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OF PEACE AND
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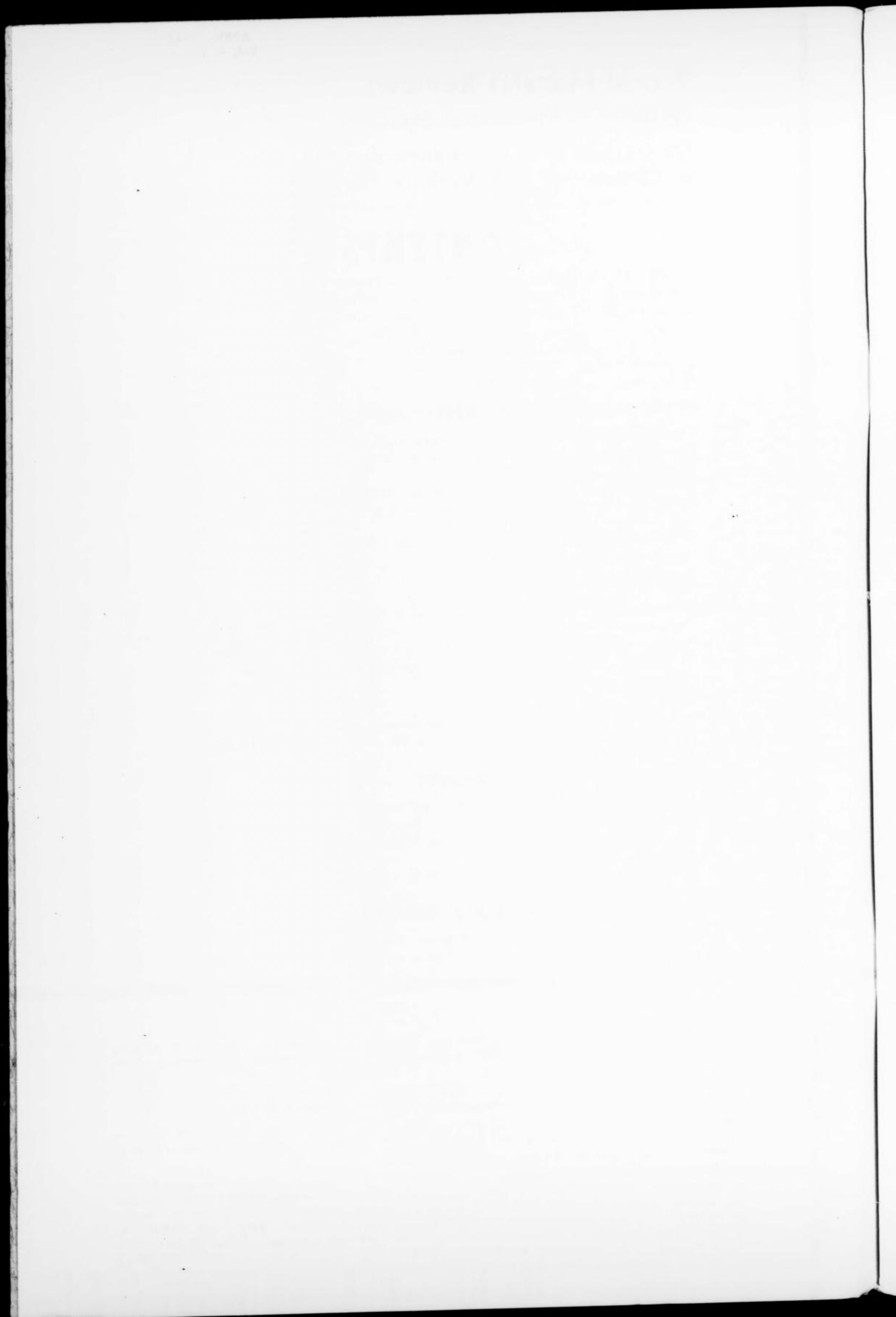
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Present Stage of the Socialist World Economic System

Eugeniusz Szyr

THE socialist world system, which has entered upon a new stage of its development, is becoming the decisive factor determining the onward march of society and the motive force of the big changes now taking place in the world. These changes include both the socio-economic reconstruction in the socialist countries with their rapidly expanding productive forces, and the further weakening of imperialism, the disintegration of the colonial system, aggravation of the contradictions in the capitalist world and, on this background, the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism. These developments, characterizing the competition and struggle between the two social systems and the change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism, are closely linked and are interdependent.

The seeds of the destruction of the capitalist system — the profound antagonisms of its production relations, once a national cancer and now affecting the system as a whole — have been germinating from the very dawn of capitalism. The economic unity of the capitalist world, a product of conquest, colonial expansion and unrestrained exploitation of other nations, has proved to be a transient affair; it is being disrupted by the antagonistic contradictions of the system and weakened by the action of the forces battling against the economic and political domination of imperialism.

An international division of labor arose spontaneously under capitalism. Engendered initially by the need to expand the productive forces, it has become a brake on their expansion, maintaining and aggravating the economic backwardness of most countries in the world. The debates at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly strikingly showed the disastrous effect of this not only on the colonial and dependent countries but also on those nominally independent, to whom imperialism has assigned the role of purveyors of cheap labor and raw material; in its drive for markets imperialism is doing everything to retard the industrialization of these countries.

Among the salient features of capitalist division of labor are: plunder of the colonial and dependent countries by means of non-equivalent exchange, low and steadily falling prices for the raw materials taken from them and high and soaring prices for the manufactured goods sold to them.

Export of capital is another means of exploiting colonial and dependent countries. Between 1950 and 1958, for example, the USA invested \$4,112 million in the underdeveloped countries, and pocketed \$7,200 million in profits. *World Trade for 1959*, a report issued by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade organization (GATT) shows that all the noise about the aid to backward countries is simply a screen to cover the intensified exploitation of the economically underdeveloped countries by the imperialist monopolies. Even the bourgeois *Le Monde* commented on this report under the eloquent headline "The Widening Gap Between the 'Haves' and the 'Have-nots' of this World" (November 16, 1960).

The socialist countries in forming a single socio-economic entity operate in an entirely different way.

"The socialist camp," says the Statement issued by the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, "is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity; by common interests and objectives, and by following the path of socialism and communism."

The countries now advancing towards socialism were formerly part of the capitalist world and participated in its international division of labor. With the removal of the obstacles in the shape of the capitalist production relations and imperialist domination, it became possible to have an international division of labor answering the requirements of the rapidly expanding productive forces of socialism. In other words, the new, socialist relations throughout the system are be-

ginning to correspond to the new relations of production obtaining in each of the countries. This follows logically from the functioning of the objective laws of socialism and from the conscious desire of the working people in the socialist countries and their Marxist-Leninist parties to pool their efforts and extend and deepen all forms of co-operation. Proletarian solidarity, uniting the working class in its struggle against the capitalist system, becomes socialist solidarity based on the community of interests of the socialist countries; this accelerates the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country into an international dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin defined the future political, economic and social community of socialist countries.

There are no antagonistic contradictions in the economic relations in the socialist world system. The division of labor is planned and implemented on the basis of voluntary agreements between equal, sovereign and friendly nations; it bears none of the features typical of the capitalist division of labor: rivalry, unequal exchange, export of capital for profit, exorbitant interest charges and imposition of political conditions on the economically weaker partner.

The inter-country division of labor under socialism is based on socialist internationalism, on the endeavor to harmonize the general advance of the socialist world economy with the development of each country.

Hence the cardinal difference in the economic and political relations: the principles of equality and sovereignty of both small and big nations are fully observed in the socialist camp, and it is on this basis that the forms and methods of close and constantly growing co-operation and mutual aid, and aid from the stronger to the weaker nations, are established. The laws of the jungle operate in the capitalist world, the laws of ruthless exploitation of countries and peoples. "Co-operation" in this world is founded on the rule of the stronger imperialist plunderers; and an undercurrent of hostility is felt in the relations between even those most closely associated.

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The formation of the socialist world system is an historical process, in the first stage of which, of the many forms of economic co-operation, foreign trade was of basic importance; in the second, and present, stage the co-ordination of current and long-term economic plans and the ensuing planned in-

ternational exchange of commodities begin to play the decisive role.

The nature of the economic relations between countries is determined by the socio-economic system obtaining in the countries in question. That is why the establishment and consolidation of socialist relations in the People's Democracies was an essential condition for the international division of labor and the trade relations flowing therefrom to develop into the socialist world economic system.

Conditions were not ripe at the initial phase of development of the new socialist states either for a broad international division of labor, or for the diverse forms of co-ordinating economic activity. The rehabilitation of the war-devastated countries was accompanied by a hard struggle against hostile class forces and imperialist-inspired subversion. Economic co-operation at that time took the form mainly of annual bilateral trade agreements.

During this period — the most difficult one for the young People's Democracies — invaluable aid was rendered by the Soviet Union which supplied their industries with raw materials and industrial plant on credit (on very easy terms); it helped out when things were particularly difficult, and gave ready assistance in solving problems of a scientific, organizational or technical order. The Soviet Union provided a market for the machinery and equipment made in Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, and also for the traditional exports of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, China and other countries.

Important long-term Soviet orders for machinery, equipment and semi-manufactures accelerated the building up of new specialized branches of industry in the People's Democracies. Bilateral relations gradually developed among all the socialist countries.

When the level of economic and social development made it possible to draw up long-term national-economic plans, bilateral co-operation was supplemented by new forms of multi-lateral economic co-operation.

The need to accelerate the solution of these problems arose in 1948 in connection with the intensification of the cold war by the United States, with its policy of blockading the socialist countries economically, and establishing military blocs and bases.

The Economic Mutual Aid Council (EMAC) formed in 1949, was joined by the Soviet Union and the European People's Democra-

cies. Some years later representatives of the People's Democracies in Asia began to attend EMAC meetings as observers. When the time span for the 1956-60 plans had been unified in most of the People's Democracies and when planning had noticeably improved, EMAC began preliminary work on dovetailing the long-term plans and corresponding foreign trade balances for this period. These, however, were only initial steps in the course of which it was also possible to test the efficacy of an important instrument of planned international division of labor — namely, specialization in machine-building.

Experience showed that the political and economic conditions had not yet ripened for the broad application of the new methods of co-ordinating production plans. But the numerous discussions and practical decisions were of great help, making for a better, broader, more stable and realistic co-ordination of the 1961-65 plans on a bilateral and multi-lateral basis.

A meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the EMAC member-states, held in May 1958, attended also by representatives of the parties of the socialist countries in Asia, was of special significance in extending and deepening EMAC activities and in developing international division of labor and economic co-operation in the socialist camp as a whole.

On the basis of the directives adopted by this meeting the Council elaborated the methods, extent and trend of the co-ordination of plans up to 1965. The fact that most of the long-term trade agreements between the member-countries for 1961-65 had been signed in the first quarter of 1960, attested to the greatly improved long-term planning in the European People's Democracies and in the work of the Council. These agreements envisage a 60 to 90 per cent increase in turnover during the five-year period. This, the minimum program, is based in the main on the co-ordination of reciprocal deliveries of goods of vital interest to each country. Thanks to the fact that annual and long-term agreements envisage quota-deliveries of basic raw materials, fuel, machinery and equipment, and products of the light and food industries, the way has been paved for successful fulfilment of the economic plans. At the same time the possibilities exist for trade operations on a bigger scale, as can be seen from the trade agreements for 1961.

The Council's subcommittees, made up of experts of industry, building, transport and agriculture, have greatly facilitated economic

co-operation between the socialist countries over the next few years. The subcommittees study the plans for expanding production and capital construction, scientific and technological achievements in a given branch and prepare recommendations in the sphere of specialization and co-ordination, introduction of new techniques, etc.

Alongside multi-lateral co-ordination of plans there has been evolved and perfected during the past few years a broad and rapidly developing bilateral economic, scientific and technical co-operation. Experience has shown that this is useful and correct, that it carries forward the general principles of the international division of labor, especially when it is a matter of co-operation between two neighboring states whose economies supplement each other and become increasingly interconnected through rational co-ordination and specialization.

The conditions for broad economic co-operation between Poland and the German Democratic Republic and Poland and Czechoslovakia, for example, are most favorable; and increasing co-operation between them may, in the future, lead to the creation of what we might term a complex international economic area.

These areas or zones of mutual economic attraction will develop as the natural consequence of the geographical proximity of the countries concerned; and with the rapidly developing international specialization and co-ordination of production, geographical proximity becomes an important factor determining the trend of the division of labor and the efficacy of capital investments.

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It is difficult in one article to describe in detail the achievements of international co-operation and the value of the methods and forms used so far in the socialist world system, first and foremost within the framework of EMAC.

It should be said, however, that the possibilities opened up by the co-ordination of an economy accounting for over one-third of the world industrial output are not yet fully utilized. This is due to the fact that the plans for economic co-operation, which in the past were based on foreign trade balances determined by the degree of industrialization in each country, were not always in line with the interests of a rational international division of labor. During the first five-year plans particularly, erroneous, autarchic tendencies could be observed in some coun-

tries, evoked both by an incorrect subjective assessment of the needs of a particular country and the lack of information about the long-term economic plans of the other socialist countries.

Considerable progress was made in many spheres of economic co-operation between 1956-60, but as the above-mentioned May 1958 meeting pointed out, the key problems of co-ordinating the long-range plans for the growth of production and capital construction, for specialization and co-ordination and joint capital investments, had not yet been fully solved.

The elaboration of sound principles of international division of labor calls for an analysis of the productive forces and their distribution, for establishing the share of each country in the long-range development of the raw-materials base and manufacturing industry, for assessing the economic efficacy of capital investment. The need for this was stressed also by the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960 in its assessment of the present level of development of the socialist world system. Noting that a new and higher stage has begun in the development of the socialist world system, the Statement adopted by the Meeting defines the basic features and tasks of the stage. These, briefly, are as follows:

1) The Soviet Union is now engaged in the full-scale building of communism and the other socialist countries are successfully building socialism. Some of them have reached the stage of building a developed socialist society. Socialist relations of production predominate in all of them. These countries have solved, or are in the process of solving, the most difficult of all the problems of socialist construction — that of the peasantry voluntarily taking the road of collective, socialist farming.

