slogan found embodiment in the transformation of existing associations into what came to be known as mass self-defense organizations where the masses engaged in every possible form of political activity, learning in the process of the fight for their immediate interests and at the same time preparing to wage an armed struggle and, if need be, to carry it over to a guerrilla war.

This policy has proved correct. Experience has shown that when members of the self-defense organizations take to arms they no longer need to improvise on the go. Going over to armed action is but a qualitative shift to a higher plane within the existing organization. "The guerrilla movement can be traced back to the popular self-defense movement which, in turn, emerged from the many years of struggle waged by the peasants for land, peace and democratic freedoms," one of the present leaders of the guerrilla movement writes in a study of "preventive war." "At the outset of this war the government and the army command fought not guerrilla groupings but mass self-defense organizations, which answered the enemy as could be expected."

He who claims that the mass self-defense organization is "passive" and that "it retards the revolutionary mass struggle" is ill-acquainted with the history of the peasant and armed struggle in our country. Still less is he acquainted with the concrete history of each phase of this struggle, the social environment in which it is waged, and the specific features of our country.

BITTER LESSONS

From the beginning of the struggle in 1964 the guerrillas were aware that the enemy was now stronger and had practically unlimited resources. In the preceding years the Communist Party had examined the processes in the enemy camp discussed above and lost no time in bringing its conclusions to the attention of the revolutionary groups. The Party pointed to the need to renounce the old views concerning popular armed struggle, and to put an end to braggadocio and shortsightedness which had cost us needless sacrifices. These warnings were correctly understood by the armed peasants.

There were, however, revolutionaries who argued (and some still do) that the Communists were overestimating the enemy's strength, exaggerating his possibilities, which they claimed made for passivity on the part of the masses. But experience has shown who was right. In this connection two examples may be cited:

1. When the gangs of mercenaries, hired by the government to discredit armed struggle in the eyes of the masses by committing outrages ostensibly in the name of the revolution, had served their purpose they were done away with in no time by the Army itself. The growing isolation of these gangs from the masses and the lack of organization typical of them made it easier for the armed forces to deal with them.

2. Some revolutionary groups, mostly consisting of young people carried away by romantic ideas about armed struggle, embarked on armed action without the active support of the *local peasants* and at a time when the government had not been sufficiently discredited on a *national* scale and when a number of other factors facilitating armed action were lacking.

The Communists wanted all groups of revolutionaries eager to take guerrilla action to have a clear idea of the enemy and to prepare accordingly. Revolutionaries have no right deliberately to commit suicide, for the defeat of any group—because of either improper preparation for the conduct of hostilities or a wrong approach to the masses—can only demoralize the people and strengthen the adversary.

The enemy, on the contrary, wanted the "theory of armed struggle at any price" evolved by romantic revolutionaries to induce honest and dedicated but not sufficiently prepared revolutionary fighters to take premature armed action. For this would enable the reactionaries to destroy such combat groups and thereby undermine the faith of the mass-

es in the efficacy of armed struggle. And this did indeed happen in six instances.

Special mention should be made of the guerrilla detachment in Vichada near the Venezuelan frontier. This group consisting of nearly 100 members successfully carried out a brief offensive operation. But it was unable to keep up the pressure over any length of time and had to fall back on the defensive, which, as a result of the group's isolation, led to its complete defeat. The same happened in Puerto Boyaca, in the central part of the country, where an armed group was surprised by superior enemy forces and destroyed. Generally, the young revolutionaries suffered heavily at the hands of reactionaries.

Although these actions led to results quite contrary to expectations, they did not deter the forces potentially prepared to take armed action.

OUR COMBAT SCHOOL

Social development, the changes in our national scene and actions by revolutionary forces which did not always accord with this scene have taught us a great deal.

Even some experienced guerrillas underestimated the strength and the new methods of the enemy. This resulted in a weakening of the self-defense organizations in some peasant areas, made it more difficult to prepare the masses to foil enemy machinations and to resist direct attacks. Agents of reaction wormed their way into many organizations, and armed groups which underrated the subversive activities of the adversary among the peasants were tracked down and almost completely wiped out.

Constant effort to foil every device of the government forces, careful observation of the enemy's every move and close study of his tactics were a splendid school for our fighting men. They learned correctly to assess the enemy's strength and to weigh it against their own. They are now better aware that the guerrilla movement in our country and in our time is subordinate not only to the general laws governing any armed struggle but also to its own laws dictated by the concrete circumstances. Our guerrilla fighters know that in examining armed revolutionary struggle in Colombia and in waging this struggle it is necessary to proceed from the following:

a) the concrete conditions of the struggle;
b) the specific features of our national scene which lay their imprint not only on the armed struggle but on all other forms of struggle;

c) careful study of the liberation movement and revolutionary armed struggle in

other countries in order to utilize all the basic lesson applicable in our conditions;

d) the need thoroughly to weigh our own experience and to draw on its lessons in order to strengthen and develop our struggle.

We do not deny that the adversary, who besides fighting the guerrillas in the mountain areas terrorizes the rest of the population day in and day out is *relatively* strong. But recognition of his strength does not mean admitting that the enemy is invincible, as the propaganda conducted by the reactionaries claims. The old but often forgotten axiom is applicable here: if the enemy learns from us, we must keep our eyes open lest he teaches us something. Recent events have shown that the revolutionary fighters have learned much in the hard school of a people's war. Hence our certainty that where the enemy is strong today he will be weak tomorrow.

THE GUERRILLAS' REPLY

On August 19, 1966, less than two weeks after the inauguration of the new President, Lleras Restrepo, a combat unit of FARC* under the command of Manuel Marulanda practically wiped out a special forces company in the township of Vegalarga, near El Pato. The Army admitted losing 15 dead and 16 wounded. Actually its losses were much heavier, against none suffered by the guerrillas. This action—one of the most significant at the present stage of the guerrilla struggle — attracted the attention of the entire country and dealt a heavy blow at the complacency of the High Command. The outgoing administration had assured the public that the armed peasant movement had to all intents and purposes been stamped out, but the Vegalarga ambush and subsequent operations of the FARC in many areas showed that the official claim was totally unfounded.

The Army retaliated in the most ruthless way. Again the government vowed to wipe out the guerrillas. An offensive was launched on all fronts. A curfew was imposed on 21 municipalities in the southern part of the country. El Pato and some districts in South Tolima were subjected to bombing and strafing from the air. Hundreds of peasants were arrested and many were tortured and killed. On October 26, 1966, the government issued three dictatorial decrees instituting heavy

*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia). Its combat groups are subordinated to the Guerrilla General Staff. The decision to organize FARC was taken in late April 1966 at the second conference of guerrilla forces which until then formed the Guerrilla Bloc of the South (Marquetalia, Riochiquito, El Pato, Guayabero, the September 26 Movement, and the Southwest Tolima Movement).

penalties for those who in any way supported "subversive movements." These decrees making the expression of opinions a crime are directed against the revolutionary forces and above all against the Communist Party, with the object of isolating the armed peasant movement from the rest of the population.

The ruthlessness of the government action caused another migration of population in the southern part of the country and evoked mass protests from the peasants on an even wider scale than before. This time correspondents of the leading newspapers, defying the bans imposed by the military command, went to the areas affected by the hostilities and lifted the smokescreen concealing the outrages committed by the punitive detachments against the rural population. Moreover, the press drew attention to the highly commendable military and political organization of FARC and the support accorded it by the peasants. The result was an unprecedented scandal, and the government was forced to lift the curfew without having been able to deal any really serious blow to the guerrillas.

Needless to say, the revolutionaries, too, suffered losses, mainly due to infiltration of their ranks by army spies. But these losses were light, especially if it is borne in mind that the government forces, according to press reports, suffered some 500 casualties by August 1966.

FARC was able to retain the initiative after the redeployment of the combat groups based in Marquetalia, Riochiquito and El Pato. These areas were occupied by the army, but the peasant detachments moved into more densely populated districts around more important agricultural areas. The map of FARC positions is steadily changing with the spread of the movement over a large area of mountainous country. Even the semi-official press has admitted that the guerrilla march from Marquetalia to the El Pato district was no mean military feat. The force in question covered a distance of hundreds of miles, crossing the communication lines of the army, from the Central Cordillera, across the wide Magdalena valley, to the Eastern Cordillera. A march of this nature would have been impossible without peasant support. Nor would it have been possible without such backing and cooperation to coordinate the operations of the seven combat groups of the FARC after the Vegalarga events. Soldiers interviewed by the press do not conceal that they are dumbfounded by the skill displayed by the guerrillas. And the reporters themselves stressed the political significance of the application by the FARC of the principles set forth in its statutes and revolutionary pro-

gram. Army communiques, complaining that the peasants support the guerrillas, actually admit that what is happening adds up to *popular armed struggle*.

THE PRESENT STAGE AND THE PROSPECTS

The present guerrilla movement in Colombia has one feature in common with similar movements during the two previous phases of *La Violencia* (1949-53 and 1954-57): it developed as a justified reaction of the masses to the repressions of the oligarchy. Because of this the rest of the population now as before regard the guerrillas with sympathy which finds expression in diverse forms of support. Hence the prestige the peasant fighters enjoy on the political arena regardless of the fact that the strategists of force and violence continue to call them bandits.

But there are also differences between this and the previous stages. First, the bourgeoisie no longer influences the guerrilla movement. Unlike the situation in the past, no combat detachment is headed by men in the service of the capitalists. This is one of the reasons why the reactionaries are now joining in a united front to carry on a ruthless war against the guerrillas. Second, the two main guerrilla groupings (FARC and the National Liberation Army) have their own revolutionary programs, one of the basic theses of which is the conquest of power by the people, with the struggle to win power regarded as the initial step towards the genuine revolution the fundamental features of which are clearly outlined in these programs.

Aid from the industrial working class is a necessary factor of success in guerrilla action in the peasant areas. This aid is already being rendered by the most class conscious section of the working class. An indissoluble alliance of the two basic forces in any genuine revolution on our continent is being forged in the course of the struggle. The peasantry, on its part, is beginning to realize that its struggle will not acquire a truly nationwide scale until it merges with the economic and political struggle of the working class and its allies in the towns.

It cannot be said as yet that a revolutionary situation has fully ripened in Colombia. But the rapidly deepening general crisis of the old socio-political system may become aggravated to a point where the revolutionary forces will be called upon to make full use of this crisis in order to carry out and consolidate the revolution. The present armed struggle, though it testifies to a high level of revolutionary consciousness, is not, how-

ever, a nationwide upheaval; it is not a general insurrection holding out the prospect of immediate victory. The reasons underlying it have been discussed above. The bulk of the population is not involved in this struggle, and so far shows no desire to join it. The situation today is one in which a peasant war in guerrilla form is taking place in one part of the country while elsewhere the masses are carrying on the struggle, at times on an extremely wide scale, in other forms the significance of which should not be underestimated.

The revolutionary movement in Colombia is, then, faced with the prospect of a long and difficult struggle.

The self-defense organizations did not remain passive when challenged by the strategists of preventive war, did not sit back with folded arms until they were destroyed. Their resistance spilled over into guerrilla warfare. And although this form of revolutionary struggle is in evidence only in some areas and the conditions are not yet ripe for its spread in the immediate future to the entire territory of the country it has already demonstrated its invincible power, for guerrilla warfare has struck deep root among the people and meets the demands of the present situation. It promotes the rapid maturing of the subjective factors of revolution, the ripening of a revolutionary situation.

In the areas where the government is pursuing a policy of fire and sword, guerrilla action is the main form of struggle, while political action is a supplementary though essential element. Elsewhere the political struggle is acquiring prime importance and is proving highly effective. Unfortunately, however, some people counterpose these two

forms of revolutionary activity to one another, claiming that only armed struggle is revolutionary while other forms are not. Our experience shows that this is not so. Even if guerrilla warfare is the supreme manifestation of mass struggle it can succeed only where it is the natural result of such an aggravation of the class struggle which creates a subjective climate favoring its development.

Guerrilla struggle is a revolutionary factor, a powerful force of attraction for the Colombian people. Sentiment has been evolving from a passive wait-and-see attitude to sympathy with the struggle and eventually to its active support. As the class struggle grows sharper and the national liberation movement develops, the popular armed struggle may, with the outrageous interference of U.S. imperialism providing added impetus, become the main form on a nationwide scale and play the decisive role in the winning of power by the people. Within the overall framework of this concept we steadfastly adhere to the political line laid down by our Party, which points out that the "proper combination of all forms of struggle is, and will be, the substance of all our tactics."

We reached this conclusion in the course of the long and arduous struggle in which the Colombian Communists have made their modest contribution to the revolutionary cause of our people. Future struggles will no doubt teach us a great deal more. We look forward to this, for we are guided by Lenin's thesis that nothing is more remote from Marxism than attempts to teach the masses to use forms of struggle invented by "arm-chair systematizers."

The political situation and revolutionary tactics

JOSE MANUEL FORTUNY

WITH THE INAUGURATION of Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro as president of Guatemala on July 1 last year, four months after his victory at the polls (from which the Left parties were barred) the military dictatorship of Peralta Azurdia came to an end and a new period of constitutional government began. "The Revolutionary Party is in the government but it is not in power," one Guatemalan aptly commented on this development, meaning that real power remained in the hands of the military camarilla.

The situation (which happens to be typical also of some other Latin American countries) is complicated by the fact that the newly installed government styles itself the "third revolutionary government.*" The designation, however, has no foundation in fact. But at the same time it would be an oversimplification to qualify, as some people do, the new Montenegro administration as the "fourth government of the counter-revolution."**

The implications of these definitions essentially reflect the new complexion of the chronic crisis of power racking Guatemala, the aggravation of contradictions inside the ruling circles, the growing complexity of the situation, and the old and still unsolved dilemma: reform or revolution.

The object of the present notes is not to

elucidate the basic problems of the Guatemalan revolution (this was done in the article by Bernardo Alvarado Monzon published some time ago in this journal) but rather to examine the concrete political situation and its possible evolution.

THE TIGHTENING NOOSE

The crisis of power made itself felt from the moment of Montenegro's inauguration in the form of parallel rule by the government and the army, with the scales clearly tilted in favor of the latter. The administration is vested with juridical and formal authority, but the real power is in the hands of the military. Whether the government can tip the scales in its own favor depends on its political dexterity and even more on a third and decisive power—U.S. imperialism, which holds both the government and the army in its orbit.

The change in government was not accompanied by corresponding changes in the high command. Of the 16 colonels who headed the conspiracy against Ydigoras Fuentes and subsequently backed Peralta Azurdia, 12 retain their posts. At best there was a reshuffle of brass-hats, the most notorious of whom was made Minister of Defense. The predominant position of the military is evident, in particular, from the fact that under the Army Law the sole prerogative of the President in relation to the armed forces is the right to appoint his personal bodyguard, whereas the higher officers can veto his civilian appointments.

That the government cannot take a single step without the sanction of the military was demonstrated by the case of the 28 "missing"

*The administrations resulting from the revolution of October 20, 1944—the democratic government headed by Juan José Arevalo (1945-51) and the revolutionary government of Jacobo Arbenz (1951-54) which was overthrown by U.S. imperialist intervention—are referred to as the first and second revolutionary governments.

**The first counter-revolutionary government headed by Castillo Armas (1954-57) was installed as a result of U.S. intervention. The second, headed by Ydigoras Fuentes (1958-63), was overthrown on March 30, 1963. The third, Peralta Azurdia's dictatorship, lasted until June 30 last year.

revolutionaries.* So far there is no official information as to what happened to the bodies of the victims. Tied hand and foot, the government maintains complete silence. It is not a matter of its not being in a position to ascertain the truth and announcing it to the world. One can hardly assume that nobody but Peralta Azurdia knows what happened to the arrested men; the 12 colonels who continue to hold high command posts in the army were no doubt informed of this punitive operation even if they themselves did not take part in it. Ricardo Peralta Mendez, cousin of the ex-President and one-time chief of the President's body-guard who now heads the Polytechnical School (a military college), was involved in police actions connected with the repressions, and Arreaga Bosque, the present Minister of Defense, officially informed a group of officers about the arrest of Victor Manuel Gutierrez and about the execution of Leonardo Castillo Flores and his comrades. In the meantime the former chief of police has left the country to take up a diplomatic post in Chile. The chief of the so-called court police and other officials with many lives on their conscience have likewise slipped out of the country. It is easy to see that the flight of these individuals was engineered to throw dust into the eyes of the public. For they were simply the hatchetmen, whereas the men who gave them their orders remain snugly ensconced in Guatemala.

Another fact. When the new government took over, the Minister of Home Affairs announced that the special file authorized by the so-called Defense of State Institutions Law on suspected Communists would be publicly burned. However, the Minister of Defense immediately replied that his colleague could burn anything he wished but not the file, which was at the disposal of the armed forces and would remain untouched.

From this it follows that the government has little room for maneuver and the prospects are that the noose in which it is caught will be drawn tighter by the top brass. At the same time both the military and the government find themselves enmeshed in other loops the ends of which lead to Washington. Not long ago a publication put out by the Rebel Armed Forces described the mechanism of the various loops. On May 2, 1965, after the execution by revolutionaries of Colonel Ernesto Molina Arreaga, Peralta Azurdia's Deputy Defense Min-

ister and Chief Liaison Agent for the CIA, a secret conference of high ranking officers proposed to the government that all revolutionary leaders be seized and dealt with summarily in revenge for Arreaga's death. A few hours later this proposal was examined by the Council of Ministers. "After lively discussion" it was agreed that the problem, in view of its importance, should be submitted to the U.S. State Department for final decision.

The machine went into motion. The same evening Rafael Escobar Arguello, Minister of Information, left for the USA "for consultations." Upon his return he announced that Washington considered the proposal "inexpedient" inasmuch as its realization would undermine the prestige of the government and the army" and, moreover, cause serious dissatisfaction among the public. The U.S. advisers suggested instead that the government, the military and the anti-Communist leaders should form and train special groups who would murder revolutionary leaders "on the quiet."

The "advice" was accepted down to the last detail. Soon gangs of cut-throats appeared in various parts of the country, and primarily in the areas of guerrilla action. Today it is known that these gangs have special camps of their own and that the army not only turns a blind eye to them but assigns officers to help them. As could be foreseen, these killers constitute a serious threat to the Montengro government for they not only terrorize the population but have been integrated in a ramified anti-government conspiracy.

The positions of the Guatemalan military are bolstered by a large U.S. military mission. American officers and soldiers are pouring into Guatemala from Panamanian bases in the guise of advisers, coordinators and instructors. They take part in anti-guerrilla exercises, train paratroopers and, drawing on U.S. experience in Vietnam, help to carry out their advice by taking part in actual military operations. Early in 1966 the army high command ordered a total bombing of one of the areas held by the guerrillas. The pilots involved in this operation, which amounted to an indiscriminate massacre of the peasant population, included two Americans—Giles Wade Hall and Michael Rodriguez. Not long ago more professional American killers appeared in Guatemala—the so-called Green Berets notorious for their role in South Vietnam.

In view of this, the Rebel Armed Forces had good grounds for issuing the warning: "Sooner or later Guatemala will become another arena of U.S. intervention. The first military actions in the context of intervention have already

*On the eve of the elections, in early March, the police and the military arrested 28 patriots, who were then tortured and killed. Some of the bodies were dropped from planes into the Pacific. The victims included such prominent leaders of the Guatemalan Party of Labor as Victor Manuel Gutierrez, former Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, and Leonardo Castillo Flores, former Secretary of the National Peasant Confederation.

been undertaken. And as our struggle grows this intervention is bound to be extended."

REFORMISM WITHOUT REFORM

We have dwelt on the foregoing facts to make it easier to see the objective reasons why the new government is unable to carry out any reform whatever. But the point is not only the resistance offered by the local oligarchy operating through the military camarilla, nor yet the U.S. plans for intervention. A serious obstacle to the realization of the policy proclaimed by the government is the weakness and instability of the classes it represents.

The Party of Labor has characterized the supporters of the government as intermediate forces, i.e., forces which in our country represent the interests of the numerically weak national bourgeoisie and to some extent the aspirations of the middle strata. If these forces were class conscious and economically stronger, they might be able to carry out some democratic reforms which would strengthen their positions in the government and lead to the consolidation of power in their hands. Clearly, such reforms would encroach upon the interests of the landowning oligarchy, the comprador capitalists and the North American monopolies. In the present conditions, however, when the intermediate forces are tied hand and foot by the military camarilla and the imperialists it is hard to expect them to venture on such steps, even if these would strengthen their positions.

They do not even essay reforms within the framework of the Alliance for Progress, even though the proponents of this Alliance in the State Department might well try another "experiment" in Guatemala since they now have a suitable government there as well as the social strata on which to base themselves. Such an "experiment" (agrarian and tax reform) would impinge on the oligarchy (but not on the United Fruit Company, which has broken up its holdings on the Pacific coast into small cotton plantations which it leases to Guatemalans) and strengthen the class positions of the national bourgeoisie supporting the government. The proponents of the Alliance for Progress in Washington might count on this ensuring a spell of "national tranquility." Actually, however, the agrarian reform implemented by the new government is limited to dividing up a few state-owned estates on the condition that the recipients of the land join cooperatives. Clearly, the government could not have gone any farther even if it had wished to do so, for the reactionary constitution of 1965 unconditionally prohibits

any distribution of privately-owned land. In point of fact, the government has made it clear that it proposes to confine itself to the distribution of state land and that privately-owned land will not be touched. Generally speaking, the present regime would like to make the omelet but without breaking the eggs.

Doomed to inactivity both by reasons beyond their control and by a lack of any volition of their own, the men in the government have but one object—to retain their grip on the machinery of state. Precisely because it is weak the Guatemalan national bourgeoisie dreams of controlling the state in order to be able to draw on its economic resources, for without access to state funds it is doomed to vegetate. In the event of this section of the bourgeoisie challenging the power of the oligarchy their action in all likelihood would spark off the coup which the top army officers and other extremist conspirators are threatening. And in that case the price of control over the state machine would unquestionably be subordination to the army and to the Pentagon, i.e., continuation of the policy of tyranny and bloodshed pursued by the preceding military regime.

AMNESTY AND ULTIMATUM

From the moment of their victory at the polls President Montenegro and the leaders of the so-called Revolutionary Party feared that the military caste would engineer a coup to prevent them from taking office. To appease the military, they committed themselves in writing not only to renounce any intention of establishing control over the army but also to steer the ship of state along the old anti-communist course on which the preceding regimes foundered. Only after this was the green light given for their entry into the Presidential Palace. But it is precisely in the original sin of this commitment that we find the source of the government's present difficulties. By surrendering behind closed doors to the military instead of turning for support to the people who had given them their electoral victory, the President and his colleagues sacrificed their independence and dignity for the semblance of power, with no guarantee worth speaking of against another coup d'état.

The Right-wing conspirators want to see the President fail in his efforts to enter into a dialogue with the guerrillas. For this reason they blocked the amnesty which the government submitted to congress. Paradoxically enough, the government was far more interested in an amnesty than the revolutionaries

for whom it was intended. An amnesty without unacceptable conditions (and it was such an amnesty that the government proposed) would have given the President sufficient moral grounds for a dialogue with the guerrillas. But congressmen from the parties of the Right and the more reactionary wing of the Revolutionary Party introduced a number of amendments, one of which stipulated that the guerrillas must surrender their arms within eight days. In this way the reactionaries turned the amnesty proposal into an ultimatum of a kind that might be presented to an enemy who had either been defeated or was on the verge of defeat, which certainly was not the case. In the circumstances the rebel Armed Forces were quite justified in rejecting both the ultimatum and the amnesty.

The government's hopes that the guerrillas will lay down arms and that the Communists will renounce armed struggle are completely unfounded. As we have seen, the Right-wing are plotting conspiracies, arming themselves and forming gangs of criminals ready to kill even those who have nothing to do with the revolutionary struggle. The followers of Castillo Armas and other Right extremists are stocking up arms and ammunition (supplied in part by the Somoza brothers in Nicaragua) in preparation for taking action, together with the most reactionary officers, against the government in the guise of another anti-communist crusade. How, then, can anyone expect the Communists, faced as they are with a well-armed, brutal and conscienceless enemy, to disarm and allow themselves to be shot down like sitting ducks? In these conditions disarming would amount to suicide.

GRAVE MISTAKE

The new government, it should be noted, wished to give the people a respite. It proclaimed freedom of the press (but not for the Communist and other revolutionary publications), restored some constitutional guarantees, ended the persecutions and for the time being, put a stop to the official terror (which was replaced by unofficial Right extremist terror). Prominent Communists and others who had been victimized by the previous government were released from prison. An atmosphere conducive to organizing and rallying the masses set in. This breathing spell enabled the people to gather strength for the storms ahead, but it also misled the new government and those who took an illusory view of the changes in the political situation. One illusion was that tranquility and relative-

ly democratic processes would prevail. Associated with this delusion was underestimation or misunderstanding of the nature of the armed struggle waged by the Communists and other revolutionary forces.

There was no real reason to believe that the situation would last and still less that it would result in qualitative changes necessitating a change in the strategy of the revolution. And, indeed, just over four months after it assumed office, the government suspended constitutional guarantees and declared a state of siege. These measures were taken against the subversive activities of the ultra-Right and to facilitate the military operations against the guerrillas. The result was a highly complex and unusual situation in which the government is striking mainly at the Right-wing, and the army at the Left, and all this in an atmosphere of confusion and anarchy typical of periods immediately preceding civil war. The national bourgeoisie, which, as imperialist infiltration goes on, is steadily declining and losing its "national" character, is incapable of heading the popular anti-imperialist revolution. Yet to assume that it will voluntarily surrender leadership in this revolution to the working class would be even more naive than to believe that the landowning oligarchy will voluntarily yield its positions to the national bourgeoisie.

The Party of Labor considers the present situation extremely unstable. Class conflicts and their aggravation as a result of the structural crisis gripping Guatemala will most likely impel the army in the immediate rather than the more distant future to pursue one of two lines of action: either it will resort to force to overthrow the government in case—though this is not very likely—that the latter lifts the restrictions on the actions of the masses, or will force the government to adopt a tough line typical of any camarilla of "gorillas." In the latter case the government would be turned into a civilian variant of the military regime that preceded it; it could then rightfully be called the "fourth counter-revolutionary government." Clearly, if the conditions which gave rise to armed revolutionary struggle remain, this struggle, too, will continue.

Some people feel that the present political situation affords grounds for changing the line of the Party, for turning to the peaceful path as the only possible alternative for the present line. Those who think so confuse, at best, the *forms of struggle* and the *overall course of the revolution*, or, at worst, reduce the question of the Party line to a purely tactical matter.

The Party has already made its stand clear,

but it will not be amiss to repeat once again: we hold that defining the course of the revolution is a question of *strategy*, while the choice of the form of struggle is one of *tactics*. The question of recharting the overall course can objectively rise only as a result of radical qualitative changes in the situation which only the victory of the popular, anti-imperialist revolution can bring about. Our Party holds that in the present conditions such a revolution can be carried out only by adhering to the strategy of armed action. Those who fail to see this will find themselves caught in a vicious circle. The form of the struggle is another matter. This is a tactical issue which depends on the arena of struggle and the concrete circumstances, in other words, on transient, non-qualitative factors. This indeed is the situation in Guatemala where the change of government has not altered the nature of the forces in the saddle.

Lenin, as Marx before him, said: "Never play with insurrection, but when beginning it realize firmly that you must go *all the way*." We believe that we are not taking a mechanical approach if we apply this basic rule to the revolutionary people's war (since it is a variant of insurrection) to which the Guatemalan Communists have had recourse because of the specific conditions of the country. If, as Marx said, "*insurrection is an art quite as much as war*," the conclusion suggests itself that like any art it requires systematic preparation. And thoroughly prepared use of force is not only a matter of tactics. (A special article dealing with the experience gained in waging armed revolutionary struggle in our country might be of interest.)

It should be borne in mind that both the election of Montenegro and the pressure exerted by Washington on Peralta Azurdia to make him yield the presidency to the former were basically the result of the armed struggle waged by the revolutionaries. Paradoxical though it may sound, the armed struggle was indeed the main factor in the peaceful change of government. For the Revolutionary Party, besides the usual promises of a social and political order, made a point of stressing in its election campaign that if the election were to be faked and an official military candidate imposed on the country, the armed struggle would inevitably be stepped up and eventually end in the victory of the guerrillas.

U.S. imperialism is no champion of democracy. The same applies to Peralta Azurdia, who ruthlessly trampled on the elementary rights of the people. His first action after seizing power was to suspend the Constitution and he ruled by means of naked terror.

If a man like this and U.S. imperialism found it necessary to allow Montenegro to take over, the sole reason was the fear that the revolutionary armed struggle and popular discontent would make Guatemala another Dominican Republic.

FIRM LINE AND FLEXIBLE TACTICS

"The facts thus show," the Central Committee of the Party of Labor declared in its resolution of June 10, 1966, "that the main enemy — North American imperialism — is changing its tactics. Formerly it openly supported the extreme reaction in order to rule the country through the army. Now it is drawing new forces into the administration and using the army to control the government." From this the Party concluded that it was necessary, without changing the general line of its policy and firmly adhering to the strategy of armed action, to "define the concrete tactics in the present political situation." The basic aspects of these tactics are the following:

1. Despite the meanderings of Montenegro's Revolutionary Party, it should not be confused with the parties of reaction. Because of its class composition and policy, it plays a specific role, basically seeking to deceive the masses and to win them over by using reformism as a decoy. Moreover, the Revolutionary Party is not a homogeneous entity; it is rent by antagonisms between the leading clique, the middle-echelon leaders and the rank and file. It is neither a combination of three different currents nor a united party, but consists of three different groupings. The immediate task is to combat the reactionary top stratum, to neutralize the opportunists in the middle group, and to win over the rank and file to Left positions.

2. Since the government is clearly seeking to pursue a policy different from that which the army would like to impose on it, the Communist tactics towards the two differ. The Communists expose the repressive policy of the military and seek to bring home to the government that high-ranking army officers are plotting and preparing a coup. One of the Party's objects is to make it clear to the government that at the given moment its direct adversary is not the Rebel Armed Forces but the official Army. The above-mentioned Central Committee resolution points out that if the Army will continue its "anti-guerrilla and repressive operations, the Rebel Armed Forces will reply with a military offensive, taking the initiative in order not to be caught unawares." But in the event of

the army discontinuing operations, the resolution stresses, the Rebel Armed Forces will confine themselves to "retaliatory action in the event of repressions against the masses or the arrest or torture of our comrades."

3. Faced with the constant danger of a coup (witness the activities of some officers and the outrages committed by reactionary gangs), revolutionary tactics consist in alerting the masses and the government to this danger and, in the event of a coup being attempted, in complementary action by the Rebel Armed Forces and rallying the masses to repel the putschists and, in the event of the latter succeeding in seizing power, to wage resolute armed struggle and to build up a broad front to repel the direct intervention which the U.S. imperialists may undertake.