2) Thanks to the unprecedented growth of the productive forces, most of the new socialist countries have, in a short space of time, developed into industrial countries, while some of them, agrarian in the past, are rapidly becoming industrialized.

3) Irreversible social changes have taken place in the socialist countries — fundamental changes in the class structure of society, in the relationship between industry and agriculture, the creation and improvement of socialist production relations, the rise and consolidation of the moral and political unity of the people under the leadership of the

Communist and Workers' parties, the powerful influence exerted by socialist ideology and the development of broad forms of socialist democracy, the rapid advancement of science, technology, education and culture and steadily rising living standards. Capitalist restoration is now socially and economically impossible in all the socialist countries.

4) With the growth of planned international division of labor, the co-ordination of current and long-term plans becomes a basic factor of economic co-operation in the socialist world system. Conditions are taking shape for a considerably closer economic association within the framework of world socialism, for the evolution of the economic relations between the separate countries into a strong system of international economic relations.

5) With planned economy resting on stronger foundations and with the better forms of long-term planning, it is now possible in some countries to think in terms of planning for longer periods (up to 1980) and of co-ordinating these plans through the Council and also through bilateral and more detailed agreements. On the basis of a study of the present economic relations, it can be predicted that the economic base of the socialist world system will be rapidly extended and the way cleared for the more or less simultaneous transition of all socialist countries to communism.

6) A feature of the new stage is the greatly enhanced importance of the economic competition between the two systems and its impact on political developments and the international situation. In the next five or six years socialist industry should surpass capitalist industry for overall volume of production. During this period the Soviet Union should overtake and surpass the United States in gross industrial production, and by about 1970 outstrip it in per capita output. The imperative need now is to muster all forces and means in order to win time and push ahead with the cardinal tasks of our epoch: to leave the capitalist system far behind in the decisive sphere of human endeavor — material production — and make peace safe for all time.

What is needed in order to carry out the tasks of the new stage, and what are the chances of accelerating the march of events?

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting contains some important guiding lines in this connection. Successful development of the socialist system requires "consistent applica-

tion, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system of international division of labor through the co-ordination of national economic plans, specialization and co-operation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standard. It requires study of collective experience; extended co-operation and fraternal mutual aid; gradual elimination, along these lines, of the historically-shaped differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for the more or less simultaneous transition of the peoples of the socialist system to communism."

This combining of the economic forces of the socialist world system is, therefore, a factor promoting further development in the course of which the key problems of our time will be solved.

These requirements, it should be stressed, are in line with the objective laws of development of socialist society, and the sphere of operation of these laws embraces the entire complex of production relations, irrespective of state frontiers. Voluntary co-operation of the sovereign countries is designed to create conditions in which the operation of the laws of socialism will not be impeded by such obstacles as unsound planning, unperfected trade arrangements or manifestations of nationalism or national aloofness.

The growth of socialism is accompanied by the growing unity of the socialist countries — this is a law of development and, in keeping with it, the Communist and Workers' parties pursue a policy of combining patriotism with internationalism, the identity of the sovereign interests of the national economy, culture and statehood with the interests of the socialist world system as a whole. It follows, therefore, that active participation by the people in carrying out the tasks posed by international economic co-operation, in promoting the friendship and fraternity of the nations and in strengthening the moral-political unity of the socialist camp is of paramount importance.

The problems associated with the formation of the socialist world system now call for more attention and action from the leading Party and government bodies in the socialist countries. Consolidation of international co-operation and economic co-ordina-

tion is a vital aspect of the economic tasks of the contemporary socialist state. And the duties and responsibilities of the permanent bodies of international economic co-operation have grown considerably.

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Co-ordinating the long-term plans for the period up to 1980 is of great importance in carrying out the tasks of the new stage. By assessing and discussing plans for capital construction, specialization of industries and production of certain basic items, it should be possible to determine the most effective trends and proportions for the development of the separate countries and the socialist system as a whole. The first preliminary assessments and discussion are now underway — including those between the planning bodies of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. This enables us to draw some extremely optimistic conclusions: that the national economy will develop much more harmoniously in the future, especially as regards proper planning of the use of raw materials, power and fuel resources.

There are real opportunities now for overcoming the disproportions that existed hitherto between the raw-materials base and the potential of the manufacturing industry of the socialist system in its entirety. In large measure this disproportion is due to the high cost and the long period of capital construction in raw-materials production, especially mining. In view of their exceedingly small total accumulations, even the maximum capital investments countries with an inadequate level of productive forces can make will be insufficient fully to utilize their natural resources. When co-ordinating the long-term plans, it will be possible to take into account the experience already accumulated, correctly to distribute allocations for the production of raw materials and to concentrate these allocations in a way that will keep capital construction and production costs at the minimum.

Examples are not wanting of international co-operation in utilizing raw materials and other resources and, if examined, they would be of help in establishing a scientific basis for this co-operation for the purpose of evolving the general principles of the international division of labor. Agreements have been signed between Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic for co-operation in exploiting the mineral deposits opened up in Poland. Czechoslovakia will help to build a sulphur mine and a coal mine in Poland and to develop the Polish copper-

mining industry. This will enable Poland to increase the pace of capital construction, to deliver sulphur, coal and copper to Czechoslovakia in repayment for credits, and to continue deliveries after the loans have been repaid. The German Democratic Republic is helping to build a lignite mine in Poland on the same basis. Poland will partly repay the credit by delivering to the GDR the hard coal made available by increasing brown coal output.

The GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania are jointly financing the building of a mill for the manufacture of cellulose from reeds, which grow in abundance in the Danube delta. The credits granted Rumania for this purpose will be repaid by deliveries of cellulose.

Hungary and Rumania are jointly building an acetylene works which will use Rumanian natural gas.

In many other cases, too, as calculations would show, it would be mutually beneficial to grant credits to another socialist country instead of using the funds for capital construction in the creditor-country. To cite an example. Production of sulphuric acid from poor-quality raw material necessitates big outlays. On the other hand, by importing sulphur the country in question would not need to invest capital to obtain low-grade local raw material.

Joint capital investments by the Danube countries for the complex utilization of the power resources of the river, the building of powerful hydro-electric stations and branch canals is another example of large-scale international undertakings within the framework of the socialist system.

Long-term plans will undoubtedly provide for numerous joint measures for the rational organization of transport, a grid system and waterways. An example of this is the international network of oil pipe lines now being laid and which in the near future will connect the USSR, Poland, Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The oil — big deliveries of which can be made only by using pipe lines — will signify the building of big oil refineries, and the development of new branches of the chemical industry in Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Steps have already been taken to unify the grid systems of the USSR, Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This, however, is only the beginning, and implementation of future plans should result in the creation of a single grid system in these countries with the use of high and super-high voltage power lines.

Calculations will show the extent to which funds can be saved by reducing capital investments for stand-by capacities, and by taking advantage of the fact that peak-hour consumption of electricity varies from country to country. International gas pipe lines can be used for the transmission of both natural gas and coal gas. The Soviet Union is already piping gas to Poland, and these deliveries will be considerably increased in future. Hungary and Rumania, too, are linked by gas pipe lines.

Separate cases of co-operation are no substitute for the international division of labor, all the principles of which should be carefully elaborated. Planned and proportional development on the scale of the socialist system as a whole calls for the theoretical and scientific elaboration of a number of problems.

In his report on the results of the Moscow Meeting, Khrushchov pointed out that "the practice of communist construction raises many questions for which we have no ready answer. In building communism we are following as yet unexplored paths."

This applies in still greater measure to international socialist co-operation in the process of building a developed socialist society and of the transition to communism.

Among the major points awaiting elaboration with the aim of ensuring a stable theoretical foundation for the long-range development of the socialist world system, are the following: how to ensure high rates of development for the socialist countries, with due regard to the existing level of productive forces and the social relations in the particular countries; how to ensure the most efficient international division of labor, taking into account the need to even out the economic levels of all the socialist countries; the methods to be employed in deciding the economic efficacy of capital investments, and ensuring minimum production costs. Other points are these: elaborating the theoretical principles and calculations needed for the optimal combination of the over-all development of the national economy and its specialization within the framework of the socialist camp; methods of analyzing the economic efficacy of specialization of production, taking into account transport costs and other factors; the singling out, within the socialist world system, of separate economic zones in which — in view of the geography of the countries, their natural resources and transport facilities — large-scale economic co-operation is expedient.

It is not enough, at the present stage of the economic development of the socialist countries, to employ, as has been the case hitherto, simplified methods of analyzing and co-ordinating plans based on a schematic approach to material resources and surpluses or deficits of goods in a country with a view to evening them out through trade. One socialist country should build its trade relations with another on an analysis of the economic efficacy of production and capital investments, specialization and co-ordination on an international scale. Lack of the necessary economic indices, however, makes analysis difficult. Methods of comparing production costs and capital investment should be worked out in order to obviate mistakes likely to be caused by different price systems and currencies. This applies also to the comparing of the national income and its distribution, wages and labor productivity. The work done in this field by the EMAC economic subcommittee has not yet yielded satisfactory results; and they are hardly to be expected until such time as research centers are set up in the socialist countries which would approach these problems in a creative way and co-ordinate and mutually complement activities.

The law of planned, proportionate economic development operates in each of the socialist countries and in the socialist world system as a whole. But the conditions under which it operates on an international scale are of a specific character. In all the socialist countries there is a single centralized organization which plans and directs the complex inter-related processes of economic life. By virtue of objective reasons, however, a single planning center for the socialist camp as a whole cannot as yet be set up; plans are dovetailed through multi-lateral and bilateral agreements, and cover a far narrower range of questions than the economic development plans of the separate countries. The voluntary principle, the principle of sovereignty and equality of the signatories to an agreement are observed in co-ordinating plans and in implementing other forms of international economic co-operation. The forms and methods of co-operation can be improved by gradually translating into life the universal law of which Lenin wrote, the general tendency "towards the creation of a single world economy as one whole, regulated by the proletariat of all nations according to a common plan, which tendency is already quite clearly revealed under capitalism and should certainly be further de-

veloped and fully consummated under socialism."*

An important manifestation of this tendency and a cardinal aim of planned and proportionate development of the socialist world system as a whole, is the evening out of the level of economic development of the socialist countries.

The gradual elimination of the still existing and considerable disparities in the economic and cultural levels of the several countries, is a law of the socialist world economy, as its development shows. Compared with the prewar period the industrial output of the socialist countries had risen more than 6-fold by 1959, including: China (between 1949 and 1959), 13-fold; Albania, 22-fold; Bulgaria, 11-fold; Poland, 6.8-fold, the USSR, 4.8-fold; the GDR, three-fold. Between 1951 and 1959 the average annual rate of industrial growth in the socialist countries was 13.7 per cent, including: China, 28.4 per cent; Korea, 22.7 per cent (43.1 per cent between 1954-59); Albania, 20.6 per cent; Bulgaria, 14.4 per cent; Poland, 13 per cent; the USSR, 11.9 per cent; the GDR, 11.6 per cent; Czechoslovakia, 10.8 per cent. According to the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR State Economic Council, output of basic industrial items per capita was (USSR=100); Poland, 77 per cent in 1950, 85 per cent in 1958; Rumania, 46 and 50 per cent respectively; Bulgaria, 35 and 40 per cent.

An important index of the evening out of the level of economic development in the socialist countries is the greater share of industry in the overall output; in Hungary it was 42 per cent before the war, and 71 per cent in 1959; in Rumania, 40.5 per cent and 66.6 per cent respectively; in Albania 9.8 per cent and 55.7 per cent; in North Korea 28 per cent in 1946 and 76 per cent in 1959.

The rapid creation of the prerequisites for approximating the economic and social structures of the socialist countries is a feature of the present stage of development.

The new law finds expression not only in the sphere of the productive forces, which form the material and technical base of social development. Much more rapid is the evening out process in the sphere of the production relations and the superstructure. The transition from capitalism to socialism is characterized both by big differences arising from the specific conditions obtaining in each country at the initial stage of the formation of socialist production relations, and

*V. I. Lenin, *Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions*.

the gradual elimination of these differences during the successive stages of development.

Socialist production relations now predominate in the economies of the new socialist countries, with the socialist sector supplying from 71.5 per cent to 100 per cent of the national income. Socialist forms of running the economy will, in the near future, embrace all spheres without exception of the economies of the socialist countries.

Delivery of machinery for building socialist industry and agriculture is an important aspect of the aid rendered to formerly backward countries. The sharing of scientific and technical experience gratis, the assistance of experts, training personnel, delivery of plant for automated and mechanized industrial projects — all help to accelerate the rate of economic development in the weaker countries, a feature of the planned abolition of economic disparities. Loans and credits are an invaluable form of aid. The USSR has already granted credits amounting to 8,000 million rubles (at the new rate).

Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and other socialist countries, too, are gradually increasing their aid in the form of credits. Credits and other forms of aid play an important part in developing the economies of North Korea, Mongolia, Albania and Vietnam.

On the basis of results achieved, it should now be possible to work out (within the framework of a long-range plan for the socialist system as a whole) the principles defining the ways and means that will enable the countries which took the road to socialism when their productive forces were at a low level, to maintain a faster average rate of growth than that of the socialist world system as a whole, not only by mustering internal resources and personnel, but also through the improved forms of planned co-ordination and the fraternal aid of the other socialist countries.

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In addition to being the basis for a steady rise in the standard of living of the people, the expansion of the socialist world economy adds to the power of attraction exerted by socialism and helps to unite the working people in the capitalist world around the ideas of peace, socialism and communism.

The Statement of the November 1960 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties says in part: "the Commu-

nist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of each country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstripping the economically most developed capitalist countries in *per capita* output and in the standard of living."