4. The change of government was merely a reshuffling of the forces in the saddle. Real power remains in the hands of the U.S. imperialists, who combine the repressions and violence employed by the army with some insignificant reforms and concessions implemented through the agency of the government. The official propaganda claims that the reforms and concessions have introduced a new element in the country's political life is, of course, true up to a point. As the Party sees it, this new element "consists in the imminent new upswing in the political struggle which will make it possible to combine to a greater extent than before diverse forms of struggle and organizational activity, for new opportunities are opening for mass actions, for open, legal organization of the masses to the greatest possible extent in order to win economic, social and political concessions for the workers, peasants and other sections of the population. Armed struggle waged in conformity with the political situation will support the mass actions, and should be carried further in order to build up our strength to meet new situations."

The Party sees its main task in all-round utilization of the possibilities afforded by the present situation for improving the organization of the revolutionary struggle in the three basic areas—the masses, the Rebel Armed Forces and the Party itself. But work in this direction and the steady development of revolutionary action (in particular, the opening of new guerrilla fronts) in no way detracts from the Party's efforts to build alliances or to achieve unity of action with the remainder of the Left and with all groups and organizations having influence among the masses. In particular, the Party of Labor is determined not to allow the Revolutionary

Party to capitalize on our sectarian mistakes to win support among these groups and to isolate the Communists in the Rebel Armed Forces. "The best reply to the enemy's tactics," our Central Committee pointed out, "is in the final analysis the proper combination of political, armed, economic and social struggle. But for this it is necessary for the revolutionary forces always to be guided by the aspirations and the demands of the masses, for the Communists always to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively and to be guided by it."

REFORMISM — NO, REVOLUTION — YES!

Senator Fulbright, known for his criticism of the foreign policy of the Johnson Administration, once said that U.S. Latin American policy has been deformed by the tendency to equate social reform with revolution and revolution with Communism. But this should not be taken literally; one must first ascertain the connotation attached to the words "social reform." The matter here is not simply one of semantics.

The senator did not give a precise definition of the term, but his understanding of it evidently differs little from the meaning the late President Kennedy attached to it, especially in the context of the Alliance for Progress. The Kennedy concept unquestionably does not coincide with the Johnson interpretation—but only as regards the qualitative aspects and the sphere of application of the program. Essentially, neither interpretation goes beyond the old concept which assigned to Latin America the role of a U.S. "backyard."

According to this concept, the Latin American countries should remain agrarian suppliers of raw materials and semi-processed products. Although the Alliance for Progress may result in an insignificant increase in per capita income and some slight improvement in the standard of living, in the long run the Kennedy program envisaged maintaining Latin America as an underdeveloped zone with U.S. imperialism continuing to exploit its internal resources and plundering it in the sphere of foreign trade.

The Alliance for Progress is by no means designed to help Latin America to become industrialized and still less to encourage it to nationalize imperialist-owned enterprises. Imperialism can hardly be expected to help put an end to its domination. The object of the Alliance is reforms with strictly limited political aims—taking the edge off the popular discontent; replacing the oligarchy with bourgeois elements ready to come to terms

with imperialism (or strengthening the positions of the latter where they already are in power); alienating the peoples, who have been set into motion by the Cuban developments, from the revolution; counteracting the Cuban example and in the long run ensuring a "peaceful evolution" which would in no way threaten U.S. economic and political overlordship in Latin America.

As it is, however, the Alliance has proved a failure. In Guatemala, for instance, the projected reforms never got under way. On the contrary, the cost of living is continuing to rise, real income of the working people is declining, and poverty and hunger are rife in the countryside. The trade and payments balance is unfavorable, government debt grew by \$40 million in the three years of the Azurdia dictatorship, and hard-currency reserves have shrunk to the critical level of 1962. In these circumstances, which reflect the deepening of the structural crisis, the new government can at best only attenuate some of its symptoms with the meagre dollar hand-

outs received under the Alliance for Progress program.

Small wonder, then, that among the people, as they see that reforms are impossible without a revolutionary change of government, there is a growing awareness that whatever the protagonists of "peaceful revolution" may say, reforms obtained under the Alliance for Progress can but serve to perpetuate the present system with all its evils, while the revolution alone is the embodiment of the people's aspirations which the Communists are championing.

The reader will of course see that we have referred to Senator Fulbright's views not in order to philosophize about the dilemma "reform or revolution," but to make it plain that in Guatemala today, just as in the past, *social reforms can be achieved only through revolution. It is not difficult to decide what to opt for—non-existent reforms or the revolutionary way along which we are already forging ahead.*

December 1966.

From the experience of the British Communists

Carrying on the tradition of publishing material on the activity of the Communist and Workers' parties, we print in this issue articles and notes showing the various aspects of the day-to-day work of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The authors did not set themselves the aim of posing big theoretical problems. These have been elaborated in the policy documents of the Party and in contributions by its leading spokesmen, including the article by Comrade John Gollan published in our December issue.

Here the British Communists share with our readers their concrete experience in different areas of Party work, in the solution of concrete issues, in overcoming the difficulties encountered in practical work and in the fight on behalf of the working people, for socialism.

THE WORK OF A COMMUNIST COUNCILLOR IN SCOTLAND

THE TOWN OF CLYDEBANK, a large burgh with a population of 51,000 has 21 Councillors, sixteen of whom are Labor, three Communist and two who claim they are independent of any party. All the Councillors are working-class, reflecting the industrial character of the town.

Clydebank borders on the City of Glasgow, is within the County of Dumbarton, so that some of its services are run jointly with the adjoining authorities. Glasgow Municipal Transport serves the town. On the other hand the Dumbarton County Council is the responsible authority for all education within the county which includes all the large and small burghs within its boundaries. The County Council also has jurisdiction over the police services.

The Burgh Council elects fifteen of its members to sit on the County Council. They have the right to speak on any matter but only the right to vote on those services which directly affect their burgh.

It was in the first election after the war that Communist Councillor Arnold Henderson was elected. For twenty years he upheld alone the banner of the Communist Party in the Council Chambers. Throughout the whole of that

period he courageously answered the slanders of his opponents, all the attacks on the Communist Party. By his integrity in his political views and his fearless championing of the people he represented on the Council, he won the respect of masses of the town's people who looked on him as their spokesmen and friend. In 1964 he was joined by another Communist and the following year by still another so that there are now three Communist Councillors in Clydebank.

Clydebank developed with the growth of the shipbuilding industry at the end of the last century. The American sewing machine manufacturers, Singer's, established their factory in 1884 and along with the two shipyards on the bank of the river Clyde, from which the town takes its name, laid the basis on which the town was built. The standard of housing was of the tenement type. They were composed of one and two apartment houses, no hot water or baths, and in many cases no inside lavatories.

As a result of the campaigns conducted by the labor movement prior to and during the First World War, far better housing was developed, at rents which workers could afford. A Housing and Planning Act was passed in 1919

which gave Local Councils a subsidy to meet the cost of new houses. Council houses set a new standard of three, four and five apartment houses with hot water, baths and inside lavatories.

The aim of the Communist Councillors is that every citizen in the town should have a modern house at a rent the working class tenants can afford to pay. The Labor Councillors, while paying lip service to this aim, acquiesce in the dictates of the Central Government whose policy raises rents and rates and curtails the number of new houses built each year. The Tory Government's housing act before Labor came to power has never been repealed. The Tories aimed to increase the rents of all the Council houses. It was argued by them that rents had not risen corresponding with increases of other commodities and Council house tenants were getting an advantage over tenants of private landlords.

Communist Councillors have always opposed rent increases but have not been able to convince their Labor colleagues that their opposition was practical and possible. This arises out of the financial arrangements councils are compelled to make with Government departments and the bankers to raise the money for the new houses. Every Housing Act since 1919 has given a different subsidy. Over the years in relation to the rising cost of housing, the subsidy has been falling. Interest rates on money borrowed over the years have also increased so Councils face a very big financial problem in relation to housing. In the past four years the repayment and interest on loans for housing has almost doubled in Clydebank. The repayment and interest exceeds the amount the Council receives from Government subsidies plus the rents from its houses. The deficit has to be paid out of the taxes.

The Communist Councillors state that under capitalism in its monopoly stage, the money-lender, the financial capitalist, will hold the masses up to ransom by charging the highest rates of interest it is possible to extract. A Labor Government can stop this if it adopts socialist policies, spends less money on its overseas investments and its arms program, gives high subsidies for housebuilding and loans money to the Councils at no more than two per cent interest. They say that in order to impress such demands on Governments it is necessary at certain stages for Councils to refuse to impose added burdens on its working-class citizens, either in the shape of higher rent or taxes. Should a council refuse, then the Government would be compelled to step in and take over the functions of the Council. As this problem affects every Council which has administrative responsibilities in working-class areas, the example would be taken up by other Councils. The workers on whose behalf the Town Councils act would undoubtedly give their support to such an action.

What happens in relation to housing appertains to almost every service for which the

Council is responsible. One of the most important committees is the finance committee. Each year a budget is drawn up which incorporates all the developments the Council envisages will take place over the year. Expansionist programs, however, have to fit in with the global sum a Council estimates it can raise from subsidies, grants and taxes. The tendency is, therefore, to limit the expansion to housing and limit, as far as possible, the amenities that should accompany good modern housing developments. The Communist Councillors are conducting a consistent agitation for the development of playing fields, the modernization of the older housing estates, the provision of garages and the development of community centers.

Always the obstacle to securing these things is the lack of money. All money borrowed for capital development has to be calculated in accordance with the bank rate, which, at the time of writing, is seven per cent. In four years the repayment of loans and interest charges has jumped from £481,000 to £824,000, for housing alone. The charge against taxes to meet the deficit in the housing account has increased from £234,000 to £456,000 in the same period.

The Labor Councillors, as a result of these pressures, are looking to private enterprise to help them out of their troubles. Property developers are scouring the country to buy up areas in towns to create new shopping centers protected from auto traffic by the provision of parking places under, over or adjacent to the shopping precincts. These "get rich quick" merchants are able to charge very high rents for their properties which have the effect of squeezing the small shopkeepers out of existence to the advantage of the multiple traders. The Communist Councillors want these new developments and in the present circumstances are not opposed to entering into agreements with the private developers but lay down one condition — that the land on which development takes place shall be the property of the Town Council.

On this principle there is, at present, a sharp conflict taking place between the Communist and Labor Councillors. The latter argue that we cannot afford, in light of our indebtedness, to acquire the valuable properties which will have to be removed to make way for the new developments. All disused railway property, closed as a result of the Tory Government's annihilation of our railways, on which it is proposed to develop, has been acquired by private developers.

The Communist Councillors say that the Town Council must make representation to the Labor Government to acquire these lands compulsorily and, on that basis, negotiate with the private developers. The presence of Communists on the Council makes the debate on these issues public and helps the workers understand that their interests are being protected by the Communists.

Each year the cost of services increases, as a

result of Government policy, so that the contributions the citizens have to make steadily rise. During the depression between the wars the Government of the period de-rated all industrial premises so that only 25 per cent of the rateable value was the sum on which taxes were paid. As a result of working-class agitation over the years, it was decided to end this privileged position of the employing class. The Labor Government, however, decided to postpone the payment of taxes on the full valuation of industries but to raise the figure to 50 per cent. So, Town Councils are faced with the problem of rising costs and extension of their services but are unable to collect from industry more than 25 per cent of their taxes—the other 25 per cent is claimed by the Government in lieu of grants paid to Councils. The industrialist holds on to the remaining 50 per cent.

Within the wages system of our modern class society, it would be impossible for the average worker to purchase a modern house from savings. Buying by instalments necessitates, in most cases, borrowing and repaying over a period of 30 years. Such a transaction means that with the accumulation of the interest payments the purchaser has paid, at the end of thirty years, three times the original cost of the house.

It was the recognition of this fact that compelled the Government, at the end of the First World War, to give Councils subsidies to enable them to build homes for working people at rents they could afford. Since 1919 there has been a constant struggle between Councils and Governments on the amounts of subsidies. As subsidies were in all cases, except under the 1930 Housing Act, insufficient to meet the housing and maintenance costs an increasing burden is being imposed on tenants by rent and tax increases.

In relation to other major items of expenditure, such as education, the Government before 1957 gave a grant equal to 50 per cent of the total expenditure. This is now altered and the amount given is concealed in an Exchequer General Grant which is a sum allocated each year to Councils.

Labor Councillors pay homage to this confusing method of Government assistance, while the Communist Councillors demand that money required by Councils, in addition to total Government financial responsibility for specific services such as housing and education, should be raised by a municipal income tax. At present, local rates are levied on sums determined by the value of the property in which the tenant resides. This gives rise to a grave injustice to many workers. People with large families, who are compelled to rent a four bedroom house, pay higher rent and higher taxes than the tenant of a two bedroom house with one or no children.

The Communist Councillors lead the demand for better health services. Clydebank, with a population of 51,000, has no General Hospital.

Patients have to go for treatment to the neighboring city of Glasgow or an even greater distance in the County of Dumbarton. The Hospital Board, which covers the West of Scotland, recently decided on a development program which omitted the town of Clydebank. As a result of the insistence of one of the Communist Councillors, the Council unanimously supported the demand for a General Hospital for the town. Representation has been made by the Council to all responsible authorities without success and without any change in the plans of the Hospital Board. As a result of this representation, a new clinic may be set up for examinations of complaints prior to hospital treatment. This would never have been suggested if pressure had not been forthcoming from the Council.

Clydebank's Communist Councillors consistently pay attention to the need of the aged, demanding higher pensions, more hospital beds for geriatric treatment, meals-on-wheels services, and homes for the aged who have no relatives. Closely associated with this is the case for disabled children and adults. A woman Communist, who had devoted herself to this work with the help of the one Communist on the Council at that time, created the conditions that led to the Council building one of the most up-to-date centers in Scotland for the rehabilitation of disabled children and adults.

The Communist Councillors have exposed and resisted the hypocritical attitude of the Labor Government that postponed any new developments which entailed capital expenditure for homes for children or the aged. As this is being written Councillors are in receipt of a letter from the Government with an excerpt from the Prime Minister's speech of July 20th, 1966. Councils are asked to cooperate by reviewing all schemes in respect of which borrowing consent has been agreed in principle but has not been applied for and those in respect of which loan sanction or other formal approval may have been issued, but to which they are not committed by contract. Children's and old folks homes are again being axed; amenity, leisure and recreational projects—such as parks, indoor and outdoor sports facilities, community centers, theatres—are to be severely curtailed.

The requests for the Government will again lead to sharp political debates in the Council Chambers where it will be the aim of the Communist Councillors to rally the people of the town, alongside the workers in the factories who are opposing the wage freeze, to compel the Government to adopt socialist policies in place of the present restrictions that aim to perpetuate a capitalist economy.

One of the most difficult—and it might be added the most unsatisfactory—of a Councillor's duties is the allocation of Council houses. This is done by a committee responsible to the whole Council. Over the years rules have been established to determine who is eligible to become a tenant. Rules are modified for different

types of houses. There are approximately 15,000 houses in this town and of these just over half are owned by the Council. The old properties, built at the end of last century, are in a bad state of repair. The rate of housebuilding is far too slow to meet the needs of the town. The consequences are that there is a tremendous pressure of demand for houses. There are 3,500 people demanding a decent house and only 400 new houses will be available this year and none next year, so one can see the extent of the problem. The policy of the Communist Councillors is to take the problems to the people, build up the pressure on the Government and the Council for more new houses and demand that the money being squandered in a senseless "East of Suez" policy be put to better use.

With the growth of housebuilding by councils away from the earlier congested areas around the industrial establishments, road, transport, cleansing and refuse disposal take on an added importance. Motor transport makes demands on roads that were not called for 50 years ago in the days of the horse and cart. The abolition of the tramcar, and its substitute, the autobus, have made demands for road expenditure out of all proportion to the past. After education and housing, local roads and sidewalks are the biggest liability of a Council. The Clydebank Town Council is divided into seven wards and the Councillors in each are subject to severe criticism if the roads or streets within a ward are in need of repair. When economies have to take place it is often at the expense of those streets off the main highways. Added to this is the modern problem of parking space for automobiles as well as garage accommodation. It is only within the past year that some Councils are making provision for one garage space for every house being built, but that does not solve the problem of older housing estates where grass verges are being used for off-street parking and narrow streets are now jammed with automobiles. This requires the development of underground and multi-storey garages, both types being very expensive.

The solution of all these problems requires more money and raises sharply the political problem before the people who are affected. The urgent need is to change the Government's policy. Labor Councillors attempt to hold back the dissatisfaction of sections of the population, the ill-housed, the motorist, the parent who is dissatisfied with the educational opportunities for his or her child. On the other hand, the Communist Councillors help to stimulate the demands as being in line with healthy modern developments and explain the need to change society whereby the wealth of the country will be used in the interests of the majority of the people. At the same time they help to organize representation to the Council through letters and deputations and complaints to the member of Parliament. They aim at all times to increase the public activity of the peo-

ple in support of their demands and increase their political understanding.

Bordering on Glasgow, a city with a population of 1¼ million, Clydebank never really developed an adequate shopping center and had no independent cultural center. The theatre, the opera and the ballet were all centered in Glasgow. There is a demand for community centers in each part of the town but, apart from two small centers in two of the housing estates, there are very few opportunities outside the Church organizations for cultural development and advance. The Communist Councillors have endeavored to have this matter dealt with in the Council and have received agreement that the matter will be discussed; however, because at present no money will be permitted to finance such ventures, the matter is lying in abeyance.

The lack of facilities is having a devastating affect on the cultural training of our youth. Vandalism is rife and takes the form of rendering public telephones inoperative, destroying young trees in some of the new housing estates, breaking the glass windows in the bus shelters and, in general, having no respect for public property. The Labor Councillors attribute this to the degradation of our modern youth, call for more police supervision and more severe punishment for those who are convicted for such offences. The Communist Councillors see this as part of a wider social problem. We are living in an age of violence and destruction in the capitalist world, exemplified by the atrocities committed by U.S. in Vietnam. If some of the money being spent on destroying life could be used to build community centers, civic theatres and more sports centers, there would be considerably less vandalism. The Communist Councillors have decided to make approaches to all youth organizations in their wards, most of which are attached to Churches, to discuss this question of vandalism and get their point of view as to how it can be overcome. A further attempt will be made to interest the school-children to protect the property their parents are paying for through the local taxes. At the same time, the Communist Councillors will stimulate the demand for more playing fields in all housing estates and proper places for mothers to ensure their toddlers are safe when at play.

All this means that our Councillors must have around them an active Party organization which keeps the Councillors informed about the wants of the people and inform the people what the Communist Councillors are trying to do. The Communist Councillors participate in the general local life of the people they represent and are seen as good citizens who want to better the lives of their fellow workers. One is a keen golfer, well respected in that fraternity, attending to his duties as a Town Councillor. Another is well known among the bowling fraternity as it is on the bowling greens that he finds his recreation.

The other Communist is respected by his

neighbors for his horticultural activities in which he has won awards in the past four years. All are active trade unionists and members of leading committees in the Communist Party. They have already broken down many of the misconceptions that workers in Clydebank had gained from the press and right-wing social democracy about Communists. The people can see the Communists at work on their behalf and a new respect is growing for their integrity and understanding of social questions. By their work they are laying a basis for the election of a Communist Member of Parliament which has become one of the most urgent needs of the people in Britain.

On all issues the Communist Councillors aim to win unity with their Labor colleagues. This does not only apply strictly to the administrative responsibilities within the Council but to all major political, social and economic questions. During the twenty years Councillor Arnold Henderson was the lone Communist member he succeeded in getting the Council to make political declarations against Government policy. It is on record that Clydebank Burgh Council opposed German rearmament and the American Polaris Base in the Holy Loch, which is near to Clydebank. Declarations have been made against nuclear bombs and the Council has been represented on demonstrations organized by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament. Demands have been made for cuts in military expenditure. The Council has also associated itself from time to time with broad Committees set up to oppose the closing of factories and with campaigns to improve the lot of old-age pensioners. At the Council meeting on January 10, 1966, Councillor Arnold Henderson submitted a resolution on Vietnam which stated that "this Town Council, shocked and alarmed at the indiscriminate disastrous attacks by United States Armed Forces on the people of Vietnam, calls upon the Government to immediately disassociate itself from American policy, demand an end to bombing and withdrawal of American troops in line with the Geneva Agreement."

On behalf of the Labor members in the Council, an amendment was put which finally carried after a very good debate and in spite of certain objections that resolutions of this kind are not the business of a Burgh Council. This amendment is now the policy of the Council. It states, "this Town Council support the Labor Government and the United Nations in all steps to secure a just and peaceful settlement for the people of Vietnam in line with the Geneva Agreement, whereby unification, independence and a freely elected democratic Government be achieved without interference by any foreign power."

Councils are entitled to discuss legislation before Parliament if the issue affects the interests of the people the Council represents. Within the past year a considerable amount of legislation has passed through Parliament dealing with the country's economy. Communist

Councillors take full advantage of their right to submit comments to their member of Parliament or direct to a Government Department or Minister. The Committee on the Clydebank Burgh Council that deals with this is the same Committee that deals with finance and is called the Law and Finance Committee. The Communist Councillors opposed certain provisions of the 1956 Rating Act before it became law and were able to show the other Councillors and the public at large, that the policy of the present Government, while claiming to relieve certain hardships to low-paid workers and pensioners, was imposing a greater financial burden on the local authorities, as the Government would only meet 75 per cent of the relief, the Council having to raise the money for the remaining 25 per cent and at the same time meet all the administrative costs.

Burgh Councils meet in the evening after work, so also do District Councils, but the four City Councils and all County Councils meet during the day. Most of the work is done by Committees. All the members of the Council are on the housing, planning, health, children and law and finance Committees. The remaining Committees are composed of approximately half the members; that is property and letting, halls and baths, park, fire and lighting, streets, roads and bridges, buildings and from time to time special Committees are set up to deal with particular issues. Each Committee elects a permanent sub-committee which deals with most of the details of the Committee's work. When business requires to be done by any member during the day, the member is compensated for loss of earnings and receives what is called a subsistence allowance which varies according to the number of hours the Councillor is engaged on the business. No payment is made for attendance in the evening. Communist Councillors are exemplary in their attendance at meetings and are respected by all the officers employed by the Council for their attention to all details and their genuine attempts to help the officers to improve the services and amenities of the town.

A Councillor is elected for three years. In each of the past two years a Communist has been elected, which indicates a change from the hard cold-war atmosphere that affected previous elections. The opposition of many Catholic workers to communism is being broken down and many active trade unionists who declared their loyalty to the Labor Party in the past are now recognizing that communist principles are the basis on which socialism will be won in this country.

Membership of a Council takes up all the available time of a Communist member. The working men and women of the town seek their advice on practically all matters. Even when not members of the County Council that deals with education, the Communist Councillors take the questions up and in Clydebank have the advantage of being able to contact the two Communist Councillors who were elected

to the Dumbartonshire County Council from the neighboring village of Renton. Being a Communist Councillor and at the same time being active in the trade union movement and playing a leading part in the leadership of the Com-

munist Party, calls for devotion to the working class and a closer study of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. This all three Communist members of the Clydebank Burgh Council try to do.
Finlay HART

THE WORK OF FACTORY BRANCHES

IT HAS ALWAYS been the firmly held view of British Communists that to give the working class a scientific theory and socialist consciousness, to end capitalism and win political power, to lead, guide and co-ordinate struggles on the issues of the moment, the British working class needs a revolutionary organization—the Communist Party.

Such a Party, we hold, must be organized on a countrywide scale covering all the main centers of population and embracing the various sections of the working people, but, above all, it must have organization in the factories.

In the large factories of our country are found the most decisive political sections of the population, and political discussion, struggle and policy radiate out from the factory through all the mass organizations of the working people. The factories in a highly developed capitalist economy, such as exists in our country, are the key points of class struggle and it goes on unabated day after day, as the employers strive to increase their profits at the expense of the workers and the workers in turn seek to maintain and improve their wages and working conditions. In these great factories, in some cases employing many thousands of workers, there exists the most fruitful field for Communist work because in their own daily experience workers face the realities of capitalism and come more readily than elsewhere to recognize the correctness of Communist policy and to appreciate the personal qualities of individual Communists.

The daily political life in a factory where Communists are organized is not confined to economic questions either of a factory, industry or nationwide character. It is true that factory questions—speed-up, dismissals, bonus earnings, working conditions, Trade Union organization and so on—are dominant, but the Communists, recognizing that life inside the factory cannot be isolated from political developments in the world outside, constantly work to lift the political understanding and consciousness of the workers on, among other questions, American aggression in Vietnam, the sell-out to the racials in Rhodesia, the dangers associated with Britain's proposed entry to the Common Market, as well as the general current social and political questions in Britain.

In many cases individual Communists conduct such activity, winning respect and influence with their fellow workers, as through the use of materials produced by the Party, and using the experience and understanding Party membership and education has given them,

they guide, advise and lead their fellow workers in day by day discussions and struggle. But individuals naturally accomplish only a limited amount and this will be multiplied to greater effectiveness by regular association and discussion with other Communists. This will only happen if we decide that Communists in factories should not work in isolated, individual ways but become part of an organized, collective, co-ordinated factory organization.

Since the 27th Congress of our Party in 1961 British Communists have made a continuous and determined effort to participate with Communist candidates in all elections in our country, from the local Councils to Parliament. We have made great strides toward our aim of every local branch putting forward candidates in local elections; and at the last General Election we had 57 candidates as compared with 38 in the 1964 General Election. This increased activity in electoral work was misinterpreted by some members as being an indication that the E.C. had departed from our established position on the importance of factory branches. General Secretary John Gollan sharply rebutted such ideas in his Political Report to the 29th Congress in 1965 when he said:

"We utterly oppose all the arguments that we should give up factory branches. On the contrary, we should be establishing hundreds of new factory branches rather than tolerating a situation where they exist only in a comparatively small number of factories."

In following up the decisions of the Congress a nationwide meeting of members working in factories was held in June 1966 and decisions taken to establish a further 50 new branches in important factories throughout the country. At the same time the Conference discussed the activities of the existing factory branches ranging from small units with only three or four members to powerful branches with nearly 100 members.

Whether large or small, the pattern of branch life and work was seen to be similar, with results dependent in large measure on two factors:

1. The effectiveness of the organization, and
2. The number of members in the branch.

The primary weapon of all our factory branches, large or small, is the daily newspaper, the *Morning Star*. Recognized widely as an outstanding example of working class journalism, the *Morning Star* each day reports, analyzes and comments on political events at home and abroad. In one large factory in Scotland, a delegate to the Conference reported, the Communist Branch was selling 240 copies of the

paper each day, and a number of other delegates reported increased sales, achieved in the period since the *Morning Star* had taken the place of the *Daily Worker* as the paper which explains Communist policy for Britain. One delegate from a factory with only three Communists indicated how 30 new readers had been won for the paper among his workmates and his contribution underlined the fact that a high proportion of *Morning Star* sales in the factories are to non-Communists, a point which demonstrates the contribution the paper makes to the Left, progressive movement in our country.

Thousands of Communists working in industry in Britain hold responsible positions in the trade unions, not least in factories. As shop stewards and shop stewards' conveners (the leading Shop Steward) Communists give tremendous service to their fellow workers. Constantly in action to defend and improve conditions, they are at one and the same time a bulwark against the employers' attacks and a source of inspiration to the men and women they represent.

The strength and power of the British Trade Union Movement, with its 10 million members, derives above all from the great industries and factories and it is here that Communists make an outstanding contribution to the struggle of the working class.

Such a volume of many-sided activity demands organization and political clarity not only amongst the Communists but from other politically interested workers as well. Therefore there must be meetings at which the political, economic and social questions of the day are discussed and debated. These meetings take various forms. Some Communist branches have regular "factory-gate" meetings which take place at meal breaks, in the open, outside the factory, where a leading Communist from inside or outside the factory speaks for 15 or 20 minutes on a current political question and then for 10 or 15 minutes answers any ques-

tions the workers want to ask about the Party and its policy. Sometimes meetings are held away from the factory, in a meeting hall or hotel where Communists and non-Communists from the factory exchange views and ideas and discuss policies.

But the Communists must also have their own branch meetings at which not only are political questions discussed but it is also decided what the Communists are going to do to win more workers for the policy of the Party and from there to membership. Such meetings are not easy to organize. Many of the comrades live many miles from the factory, some of the members are on different shifts, often there is no meeting place near the factory and so on. Yet the Communists must meet and many of our branches do so on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis at which plans for the next period are discussed and decided.

The primary job of the factory branch is how to develop the influence and size of the Party in the enterprise and by so doing strengthen the Trade Union movement and socialist consciousness amongst the workers. But not all problems can be solved within the four walls of the factory. Political decisions affecting the workers are taken outside in the local councils and Parliament, and our factory branches, aware of this, make a powerful contribution to the Party's electoral activities, in many cases providing the candidates and election workers in the town or housing area closest to the factory.

Communist factory branches in Britain are, therefore, all-round political, campaigning organizations, playing an invaluable role, not only in the Party but in the broad working class movement. The decision of the recent Conference to establish 50 new factory branches is therefore one of considerable political significance for the future development of the Party's work in Britain and will be fought for in a determined way by the Executive Committee.

Gordon McLENNAN

PUBLIC MEETINGS

ONE OF THE MOST important features of the Communist Party's propaganda work is the organization of public meetings. These take many forms which vary according to districts, the political situation, the principal political issues at stake and—of course—the weather.

From the spring to the autumn, the majority of the meetings are outdoor. They range from big London Trafalgar Square events to street corner meetings in cities, towns, and villages throughout the country.

For example at the end of June and the beginning of July last year two weekends of public meetings were organized around the slogan "Wilson—Stop Backing the U.S. War in Vietnam." The London District organized a Trafalgar Square demonstration at which John Gol-

lan, the Party's General Secretary, spoke, along with a woman Communist parliamentary candidate from one of the London boroughs, a leading Communist trade unionist and one of the leaders of the Young Communist League. On the previous Saturday the London District had organized motorcades and poster parades in a dozen areas of London which either started or ended with the holding of a public meeting. Other Districts similarly had organized motorcades and poster parades together with public meetings.

The motorcade is a new form of public demonstration which has been increasingly used by the Party in conjunction with public meetings. Cars decorated with Party posters—on this occasion, those calling for an end to U.S.

aggression and demanding that the British Labor Government end its support for Johnson—tour busy shopping streets and housing estates. The leading car will usually also be equipped with a loudspeaker through which information is given about the intended public meetings. The advantage of the motorcade is that in a very short time, at least hundreds of people see our slogans and hear about our meeting. They see the Communist Party in action. At best of course it will bring people to our meeting, and spur them into other action on the issues discussed.

A Trafalgar Square meeting takes a good deal of organizing. Permission to use the Square has to be secured from a government department. There is no difficulty about this provided that it is booked in good time. Generally leaflets advertising the meeting are then distributed by Party branches throughout London. These will be given out at factories or pushed through doors. Party members use the leaflets amongst friends, family and workmates to persuade them to attend. The District Committee will probably also advertise the meeting in the *Morning Star* and perhaps in the left *Labor Tribune*.