It is the internationalist duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties to combat manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness which "do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system." The way to the realization of the socialist international division of labor cannot be paved without combating these manifestations and their "theoretical substantiation" by the revisionists.

Being an expression of the pressure exerted by petty-bourgeois ideology and of parochial views on the national interests, national narrow-mindedness can be detrimental to the international co-operation of the socialist countries.

And although these views have been soundly defeated, it is essential to conduct constant educational work which will help the working people, especially engineers and technicians, to become more deeply aware of the benefits accruing from the international co-ordination and specialization of production, from rational dovetailing of production plans and close day-to-day co-operation between the enterprises, organizations, economic departments, designing bureaus and research centers in the socialist countries.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting emphasizes again and again that the consolidation of the unity of the socialist countries at the present stage of development of the socialist world system is of decisive significance for safeguarding humanity against the holocaust of a thermonuclear war, for ensuring the victory of world socialism and for paving the way to an unprecedented economic and cultural advance and full utilization of all the achievements of science and technology.

There can be no doubt that the socialist world system will cope with these tasks and in an historically brief space of time demonstrate its clear superiority in all spheres of human endeavor.

The Underground Party and Its Contact With the Masses

Santiago Carrillo

THE Franco dictatorship is in a state of acute disintegration. During the past few years, and especially since 1956, there has been an upsurge of the democratic movement in Spain. This has taken the form of a spiraling ascent rather than an upward curve, although to those who follow the situation from a distance, remote from the masses and the realities of the situation, it may seem that the movement is not getting anywhere.

In 1959 the Franco dictatorship, faced with serious economic embarrassments and under political pressure from the opposition, attempted to launch a counteroffensive in the shape of its "stabilization plan" with the object of reinforcing the political and economic domination of monopoly capital. On the pretext of cutting production costs and strengthening the competitive position of Spanish goods on the world market, the "stabilization plan" was in fact aimed at concentrating more wealth in the hands of the monopoly oligarchy and tightening the screws on the working population. Its implementation was accompanied by repressions designed to wipe out all opposition, primarily the Communist Party, and buttress the regime. There were more trials by military tribunal of opponents of the regime in 1960 than there had been for many years. But though the counteroffensive of big capital and its government struck heavily at the living conditions of the masses and exacerbated the contradictions of Spanish society, it, nevertheless, failed to achieve its main purpose.

Our Party has stood firm under the blows and, despite them, has continued to grow and to attack the enemy again and again at the points where he is most vulnerable. At the same time the bourgeois opposition has become noticeably more active as a result of the deterioration in the position of the middle and small bourgeoisie, and also because of the growing influence of the Communist Party and the pressure of the working masses. The attempt of the fascist dictatorship to halt the rise of the anti-fascist movement has failed and the prospects of a new combined

anti-Franco offensive on an even broader scale are taking definite shape.

There are signs that the country is heading for a revolutionary crisis. The patience of the proletariat, the peasantry and the working population generally is running out. Unable to tolerate the present situation much longer, they will be forced to fight. The middle bourgeoisie, threatened with the prospect of being swallowed up by the insatiable oligarchy, are also searching for a way out. In their turn, groups of monopoly capitalists are beginning to see that the present methods of government cannot be maintained forever. The Madrid correspondent of the *New York Times*, alluding to the inability of the government to put its "stabilization plan" into effect, predicts that *Spain is heading for disaster*. The political foundations and the machine of coercion are gradually collapsing. Considerable sections of the clergy are beginning to oppose the regime. The recent letter of the Primate Pla y Deniel, published in the world press, is a serious warning to Franco. The government is cleaning up the police force, and there is growing dissatisfaction among the judiciary. Moreover, the position of the Franco regime on the world arena is deteriorating.

These developments confronted our Party with a new range of problems, which were discussed at its Sixth Congress in 1960, and whose solution calls for political initiative and creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In this article I propose to dwell on only some of these issues — those affecting the organizational work of the Party and its contact with the masses. These are cardinal problems, for the Party which does not give them the necessary attention and does not thoroughly elaborate them, even if its general line is sound, even if it repeats the well-known theses concerning the leading role of the Party and adheres to the Leninist positions, will, in practice, reduce these principles to empty formulas and routine platitudes.

In the more than twenty years of underground struggle against Franco a wealth of experience of working in illegal conditions has been accumulated, experience that has its positive and negative aspects. In the first few years after the civil war had ended the Party made mistakes of a sectarian, subjectivist nature. This was chiefly due to the fact that we had not fully assimilated the lessons of the defeat and underestimated its moral and material effect on the masses. One manifestation of subjectivism was our denial of the need to work in the legal mass organizations, including the trade unions, our opposition to any form of legal activity. Our reasoning was based on the mistaken assumption that (to quote from one of the Party documents of that period) "a working class and a people who fought in the war and who possess such a high degree of political understanding and revolutionary consciousness will never join fascist trade unions or any other form of fascist regimentation." Hence almost the entire activity of the Party was concentrated on partisan struggle waged by a handful of brave fighters, and we failed to combine illegal and legal work, which is a law for any Communist Party working underground.

As soon as we realized our mistake and began to rectify it, we found new and ever-growing opportunities for establishing contact with the masses. The combination of underground with legal work, especially in the trade unions, kept us in touch with reality and gave us a better understanding of the new problems.

We were now able to gauge more exactly the level of political consciousness of the working class and the masses, who were no longer the same as they had been during the civil war. The composition of the working class had changed substantially. Its vanguard had been destroyed. Those who had survived were either in jail or had been forced to emigrate. Many peasants and petty-bourgeois elements, who had been ruined by the accelerated process of monopolist concentration, swelled the ranks of the proletariat, bringing their own ideological baggage with them. The political consciousness of those who fell under fascist rule from the first day of the rebellion was considerably lower than in the case of those who had fought for the Republic on the battlefields of the civil war. To this should be added the demoralization of a large part of the population as a result of the savage terror, the backbreaking labor and hunger.

In circumstances such as these it is far more important to organize some action if only of a minor, local, economic nature than to indulge in talk about a national uprising. This would help the working people, albeit a few, to regain confidence in themselves, to understand the need to organize and to take action. We realized more clearly that general, abstract political agitation not backed by patient, day-to-day work associated with the host of problems agitating the working people was bound to be ineffective.

A study of the legal opportunities open to us revealed new fields of activity among other social strata. For instance, we established contact inside the Falange and its youth organizations with those who, though they had not broken politically and ideologically with fascism, nevertheless represented an incipient non-conformist tendency. These were small groups of young intellectuals who, surrounded by the atmosphere of injustice, influenced by the military and political defeat of fascism in the world war, and also to some extent by our Party's work, were showing signs of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Spain. They had begun to question the "absolute truths" of the official propaganda, to balk at the fascist violence and to drift away from the Falangist leadership. Upon learning of the existence of these groups, we tried to influence them in order to convert their non-conformism into active and radical opposition.

Many of our comrades, even among those inside the country, regarded our work with these groups as a waste of time. For them the Falangists were all the same, conformist or non-conformist. But this was not the case. Largely due to the Party's work the non-conformists, of whom there were only a few at first, have grown in number and are more active. Many of them are taking part in the opposition movement, not to mention the fact that some have become splendid Party militants.

The Party gained many strongpoints which enabled it to extend its activity among the working class and the peasantry. We acquired allies who, being active opponents of the dictatorship, shouldered part of the burden of the vanguard and helped to broaden the struggle of the proletarian masses.

The big strikes, which took place in the spring of 1956, the boycott of the city transport, and the student demonstrations against the Falangists were all the fruit of several years of combined legal and illegal methods

of patient, day-to-day, inconspicuous but highly useful activity.

This work led to a qualitative change in the character of the struggle, i.e., to the advent of an internal opposition backed by the proletariat and involving big sections of the population. Up to that time the opposition, with the exception of the Communists who never ceased to fight within the country, consisted mainly of the emigré leaders of the parties which had supported the Republic, some of whom, because of their passivity, had lost their prestige or had been forgotten by the people. For many indeed the opposition had become almost synonymous with emigration. Beginning with the spring of 1956, the opposition within the country began to show unmistakable signs of life, thereby confirming that it is incontestably a national phenomenon.

By advocating a policy of national reconciliation at this juncture, our Party facilitated the development of the opposition. This policy aimed at the destruction of the barriers which had been raised by the war and which prevented the various forces from uniting on an anti-Franco and democratic platform.

The confidence of the masses in their own strength sharply increased. Considerable opportunities were now afforded for Party work. The struggle entered upon a new phase, a phase characterized not only by the open opposition in the country, but by the creation of conditions conducive to overcoming the divisions and parochialism within the Party and within the anti-Franco movement; a phase in which the Party and the mass movement could switch over from economic demands—not, however, forgetting them—to major political objectives.

Throughout this period the Party while working to strengthen itself organizationally, strove also to extend its influence among the then embryonic anti-Franco groups. We regarded the activity of these groups, which were associated with diverse sections of the bourgeoisie, primarily as evidence of the political weakness of the dictatorship, as an extension of the anti-Franco front. We established contact with them, endeavored to influence their more politically conscious members, and combined joint anti-Franco actions with ideological struggle against all bourgeois trends. This was essential in order to extend our contact and influence. The Party and the working class cannot defeat the dictatorship without the support of other sections of the population. We must have allies.

Throughout this phase the Party exerted every effort to secure *legal opportunities* for work among the masses. For a party working underground these openings are of tremendous importance as a means of conducting propaganda without exposing itself. The public adoption by the congress of the Franco trade unions in 1955 of a list of demands which had been drawn up by the Communist Party gave us a legal opening of inestimable value. Since then we have been able to conduct propaganda in the name of the trade unions, a situation that has given us freedom of action. This legal work, combined with underground propaganda exposing the trade unions as instruments of the fascist government, brought results that would have been very difficult to achieve in the past. True, these results necessitated several years of patient work in the trade unions and in the enterprises, work which had appeared useless to those who were losing their sense of perspective.

We made use, too, of the legal openings furnished by the decisions of the Sixth National Assembly of Agricultural Hermandades* (1957), which more or less faithfully reflected the dissatisfaction of the peasants. Thanks to these decisions it was possible to lay the groundwork for establishing our organizations in those villages and towns which had been closed to us for years owing to repression and their extreme isolation.

This course taught us a lesson which, while elementary, cannot be learnt exclusively from books, but which can be assimilated by the Party and its leadership only through personal experience. The more consistently we followed Lenin's counsel about combining legal and illegal work and the more experience we accumulated, the more we appreciated the profundity and wisdom of Lenin's teaching concerning work among the masses. We realized that work in legal organizations is a better way not only to protect our militants, while bringing them closer to the masses, but also to recruit new members for the Party from among people in these organizations who are not suspected by the police, or even from among those regarded as "respectable" by the authorities. Experience has shown that for every Communist who works in a mass organization the Party can gain several new members, not to speak of the many who, while not formally belonging to the Party, nevertheless support us in these organizations. Experience has taught us also

*Fascist-type associations in the countryside.

that a politically conscious minority can counter the demagoguery of the fascist leaders by forcing them to put it into the concrete language of programs and decisions, and this is extremely useful in developing the legal struggle.

* * *

Thus, beginning mainly with 1956, the political struggle advanced to a new stage. Since that time, too, the deterioration of the Franco regime has been accelerated while the activity of the Communist Party and other opposition forces has increased. Gradual, sometimes imperceptible, changes have taken place, one after another, so much so that we have a situation in which elements of a future Spanish democracy have begun to take shape against the background of a crumbling dictatorship.

The feature of this situation is that the mass movement has broken through many fascist bans and restrictions. Activity which until recently was considered illegal and ruthlessly punished, today if not exactly regarded as legal is, nevertheless, tolerated. Some foreign observers commenting on this have seen in it indications of a "liberalization" of the regime. In reality it is nothing of the kind. These new opportunities for political activity have been won by the anti-Franco opposition in bitter struggle. Here are a few examples of the changes that have taken place.

Political parties are banned in Spain. The only legal party is the Falange, which, however, degenerated into a fraction of the bureaucratic camarilla entrenched in the state machine and in non-elective posts in the trade unions and mass organizations. Nevertheless there are two Christian-Democratic parties, whose functions and leaders are known to all and sundry. There is also a monarchist party, the Spanish Union, which in view of the tolerant attitude of the government, has even contrived to hold a political reception. Its leaders, too, are well known to the authorities. There are, besides, a few groups of liberals who publish documents and whose leaders make statements for the foreign press. The Hermandade Workers (belonging to the Catholic Action brotherhood), the Catholic Youth organization, and other legal Catholic organizations have latterly become frankly oppositionist in character.

The government and its police are well aware of the activity of these parties and politicians, but are no longer in a position to prevent it. They react feebly or not at all to such violations of fascist "legality."

If he could, Franco would suppress all bourgeois opposition. For such as it is, this opposition is a breach in the fascist superstructure which threatens the regime and contributes to the development of a revolutionary and anti-Franco movement. Incidentally, no such tolerance is shown toward the Communist Party. The bourgeois opposition parties and groups are tolerated with the blessing of the Spanish monopoly circles, and also of the U.S. and British imperialists who, in the light of the growing influence and strength of the Communists, want to make sure that the bourgeoisie has its own political organizations to oppose the Communists in the event of a change in the situation. Nevertheless, the Communist Party can and does make use of the widening breach to strengthen the mass movement generally and its own organization in particular.

Thanks to these changes, mass activity, rigorously prohibited only a few years ago and in some cases punished by death or long terms of imprisonment, is now carried on quite openly.

Nowadays in the elections of trade union delegates and representatives in industrial enterprises, candidates from the labor opposition in the unions are nominated openly to oppose the nominees of the employers and the Falangist union leaders—something that just couldn't be done a few years ago.

The police, of course, take advantage of every strike to arrest and savagely penalize the workers' representatives. But anyone who remembers the previous years, anyone who knows what the fascist dictatorship was like in its heyday, will appreciate what it means to be able to nominate opposition candidates, to fight for their victory and, in many cases, to win. In the Falangist student unions, too, opposition candidates frequently are elected to faculty organizations.