This kind of preparation will be made for similar big outdoor meetings in other parts of the country, in Manchester, Liverpool, Cardiff, Glasgow and so on. At all these meetings, one of the speakers will make an appeal for a collection, and another speaker, sometimes the chairman, will make an appeal for people to join the Communist Party. Often, for these bigger meetings, collections will have been taken beforehand in factories, amongst friends, neighbors and in the Party branches, and these will then be handed up at the meeting.

A feature of our outdoor meetings each year is of course the May Day processions and meetings organized in the main towns throughout Britain.

Besides these bigger events, there are any number of smaller outdoor meetings, some, which have been established for years, others at places which are only just being established as regular sites.

The Bigg Market in Newcastle-upon-Tyne is one of the best established Sunday night meeting places which the Communist Party has kept going over years. There week after week Communist speakers explain our policy, answer questions, sell Party publicity material and make recruits to the Party and Young Communist League. Here experienced Party speakers, local and national, are joined by young men and women who at this forum gain their first experience of public speaking for the Party.

Nottingham's Old Market Square is another place where the Party holds Sunday evening meetings in the summer. At this as at all our open-air public meetings, especially those at regular sites, there is always a stream of questions. The qualities a Communist speaker needs are a good pair of lungs, an inexhaustible sup-

ply of patience and good humor, a thorough knowledge of Communist policy and a willingness to deal straightforwardly and honestly with all questions.

A feature of almost any Communist—or other Party for that matter—outdoor meeting are the hecklers, who keep up a running fire not only of questions to but also interruptions of, the speaker. One Nottingham heckler put Young Communist League speakers "through the hoop" with questions on the Berlin wall, Hungary, Finland and other subjects. So well did the speakers acquit themselves that the heckler put 5/- into the collection as a "tribute to people not yet of voting age but who expertly put the Communist case."

At Old Market Square recruiting to the Party and the YCL is carried on regularly and some of the leading members of the Party and YCL in this District were recruited at these meetings.

Besides such meetings there are also the smaller meetings at street corners or—like in the Durham coalfield—outside the workingmen's club for half-an-hour before it opens on Sunday morning. Here the "platform" will be a kitchen chair borrowed from some helpful housewife nearby, or a box lent perhaps by a shopkeeper or a public house.

With the onset of autumn and winter we move inside for our meetings. These again vary in size and venue. It may be in the historic Free Trade Hall in Manchester, the St. Andrew's Hall in Glasgow or it may be a classroom in a local school where our meeting is held.

Indoor meetings of course have to be worked for much more than most outdoor meetings, which have so often a ready made audience. And indoor meetings are also more expensive. The hire of halls whether large or small is a major item on the budget. On the whole it is not difficult to book halls for Communist meetings in Britain. Our biggest difficulty is the cost of hiring a large hall.

The better the preparation for indoor meetings, the better the meetings are in attendance and results.

For a successful public meeting much organizational effort is needed. Most Communist committees will plan to sell tickets for the meeting. This is valuable from several points of view. It means a direct personal approach to people to get them to come along to the meeting, which is much more likely to produce results than just shoving a leaflet through their letter box. And a good committee will plan for approaches to be made to people in the local Labor Party, cooperatives, trade unions, factories and to electors who have voted for us or may have indicated interest in our policy.

The most popular speakers know what they're talking about, are down-to-earth, back up their arguments with well-substantiated facts, introduce some humor and are not long-winded. The opportunity to ask questions is always welcomed and features in all our meet-

ings. Also important is the time given to recruiting to the Party and YCL, to getting a collection, and to drawing attention to and selling the Party literature which is on display.

In recent months there has been a growing public interest in what the Communist Party has to say and this has been reflected in a very great improvement in attendance at our public meetings.

It is worth mentioning also that Communist speakers are being asked for from a variety of organizations. Requests come, in steadily in-

creasing number, to our Press and Publicity Department at the Party Center and to the Districts. They come from youth groups, young Liberals, young Catholics, from non-Party political discussion groups and from student societies who want to hear the Communist case.

The Party is now preparing to hold in the New Year a new round of public meetings throughout the length and breadth of Britain to put the Communist Party's alternative policy, to show the way ahead.

Gladys BROOKS

WORK AMONG WOMEN

IN BRITAIN there are 28 million women and girls, over 1½ million more than there are men and boys.

Women are also a majority of the electorate, one third of the labor force, 46 per cent of the individual membership of the Labor Party, 2¼ million of Britain's 8½ million trade unionists, a significant proportion of the 14 million organized in the cooperative wing of the Labor movement. One third of the membership of our Communist Party is women.

In the mass movements for nuclear disarmament, against the rearming of West Germany, and for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the growing participation of women has been a marked feature of the last decade.

As well as those organized in the political, trade union, cooperative and peace movements, millions more are organized in over 100 different organizations embracing feminist, religious, social, philanthropic, sports and games organizations.

In addition to these organizations, a feature of the last few years has been the emergence of special organizations of women to campaign on specific issues affecting women.

The Communist Party makes its appeal to women on the basis of our policies for peace, for equal pay and equal opportunities for trade and professional education and training; for improved social services, and in the immediate present, for the protection of living standards against the Government prices and incomes policy, which has frozen wages while allowing prices of foods, other consumer goods and services to continue to rise.

I shall take this latter issue to illustrate some of our methods of work amongst women.

At a National Conference of representatives of our women members held in London on October 1st and 2nd, 155 delegates from all parts of Britain discussed this issue and decided to develop a campaign of explanation and agitation amongst housewives and working women, to popularize the Party's demand for the wage freeze to be replaced by a price freeze.

We produced a leaflet addressed to women, showing that the high prices are due to the wrong policies of the Government and the excessive profiteering of the monopolies who

dominate production of consumer goods in this country.

In the weeks since the Conference, teams of women have been in action in many towns and cities, distributing 100,000 copies of the leaflet, holding meetings at shopping centers, and collecting signatures to petitions demanding a price freeze.

Women in Liverpool are busy arousing opposition to Government policy in the Prime Minister's own constituency of Huyton, where the first 400 women have already signed the demand for a price freeze.

In the city of Newcastle nearly 2,000 women have signed such a demand. From all the towns and cities where this work is going on our women report the reactions of the housewives who are expressing support for the Party's initiative in defense of living standards.

The next stage of the campaign will be the organization of deputations to members of Parliament who will be given the signed petitions, asked where they stand on this issue, and urged to fight in Parliament for an end to the wage freeze and legislation to freeze prices.

Rapidly increasing rents is another aspect of rising living costs. In Southampton, when the Town Council met to adopt a rent raising scheme, a team of women assembled in the public gallery of the Council, demanded the right to be heard, protested that the Council should fight the Government for more money to be spent on subsidizing housing instead of spending it keeping troops in West Germany. They lowered a slogan poster over the balcony into the Council Chamber, showered the Councillors with leaflets and in general accomplished an effective protest before they were "escorted" out and the Council meeting adjourned. This action was headlined in a county newspaper, giving a lead and inspiration to thousands of women faced with the rents problem.

The same method of work was used by a group of workers in Crawley, a new town in Southern England. In this case the mothers were agitating for nursery schools for their three to five year old children. Their local council failed to respond to their repeated requests, petitions, deputations and other forms of pressure. They decided to go to the County Council, hired a coach and took all the child-

ren with them. Mothers and children occupied the public gallery of the Council Chambers. The presence of the children interfered somewhat with the dignified procedure of the Council. The mayor requested the women to leave on the promise that their case would be heard after the Council meeting. The women declined, saying that they wished to exercise their democratic right to stay, and as far as the presence of the children was concerned, they pointed out that if they had nursery schools they would not need to bring the children to Council meetings.

In the end, these women got a nursery class opened in their town, a small but important victory.

Only one per cent of the children in the eligible age group have a nursery school place in Britain today, yet half of the eight million women workers are mothers with children.

A major problem for Britain's women workers is the battle for equal pay.

Throughout manufacturing industry, average weekly earnings of women workers are just under 50 per cent of male earnings.

Only 12 per cent of all working women have equal pay. This includes, in the main, professional workers such as teachers, doctors, civil servants and other relatively small groupings.

It is estimated that working women subsidize the employers to the tune of £600 million and the employers are of course determined to hold on to this source of cheap labor at all costs. Communist women have worked alongside other progressive women in the trade union movement to change this.

The policy battle has long since been won. The Trades Union Congress and every major trade union has adopted equal pay as a policy.

A milestone in this long drawn out battle was the adoption by the Trades Union Congress of a 6-Point Charter for Women Workers' in 1962. The Charter demands the following:

Equal pay based on the value of the job done and not on the sex of the worker.

Opportunities for Promotion for women.

Apprenticeship Schemes for girls in appropriate industries.

Improved Opportunities for Training young women for skilled work.

Retraining Facilities for older women who return to industry.

Special Care for the health and welfare of women workers.

Hailed as a great step forward by the 1962 Trades Union Congress, the publication of the

Charter led to a revival of militant demands for the implementation of equal pay and the elevation of the question to much greater public discussion.

The 1964 Annual Conference of the Labor Party adopted a resolution pledging that a Labor Government if elected in the General Election would take steps to implement equal pay.

The only steps taken by the Labor Government, however, are in the main sidesteps to avoid the issue and avoid fulfilment of their 1964 pledge.

The 1966 Conference of Women Trade Unionists called on its parent body for militant action, including a National Conference and mass lobby of Parliament on equal pay, but the TUC seems reluctant to implement these recommendations of the Women's Conference and this illustrates the difficult task confronting women workers, who are faced with the opposition of Government and Right wing union leaders, as well as the intransigence of the employers. The political equality established by the winning of votes for women in 1928 is undermined by this absence of economic equality, and unequal opportunities for training for girls and women.

Until these rights are won, the majority of British women are condemned to be second class citizens, doing the bulk of the unskilled work in manufacturing industry, in the service industries, in distribution, and doing it for the lowest wages for any section of the community.

In their daily work amongst women affected by the many problems developing in our monopoly strangled economy, Communist women do not limit themselves to advancing general socialist slogans, but seek to develop policy, organization, action around the concrete problems of everyday life.

At the same time, by means of our socialist propaganda and ideological work as a Party, we seek to inspire women with the ideals of socialism, and to train those joining our Party in the fundamentals of revolutionary socialism. This is done by special literature prepared by the Party's women's department, special articles and treatment of questions by the *Morning Star*, and special schools for women members joining our Party in which they can approach a study of Marxism-Leninism, and our program *The British Road to Socialism*, from the standpoint of their experiences as working women and mothers in capitalist society.

Margaret HUNTER

PROPAGANDA MATERIAL

WE PLACE VERY GREAT importance on the quality and variety of our propaganda material, and although we are still a small party, we produce a considerable quantity. Our aim is to write in direct, simple language, in a modern idiom, entirely free from jargon, and to have

covers, broadsheets, leaflets as well-designed and attractive as possible. We compete with all the well-produced advertising material pushed through people's doors, and with up-to-date magazines on the bookstalls. So we try to make our material eye-catching in the best sense,

and use color wherever we can.

We produce pamphlets for the longer argued case, broadsheets for more popular versions of our arguments, folders and leaflets.

We have just produced one of the most important short books for many years, "The Case for Socialism in the Sixties" by John Gollan. This is a paper back of 98 pages, cheap compared with comparable books, and with a very attractive abstract art cover design.

Here John Gollan develops, in clear simple words, the theme that Britain needs a new social system to match the new explosive scientific revolution. He makes a devastating critique of the present Labor Government's inability to solve any of the great problems facing the country, and examines the coming impact of automation on the economy and social life of the country. The last chapter sets out our conception of the way forward to socialism and discusses some of the main problems in people's minds which tend to hold them back from joining the Party—such things as the one-party system, freedom and democracy, centralized planning, etc.

We not only want to sell this book in large numbers, but to use it to start a big public discussion on the exciting ideas it presents. So in addition to selling it, our branches are now planning meetings and lectures on it.

Our pamphlets are usually about 12 or 16 pages long—about 6,000 words. They argue a fairly full case on one or other of the big political or social questions of the day.

The most recent was "The Great Wage Freeze Trick" by Bert Ramelson. The incomes policy has been the cornerstone of the Labor Government's whole economic policy. Discussion on it has occupied the trade union movement and the main pages of the national press for months now; and the Government has used the most deceptive arguments to hoodwink people into accepting the policy.

This pamphlet takes all the Government's arguments apart, shows how false they are, and deals with the concept of an incomes policy in a basic, theoretical way. Then it presents quite fully the Communist alternative.

The pamphlet has been a great success. Its author has been invited to speak to a wide range of non-Party organizations, and spoke together with Government and opposition speakers at a very large "teach-in" on the incomes policy organized by *The Guardian* in a hall in Westminster packed out with over 2,000 people, mainly young. The Communist speaker got the most applause.

1966 was the year of the seamen's strike, remarkable for its solidarity in the face of considerable provocation. (This was the occasion for the Prime Minister to try his hand at a McCarthy-type smear against the Communist Party.) Since the strike Jack Coward, one of the best known Communist seamen, has written a pamphlet dealing with lessons of the strike and the way forward for the seamen.

Wherever it is being sold it goes like hot cakes. Over 1,000 have been sold in Liverpool. Leading Communist seamen carry a bundle—say 100 or more—with them when they are on shore and sell, and take some when they go off to sea.

Other pamphlets in the last period have dealt with Vietnam—and we have another ready to go to press on this—with racialism, with the Party itself, and we shall soon have another one out putting our case against Britain joining the Common Market.

One pamphlet we devoted to stating our case for time on television. Most unprejudiced observers agree that there is very great discrimination against us, and very great sympathy for our right to put our viewpoint. Over several years we have conducted a strongly-argued campaign with the authorities in a series of letters and exchanges; and last year we set all this out in a very telling pamphlet.

During the last two years there have been two general elections here, as well as the usual yearly local elections. For these we produced a lot of material, leaflets, posters, etc. Most important and effective was our 1966 general election program, which we printed in pamphlet form with stiff cover. This has a very striking cover design, and was sold throughout the country on the bookstalls of one of the main booksellers.

We also produce a popular version of our election program as a four-page broadsheet. We try to get this really well designed to catch the eye and attract readers. This year for the local election we tried an experiment. We produced a four-pager, but printed only on pages 2 and 3. Pages 1 and 4 were left for local candidates to use for the election address and other local material. This made a great saving in election costs for our branches.

From time to time we produce broadsheets on a particular issue. We did one last year on the crisis in mining—"A Future for the Miners." Earlier we had done a much more ambitious broadsheet, 16 pages, on "Britain's Crisis." This had plenty of pictures and diagrams, and dealt in detail with the basis of the crisis and what has to be done, yet did so in a popular form. This sold extremely well. The print was 50,000.

Then there are our leaflets and folders. The biggest quantities of material we produce are our leaflets, which deal with the burning problems faced by people every day. The leaflet, we feel, must be direct, simple, agitational, presenting a minimum of ideas and argument in a convincing way. Vietnam, wages, the Labor Government's policy, nuclear weapons for West Germany, prices—we have put out leaflets on all these and many other subjects.

One of the latest is entitled "Calling All Housewives" and puts forward ideas for bringing down prices. It has been used by our women in shopping centers. A group distribute the leaflets, sometimes hold a meeting too, and then collect signatures to a petition calling on

the Government to act to bring prices down. This is a very effective way of helping women to play a part in the present campaign, and in many shopping centers hundreds of signatures have been collected.

In the two months of September and October 1966 our Party handled altogether over a million leaflets and folders.

The folder is extremely useful when we want to extend the argument beyond the length which we normally keep to on our leaflets. One of our folders—a four-pager—set out our criticism of Government policy, and in some detail our alternative. We called it “The Communist Alternative to the Freeze.” It was widely distributed inside and outside factories, door to door and in shopping centers.

All our material carries an application form for membership. On this last folder we extended the form to give more information than usual about the Party, and many forms filled in came into the head office.

We got many requests from branches for space on all leaflets for local overprinting; so we now leave about one-third of the second side of leaflets blank. This is then used locally to advertise a meeting.

One of our more specialized folders which caused great discussion among the factory workers where it was distributed dealt with the future of the aircraft industry—“Has the Aircraft Industry a Future?” Specialized material of this kind can lay the basis for discussion on a common program, and eventually common action.

We produce a good many posters, some very

large indeed for the hoardings, others smaller, also for use on hoardings but more for use in poster parades. The poster parade is a widely used form of demonstration. A dozen people carrying posters can cause quite a stir in a busy shopping center on any Saturday afternoon. Our posters deal with Vietnam, the wage freeze, education, arms spending, housing, etc. At the moment we have two being widely used, on Vietnam and the wage freeze.

There is no tradition in Britain of what could be called the poster manifesto, carrying a lot of text. So we aim to reduce the wordage on our posters to the minimum—about seven for small posters and no more than 10 or 11 for the bigger ones.

The production of Communist Party material is a challenging and absorbing job. The ideas we have to present are new, here in Britain, to most people, and therefore fresh and exciting, and ring true in face of the crisis the country is going through. All the more reason therefore to find the best possible way to present them, in terms that people will at once understand, and that have immediate relevance for what they are experiencing in their own lives. And since this is the age of the great scientific revolution and communism the only way of life that can develop this to the full, our material must present us as a modern party, with modern ideas, speaking the people's language of today. Above all our material must carry more of the vision of socialism. We have made great efforts to do this for many years now, with some success.

Nora JEFFERY

BUILDING THE CIRCULATION OF THE PAPER

THE FIRST NUMBER OF the *Morning Star* was published on April 25, 1966. The decision to increase the size of the paper from four to six pages daily, and to change the name from the *Daily Worker* to the *Morning Star*, was taken after thorough discussion by readers in the columns of the paper, and by the shareholders of the Co-operative society which owns the paper.

This wide-ranging discussion included a consultation of Communist Party branches taken by the Party's Executive Committee.

The aim of the changes was to provide the working class and progressive movement in Britain with a more effective daily weapon in the struggle for peace, higher living standards and Socialism. There is no doubt that the general opinion in the labor and progressive movement is that the *Morning Star* is fulfilling this role with success.

Its staff, however, are by no means satisfied with what has been achieved so far, and aim further to improve it, by sharpening its political campaigning and broadening its appeal.

The battle for *Morning Star* circulation is being conducted at a time when a savage and

costly circulation war is taking place between the monopoly groups that own the diminishing number of national daily newspapers.

Every day's issue is a working class triumph against this background. The daunting problems of production, distribution, financial support and sales are overcome by readers and supporters who well know its priceless value in every progressive struggle.

Its role was defined by the Editor on April 25th when he wrote: “Editorially, we express Communist views. At the same time we offer a platform to all genuine Left opinion. Our columns are open for discussion and controversy, to help unite the diverse Left and progressive trends in Britain for their common aims.”

Since then the seamen's great struggle and the mounting protest campaign to stop the U.S. war in Vietnam provide fresh evidence of the *Morning Star's* vital role.

The motor car workers who are striking and demonstrating against the threat of mass layoffs find support for their struggle day by day.

As yet we are only at the very beginning of a long, hard, sustained campaign to build up

circulation in a variety of ways and by means of the active voluntary help of a growing circle of readers and an increasing number of Communist Party branches. The first results are encouraging. In September the distribution was about five per cent more than it was earlier in the year.

We set out to reach active trade unionists in the factories and trade union branches, left-thinking members of the Labor Party and Co-operative organizations, progressive young people, active members of peace and progressive organizations, and many more working class families.

So far we have only reached a comparatively small proportion of these categories, yet there are already gains, enough to show that a golden opportunity now exists for a decisive circulation advance if we can give more readers the political conviction and the enthusiasm to take part in the campaign.

The *Morning Star* is distributed through the same commercial trade channels as are used by all other British newspapers. A vast and complicated network of night distribution puts newspapers on most British breakfast tables. The papers are handled by over 40,000 newsagents and their staffs many of whom have an early morning newspaper delivery to their customers. However, the use of the distribution channels is only the beginning of the selling process for newspapers. The press lords employ large numbers of sales representatives and other workers who are engaged in advertising and promotion and who make sure that supplies of their newspapers are on display at the selling points—the newsagents.

The *Morning Star* cannot do that. It has been prevented from advertising on television. It does not possess the resources to employ a sales and publicity machine comparable to the other papers.

One of the simple but important ways by which *Morning Star* readers are asked to help their paper is by helping it to overcome this handicap imposed on it by the complicated economics of the monopoly-dominated newspaper trade. Readers are asked to get local newsagents to order extra copies for display on their counters and to "guarantee" them against loss on any unsold copies.

Many Communist Party branches order extra

supplies of the Saturday issue of the *Morning Star* to sell at weekends—some at shopping center pitches and some by door to door canvassing, very often in the wards and constituencies which Communists contest in elections.

The Saturday readers that are gained in this way represent a circle of support for the paper and for the Party which is invaluable. Many eventually become daily readers, many become members of the Communist Party as a result of the link formed between them and the local branches as a result of canvassing.

Morning Star sales activity at weekends is a means by which the paper and its policy are taken to the people.

We have also offered the *Morning Star* on two weeks free trial during the autumn, advertising the offer by leaflet, in the paper itself and in left wing and labor movement papers and journals.

We secured the cooperation of the newspaper wholesalers and newsagents' organizations in operating a scheme whereby the forms we printed in the advertisements could be handed in by people to newsagents who would supply them with the *Morning Star* for two weeks free of charge. We paid the newsagents for the papers ordered through the forms, and as far as they are concerned, it was as though they had sold the papers in the normal way.

We have gained readers as a result of the free trial offer and reached a number of left Labor workers who welcome the *Morning Star's* fight for a socialist policy. There are new signs of support from students and from other young people, which shows that we are breaking new ground and winning a broader base of readership support for the *Morning Star* as the only paper of the left, the only paper for all on the left, non-Communist as well as Communist.

We cover every major trade union and labor movement event and conference with sales of the *Morning Star*. Our supporters are out in all weathers selling and canvassing. Their numbers will grow, and not least in the factories in which there is the keenest appreciation of the value of the *Morning Star's* role. It is in the factories that its best supporters have contrived, by one means or another, to keep up the battle for circulation despite all difficulties.

Bill BROOKS

POLITICAL EDUCATION

OUR PARTY DOES NOT need to be won for the idea of the importance of extending Marxist-Leninist education throughout its ranks. The Party leadership have always recognized this, fought politically to develop it and been ready to allocate funds for this purpose out of resources which are never great enough for all the tasks we face. In 1965, the Political Committee, in a special resolution, brought the attention of the whole Party to the need to carry

out the Education Plan for the School Year September 1965—September 1966.

The interest of the Party as a whole was reflected in the large number of resolutions on this question—sent in by branches and district committees to the 29th Party Congress (November 1965) and the passing of a special resolution by the Congress on Party Education.

The problem has been—and remains—to translate this interest and enthusiasm into the

practical organization of branch classes, into a consistent program of educational activity which meets the needs of our members at all levels. For it has to be said that as yet our educational activity embraces only a minority of our branches and a minority of our membership.

There are many reasons for this, the main practical one advanced being that our branches, called upon to fulfil so many urgent political tasks, our active cadres are so involved in work in the broad Labor Movement that they have not the time for courses of education and study. It is true that big calls are made on our branches and members in face of the actual needs of the political struggle. But the sacrifice of consistent study in favor of practical political activity is "self-defeating" as the resolution of the Political Committee mentioned above termed it.

The basis for the most general education of branch members is an education class based on a syllabus of which there are many available. For example—"The Role of the Communist Party," "The Communist Party and the Labor Movement," "British Capitalism Today," "Problems of the Advance to Socialism," "Fundamental Principles of Marxism," etc. These syllabuses are made up of four or five separate chapters each aimed to serve as the basis for a separate discussion in one evening and the whole constituting a course covering the particular subject dealt with in the syllabus. These syllabuses are intended as material for the students, and also contain suggestions for further reading from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Guides for the tutors taking classes are also issued in connection with each syllabus.

A new syllabus of this kind has been prepared and is the main basis for branch education throughout the Party at the present time. It is called "The Communist Party, the Labor Government and the Way Forward" and seeks to explain the decisions of our 29th Party Congress, to examine the fundamental basis of the Labor Government's policy and our alternative program, to discuss the deeper problems of building left unity and the connection between the fight for our immediate program and the creation of the conditions in which the realization of our long-term program—"The British Road to Socialism"—becomes feasible.

We face serious problems of method and organization with regard to these branch classes. They are held mostly only once a fortnight and last from 1½ to 2 hours. The comrades come to them after a hard day's work. Few of the students take notes or study the material contained in the syllabus beforehand. None of the features of ordinary education in schools and universities—regular contact with the "teacher," discussion of written work, individual attention to students—is possible.

We seek to overcome these drawbacks by

trying to stimulate the urge to self-study. This we find is best done not by carrying through our classes on the basis of lectures but by treating our classes as organized discussions in which we aim to involve all the students from the very beginning. A class is thus a series of discussions around a number of questions carefully prepared by the tutor in advance. This we find arouses much greater interest and stimulates the comrades attending to seek to extend their knowledge.

The second element in our system of education is linked more directly with helping to train cadres for particular spheres of Party work—branch officials, comrades active in industry and the broad labor movement, those active in our electoral work. Initiated by our Party leadership three years ago, a special program of weekend schools (mostly on a residential basis) has been launched for these comrades. To date, 2,051 comrades have attended such schools and the plan for the current school year aims at putting 500 branch officials through "refresher" courses; to organize weekend and day schools for 400 local candidates and election workers and for 250 comrades from industry.

Connected with this is the effort to provide more systematic and advanced education for comrades who have attended such schools and for other comrades who have been in the Party for some time. This we try to do through "night schools" of either six or eight weekly sessions on such subjects as "Introduction to Marxism-Leninism," "Marxist-Leninist philosophy" and "Political economy." We try to conduct these schools in a much more organized way than is possible in the branch education classes. Here the emphasis is placed much more on serious preparation and reading by the students, the taking of notes, etc. As yet, however, actual classes of this kind are only being undertaken in a very few places—Glasgow, Yorkshire, and one or two other areas.

Higher stages in our system of education are our National Week's Schools and the education of our full-time Party functionaries.

We have an average of six residential schools lasting a week each in every school year. Between our 28th and 29th Congresses (Easter 1963-November 1965) we held 17 such schools with a total attendance of 294 students. These schools are attended by comrades active in different spheres, all of whom are nominated by the various district leaderships. These schools are intensive courses in the treatment of current problems in the light of our basic theory and are organized for branch secretaries, women comrades, YCL leaders, factory branch leaders and Party functionaries.

We fight to make study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and of important contemporary Marxist and even non-Marxist political writing an integral part of the life and work of our functionaries. "Study Days" are organized in a number of districts for full-time Party

functionaries, for which the reading of a particular book is obligatory and at which discussion of the problems covered takes place.

Finally we seek to extend our education activity outside our ranks and link it with the discussion of problems of developing unity of all left forces.

Alongside our Party and undertaking important Marxist educational activity, is Marx House and the Marx Memorial Library. This is an institution devoted to the study of Marxism, and its library is one of the best in Britain as far as books dealing with social, political and economic questions are concerned.

Here regular lectures and courses are organized which are becoming increasingly popular.

Further, steps have been taken to establish a British Institute of Marxist studies dedicated to a research in Marxism, to the organization of lectures and classes in the theory and principles of Marxism and their implications for today. This organization has the support of a number of intellectuals and writers and of a number of Left-wing members of the Labor Party and of the trade unions. Its first major activity is to be the organization of celebrations around the 100th anniversary of Vol. I of Capital.

Jack COHEN

Party news in brief

COSTA RICA. Dec. 17-18. An enlarged meeting of the CC of the People's Vanguard Party discussed the situation at home and abroad and in the world Communist movement. It noted that the important changes which had come about since the last international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties called for a new conference. It resolved to convene an extraordinary congress of the Party in August 1967 to adopt a new Program.

AUSTRIA. Dec. 20. The CC CPA examined the international situation and problems of the world Communist movement. It declared for the convening of a meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties.

RUMANIA. Dec. 21-23. The CC RCP discussed and approved the economic development plan and the state budget of Rumania for 1967. It also discussed and approved measures providing for the fulfilment of the land reclamation

program set by the Ninth Congress of the RCP.

FRANCE. Dec. 21. The CC FCP heard and approved a report by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the Party, on the joint conference of delegations of the FCP and the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left held from December 13 to 20. It approved the activity of the FCP delegation and the draft resolution on it, and resolved to ratify the joint statement on the conference and the agreement reached at it.

FRG. The CC CPG discussed a report by Max Reimann, First Secretary of the Party, on the situation created by the formation of the grand coalition, and on the immediate tasks of the Party. It unanimously approved the report and the draft resolution entitled "The Grand Coalition and the Working People." It came out in support of the effort to prepare and call a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

U.S. bases in Thailand

PUBLIC OPINION THROUGHOUT the world has emphatically protested against the use of Thai territory for the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam. It exposes the Thai rulers' attempts to disguise their complicity in the aggression. Millions of people now know the reason for the effort to justify Bangkok's support of the American invaders, know what lay behind the statement made by Thanom Kittikachorn, head of the Bangkok Government to the effect that the "military facilities" afforded the Americans are designed "for the defense of Thailand."

The American press, for its part, has been anything but squeamish about Bangkok's attempts to conceal its role of menial of the U.S. imperialists from its own people and from world opinion. A report in the *New York Times* on December 12 last showed how extensively Washington uses Thai territory in its aggression in Southeast Asia. The report was supplemented with a chart showing the nine U.S. military bases in operation, in process of expansion or under construction, and gives the strength of the U.S. troops in Thailand, which almost trebled between December 1965 and December 1966.

These bases are virtually under U.S. control in violation of the country's sovereignty. U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, Martin, has officially admitted that the Thai government has placed at least six military bases at the disposal of the U.S. armed forces, thereby making a "big contribution" to the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

Over 400 U.S. aircraft are based on Thai airfields. By the end of 1966, more than half the raids on North Vietnam were being made from airfields in Sattahip, Ta Khli, Khorat, Ubon, Nakhon Phanom and Udon. Moreover, the Thai-based aircraft constantly raid the liberated areas of Laos and carry out provocative flights over neighboring Cambodia.

The American camps training saboteurs for use in North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have nothing whatever to do with "defense of Thailand."

U.S. military activity in Thailand is growing. The Americans are building installations with a view to concentrating large ground forces there. According to the U.S. press, in-

vestments in these projects run to billions of dollars.

In Khorat, for instance, the building of a big supply base is nearing completion. Tanks, shells, transport and other material have already been delivered there for the divisions now being formed. The base is designed to supply 100,000 field troops and up to 65,000 auxiliary forces.

The Sattahip base presently under construction will have five runways for the B52 bombers, now based on Guam. The two runways completed by mid-1966 are used for frequent raids on South Vietnam and for stepping up the air-war against North Vietnam. The deep-water port now being built in U Taphao, near Sattahip, is another military undertaking. The project includes vast provisions and ammunition dumps and submarine shelters.

A superhighway linking the Khorat and Sattahip bases, bypassing Bangkok, is due to be finished shortly. Highways in the north-west of the country are being extended and the installations along them overhauled.