A few years ago any form of help to political prisoners, any action in favor of an amnesty was regarded as rebellion against the state and punished accordingly. Today prominent scholars, writers and artists, men of diverse political views sign and publish petitions in favor of an amnesty. Hundreds of thousands of signatures are collected for the same purpose and petitions submitted to members of the government. Public demonstrations of solidarity with political prisoners are also common.

University students arrange public lectures of a frankly progressive nature. The Catholic and monarchist opposition use various circles

and organizations for propaganda of an increasingly overt kind. The influence of the opposition is felt also in literature, in the cinema and in the theatre. A large group of intellectuals and artists recently submitted a paper to the government, protesting against the censorship. Some writers have announced their intention to publish their works abroad since they cannot do so in Spain. Not so long ago actions of this kind were simply inconceivable.

The members of the Bar, once among the most reliable supporters of the regime, are beginning to speak up for constitutional government, against the extraordinary judicial procedure, and particularly against political trials by the military tribunals. Formerly an anti-fascist had difficulty in finding a lawyer who would be willing to defend him in court. Today lawyers are actively defending the victims of the persecution. They protest collectively against torture, and even, as in the case of the members of the Bar in Barcelona, take legal action themselves against the use of torture by the political police or to demand the annulment of the decree of September 21, 1960, under which the slightest political or social action was regarded as mutiny.

With the broader opportunities for struggle offered by the new situation, more and more hitherto passive sections of the population are engaging in various forms of activity. The mass movement is growing in scope and militancy. On our initiative and on that of the anti-Franco people generally, various new forms, legal or otherwise tolerated by the authorities, of uniting and organizing the masses and opposition elements, are emerging—groups of friends, cultural or sport associations, lectures, talks, etc. One of the symptoms of the democratic upsurge is that the people instinctively feel the urge to unite. All the mass organizations are assuming a more or less radical anti-Franco character. This democratic awakening is so powerful that it is attracting some of the older Falangist leaders. A group of Falangist founders, members of its political junta—former ministers, ambassadors and other high-ranking officials—signed a document demanding a more “representative” and “democratic” regime, a “presidential republic,” and trade with the Soviet Union.

In the meantime the underground groups, the anti-Franco organizations and the revolutionaries are making rapid progress. There is now every opportunity to *build a strong Party and bring tens of thousands of members into*

its ranks, despite having to work underground. This is not merely a possibility, but a necessity if the Party is to play a leading role in decisive battles with the dictatorship in the oncoming revolutionary crisis.

* * *

At each stage in the struggle against Franco, necessitating new tactics and methods of struggle in keeping with the new situation, our Party as an underground organization has had to contend with specific obstacles and difficulties. One of the big difficulties facing an illegal Party, especially if it has been underground for many years and subjected to ruthless persecution, is to give its functionaries and rank and file a correct understanding of the political situation both at home and abroad in order to adapt organizational and political activity to the new conditions and to introduce the correctives dictated by the new situation.

Under a fascist dictatorship, the government-controlled press keeps the public in ignorance of important national developments. It paints an idyllic picture and ignores the thousands of conflicts and problems that crop up daily. People only know what is happening in their immediate vicinity, that which comes within their direct line of vision, and as a rule this gives them only a very limited view of what is happening on a national scale. At times differences of opinion arise between comrades whose observation is restricted to their own enterprise or city and those leading members whose knowledge of the facts enables them to make a thorough analysis of developments in the country as a whole. These are differences that can be ironed out by active political work and briefing, which, however, is extremely difficult in underground conditions. This is one of the many problems our Party encounters in its daily work.

To produce the political and ideological guidance needed to help the functionaries and the rank and file understand the changes taking place in the country and adapt the organization and activity of the Party to the new conditions calls for much effort on our part, the more so since the situation is constantly changing. Moreover, these changes are not always easy to discern. To detect them, especially if they do not appear on the surface, and to grasp the new problems engendered by them often entails a struggle to overcome old concepts, conservatism, and the tendency to seek solutions by resorting to stereotyped formulas.

On the other hand, a party many of whose functionaries and rank and file members are

living abroad, especially if they once played an important role and can still do so in the future, can easily slip into the emigré point of view. Being far from their native land and out of touch with the people, the emigrés are apt to take a subjectivist attitude, to see the situation at home as it was when they left it, failing to observe or understand the changes that have taken place since then. This sometimes leads to a tendency to regard the situation and problems in Spain from the standpoint of problems existing in the country in which they are living at present. The Party, which suffered considerably from these subjectivist views in the past, is striving to overcome them by making a more profound study of the life of the country and of the changes in sentiment and the composition of the working class and the masses in general, by making a creative Marxist analysis of the new problems and the new alignment of class forces.

At the same time, the Party, like any other living organism, must constantly renew itself by drawing on the forces that are continuously springing up from the midst of the working class. This is the only way to extend our contact with the masses, to be in the vanguard and avoid becoming decrepit and lagging behind.

However, this process of constant renewal, which is not always a simple matter even for a legal party, presents far greater difficulties to the illegal party. For underground work one would naturally choose reliable, tried and tested militants in preference to others who do not fully measure up to such standards. But when the period of underground work drags on for years it can happen that the reliable, well-known, tried and tested comrades, having gone through terrible ordeals, torture and imprisonment, may well become worn out and exhausted. Despite their revolutionary ardor and their loyalty they are no longer what they once were, and at times it may even be risky to use them. If fresh and vigorous forces are not brought to the fore, the Party may find itself faced with a crisis baffling solution before the onset of a new revolutionary situation. In the meantime the bourgeois forces, having fewer difficulties to contend with, may have, wholly or partially, won the positions among the masses which the Communist Party should occupy. When the tide of revolution is flowing conservative views as to who should be a functionary and a member of an illegal party can be the chief obstacle to winning over the new contingent

of revolutionary youth who are eager to fight and to replenish the ranks of the Party.

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The change in our organizational policy made by the Sixth Congress was the culmination of the correct line followed by us up to that time. In September 1957 the Central Committee declared:

"Our organizational work and the recruiting of new members must be conducted so as to ensure that the majority of our Party and of the functionaries at intermediate levels should consist of men and women between 18 and 35, who as a rule are the most active forces of the working class and the population generally.

"To this end it is necessary to overcome the tendency on the part of many comrades to rely almost exclusively on Party members whom they have known for many years. It sometimes happens that these comrades are no longer as active as they once were. Life has its own laws and we must not forget that twenty years have passed. New forces have now emerged which come to us full of resolve and unburdened by the hardships and sufferings of the long night of fascism.

"There is nothing to be done but to combat all kinds of sentiments implying distrust of the new forces of the working people and the intellectuals."

By the time of the Sixth Congress the proportion of young cadres and rank and file members had reached the level we had striven for in 1957. But the situation now demanded more than that—it demanded even greater efforts to recruit tens of thousands of new members.

It is no longer the sole task of the Party to unite the more class conscious and steadfast members, and arouse the masses from the state of lethargy caused by the civil war. At present it is not enough for the Party to play the role of a small group of "a few but seasoned" fighters who are mustering their forces in anticipation of the new situation, a group which "is felt, but not seen" as the working people used to say of us during the darkest years of fascism. The Party should now provide leadership for a broad mass movement, it should steer that movement toward open and decisive struggle with the dictatorship, and extend its influence not only to the proletariat but to the other anti-Franco sections and classes of society, and also as much as possible to the other political forces opposed to the dictatorship. The Party must be strong enough to establish anti-Franco

unity at the lower and middle levels pending the achievement of unity at the top. It is necessary at this stage that the masses should not only *feel*, but *see* the Party.

The forces for effecting this turn should be drawn from the tens of thousands of young workers, peasants and intellectuals who do not yet belong to any of our organizations and have not read much Marxist literature but who, nevertheless, consider themselves Communists.

These young people are quick to seize upon every possible means of learning the truth about the success of the socialist countries and bringing this truth to the masses. Here is one of many examples. Some time ago the Falangist newspaper *Pueblo* published a series of articles by the American politician Averell Harriman on the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries. Besides the usual distortions and spurious arguments, these articles contained some reluctant admissions about the progress made by the USSR and the other socialist countries. The issues of the paper carrying these articles were quickly sold out. During the lunch break the articles were read and discussed by hundreds of people among them young workers who drew attention to the salient points and shrewdly commented on those sections where the author tacitly admitted the justice of communism. In former times only some of the more experienced Party members were capable of such work. Today it is being done by thousands, mostly young people.

Many young people at this stage do not confine themselves to showing their sympathy for us or joining the Party individually. On their own initiative they form groups in the enterprises, in universities and in their neighborhoods and start organized action, waiting for an opportune moment to contact a Communist Party organization; they send delegates to establish contact with the Party leadership so as to turn their groups into regular Party units. Today this is becoming a mass phenomenon.

At present it has become a matter of giving whole groups, which spring up on the initiative of the masses, the opportunity to join the Party.

At the same time—and this applies particularly to those rural districts with revolutionary traditions—hundreds of former members of the anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (CNT) and the Socialist Party have in recent years moved closer to Communist ideas. The old prejudices these individuals

once nursed with regard to the Soviet Union and to Marxism-Leninism have been swept away by reality. Some have joined our ranks, and if others have not done so it is chiefly because we have not yet helped them sufficiently to understand that a veteran of the labor movement who joins the Communists, especially in the present situation, is not being a “turncoat”; he is simply continuing a fight he has been waging all his life but on a sounder and genuinely revolutionary foundation. For the veteran fighter this means finding a more effective way of remaining true, not in words, but in deeds, to his revolutionary convictions. Most of these workers, former Socialists or CNT members, refrain from joining the Communist Party not only because of the difficulties of the underground, but also in some cases because we have not provided sufficiently flexible forms of organization that could exist side by side with our regular organizations. With more flexible forms, thousands of new members who would be invaluable to us could be won for the Party.

The bulk of the industrial workers and many intellectuals and artists are in sympathy with communism. We welcome this. In doing so, we are conscious of the prestige of the Party, we never forget that we are the worthy proponents of an idea that has triumphed on one-fourth of the globe, that we are the standard-bearers of a social system which, in peaceful competition with capitalism, is demonstrating its obvious superiority as evidenced, among other things, by the launching of the first Earth satellites.

We should remember the advice Lenin gave to the Russian Social Democrats in 1905 (without, of course, mechanically equating the two situations):

“Thousands of circles are now springing up everywhere without our aid, without any definite program or purpose, simply under the influence of events. The Social Democrats must strive to establish and maintain direct contact with the greatest possible number of these circles, to assist them, to enlighten them from their own store of knowledge and experience, to animate them with their revolutionary initiative. Let all such circles, except the consciously non-Social Democratic ones, either directly join the Party or *become associated with the Party*. In the latter case we must not demand that they accept our program, or that they enter into obligatory organizational relations with us; the revolutionary sentiment alone, the mere desire to help in

the struggle against the autocracy, is sufficient—if Social Democrats go to them and energetically present our views—to transform these circles, under pressure of events, at first into democratic assistants of the Social Democratic Labor Party and then into staunch members of it.”*

There are, of course, many differences between the situation Lenin had in mind and our own. But there is one difference that works in our favor—the groups springing up in our country on the initiative of the young revolutionaries are, as a rule, Communist in character. They know what they want and where they are going. Forty-three years of socialism in the Soviet Union and the existence of the powerful socialist world system is a big factor in moulding the political and ideological consciousness of these groups. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1905 did not have that international support that has spread socialist ideas and given them an irresistible power of attraction which, thanks to the victories of socialism, we have at the present time.

To make the Party an organization with tens of thousands of members means that every industrial enterprise, every village, every settlement, every district, every university, etc., should have a Communist organization capable of directing the anti-Franco and revolutionary sentiment, giving political leadership to the masses, and charting their path in conformity with the general line of the Party. This task is vitally important for the Party and for the democratic struggle as a whole if the Party is to play the leading role not in theory but in practice.

This means that the Party should come out of the catacombs into the fresh air, onto the streets, show its face and operate more openly than in the past. In any case it is becoming almost impossible for some of us to hide from the masses the fact that we are Communists. This, naturally, is fraught with risk. But it cannot be avoided by withdrawing into one's shell, by returning to the catacombs, for as things are that would mean cutting ourselves off from the mass movement, from the forces of the opposition, in a word, isolating ourselves. That danger can be avoided only by intensifying mass work throughout the country, taking advantage of every opportunity, however limited, for legal activity. We want to march in step with the other anti-Franco groups, in order to make the mass movement too big for the dictatorship's

machine of repression. As a matter of fact this is what has been happening in one way or another for some time.

We know that with the disintegration of the dictatorship and the growth of the mass movement, the opposition parties and bourgeois groups which only a few years ago gave no sign of life and whose leaders were completely inactive, are now reappearing on the scene and, alarmed by the growing activity of the Communist Party, are doing their best to win the support of the masses. In a way this has its positive aspect—the struggle against the Franco dictatorship is extended and democratic propaganda is conducted among the masses by other forces besides ourselves. Still, there is the danger that unless our Party moves forward and develops, unless it, too, emerges into the open, it may be excluded from leadership of the mass movement by a coalition of bourgeois groups who have precisely this end in view. It is essential for us to retain the advantage we have gained, and to enhance the prestige among the masses which the Party built up in those twenty years when we waged what was virtually a lone struggle.

This is at once more difficult for us because the political police persecute the Communist Party much more savagely than they do the bourgeois groups, and also easier, inasmuch as we enjoy prestige among the masses which the bourgeois groups lack.

In these circumstances our job is to recruit new members, to bring in the new groups springing up on their own initiative, to devise flexible, semi-legal and, in some cases, legal forms of organization, thus drawing into Communist activity the tens of thousands who consider themselves Communists and who are eager to work inside the Party. If we fail to muster these forces they will seek other outlets for their activity and, if we fail them, may join some other stream and drift away from the Party.