A new airfield also designed for the B 52 bombers is under construction at Khon Kaen.

Items in the world press insist that the U.S. bases in Thailand are intended not only for the present war against Vietnam but also for other, more far-reaching ventures in Asia. "The installations of the Army, Air Force and Navy," commented *Le Monde* last October, "go beyond the defense needs of the country. It may well be that the Pentagon strategists envisage the Thai 'fortress' for more extensive operations in Asia . . . The American force in Thailand seems to be intended for a conflict that might assume entirely different proportions as a result of the current escalation in Vietnam." The *N.Y. Times* reached a somewhat similar conclusion. "Some observers," it wrote, "noting the very large bases which the United States is constructing, have postulated that they might actually be designed for some future eventuality . . ." This is only a hint. But the question is quite obviously not only of aggression against the socialist countries, but of using the Thailand bases, if necessary, for interfering in the affairs of other independent countries in Southeast Asia.

Why is Thailand so deeply involved in the

U.S. imperialist schemes of aggression? Why has it become the most active Asian member of SEATO and probably the staunchest ally of the United States in Southeast Asia?

Politically, Thailand has emerged during the past decade as one of the most reactionary states in Southeast Asia. The purpose of the military coup of 1958, was to impose a military alliance with the U.S. The coup abolished all democratic rights and put the country under martial law. All democratic organiza-

ter of Defense, and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces aided by his deputy Lt. Gen. Praphas Charusathien, who is also in charge of the Treasury and virtually controls the police.

With the public muzzled, the military junta is bartering national sovereignty and territory to the Pentagon.

The political doctrine of the junta is anti-communism. Kittikachorn and his aides use the Communist bogey to justify their militarist policies and their part in the U.S. aggression and, above all, to get the dollars they need for bolstering their regime. Nor is Washington the least bit tight-fisted with regard to its Thai puppets, probably the most subservient of them all. According to the *N.Y. Times* much of the \$40m. in non-military aid to Thailand in 1966 was spent on the police and for other non-military purposes, or, in other words, on strengthening the various agencies of the dictatorship. According to the same source, the U.S. last year ganted Thailand another \$60m. to expand and strengthen the armed forces.

Bangkok's Communist bogey is designed to cover up the deepening crisis caused by the militarist policy. But growing numbers of people are mistrustful of the ruling clique. They deeply resent the alliance with the U.S. imperialists. Their protest has developed into a patriotic guerrilla war against the militarist regime and U.S. domination.

Washington has rushed aid to Bangkok to put down the growing patriotic movement in the northeast of the country. According to the United Press agency the U.S. has supplied Thailand with helicopters to transport troops to the guerrilla areas. U.S. Army instructors are training Thai troop units in jungle warfare against the guerrillas. The CIA, too, has sent its men to Thailand.

A UP report compared the situation with that in South Vietnam five years ago when the first U.S. troops moved in. An editorial in the *New York Post* expressed the view that U.S. interference in Thailand might produce a "new Vietnam." It queried whether the Pentagon and the White House were prepared to offer a coherent and reasonable explanation of what is taking place in Thailand, or whether they expected the American people to wait patiently until they knew they had been decoyed into another Vietnam.

The query is all too justified. For the U.S. activities in Thailand, aimed at escalating the war in Southeast Asia, presage danger for the American people. They are a grave menace to Thailand and to the other peoples in that part of the world.

Jan PRAZKY



Schematic map of U.S. war bases in Thailand—according to bourgeois press.

tions, political parties and trade unions were dissolved and replaced by the appointees of the military junta.

The provisional Constitution now in force provides the "legal basis" on which the head of government wields dictatorial authority. State power resides in Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, who functions as Prime Minister, Minis-

Savagery

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION Front (NLF) in South Vietnam are circulating Volume Two of the "Black Book" compiled by the Committee investigating the war crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets.* The facts cited in this volume show how the Americans and their puppets, despairing of breaking the courage of the freedom fighters, have turned to chemical warfare contrary to international



One of the innumerable victims of the U.S. warlords.
SOURCE: NLF "Black Book."

agreements and accepted moral standards.

The enumeration of the crimes begins with December 1958, when the Americans, still masquerading as "advisers" to Ngo Dinh Diem, supplied the latter with means of wholesale

destruction. Early that month, we read, the South Vietnam authorities poisoned 6,000 prisoners in the Phu Loi prison camp in Thu Dau Mot Province. After partaking of a meal, upwards of 1,000 prisoners died a painful death, while thousands more were taken seriously ill.

As the Pentagon took over the war against the freedom fighters they resorted more and more to toxic chemicals, which took a toll mostly of non-combatants — aged people, women and children. From poisoning prisoners the transatlantic crusaders turned to spraying vast areas of South Vietnam with toxic chemicals. "Under the 'Staley-Taylor Plan', designed to 'pacify South Vietnam within 18 months'," we read in the book, "the imperialists have since 1961 been using chemicals to destroy crops with a view to causing famine and thus force the South Vietnam peasants into concentration camps known as 'strategic hamlets'."

"According to data published by the Health Service of the National Liberation Front, the number of provinces affected by noxious chemicals in 1965 amounted to 26 (three-fifths of the total), the devastated area reached 700,000 hectares, and 146,274 people were poisoned." Some of the facts, incidentally, were reported in the American press; one such report in the *N.Y. Times* quoted in the *Black Book*, was datelined Saigon, September 10, 1966. Since the beginning of the year, the report said, the U.S. had used six specially equipped C 123 aircraft to spray 530,872 acres of South Vietnam territory with 1,324,430 gallons of toxic chemicals.

Before the poisoning began the Ben Tre Province was one of the most fertile areas in the Mekong delta. The Chemicals blighted large areas under coco-trees; fruit-trees were destroyed on an area of 1,500 hectares; the rice crop perished on an area of 30,000 hectares and the yield on another 30,000 hectares was drastically reduced.

Washington hypocritically insists that the poisons used in Vietnam are harmless. McNamara, for example, has protested that only non-lethal tear gas has been used. But the "Black Book" refutes this barefaced falsehood. "In early 1965," we read, "for three days running—January 25, 26 and 27—U.S. aircraft sprayed noxious chemicals over Phu Lac, a hamlet in Phu Yen Province, and dropped explosive and napalm bombs . . . Poison gases alone killed 80 people and hundreds of others were serious-

*A note on Vol. I was printed in the September 1966 issue of our journal.

ly affected, most of them aged people, women and children." In Ben Tre Province, 46,000 women and children were poisoned, many of them fatally.

During the January 2, 1966, raid on the Bau Trai area in Cho Lon Province, U.S. troops discharged gas grenades, also used the Mighty Mite gas sprayer which pumps toxic chemicals in the form of gas or powder. One month later, "on February 1, in the Ky Anh area, Tam Ky District, Quang Nam Province, 141 civilian shelters were 'fumigated' with toxic gas, killing many people, among them 14 children. On Feb-3 and 4, 1966, helicopters dropped 800 gas grenades on the Bong Son area in Binh Dinh Province. In March 1966, they again exploded 3,000 gas grenades in the area, killing and wounding many people."

At the time of the Nuremberg trial (1945-46) Americans were horrified when they read the details of the gas chambers in which the Hitler invaders annihilated millions of men, women and children. Today American troops in Vietnam are using poison gas and other chemicals to annihilate the people of Vietnam. "Hitler," the "Black Book" comments, "used toxic chemicals secretly and only in the death camps. The Americans, however, are using them openly and more extensively."

"Since the end of 1961," the book points out, "The U.S. aggressors and their puppets have dropped napalm bombs on more than 1,000 villages in South Vietnam."

On March 6, 1966, American troops used napalm and phosphorus bombs against the inhabitants of Truong Xuan District, Can Tho

Province. As a result, a woman named Nguyen Thi Xe lost five children aged from five months to fourteen years, who died from burns and fumes. She herself was disabled by severe burns. "On July 1, 1966, napalm and fragmentation bombs were dropped on the school and on the market place in Tan Uyen, Bien Moa Province killing and wounding 170 people, among them 44 pupils killed and six seriously burned."

It is manifest that a systematic, planned extermination of the people of Vietnam is taking place on the pretext of combating communism. This is genocide with a vengeance, the *genocide*, which the Nuremberg tribunal described as a monstrous crime against humanity, a crime which was condemned by the General Assembly of the UN a year later.

The "Black Book" underlines that the American use of chemical warfare against Vietnam is a flagrant violation of such international treaties as the 1922 Washington Treaty against the use of noxious gases and other chemicals in wartime, and the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting chemical and germ warfare.

"From the standpoint of international law," says the "Black Book", "it is clear that by resorting to chemical warfare in South Vietnam the U.S. aggressors are guilty of a war crime, of a crime against humanity."

The Black Book calls attention to the fact that the Americans are trying out chemical weapons in South Vietnam with a view to using them elsewhere." World opinion should, therefore, realize the implications of this attempt to make the use of toxic chemicals a common practice. Unless these barbarous

LOSSES SUFFERED BY THE AGGRESSORS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Year	Strength of the U.S. armed forces	Losses of the USA	Total losses of the USA and its puppets
1961	1,364	8	49,329
1962	9,865	256	85,358
1963	16,500	993	133,296
1964	23,000	2,140	208,263
1965	190,000	19,200	227,500
1966 about	400,000	108,000	370,000

Thus, in six years (1961-66) the liberation forces and the people of South Vietnam inflicted a loss of 130,597 men on the American aggressor.

Between January and November 1966 in Central Vietnam, where the "elite" troops of the United States are quartered—the 1st and 3rd Marine Divisions, the 1st Airmobile Division, the 4th Infantry Division, the 101st Airborne Brigade and part of the 173rd Airborne Brigade—the freedom fighters put over 53,000 Americans out of action, about half the total losses suffered by the United States in South Vietnam for this period.

(Data released by the Liberation News Agency)

methods of waging war in Vietnam are stopped the imperialists will not hesitate to use toxic chemicals and other means of wholesale destruction against other peoples upholding their national independence. It is therefore a

pressing task for the peace-loving people, for all fair-minded men and women to join forces and force the U.S. aggressors to withdraw from Vietnam.

I. SUMAR

Labor news in brief

THE END OF 1966 saw numerous strikes and other labor actions in the capitalist countries.

GREECE. Dec. 15. Some 180,000 building workers held a one-day nationwide strike. The strike was called on the initiative of the two big unions, which signified their readiness to seek joint solutions to the problems facing them.

ITALY. Dec. 15. One of the biggest labor conflicts in Italian history ended in an agreement embracing 1,150,000 employees of private metallurgical and metal-processing enterprises. The new agreement provides, among other things, for an increase in the basic minimum wage and in long-service bonus.

Dec. 19. A general strike took place in Agrigento in protest against government inaction in the case of the inhabitants affected by the landslides.

Dec. 21. Forty thousand miners went on strike demanding higher pay and better working conditions. On the same day, in response to the appeal of the three main federations, 150,000 municipal transport workers called a strike insisting on the renewal of the collective agreement, long overdue.

Dec. 27-28. Some 35,000 dockers were on strike for 48 hours. It was the last of the year's big strikes in Italy. The total number of strikers in 1966 reached 3,000,000, according to incomplete data by three labor federations.

SPAIN. Dec. 16. About 180,000 metalworkers and machine-building workers in Madrid protested against inadequate working conditions and against the growing redundancy in the automobile industry, and threatened to call a two-hour strike. This was the first time in Franco Spain that the committee of an official trade union resorted to the threat of a strike. On December 19 the union decided against the strike after the government gave an undertaking to study working conditions in the industry.

Dec. 31. A demonstration supporting the demand for higher wages was held by 8,000 em-

ployees of the Standard Electric Co. It was dispersed by the police who arrested six workers.

ECUADOR. Dec. 21. The week-long strike of 3,500 teachers and office employees in Guayaquil ended in the payment of several month's salary arrears.

Dec. 27. The strike at the Tia Company's works in Quito, called a month earlier, ended with strikers winning most of their demands, including a raise in pay, which in the case of some categories was exceedingly low.

USA. A preliminary estimate of the unemployed in 1966 revealed an average of 3,000,000.

CHILE. Dec. 23. The Seamen's Confederation called a 24-hour strike against the Senate's rejection of a draft law to put seamen on an equal footing with other categories in respect of social insurance. The strike, which affected all of the seaports, involved about 40,000 seamen.

Dec. 25. The 50,000 medical workers who had been on strike since December 6 resumed work. The government promised the strikers, who demanded higher pay, to consider their demand.

JAPAN. Dec. 24. The police, continuing their action against participants in the October general strike against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, detained another four members of the teachers' union. A few days later the Tokyo City Council declared that it would penalize some 68,000 of its employees for taking part in the strike by discharging them or by issuing a serious warning. Never in postwar Japan has infringement of the working people's rights assumed such dimensions.

FRANCE. Dec. 26. Some 3,000 employees of the chemical plant in Toulouse, one of the biggest in France, and the employees of the Dassault aircraft factory near Bordeaux, struck work for higher wages and better conditions.

Dec. 29-31. The crews of several ships of the

Compagnie Generale Transatlantique, who were on strike, secured a pay rise.

SOUTH VIETNAM. Dec. 26-30. About 5,000 dockers in Saigon harbor, which handles U.S. military supplies, struck in protest against the dismissal of 600 fellow-dockers. The Workers' Association of Saigon, which has about 60,000 members, called a general strike in support of the dockers.

ARGENTINA. Dec. 26. Fifteen thousand dockers in Buenos Aires returned to work after being on strike since October 29. The action had been in reply to a government decree establishing new output rates.

BRITAIN. Dec. 30. Some 500 workers in the

Morris Motor Co. in Birmingham struck in protest against the worsening of working conditions.

Dec. 31. Over 1,200 bus workers and maintenance men employed on the 19 major bus routes of London, went on strike. The action was provoked by the decision to cut as from January 1 the number of buses serving the city, a measure leading to greater unemployment and a worsening of working conditions.

BELGIUM. The number of unemployed in the last quarter of 1966 amounted to 164,000.

FRG. Unemployment in December climbed to 371,600, the highest figure for the last three years.

WMR

reviews

The October Revolution and the struggle of the French people

"ALL DEMOCRATIC AND progressive humanity is celebrating, together with the Soviet people, the glorious fiftieth anniversary of October." With these words Georges Cogniot, Communist senator, head of the Maurice Thorez Institute, begins his book *The October Revolution and France*.^{*} This anniversary, he writes, is observed "by the working class of France, the working people of its towns and villages, by broad sections of the intelligentsia, by all progressive representatives of the people, the champions of freedom and justice." It is observed, "first and foremost, by the French Communist Party which, remembering its origin and formation, appreciates that for which it is indebted to the victors of October and seeks to apply the lessons drawn from their fruitful example."

George Cogniot's book is the first in the series put out by the French Communist Party for the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution. In this work, based on an amplitude of facts relating to the past and the pre-

sent, Cogniot combines the story of what took place in Russia in October 1917 and in the years immediately after, with his narrative of events in France at the time, linking up both with the current problems of the working-class movement and world development generally. This method enables the author to show in bold relief the importance of October and of its lessons for the struggle of the working class and the people of France.

Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, stressing the world-historic importance of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Russian revolution, writes in the preface to the book:

"During the past half century the political and social principles on which the world rested have been shattered: first an end was put to the absolute domination of capitalism, then to its superiority. In this past half century the basic problems of human life have been posed in a new way, in a way that has given rise to a feeling of insecurity among the ideologues of the old society, to a feeling that the world is coming to an end, whereas among

^{*}Georges Cogniot. *La Revolution d'Octobre et la France*. Paris, 1966.

the supporters of socialism it has enormously reinforced their confidence in victory . . .

"Today all Frenchmen of good will cannot but see the proof that a socio-economic system distinct from the capitalist system can carry on for a long time and from every point of view reach a much higher level of social development, and especially in the scientific and technological, the intellectual and moral respects. In January 1964, after acquainting itself with conditions in the Soviet Union, *Revue socialiste*, organ of the French Socialist Party, wrote: 'It is the degree of education and culture of the masses, rather than the standard of living, that will become the decisive factor in the competition between the two blocs. Let us not deceive ourselves. In this sphere the Soviet Union today possesses considerable advantages. It is debatable whether the western countries will in the final analysis emerge the victors under the capitalist system.'

"Fifty years ago capitalism boasted that it was eternal and necessary to human nature. Today, more than a third of the inhabitants of the earth, following the path blazed by October, have released the means of production from the fetters of private ownership. They have erected, or are erecting, a real, tangible and eternal monument to the glory of socialism which is demonstrating, more and more successfully, its superiority over the old society of exploitation. On their example everyone sees that oppression is not something inevitable, that inequality can be overcome, that man can change the existing order, that the possibility and objective necessity for such a change is dictated by socio-economic reality itself.

"Imperialism has been weakened by the liberation struggle waged by the people who in the past were under colonial or semi-colonial regimes. It has been deprived of its leading role in the life of the growing number of new countries. The peoples of most of these have won the right to conduct their own affairs and to build independent economies. . . To ensure this independence some of them are turning their backs on so-called free enterprise and are taking the non-capitalist road of development.

"The working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries is spreading, is searching for new ways."

The author shows the importance of the Russian revolution for France and the rest of the world in connection with the problems of today. "The October Revolution," he stresses, "showed the French working people the paramount importance of the fight for peace. From the historical standpoint October proved that the people can impose peace. . . Being true to the spirit of October means tirelessly championing the cause of peace." "Under the impact of the Russian revolution," Cogniot writes, "combined with internal factors of development in France, the anti-war movement grew in the army and throughout the country..."

By adopting the Decree on Peace the young Soviet power exposed the predatory policy of the ruling classes, infused the anti-war forces with new energy. Soviet peace policy, the author stresses, "was a real political education for the best representatives of the French working people." The fraternization and the mutinies with which the French government had to contend among its troops in the Ukraine and in the Black Sea fleet, confirmed the soundness of this policy.

Like the Bolsheviks, Cogniot writes, all who were against the war were accused of treason. The fact that 16 per cent of Frenchmen between the ages of 20 and 40 had been killed in the slaughter meant nothing to the capitalist oligarchy who were concerned solely with their own interests as a privileged caste. What could be more anti-national than a policy "which aims to assign to the working people the role of draught cattle and cannon fodder."

The Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy, Cogniot notes, is not dictated by transient considerations. "Peaceful coexistence is a policy of vigorous opposition to reaction, a policy promoting the growth of the anti-imperialist forces. It is an expression of the might and confidence of the socialist states."

If peace is to be preserved it is particularly important that the world Communist movement be united. "The importance of concerted action by Communists all over the world, by all the socialist countries, by all contingents of the revolutionary movement to put an end to imperialist aggression is evident in face of the American invasion of Vietnam. At the Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the representatives of the fraternal parties highly evaluated effective solidarity of the Soviet people with the people of Vietnam and the constructive efforts of the CPSU to overcome the split in the world revolutionary movement, which benefits the aggressor."

In the fight for peace, Cogniot reminds the reader, the Marxist parties have always stated that "liberation wars are just wars, and that they unreservedly support them. The French Communist Party firmly holds aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism." With the October Revolution proletarian internationalism became the policy of millions. The French Communist Party accepted it as one of its basic obligations. It broke with opportunism in the colonial question, in the name of which pseudo-socialists like Millerand justified colonial plunder. At the Tours congress where the FCP was founded, Vaillant-Couturier and Ho Chi Minh, representing the working people of Indo-China, spoke of the importance that Lenin attached to the liberation movement of the colonial peoples.

In the chapter dealing with the establishment of the rule of the working class and its allies, Cogniot shows the lessons the Communists and progressive people of France have drawn from the experience of the October

Revolution, viz., the need for proletarian dictatorship representing a broader democracy for the working people, i.e., for the vast majority of the people; the need for working-class unity in the fight for which the French Communist Party has achieved considerable success; the need for an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie, which continues to be the objective of the Communist Party; the need to win the intelligentsia over to the side of the working class and socialism. In all this the French Communists have been guided by Lenin, by the experience of October.

Dwelling in detail on the question of the intelligentsia, Cogniot cites facts about the fight to win over the intelligentsia in Russia and in France after the October Revolution. Since then, writes the author, the Communist Party has helped the best representatives of the French intelligentsia "to make the right choice, to take their place side by side with the working class in the fight for a better future. In March 1966 a special meeting of the Central Committee was devoted to ideological and cultural problems and to the role of the Communist intellectual. The power of attraction of Marxism is spreading among the French intellectuals and notably among the younger generation."

A system of alliances is essential for uniting around the working class a broad anti-monopoly coalition fighting for democracy and socialism (which are interconnected in the conditions of present-day France). "Maurice Thorez, Lenin's disciple," writes Cogniot, "advanced the idea in France of an alliance of all the forces of the nation against the two hundred families . . ." The policy of alliances is not a design by the Communists to deceive their partners. The Bolsheviks cooperated for a long time with the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks whose disappearance from the political scene was due to their breaking away from the masses and aligning themselves with the counter-revolution. The French Communist Party has always maintained that France can advance towards socialism without a one-party system. "By clearly pronouncing in favor of a plurality of democratic parties under socialism, a plurality guaranteed by the constitution, and by rejecting Stalin's dogmatic theory about the necessity of having only one party for building socialism the French Communist Party is not in any way violating the teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

Dwelling on the question of the peaceful growth of revolution, Cogniot refers to historical facts showing that Lenin and the Bolsheviks favored the peaceful way whenever the situation permitted this. He also quotes Marcel Cachin, one of the founders of the FCP, that no people would, just for "the love of it" resort to armed struggle to secure their emancipation.

Today, writes Cogniot, "the French Communist Party has charted France's own ways to socialism. The Party, taking into account the experience accumulated by the people, the internal situation and the new balance of forces on the international arena, considers that one of the possibilities opened by the present epoch is the peaceful transition to socialism. . . ."

"When speaking of the possibility of a different way from the one traversed by the Russian Communists in October, the French Communist Party stresses that this different way is based essentially on the victory of the 1917 revolution, on the consequences of this great historical upheaval, on the victory of socialism in other countries, on the success of the communist construction in the USSR, on the triumph of Lenin's ideas."

With the victory of October, socialism "became a practical matter for millions, a tangible reality designated on the map of Europe." The proletariat, the working people, now had the opportunity to judge socialism not purely by theory but also by practice. The abolition of exploitation; the free, harmonious development of all members of society and their welfare; public ownership of the basic means of production as the basis of all other social changes, as the substance of the revolution—all these features of socialism are treated in the chapter headed "The Nature of Socialism."

The October Revolution, which was the victory of a new kind of working-class party, of the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, showed the necessity of creating such parties on an international scale. Drawing on the experience of the October Revolution, the best representatives of the French working-class movement laid the foundations for a powerful Communist Party in their country. Cogniot describes the struggle of the first generation of French Communists against the opportunist trend in the socialist movement, how they imbibed from the Russian Bolsheviks the Leninist militant spirit and organizational principles. "The French experience has shown that this Party, remaining a genuine proletarian party, is becoming, even under capitalism, a real national force, the spokesman of the aspirations of the people and the country."

Cogniot sums up the main lessons of the October Socialist Revolution as follows:

"In the past 50 years history has witnessed many changes. Socialism, isolated at first like a besieged fortress, emerged beyond the confines of one country and formed a world system totalling a thousand million people. It has been proved, in particular, that it is possible to win for socialism also the people of highly developed countries like Germany or Czechoslovakia. Colonialism is breathing its last. All these changes originate from one and the same source—from the epic of October 1917."

Thierno AMATH

Socialism in the sixties

THE DOGMATIST sees no need to look for new arguments for socialism in the realities of the sixties. For him the arguments advanced against capitalism 50 or 100 years ago are good enough. Indeed, his hackless rise at the very idea of a continued study of capitalism in order to discern and critically to examine its new trends and developments. That would be heresy, because for the dogmatist "there can be nothing basically new."

Nor is the reformist overly concerned with bringing the case for socialism up to date. With his gaze fixed on capitalism, he seeks arguments not against it but how to make it work better. As far as he is concerned, capitalism is of its own volition steadily evolving into socialism. This is the underlying idea of much of the Right-wing Social Democratic writing on "socialism in the sixties."

The Communists, on the other hand, engage in a genuine struggle against capitalism and not in verbal sparring with it, see their task in dissecting every change in the productive forces, in the relationships of production, in the institutions of capitalism and in the social consciousness. For only in this way is it possible to work out a strategy and tactics adequate to the times, to make a weighty, incontrovertible case for socialism. Among recent Marxist studies in this area is a booklet by John Gollan, General Secretary of the British Communist Party, published towards the end of last year.

Gollan shows that capitalism, and British capitalism in particular, has not been able to rid itself of most of its old contradictions, notwithstanding all the claims to the contrary made by capitalist and by some Labor spokesmen. Poverty still persists in Britain, one of the world's richest countries, despite its relatively high postwar employment level and social reforms. The author cites the estimate made by Professors B. Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend in their study *The Poor and the Poorest* that 7.5 million people (including 2.25 million children), or one-seventh of Britain's population, are living at or below the poverty level. "In the thirties the main cause of poverty was unemployment," Gollan says. "Today it is old age and low pay" (page 18).

Although the workers have managed to win an increase in real wages, this has not resulted

in even a semblance of "equality" in Britain (or, for that matter, in any other capitalist country). "In 1947," Gollan writes, "wages and salaries accounted for 59 per cent of the G.N.P. In 1964, after 17 years of full employment and ceaseless struggle, the total wages and salaries still only amounted to 61 per cent of the GNP, a comparatively small advance" (page 33). (Moreover, as Gollan points out, the share of salaries, which include the huge sums paid to the managerial top crust, increased enormously in these years.)

A passage from the ever popular *Alice in Wonderland* comes to mind in this connection. When Alice asked her companions why they didn't seem to be getting anywhere although they were running as fast as they could, she was told: "Now, here, you see it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place." Similarly, the British worker, by waging an unceasing struggle, has merely managed to retain his old share in the distribution of the wealth created by his labor.

As for the rich, Gollan cites data from *Towards Socialism* (published by the New Left) showing that in Britain in the mid-1950's "two-fifths of all private property were estimated to be in the hands of only one per cent of the adult population, four-fifths in the hands of only 10 per cent." Four-fifths of all share capital in the country were held by one per cent of the population, most of it by a handful of monopolists. Sixty-five per cent of the total resources in manufacturing industry is owned by 96 large companies.

Analogous data concerning wealth and poverty is given for the USA.

Capitalism, Gollan shows, has lower economic growth rates to show than the socialist countries, it is afflicted by recurring slumps, and it cannot give free rein to the development of the productive forces. By greatly accelerating the growth of the productive forces, the technological revolution tends to make the basic contradictions of capitalism potentially more explosive.

The booklet accords an important place to problems relating to automation and other aspects of the technological revolution, which, as Gollan puts it, "makes all previous technical advances look like child's play" (page 3). "Automation can increase productivity by ten or twenty times or more. . . . It is now possible, even on the most sober estimate, to

*The Case for Socialism in the Sixties, by John Gollan, London, 1966.

double the output of wealth per head every ten years, and go on doubling it decade after decade, four times in twenty years, eight times in thirty, and sixteen times in forty" (pages 5 and 6).

Potentially the technological revolution could abolish poverty in the world in a relatively brief space of time. Under capitalism, however, it adds to the wealth and power of a handful of monopolies, heightens the danger of war and deepens the gulf between the developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped world.

The most pressing national, social, moral and other problems in the United States, where technological progress has gone furthest and quickest in the capitalist world, stem from this fact.

That automation is increasingly becoming incompatible with the capitalist mode of production has been noted by many observers remote from Communism. The book under review quotes from "The Triple Revolution," from Gunnar Myrdal, and from F. Pollock and other non-Marxist critics of capitalism.

"There can be no successful scientific revolution without socialism," Gollan points out. "Historically capitalism is outdated. Nowhere is this more so than in Britain with its special pressing problems" (page 12).

Contemporary scientific and technological progress has enormously widened the gap between that which is possible of achievement and what is actually taking place under capitalism. This applies to the development of both society as a whole and the individual. The inhumanity of capitalism (this is actually the leitmotiv of the booklet) is accentuated in the nuclear and cybernetic age by the threat of nuclear disaster which capitalism holds over the world, by the fact that it dooms millions to death by starvation at a time when man possesses the potential means for ensuring an enormous growth in all areas of production, and by the denial to hundreds of millions of opportunities to acquire an education and find fulfilment for their talents despite the fact that the need for this is now greater than ever.

It is precisely the inhumanity and injustice of modern capitalism and its crimes that evoke the protest of the young and impel them to revolt. Gollan underscores the importance of this.

In addition to its comprehensive critique of capitalism, the book contains an analysis of its contradictions today (and perhaps tomorrow, when the technological revolution will acquire greater sweep); and, most important, it suggests an alternative.

Showing that the policy of the Wilson government does not essentially differ from purely capitalist policy, Gollan points out in the chapter, "Socialism the Solution," that the Left in Britain "are advancing demands which add up to a radical challenge to monopoly capitalism and which would make decisive inroads into its power far beyond anything yet

achieved" (page 67).

The left, whose unity the author urges, advocate a radical change in British foreign policy as a factor of enormous importance in solving all the country's problems. In home policy, Gollan stresses, the task is not only to defeat the present offensive against the working people, but also to elaborate a comprehensive, progressive, anti-monopoly program including important measures of nationalization with new terms of compensation, popular measures of control over the monopolies, a recasting of taxation in the interests of the people, drastic reduction in military spending and elimination of overseas military expenditure. This would release resources for a big new social service program for housing, health, education and pensions to cut down social inequality.

"Such measures," Gollan says, "would result in a weakening of the economic and political power of the monopolists and the Tories and would facilitate social change. . . . Therefore . . . the alternative program now being fought for by the left is not only valuable and timely in itself. It will create favorable possibilities for carrying the struggle to the higher stage of the advance to socialism" (page 69).

On the basis of the Party's program *The British Road to Socialism* and taking account of the changing situation, the booklet outlines "what a Socialist Government will do." It underscores the need to preserve and deepen political democracy and discusses the aims of the future planning of the economy, the importance of satisfying the growing social requirements, and how the possibilities opened by scientific and technological progress can be fully utilized.

The question of industrial democracy and workers' control is of particular interest in this connection. "It is obvious," Gollan says, "that in developed countries in the age of automation there must be a powerful growth of industrial democracy within the industries. The workers must have a real voice in the management of the factories, in the drawing up and carrying out of the plan and the allocation of its product" (page 86). To achieve industrial democracy it is imperative, among other things, to reduce working hours and raise the workers' educational standards.

Considerable space is devoted to "socialism and the individual." The aim of socialism is maximum development of the human personality. As Gollan points out, Socialists condemn capitalism not only because of exploitation, but also because it dehumanizes the worker through the division of labor, the breaking up of a relatively complicated job into innumerable repetitive operations. Escape from this into leisure does not solve the problem. "The labor process itself must be looked at" (page 95). Here the author examines the possibilities created by automation which could be made use of under a different social system. In this sphere, as in all others, socialism is the solution.

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