“Remember,” said Lenin, “that every moment of delay in this task plays into the hands of the enemies of Social Democracy; for the new streams are seeking immediate outlets and if they do not find Social Democratic channels they will rush into non-Social Democratic channels.”*

Fulfilment of this task, which in the conditions prevailing in our country is a matter of urgency, confronts us with a number of problems. One, the most urgent, is that of leadership of the new forces, in other words,

*V. I. Lenin, *New Tasks and New Forces*.

* V. I. Lenin, *New Tasks and New Forces*.

the problem of cadres. And if we were to think it can be solved by relying exclusively on the old, experienced cadres—the men of the preceding period—nothing would come of it. While making full use of veteran functionaries, we must not hesitate to bring new people to the fore.

Where are they to come from? The answer is, from those same masses of new members, from the new Party groups. Among them are hundreds of young workers, peasants and intellectuals—intelligent, energetic, competent young men and women who are quickly gaining experience and learning all that is essential for successful work. We should not forget that these young people are coming to our Party in the course of the struggle, that many of them—I refer to the young workers—have had some training as active trade unionists and as leaders of the economic actions of their fellow-workers. Many peasant youth have had a similar experience. Before joining the Party they took part in the struggle against landlord oppression, low wages, etc. Nor must we forget that the young intellectuals are joining our ranks against the background of the student strikes and the battle of ideas now taking place in the universities and other educational centers.

In periods of democratic upsurge such as this many capable people come to the fore from the masses. We should not hesitate to rely on them and to show our confidence in them. The struggle itself makes a far better selection of cadres than any personnel department, no matter how efficient it may be.

These young people, inspired by revolutionary romanticism, bring a youthful enthusiasm and vigor to their work. They are not weighed down by the moral burden of defeat and twenty years of persecution and repression which can sometimes become a serious handicap. They are closely linked with the people, they have courage and resolve, and the future lies before them.

As members of our Party, fulfilling Party assignments, they will continue to mature. Day-to-day work, practical experience, is the best school for the younger members of the Party. The Party's political and theoretical literature will supplement this schooling.

In the matter of political literature and particularly the Party press, beginning with the *Mundo Obrero*, we have new problems which were formerly less acute or non-existent. Under the Franco regime the working youth, especially in the countryside, have little opportunity of attending school. Many

can barely read, not to mention those who for all practical purposes are illiterate. Hence two problems arise. The first is that of making our underground newspaper easier to read by using larger type. This in turn means a more careful selection of material, since the bigger the type the less we can publish. At first glance this might appear to be a mere detail. Yet it is very important, for experience shows that the size of the type often determines whether the materials are read or not, whether effective or ineffective, in a word, whether they are *propaganda* or not.

The second task is to write in popular language. Some of the terminology used in Party literature is incomprehensible to many of our readers, especially in the countryside. If we want to be understood we must speak and write in a language the masses can understand.

Another urgent matter is that of *revolutionary vigilance, of protecting our organization from police reprisals*. In the new conditions this continues to be of supreme importance because although the Franco dictatorship has been weakened and its police machine is to some extent helpless in the face of the scope and activity of the opposition, nevertheless it would be a grave mistake to underestimate it and believe that it is incapable of doing us harm. Franco can still inflict damage. The police show particular zeal in fighting the Communist Party, they send their spies into our midst, using bribery and other means to break the weak and the wavering. What must we do to protect the Party in the new conditions?

In a party with tens of thousands of members it is impossible to combat enemy penetration without heightening the revolutionary vigilance of the membership and the working people generally. At the same time, we must avoid any interpretation of vigilance that would deplete our ranks or isolate us from the masses and from possible allies.

We can safeguard the Party against the enemy only by remembering Lenin's counsel: assign the tasks so that each member at his post knows what he needs to know for his particular job, try to avoid duplication of functions, avoid familiarities, strive as far as possible not to entrust propaganda and organizational work to the same persons so that legal and illegal activities should not overlap.

It is absolutely imperative, however openly Party work among the masses is conducted, that the committees, i.e., the leading organs of the Party at the different levels, should be

protected from the police, that their composition should not be known even to the members. The committees must be guarded like the apple of one's eye, the most secret core of the Party organization.

Promotion of young cadres should be verified both by the lower organizations and by the higher bodies. If direct contact has not yet been made with one or another group organized on its own initiative, we advise them through the radio or the press, to link up in the factories, in the villages, in their neighborhood or in cultural centers with people who have proved their honesty and devotion and who are already known for their activity. The young functionary can be promoted to a more responsible post after his abilities and his work have been duly verified. Of course, at the given stage this can only be done by the regional, provincial and local committees, not by the central bodies. Further promotion, however, is subject to verification by the latter.

It is of the utmost importance in the matter of protecting the Party from the police to train the new cadres in the spirit of steadfast loyalty to our cause. They must be prepared in the event of arrest to undergo torture and not to fall into the traps laid for them by the secret police; they should realize that to their revolutionary ardor should be added ability to conduct conspiratorial work; that there is no need to declare themselves Communists if the enemy does not know this and if there is the slightest chance of regaining their liberty in order to carry on the struggle. But, of course, without entering into any compromise.

In this respect, as in all others, the moulding of the Communist underground worker is achieved not only by talks or reading matter. It is done by popularizing the most striking and inspiring examples, and by the gradual accumulation of experience. We have found that as a rule young Communists when caught by the police conduct themselves like veterans. Their fighting spirit, their close contact with the masses, their loyalty to their comrades and the Party enable them to withstand any ordeal. In the crucible of the struggle they are tempered and fused more solidly with the Party.

The concept of revolutionary vigilance will be incomplete unless we fully realize that *in the present period the best way to safeguard the Party against repressions is to achieve its qualitative and quantitative growth, to multiply its organizations and groups, widely*

utilize all legal possibilities and work constantly to extend existing possibilities and explore new ones.

The wave of repressions which swept the country in 1960 put this principle to the test and convinced us that the Sixth Congress had acted correctly in changing our line. Wherever progress was made in the direction of a "Party of tens of thousands of members," the police persecution was powerless to paralyze it and to check its growth. The repressions barely affected the leading bodies, and the arrested comrades were replaced with relative ease. Thus, these repressions, apart, of course, from their bad consequences, enabled the members to perceive the wisdom of the Party's policy.

And, lastly, the methods of leadership now employed by the Central Committee and the lower links are of tremendous importance. The leadership must exercise effective control over the constantly growing forces of the Party, guide and direct their work. This is imperative in order to put an end to the lack of cohesion so that all Party organizations should be able to play a leading political role. Leadership cannot be assured only by broadening contacts. Going too far in this direction can be detrimental to the security of the Party. We don't need many contacts, but those that we have must be properly used not only as a means of transmitting directives and exercising control, but primarily to clarify the problems that arise at lower levels, to transmit to them the experience of the best organizations so as to help them to stand on their own feet, display initiative and not wait for instructions from above in every instance. We want the leading committees at all levels, on receiving Party documents or the daily newspaper, to be able to carry out the tasks arising from them, to react to all events occurring within range of their activity.

Maximum centralization is essential in all that concerns the drafting of the general policy and in taking decisions on issues of national importance. But maximum initiative, maximum autonomy is essential for every organization and committee as far as implementation of the political and the general tasks and studying local problems are concerned.

Utilization of all the possibilities for strengthening the Party organization and its contact with the masses and the elaboration of measures to raise its level are not just technical matters. This is political work which apart from everything else requires skill. We are

apt sometimes to make the mistake of entrusting organizational work to comrades with little political ability simply because they are efficient and methodical in their work. But these qualities, while useful, sometimes very much so, are not the basic attributes of an organizer. An organizer should be above all a *political leader* capable of drawing the fullest advantage from the situation, from the influence and prestige of the Party, and also from the initiative of the masses.

* * *

"He who dreads getting wet will never swim the ocean," says an old Spanish proverb. If the Party had not made a resolute turn towards qualitative and quantitative development, had not come out into the open and showed its face, its independent, revolutionary class policy to the people, had not taken the organizational steps to secure the opportunity to show the way out of the growing political crisis, the enemy would be less concerned with us and would, so to speak, leave us in peace.

But in that case we would cease to be a Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard of the working class. The masses would not regard us as the heralds of a new society, a new, more just and humane civilization as embodied in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. In that case the field would be abandoned to the bourgeois parties. They would take the lead of the masses who are

now awakening from their lethargy and are, more and more actively, joining in the struggle. The inevitable political changes would lead to the consolidation of the domination of monopoly capitalism and imperialism in Spain. The general interests of the people, including the progressive intelligentsia, their yearning for revolutionary changes would remain unsatisfied. The result of our mistakes would be that a large part of the revolutionary forces now emerging in Spanish society would follow the lead of some provocative groups or some demagogue and would degenerate into reckless adventurism.

To what purpose, then, the forty years of glorious struggle of our Party? To what purpose the heroic efforts of our founders, our role in the national revolutionary war, the sacrifices we have made throughout the twenty years of underground struggle when for the most part we alone carried aloft the sacred torch of revolutionary democracy?

At this crucial juncture the Party has chosen the right path, a path in keeping with its Marxist-Leninist ideology, its revolutionary traditions, its prestige and influence among the masses; the path that ensures the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle for democracy, the path which demands not only a correct political line but proper organization. With the support of the new forces of the proletariat, the peasantry and the intellectuals, and reposing full confidence in them, *we may get wet but we shall swim the ocean.*

The Anti-Monopoly Struggle In Canada

Leslie Morris

IN elaborating its political line, a Communist Party working in a capitalist country must above all define the *main class enemy*. "In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism," the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held last November points out, "the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and the other domestic reactionary forces betraying the interests of the nation." This applies fully to Canada.

Economic Satellite

Owing to its specific historical and socio-economic background, Canada occupies a dual position in the system of imperialism. Of the secondary imperialist powers it is one of the most highly developed* and at the same time one of the most dependent. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, long-term foreign investments amounted at the end of 1959 to \$20,700 million, of which \$11,800 million were direct investments and \$8,900 million, holdings of government, corporation and other securities.

Foreign firms control more than half of Canadian manufacturing, nearly two-thirds of the extractive industry, three-quarters of the chemical, electrical goods, oil and gas, 97 per cent of the rubber and 95 per cent of the automobile industry.

Of the foreign long-term investments, 75 per cent are U.S., 16 per cent British, and eight per cent of other origin. Thus the U.S. capitalists hold the commanding heights in the economy. Moreover, they are steadily consolidating their foothold. Not only do they hold three-quarters of all foreign capital in the country; they also account for more than three-quarters of the new investment. U.S.

investments in Canada are increasing at an annual rate of roughly \$1,000 million. The number of Canadian companies set up by U.S. parent firms has doubled in the last 15 years. At the present time one out of ten companies is U.S.-owned. Even the *U.S. News and World Report* has had to note that the "Canadians, watching this rising tide of U.S. influence and ownership in their country, are becoming alarmed. They are worried — even fearful — that Canada is being turned into an economic satellite of the United States."

Betrayal by the Monopolies

What are the class base and the social and historical roots of U.S. economic and political influence in Canada?

The penetration of U.S. capital is a process of long standing. U.S. investments first exceeded the British as far back as 1919-20. And commencing in 1947 the Canadian ruling circles adopted the policy known as "Canadian-U.S. integration."

The result of this process is common knowledge: Canada has moved out of the British imperialist orbit. However, the weakening of the British positions by no means increased the share of Canadian national capital, but merely enhanced enormously the direct ownership and control of the Canadian economy and policy by the USA. While vestiges of the past remain in the shape of membership in the British Commonwealth, Canada is the voice of the U.S. interests, and of the common interests of the Canadian and U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, in the Commonwealth.

Underlying this is the fact that after the Second World War, when the general crisis of capitalism grew deeper and U.S. imperialism asserted its leadership in the capitalist world, the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie saw its class interests as coinciding with those of the U.S. imperialists, and integration as a guarantee of its profits. No doubt this came into conflict with the independent "national" strivings of some monopoly circles but there has been little challenge from them,

*Canada occupies sixth place in world capitalist production. The extractive and manufacturing industries account for more than 80 per cent of the value of the country's gross social product, and its per capita national income is second only to that of the United States.

because their economic and political class interests have in the main been served. This is explained by the close links between U.S. and Canadian corporations. Thus the merging of U.S. and Canadian capital laid the groundwork for increasing subordination of the economy to the monopolies of the USA.

The salient features of the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie are:

1. It is intermeshed with the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie as a junior partner. The dominant groups among the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie actively co-operate in strengthening the grip of U.S. imperialism on Canada. They have surrendered the commanding heights in the economy to the U.S. monopolists and obediently follow in the wake of their policy.

2. It uses the state power not only for its own domestic class purposes but to prostitute Canada to U.S. imperialism. Consequently, the Canadian state is an instrument not only of domestic but also of foreign monopoly capital. The state-monopoly features of Canadian capitalism have been strengthened in the specific circumstances of growing U.S. domination. There now are 43 "Crown" companies — that is, state-monopoly capitalist enterprises. It is an interesting sidelight that the largest single employer in Canada is the government (federal, provincial and municipal) with over 400,000 on the payrolls.

A curious situation has been created — one which could have appeared only in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism: a young imperialist bourgeoisie wielding state power voluntarily surrenders the sovereignty of its country to a foreign power. The policy of the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie is a policy of the studied betrayal of Canada.

"Integration" and National Interests

This is evident from results of the "integration" in all spheres of the nation's life.

In the economic sphere the monopoly bourgeoisie has deliberately pursued a policy of opening Canada to U.S. investments. What has this led to?

Heavy industry manufacturing, as everybody knows, is essential to independent economic development. In Canada, industrialization was prosecuted with renewed vigor after the Second World War. This course, however, was abandoned in favor of a deliberate policy of limiting manufacturing and placing Canadian raw and semi-finished materials at the disposal of U.S. industry. Since 1947 the share of manufacturing in the whole

national output has declined, leading to imbalance and one-sided development of the economy.

Today Canadian manufacturing is almost completely dependent on U.S. tools and parts; U.S. branch plants in Canada are in the main assembly lines for the "mother" plants across the border. Yet the Canadian Minister of Finance declared only last December that the government did not share the views of those who sought a sharp reduction in foreign investments.

The Canadian economy is dependent both on the import of manufactured goods and the export of raw and semi-finished materials. Moreover, Canada buys and sells most of its imports and exports from and to the USA. Its trade deficit with the latter is enormous. But at the same time the monopoly bourgeoisie, following in the wake of the U.S. monopolies, rejects policies of active and mutually-beneficial trade with the socialist countries.

Our economic activity is directly dependent on our southern neighbor and economic convulsions affecting the latter are fraught with still more serious consequences for us. The rapid growth of unemployment in the United States in recent months illustrates the point. In Canada, according to official figures, there were 693,000 unemployed in mid-January not counting those working part time. This is the highest figure for the past 15 years. In proportion to the total labor force there are more unemployed (10.8 per cent) in Canada than in the United States. Out of every 1,000 workers, 108 cannot find jobs. This is nothing short of a national disaster.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie has hitched the country to the U.S. war machine. "Integration" coincided with the onset of the cold war and has been connected with its development. Not content with playing an active part in NATO, the government signed in May 1958, a U.S.-Canadian treaty establishing the North American Air Defense system (NORAD), which made the Canadian Air Force an adjunct of the U.S. Air Force and gave U.S. imperialism additional military bases on our territory. The Canadian government thereby surrendered sovereign control over the territory of Canada and put it at the disposal of the Pentagon and the State Department as another U.S. beachhead.

Contrary to the national interest, Canada has been involved in the armament drive.

Her military expenditures range between \$1,700 million and \$2,000 million annually — up to \$400 per family. The bulk of the war orders go to U.S.-owned or controlled corporations. This participation in the arms drive has led to militarization of the economy and increased the instability and imbalance of its development.

Canada is a striking illustration of the thesis of the Moscow Statement that American imperialists "violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well." The Statement correctly emphasizes that the "dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which have allied themselves to U.S. imperialism, sacrifice the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support of the U.S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and retard the struggle of the masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying out subversive activities against the socialist and neutral countries."

Because of this the movement for Canadian independence is directed simultaneously against both U.S. imperialism and the Canadian monopolies. Let us dwell for a moment on the basic anti-monopoly alignments.

Exploiter-Neighbor

The Moscow Statement characterized American imperialism as the biggest international exploiter. It is also the principal exploiter of the Canadian working class, which suffers most from U.S. monopoly domination.

To the point in this respect is the statement made by James E. Coyne, governor of the Bank of Canada, that "dividend payments by foreign-owned branch plants in Canada and by Canadian corporations to non-resident shareholders have for several years exceeded the amount of such payments by all Canadian corporations to Canadian shareholders." This is fully borne out by statistics.

The following table, taken from *National Accounts, Income and Expenditures* (Dominion Bureau of Statistics) shows the trend:

	1926 (in \$ million)	1956	% increase
Dividends paid to non-residents	95	444	367
Dividends paid to Canadian persons	93	330	253

If proper account could be taken of capital cost allowances, undistributed profits of U.S. subsidiaries and various forms of concealed profits, the ratio of non-resident to resident profits is probably higher, and growing more than the figures indicate. But even as they stand, they are convincing proof of the intensified exploitation of Canadian labor by foreign, mainly U.S., capital.

The profits obtained by the U.S. capitalists in Canada are used with a view to further increasing this exploitation. **Indeed**, much of the invested U.S. capital is not new investment, but the reinvestment of surpluses made in Canada. In the past ten years half of this investment was made-in-Canada profits.

The main enemy of the working class thus has two faces — U.S. and "native" Canadian. This both complicates the workers' struggle, inasmuch as they have to face the united front of U.S. and Canadian capital, and facilitates it, since the alliance with the U.S. monopolies tends to isolate the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie from the national forces and creates favorable conditions for the latter to unite with the working class.

The working class is the principal anti-monopoly and national force. But it can play its role to the full only when it is organized and united, and has rallied around it all the progressive forces of the nation.

Ruination of the Farmers

The main group in the middle strata of the population are the farmers. They are now being overtaken by "vertical integration" — the application of industrial methods in farm production — which drives farmers off the land and turns the "independent" producers into wage earners. In 1941 there were 677,000 farm units in Canada. By 1951 the number had fallen to 623,091, and by 1956 to 575,015. The trend is still downwards.

But the drop in farm income is even more pronounced. In 1949, net farm income was 11.7 per cent of net national income; by 1959 it had fallen to 4.2 per cent — a decline greater than the decline in the number of farm units.

In analyzing the position of the Canadian farmers, the emphasis should be laid on the yoke of the monopolies which produce the machinery and other industrial goods (on which the Canadian farmer is dependent) and fix prices for these goods, and the corporations which finish farm raw materials into consumer goods (milling, packing and canning firms), and which are now entering

farm production. More than ever before the interests of the farmers are in open conflict with the interests of monopoly capital.

The middle strata of the cities, needless to say, are more and more dependent on the big monopolies.

The Non-Monopoly Bourgeoisie, Too, Is Restive

Looking for the main source of contradictions within the bourgeoisie in the inequality of the distribution of profits, we find the following:*

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS BY GROUPS

	1926 (In \$ million)	1956	% increase
Farm operators	609	1,468	141
Non-farm unincorporated business	489	1,937	296
Corporation profits	420	3,246	673

The trend is unmistakably clear. Corporation profits in 1926 were the smallest of the three categories. In 1956 they were the biggest, and about equal to the combined income of the farmers and non-monopoly bourgeoisie. The rates of increase in the incomes of each group also clearly indicate the grip of monopoly on the national economy.

It should be borne in mind that "income" for the farmers and some petty traders and small manufacturers includes payment for their own labor, while this is not true, of course, of corporation stockholders.

The changes in the distribution of profits are the main source of contradictions within the ruling class.

The non-monopoly industrial and commercial bourgeoisie are restive under the yoke of the monopolies. This arises from their inability to compete with the corporations, and their desire for new markets in the socialist and liberated colonial countries from which they are now excluded by the government's policy of discouraging, and at times prohibiting, this trade — a prohibition which is almost an exact duplicate of U.S. legislation.

There is no doubt that the "trading" bourgeoisie, importers and exporters, middlemen and smaller manufacturers are the most active among capitalist circles in pointing to trade with the socialist countries and newly-independent colonial countries as a possible

answer to the monopoly of production and marketing now exercised by the big corporations.

To what extent these sections constitute a "national bourgeoisie," in the sense of the national bourgeoisie of a colonial or semi-colonial country oppressed by imperialist rule, is debatable. Most certainly there is nothing in the Canadian scene comparable to the national bourgeoisie represented by the policies of a number of the newly-independent Afro-Asian states. The relationships of class forces in Canada are those of a country dominated by finance capital, by monopoly. Canada, a secondary imperialist country, is part of the imperialist system. It exports capital and independently seeks footholds especially in Latin America.

The peoples of the newly-independent states have before them some measure of choice in the matter of the socio-economic lines of development they wish to follow. In spite of its inconsistency and its class limitations, the national bourgeoisie of these countries is on the whole interested in removing the feudal and colonialist obstacles preventing capitalist development. But Canada rid herself of colonial status in different conditions and has long been forging ahead along the traditional capitalist lines of development. Whereas the national bourgeoisie of the newly-emerging countries can, given the conditions, become the ruling class, the Canadian non-monopoly bourgeoisie is denied this possibility by the march of history: it has no independent future and no class interests *basically* differing from the interests of the monopolies. Therefore, it cannot play a consistently progressive part in the crisis of Canadian national development.

But this is not to say that the place of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie in the struggle for the national interests is not determined to a large extent by the existing U.S.-Canadian relations, which have brought many Canadian employers into conflict with U.S. corporations in the major industries and in distribution. "Opposition" by the non-monopoly bourgeoisie to monopoly-bourgeois policy of betrayal is a factor now entering the situation. The non-monopoly bourgeoisie can play a part in the anti-monopoly movements of the workers and farmers, for it has certain common interests with them in the struggle against monopoly and for new national policies of development — such as curbing the sell-out of the Canadian patrimony to the USA in the form of natural resources, electric-power sites, and so on; or in combating

*The data are not too recent, but they are the latest available from the government's publication *National Accounts, Income and Expenditure, 1926-56*.

the high monopoly prices (now 100 per cent higher than at the end of the war); or in demanding state support for Canadian manufacturing. But it is in connection with the possibility of securing new markets through mutually advantageous trade agreements with the socialist and recently liberated colonial and semi-colonial countries via state trade agreements that sections of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie have been most vocal.

The danger of war is giving rise to a movement for Canadian neutrality. Committees for a declaration of neutrality, for getting out of NATO and NORAD, and for the prohibition of nuclear weapons appeared already in 1959 among bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles. These proposals fly in the face of "integration" with the USA; they are anti-imperialist, and coincide with the aims of the mass movement for peaceful coexistence. There is, then, a platform for joint action of the working class and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie.

Rallying the Anti-Monopoly Forces

Although the underlying causes of the exacerbation of the contradictions between the handful of monopolists and all other sections of the nation are economic, these contradictions also affect the political and cultural spheres. There is a yawning gulf between the interests of the nation and those of the monopolies. The ruling class has become in the full sense of the world anti-national. This is a *specific* manifestation of the operation of the general laws of capitalist development in the conditions in which Canada finds itself in the process of the decline of imperialism.

The effect of the line pursued by the monopolies is a growing public opposition, as yet confused except on the left, but unmistakably present. As the Moscow Statement points out, "the working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in getting rid of the monopoly domination. Hence there are favorable conditions for rallying these forces."

At present the following political factors coalesce in Canada:

—working-class resistance to the offensive of state-monopoly capitalism (an offensive which is gaining momentum);

—increasing impoverishment of the farm population and the efforts of the farmers to hold their own against monopoly pressure;

—resistance by workers, farmers, the middle strata and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie to increasing U.S. economic domination;

—growing movements for Canadian neutrality to extricate Canada from the perils caused by military subordination to the USA; the general desire for peace and general and complete disarmament, to relieve fears and to cut the burden of armaments taxation.

Both class and general democratic demands are combined in these movements.

The two areas of contradictions, domestic and external, between the monopolies and all sections of the people, are closely associated, but at present the most vocal and active criticism is directed against foreign policy, for it is here that the dangers to the country caused by Canada's membership in the U.S. military camp accentuate the desire for independence from U.S. domination. But since this domination stems from the domestic monopoly policy of "integration," a political crisis may develop on the background of the internal factors.

Be that as it may, one thing is certain: that it is largely out of the contradictions inherent in the subordination by Canadian monopoly of the national interests to U.S. imperialism that the crisis of Canadian capitalism is being generated. And hence it is here that the need arises for the working-class united front and class alliance of the popular movements against U.S. imperialist domination. The desire for peace, neutrality, disarmament and national development provides the setting for the whole complex of anti-monopoly movements.

"Let's Be Masters In Our Own House"

The political line of the Party is embodied in its program, *The Road to Socialism in Canada*. This is a program for Canadian independence, against U.S. domination, for peace, neutrality, curbing the monopolies, and a new national development policy. It portrays the concept of a broad popular democratic coalition against the betrayal of the national interests, and indicates a number of paths of popular struggle which can merge into the struggle for socialism in the specific conditions of Canada.

The Party's political line is directed towards an anti-monopoly *national front* embracing all elements who favor a change in the direction of national development. Canada's interests demand that we join with the neutral nations of the world in opposing the domination of U.S. imperialism.

Our program includes the demand to nationalize U.S.-owned industry in Canada, such as the automobile, rubber, oil, electrical goods and metal mining industries, as well as the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to use them on behalf of the people. It demands an increase in Canadian manufacturing and the development of the steel and machine-tool industries to help make the country economically independent.

We call for struggle to make the Canadian economy work for Canadians, instead of for American investors, to help Canada avert an economic crisis or attenuate it by stimulating trade with all countries, particularly with those that are treading the path of economic expansion and development — the socialist countries, the former colonies, and Latin America.

The U.S.-dictated policy of depriving Canada of vast markets for its goods in the socialist countries is causing much harm to the economy, robbing Canada of the possibilities of independent national development, and creating constant unemployment in the cities and a crisis on the farms. A break with trade dependence on the USA would create a situation where unemployment could be drastically reduced and the purchasing power of the people greatly increased. What a blessing this would be for Canada!

Last October a meeting of the National Committee of our Party adopted a policy statement entitled "Let's Be Masters in Our Own House." It reads in part:

"Working people, farmers, businessmen, employers who suffer from U.S. domination, intellectuals, professionals — all those whose vital interests recognize the need for new patriotic policies of Canadian national development, neutrality and disarmament, can together create an irresistible movement for national freedom cutting across political or sectional lines. Canada's very destiny hinges on such a movement arising and gathering force.

"In supporting policies such as these, Canadian trade unions will gain strength in their fight for Canadian autonomy in their International unions.

"The farmers' pressing need for domestic and foreign markets can be satisfied only by the policies outlined here.

"Non-monopolist employers and businessmen, chafing under the bonds of the big U.S. monopolies, will find their interests served by these policies.

"A vigorous policy of Canadian independence will create new avenues for expression and national service for professionals and intellectuals who are now frustrated and cramped by U.S. control and cultural domination. Their skills must be used in Canada . . ."

The New Party

The key, decisive factor in fusing the various anti-monopoly movements is the working-class united front. Here, it must be said, the Right-wing leadership of the trade unions, farm organizations and social democracy follow a line of support for cold-war policies, tailing behind the monopoly bourgeoisie. For example, the social democratic members of Parliament have up till now voted for every military budget.

Ever since its formation in 1921 the Communist Party has advocated a mass labor-farmer party. It is now continuing the struggle for a working-class policy of anti-monopoly unity around a 1958 resolution of the Canadian Labor Congress (the central trade union federation) for the formation of a new labor-farmer party to break the hold of the capitalist parties — the Conservatives and Liberals.

The Right-wing trade union leadership, in collaboration with the leaders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation,* have twisted the desire embodied in the Labor Congress resolution into a proposal for a new party which, in effect, would be a trade union-farmer political movement under Right-wing social democratic control, *excluding the Communists*.

But the Communist Party is insisting that the spirit of the 1958 resolution — in favor of an *all-inclusive*, labor-farmer, anti-monopoly party — be embodied in the new party. This struggle for unity is continuing, but it must be said that the Right wing still have the dominant forces.

At its meeting in February 1961, taking note of the fact that the trade union leaders and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation propose to call the inaugural congress this summer, while continuing to advocate an all-inclusive mass party, the National Committee of the Communist Party called on unions, co-operatives, etc., to join the New Party and characterized it as follows: "The New Party is not being formed on a program of scientific socialism or the aim of working-class political power. It is a party

*The social-democratic party in Canada.

of progressive reforms, against the monopolies."

The Communists warn the members and supporters of the New Party to be on guard against the type of Right-wing leaders who head the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation or the British Labor Party. The National Committee meeting put forward the slogan of the New Party electing a government in the next general election, noting that this aim can be achieved only "if the New Party is a genuine expression of the people's desire for peace and security."

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An analysis of the class alignments in Canada shows that around the central issue of independence from U.S. domination big national and class battles are in prospect. And foreseeing this, we must work for the highest degree of unity among broad sections of the population in order to ensure the maximum political striking power against both U.S. imperialist domination and the betrayal of Canada by the Canadian monopolies. Only in this way can the true interests of Canada's two nations, French-Canadian and English, be protected and advanced.

Monopoly Militarism in the U.S.A.

A. Leonidov

"U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war."

(From the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties)

Generals of Big Business

THE genealogy of the American militarists differs from that of the militarists of the leading European capitalist countries. It does not spring from a feudal past. No landed aristocrats stood at the cradle of the U.S. army, and this has left an imprint on its development.

Already in the interval between the two world wars the U.S. top brass was a new type of purely monopoly militarism. It became the rule for the generals and admirals to be associated with the industrial corporations; the Secretaries of War and their deputies and assistants were chosen mostly from Wall Street tycoons and their legal advisers, and military policy was shaped from the standpoint of the interests of the big arms manufacturers. But the metamorphosis that made the Pentagon the peculiar kind of monopolist-militarist headquarters it has been in recent years took place after the Second World War, when the United States became the hub of international reaction and its armament market was flooded with mass destruction weapons.

From the point of view of the monopolies the virtue of these weapons is that they require enormous investments and yield no

less enormous profits. Only the billionaires and the biggest of the multi-millionaires are in a position to engage in the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs, jet aircraft, ballistic missiles and electronic equipment. Before the First World War the cost of equipping one infantry division averaged \$3 million. On the eve of the Second World War the figure rose to \$7.5 million. At present one Atlas-type ballistic missile costs the U.S. government \$35 million and a single launching pad, \$50 million. By 1959 \$1,800 million had been spent on the Bomarc missile, \$2,000 million on the Nike-Hercules, and nearly \$6,000 million on the Nike-Ajax. And the total expenditure on developing the latest Nike-Zeus missile, according to the U.S. Department of Defense, is estimated to run to \$12,000 million!

The profits are commensurate with the cost. Before the Second World War, annual corporation profits were running at \$3,300 million. In 1949, in connection with the launching of production of mass destruction weapons, monopoly profits soared to \$27,100 million, and in 1959 to \$47,000 million..

Trade in these weapons eclipses all other spheres of commercial business. In 1956 Department of Defense assets were evaluated

at \$124,000 million, and in 1958-59 at \$160,000 million. The bulk of this was accounted for by armaments purchased from war-industry corporations.

This gives an idea of the market created by modern American militarism, not to mention the supply of arms to NATO, SEATO, CENTO and other countries. Never before has the capitalist world had such a market or such a buyer as the Pentagon. That is why the monopolies exploiting this market regard the Defense Department in Washington not merely as a customer, but as an inseparable, key part of their sales machinery.

Under these conditions the usual ties and contacts with the military brass no longer satisfy the billionaires, and they are working for the *fusion of the militarists and monopoly capital*. Since the war this fusion has proceeded in four ways:

1) Creation of a personal union between the top brass and big business by systematically installing generals and admirals in key offices in the war-industry monopolies and the banks associated with them.

2) Consolidation of this union by constant appointment of representatives of the war-industry monopolies to leading posts in the departments handling military affairs.

3) Direct co-ordination of the policy of the government departments in charge of military affairs and strategic planning by the chiefs of staff with the interests of the monopolies.

4) Increased influence of the war-industry monopolies and the reactionary top brass on the policy makers in Washington and, in particular, on foreign policy.

Such was the genesis of U.S. monopoly militarism of the latest type which in recent years has played such a big role in impelling the West toward war.

A Dual Profession

The top U.S. generals and admirals can no longer be regarded as representatives of the military caste alone. Their profession is a dual one. With rare exceptions, they, upon retiring, become members of boards, stockholders or at least consultants of corporations dealing in armaments or financing war production. Facts of this kind are no longer the exception, but rather the established rule. At some stage in their careers, the Pentagon chiefs automatically become businessmen. Here are a few examples.

General Joseph McNarney, former Commander of the U.S. Forces in Europe and Chairman of the War Department Reorgan-

ization Committee, is now Vice-President of General Dynamics, one of the biggest war-industry corporations in the USA. McNarney heads a division working on Pentagon orders for jet aircraft and missiles. General Douglas MacArthur, former Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Far East who led the intervention in Korea, is now head of the Sperry Rand Corporation, which sells the Department of Defense missiles and submarine and radar equipment.

General Lucius Clay, former deputy to Eisenhower as commander of the U.S. Forces in West Germany, is chairman of the Board of the Continental Can Co., whose profits, thanks to the army orders, particularly missiles, rose to \$1,147 million in 1959. Clay's immediate associate in Germany, General William Draper, former Under-Secretary of the Army and U.S. special representative at NATO headquarters, is a partner in the banking house of Dillon, Read and Co., which financed Hitler's war industry before the Second World War.

General Omar Bradley, formerly Army

SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE

1947-1948: James V. Forrestal, partner, Dillon, Read and Company, banking house connected with international war-industry monopolies.

1949-1950: Louis A. Johnson, Director, Consolidated Vultee aircraft concern, now part of General Dynamics.

1950-1951: General George C. Marshall, business associations with war-industry monopolies unknown.

1951-1953: Robert A. Lovett, partner, Brown Brothers Harriman and Company; Director, North American Aviation atomic, aircraft and missile monopoly.

1953-1957: Charles E. Wilson, President, General Motors, manufacturers of automobiles and tanks.

1957-1960: Neil H. McElroy, Director, General Electric atomic and electronics monopoly and Chrysler tank and missile concern.

1960-January 1961: Thomas S. Gates, partner, Drexel and Company, Philadelphia, a banking house associated with the Morgan group.

Chief of Staff and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1949-53, heads the Bulova Research electronics concern. Admiral Arthur Radford, former Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet and Bradley's successor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who gained notoriety as leader of a group of "pre-

ventive war" advocates, became, upon retiring, a consultant for the Morgan banking house, Bankers' Trust Co., which is associated with the General Electric electronics and atomic monopoly. General Matthew Ridgway, former NATO Supreme Commander in Europe and U.S. Army Chief of Staff, is Chair-

DEPUTY SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE

1949-1950: Stephan Early, Vice-President, Pullman armament corporation, associated with the Mellons.

1951-53: William Chapman Foster, Vice-President, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation, a Rockefeller concern, suppliers of rocket engines.

1953-1954: Roger Keyes, Vice-President, General Motors, automobile and tank manufacturers.

1955-1957: Reuben B. Robertson, Director, Procter and Gamble Company, which is headed by Neil H. McElroy, Director of General Electric.

man of the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research, the billionaire patrons of which control a group of war-industry monopolies.

Intelligence, too, is represented in this war mart. General William Donovan, Second World War OSS head, returned to his law firm, which serves Standard Oil. General Walter Bedell Smith, intelligence chief under Truman, is now Vice-President of the electronics concern AMF Atomics. Admiral Alan Kirk, former Director of Naval Intelligence, is Chairman of the Board of the Mercast electronics corporation, which supplies equipment for missiles and jet aircraft.

We have listed here only the more prominent names. Each of these generals and admirals has left his mark on the policies of U.S. imperialism in the past two decades, each was regarded as a Pentagon "star." Today they have become aides to the arms merchants. Practically all the large war-industry corporations in the United States have acquired such aides. Take, for example, this table:

Number of retired generals and admirals employed by leading U.S. war-industry corporations

General Dynamics	27
Lockheed	24
General Electric	6
United Aircraft	6
Boeing	5
Douglas	5
North American Aviation	5

What jobs do these former military men perform in their new capacity? Most of them are not much use to their bosses as technical experts. Few U.S. staff generals and admirals of this type have appreciable scientific or technological knowledge. But they are ideal as go-betweens in putting through armament deals with government departments; they sell armaments to their former subordinates, who, in turn, have an eye on future cushy jobs with the corporations they are dealing with. How profitable this system is for the war-industry monopolies can be seen from a statement made by Senator Douglas on July 1, 1957. The data cited by the Senator showed that 92 per cent of all U.S. government war orders were non-competitive, that is, were effected through private deals. Retired generals in corporation offices find it easy to come to terms with the generals in the Pentagon.

Under the impact of public pressure an investigation of some of the practices of the U.S. Department of Defense was made in 1959. It was found that out of 100 corporations working for the armed forces 88 had as directors or employees former officers whose job it was to maintain contact with government departments with an eye to orders. The total number of such officer-intermediaries exceeded 720.

While serving the monopolies as pathfinders to the government war-supply market, the retired generals become stockholders. Retired U.S. generals and admirals enjoy pensions ranging from \$6,000 to \$20,000 a year. As corporation officers they receive a much bigger sum. Nor is it merely a matter of salaries and bonuses for time spent at board meetings. Military bigwigs invited to enter the employment of monopolies are usually issued packets of shares on especially advantageous terms; the big business magnates have found that this is an investment that pays. Thus the personal union of the Pentagon and the monopolies makes U.S. top brass wealthy men and ensures their loyalty to the billionaire oligarchy. But this is only one side of the question.

Generals' Stars for the Moneybags

Simultaneously with incorporating high-ranking army, navy and air force officers into the monopoly machinery, we see the same process in reverse — penetration of government departments in charge of military affairs by the monopolists. Although not a new development, this practice reached its peak after the Second World War, when

the corporations embarked on large-scale production of mass-destruction weapons.

As far back as January 1944, Charles Wilson, President of General Electric — a Morgan concern — submitted to the American Ordnance Association, an influential organization of reactionary officers, a program for the organized infiltration of the Pentagon by the monopolies. Stressing the need for closer co-operation between big business and the military in order to create a permanent war economy, that is, to ensure the uninterrupted stockpiling of armaments even in peacetime, Wilson proposed that each corporation appoint a reserve officer with the rank of at least colonel as a special representative with the armed forces. Moreover, he insisted that the administration should endorse this practice.

Round about this time the Morgans, Rockefellers, Du Ponts, Mellons and other magnates were getting ready to invest billions in the production of nuclear weapons, jet aircraft and electronic equipment, and it was for these that Wilson was speaking when he advanced his scheme for direct corporation control over the Pentagon.

Administration spokesmen maintained a discreet silence as to whether Wilson's "program" was accepted or not. It was never debated in Congress. But the reform was carried out nevertheless, secretly, without any airing in public. As a matter of fact, Washington did more than the Morgan spokesman had asked for. Instead of merely empowering the monopolies to have permanent representatives in the Pentagon, it became the usual thing to appoint monopolists connected in one way or another with the armament business as heads of all Pentagon departments.

A review of the list of the Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of Defense, and the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force for the past fifteen years shows that *hardly any of them came from circles outside the war-industry monopolies*. One capitalist party succeeded the other at the helm of state. Washington now went in for loud sabre rattling, now paid lip service to peace. But in the Pentagon one and the same forces remained in the saddle throughout.

There is no need to examine in detail the ministerial activities of these men. They all have pursued basically one and the same policy: a policy of unremitting nuclear and rocket militarization, whatever the cost to the country. What is good for General Motors is good for the country, said Secretary of Defense Wilson, a General Motors man.

The war-industry monopolies ensconced themselves not only in ministerial office but in all the sub-divisions of the Pentagon. Corporation directors and lawyers were named to the posts of advisers, "special" assistants and experts to secretaries and their assistants. An examination of the facts is revealing. Half a dozen leading monopolies and financial groups in the fields of electronics and missile manufacture — General Electric, General Dynamics, American Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors, the Rockefeller group and the Mellon group — have provided the men for the leading posts in the Pentagon. This circle of the elite has included also the Du Pont group and the Chrysler, Lockheed and other corporations. The same crowd has also held key positions in the Republican and Democratic parties, where they belong to the extreme Right. In this way monopoly control over the Pentagon has been doubly ensured — through the government machinery and through the leadership of the two parties.

The threads stretch from the various departments in charge of military matters to the very top — to the White House. As Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the President exercises control over military pol-

SECRETARIES OF THE ARMY

1945-1947: Robert P. Patterson, partner, Patterson, Belkham and Webb, legal counsel for the Rockefeller interests; Director, New York Schroeder Bank, associated with the German war monopolies.

1947-1949: Kenneth C. Royall, partner in a Goldsboro firm of corporation lawyers.

1949-1950: Gordon Gray, member of a tobacco monopoly family, formerly associated with Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, a law firm connected with the House of Morgan.

1950-1953: Frank Pace, Jr., Chairman of the Board, General Dynamics, an aircraft-missile monopoly.

1953-1955: Robert T. Stevens, Director, General Electric.

1955-January 1961: Wilber M. Brucker, partner in a Detroit firm of corporation lawyers; Director, Panama Canal Company.

icy through the National Security Council, to which, besides the President, belong the Vice-President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. During the Eisenhower administration four out of the five members of the National Security Council were linked

in one way or another with the oligarchy controlling the war-industry monopolies. Nixon represented the California group (Lockheed, Douglas, Kaiser, etc.); Herter, the Rockefeller group (Standard Oil, Martin, McDonnell, Olin Mathieson Chemical, Vitro, etc.); Gates, the Morgan, Du Pont and allied

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY

1944-1947: James V. Forrestal (see p. 1).

1947-1949: John L. Sullivan, Director, Martin aircraft-missile monopoly, associated with the Rockefellers and Mellons.

1949-1951: Francis P. Matthews, Director of a subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph electronics concern.

1951-1953: Dan A. Kimball, President, Aerojet Engineering, a missile corporation.

1953-1954: Robert B. Anderson, Director of American Telephone and Telegraph subsidiary; Trustee, Ford Foundation.

1954-1957: Charles S. Thomas, Director, Lockheed aircraft and missile monopoly.

1957-1960: Thomas S. Gates (see p. 1).

groups (General Electric, General Dynamics, General Motors, North American Aviation, etc.), while Gray, then Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, represented the Morgan, Rockefeller and other groups.

Eisenhower himself was closely associated with the Rockefellers, who have held first place in American war industry since the war. Nelson Rockefeller was Eisenhower's special assistant on "psychological strategy" and, later, together with Milton Eisenhower, the ex-President's brother, headed the President's Committee on Government Organizations. Robert Cutler, top executive of the First National Bank of Boston, on the Board of which sit representatives of the General Electric and American Telephone and Telegraph electronics monopolies, was Eisenhower's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs.

Behind the Scenes of the Rand Corporation

It would be a mistake to assume that monopoly control over the Pentagon has operated only in relation to war orders and armament programs. The fact is that even the strategic concepts of the U.S. Supreme Command have been dictated by the same forces. Formerly strategy was always considered the domain of military specialists in the general staffs. The postwar metamorphosis of American militarism, however, changed things in

this respect as well. Special bodies were set up to co-ordinate the strategic planning of the Pentagon with corporation leadership. The strategists of the monopolies have often briefed the strategists in the Pentagon.

The aggressive policy pursued by U.S. imperialism since the war has been based on two strategic doctrines: the use of jet aircraft armed with nuclear bombs, and the encirclement of the socialist world with military bases serving as springboards for this air force. Beginning with 1946 the State Department based its planning on these two "fundamental" concepts, both of which were evolved with the participation of a private organization operating under the name of the Rand Corporation.

According to official reports, this corporation was established shortly after the Second World War "to apply the nation's best scientific abilities and achievements to the national defense," as the *New York Times* reported in November 1948. The Department of the Air Force, which was created at this time and which took the corporation under its wing, declared that this marked "a new phase of the Air Force program to use the country's top-flight civilian experts who have been suggesting new concepts for improving national security technique." The Rand Corporation found itself in possession of a "brains trust" of 800 physicists, engineers and other specialists whose task was to engage in "next-war research," as General Arnold put it. Not one of these experts entered government service.

In May 1959 the now defunct *London News Chronicle* reported that a Rand project had established a worldwide system of bases for the U.S. Strategic Air Command. The corporation was also reported to be working on problems of space flights, compact nuclear warheads with greater explosive power, the political consequences of American "nuclear aid" to other NATO countries, the "expendability" of American bases abroad, etc. The Rand thinkers are so busy thinking about the cold war, said the London paper, that they don't have much time to think about their private affairs.

According to the U.S. press, the Rand Corporation has been engaged in satellite research, designing anti-missile missiles, etc. Among other things the corporation had, reportedly, advised the government to give up the idea of defending cities from inter-continental ballistic missiles on the grounds that this would be "too expensive." All these are

problems normally within the competence of the general staff.

Who directs this undercover general staff of the American militarists? Officially the Rand Corporation is classified as a "private non-profit organization" of scientists and industrialists working for the Department of the Air Force on a "cost plus percentage" basis. A contract is signed to cover each strategic or scientific and technical assignment. At the head of the corporation is a Board of Trustees.

The Chairman of the board and President of the corporation is F. Collbohm, a former executive of the Douglas Aircraft Co. which supplies the U.S. Armed Forces with a sizable part of their jet aircraft and guided missiles. L. Henderson, a lawyer, also a Douglas man, is Vice-President. The Secretary of the corporation is H. Gaither, head of the Ford Foundation. The "scientific" Rand Corporation, which works out the Pentagon's strategy on a contract basis, is, therefore, nothing but a specialized agency of the manufacturers of mass destruction weapons who appoint the U.S. secretaries of the armed forces and generals.

The Military Caste Have No Future

The policy of U.S. militarism is dictated not only by the specific interests of the war-industry monopolies. In a broader sense it derives from the insane hatred of the reactionaries for the socialist world, the national-liberation movement and the class struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries. The one complements the other. The reactionaries are bent on turning over the Pentagon lock, stock and barrel to the war-industry monopolies. For the monopoly militarists political, class hatred and thirst for super-profits merge into a single motive force.

The products of the atomic, aircraft, missile and electronics concerns, these militarists are no longer simply agents of the finance oligarchy, they are a component of monopoly capitalism as such. Generals of this type are the pillars of ultra-reaction. Moreover, their fusion with the monopolists strengthens their position among the top men of the bourgeois state. This explains the increased influence exerted by the Pentagon on U.S. policy since the war.

The reactionary brass have used this influence for the following ends:

—to continue the armament drive contrary to the will of the people and, in particular, to expand the production of mass-destruction weapons;

—to prevent disarmament at all costs;

—and, for this purpose to intensify the cold war, dynamite all attempts to reach agreement with the socialist world and balance on the brink of the abyss at the risk of toppling into it.

This has been Pentagon policy ever since the war. Will it be continued in the future?

Time will tell. The people of the United States have already expressed their opinion by defeating Nixon — one of the men of the war-industry monopolies. President Kennedy has put a ban on reckless political statements by the top brass. But the Department of Defense has been given to McNamara, formerly President of the Ford Motor Co.; the new Secretary of the Navy is corporation lawyer Connally; the lawyer and businessman Zuckert holds the post of Secretary of the Air Force, and another big business lawyer, Gilpatrick, has been named Deputy Secretary of Defense. U.S. military expenditure is in the region of \$50,000 million. This would suggest that it is still too early to say that the positions of the monopoly-militarists have been weakened.

The ascendancy of the monopoly-militarists in the post-war USA no doubt strengthens aggressive tendencies in the imperialist camp. However, as the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out, the time has gone when the

SECRETARIES OF THE AIR FORCE

(The Department was created in 1947)

1947-1950: W. Stuart Symington, Chairman of the Board, Emerson Electric Manufacturing Company (military electronic equipment), connected with General Dynamics.

1950-1953: Thomas K. Finletter, partner, Coudert Brothers, corporation lawyers.

1953-1955: Harold E. Talbott, former Chairman of the Board, North American Aviation Company; Director, Chrysler corporation.

1955-1956: Donald A. Quarles, Vice-President of a subsidiary of American Telephone and Telegraph.

1956-January 1961: James Douglas, Jr., corporation lawyer; Ford Foundation Trustee; Director, American Airlines.

imperialists could decide at will whether to start a war or not. Today war has powerful opponents — the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, whose vast material and political potential is at the service of peace, the growing number of peace-

loving countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the international working class and its organizations, primarily the Communist parties, the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries, and

CHAIRMEN OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

1946-1950: David Lilienthal, consultant, Lazare banking house, connected with international war-industry monopolies.

1950-1953: Gordon Dean, member of Lehman Bros., investment bankers; Senior Vice-President, General Dynamics.

1953-1958: Admiral Lewis Strauss, consultant and financial adviser to the Rockefellers.

1958-January 1961: John McCone, Director, California Bank of Los Angeles, connected with Lockheed and other war industry monopolies of the West coast.

the millions of peace supporters all over the world. Then there is the growing number of neutral countries in the capitalist world which reject the policy of war and stand for peaceful coexistence.

In the United States, too, resistance to aggressive policies is growing not only among the working class and the working population generally, but also among certain sections of the bourgeoisie, not excluding those whose sympathies are least of all with the socialist camp. There are signs that many prominent personalities in the capitalist world, faced with the growing internal and external contradictions rending that world, are looking for policies other than those which the war-industry trusts, colonial monopolies and the monopoly-militarists seek to impose on the West. This growing friction and dissension in the capitalist camp is far from being a matter of indifference to the working class.

The balance of forces in the world arena is steadily changing in favor of the progressive camp. If the mighty forces of the peoples are fully mobilized in the fight for peace there can be no doubt that the policy of peaceful coexistence will prevent the monopoly-militarists from gambling with the future of humanity and will bring nearer the day when the caste will be consigned to oblivion.

The Catholic Church and Africa

Laurice Galico

THE Catholic Church is profoundly concerned about Africa. "Never yet has our heart been so anxious about the fate of the churches of the vast African Continent," said Pope Pius XII in *Fidei Donum*, one of his last encyclicals (April 21, 1957). After the Second World War the Catholic Church, which is experiencing difficulties on a world scale, put its stake on Africa. The Church has already lost the battle of Asia: the 32 million Catholics there comprise barely 2.5 per cent of the population, and of these three-fifths reside in the Philippines where the people were forcibly converted to Christianity in the course of three centuries of tyrannical Spanish rule. So the Vatican places great hopes on Africa. *The New York Herald Tribune* reported in 1955 that the mission authorities in Rome hoped to convert the people of Black Africa to Christianity in 15

years, while in 1956 *La Croix*, French Catholic newspaper, reduced this term to 10 years.

But events in the colonial world, including Africa, developed more rapidly than was expected and, what is more, in a way not at all to the liking of the Vatican. In 1939 Liberia was the only independent state in Africa — at least nominally; since then many African countries have won independence and the rest hope to achieve it in the near future. It is clear to the Vatican that those who came to the Dark Continent with the colonialists and gained a foothold there with their aid are not finding it easy to retain their positions. No longer is it enough to proclaim — as Pope John XXIII did in a letter to the Archbishop of Brazzaville (November 1960) — that it was necessary to show Africa particular solicitude. No organic link can be established with the African peoples unless

the justice of the cause for which they are fighting is recognized and unless a break is made with imperialism; and the Vatican is the bulwark of imperialism, just as it was of feudalism.

* * *

The colonial policy of the Catholic Church took shape in the 15th century as part and parcel of the policy of conquest pursued by Spain and Portugal, and has not changed since. This holds good for the Church's policy in Africa.

Africa was an occupied continent; in the course of three centuries the Vatican Congregation della Propaganda Fide* (Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith) covered it with a network of missions. The Congregation, which has more than 300,000 people working for it, is subsidized by European countries, and possesses vast estates (in many colonies the Church is a big landowner). Donations from the faithful, furthermore, are an additional source of income, which in recent years has been in the neighborhood of 14 million dollars annually (four-fifths of this amount comes from the United States). But for all the Church's organizational and financial resources and activity, there are only a little over 20 million Catholics in Africa. It is true that this is more than three times the number of Protestants, but even so it is only eight per cent of the population (including Europeans).

Whenever it has had to measure its strength with Islam, the Catholic Church has always come off worst. In the first century of the Mohammedan era (7th century A.D.) Islam ousted Christianity from the whole of North Africa surprisingly quickly; for in contrast to other conquerors — the Romans, Byzantines, etc. — the Arabs did not intensify the system of exploitation; the small peasant households were encouraged under their rule. This was the way things stood in the Middle East and, some centuries later, throughout Asia.

Whereas the privileges enjoyed from the outset by the Christian missionaries in Africa caused them to be identified with the aggressors, the anti-colonialist struggle was often waged under the banner of Islam. Never has this been done under the banner of Catholicism, even where this would have been possible in view of the fact that the majority, or a considerable section, of the people were Catholics (as in the Philippines and in Lebanon). Every liberation movement

has had to force its way in the struggle against a capitalist country which used Christianity as a means to entrench itself. Chaplains and bishops always accompanied the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Belgian and Italian troops fighting in colonial wars, in order to "inspire" them. The important thing, however, is that in Africa and in Asia Catholicism has remained an "alien body," "the religion of the colonialists." The present liberation movement is making things even more difficult for the Church. The colonial peoples have come to understand both the objective and the subjective relationship between the Catholic Church and colonialism. Gheddo*, a man who has studied this question, writes that there is a general "tendency to regard Christianity as the last survival of colonialism," while "the missionary shares the fate of the other whites, erstwhile conquerors and masters and now defeated oppressors." No data for the exact number of Catholics and Protestants are available, for the figures include people who joined various African sects — which the Catholic Church regards as heretic — after their conversion to Christianity.

Erbhardt pointed out in 1954 that South Africa alone had 1,286 churches with 761,000 parishioners, while according to Lanternari more than half a million members of the Cherubim and Seraphim sect in Nigeria and Dahomey were former Christians or Moslems.

Recognizing that the sects are "embryos of nationalism," the Christian missionaries—who explain their failure to make any headway by the growth of these sectarian "churches"—are waging a life and death struggle against them. Under colonialism, to be the head of a sect is often enough to sentence a man to death or exile.** In April 1960 the Jesuit journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* rebuked the Liberal-Socialist and virtually colonialist government of Belgium, holding it responsible for Congolese nationalism, for slowing down persecution and for granting, in 1957, relative freedom of action to some religious and political sects.

Though these movements believe in different myths and perform different rites, they have this in common: they are an expression of the African peasants' protest. "At one time we had the land, and you had the Bible,

*Piero Gheddo. *Il risveglio dei popoli di colore*, Milano, 1956.

**Simon Kimbangu died in prison in 1951, after serving 29 years. Andre Matsua was killed in prison in 1942. Many leaders of the Kitawala sect, including (in 1926) its founder Mwawa Lesa, were hanged in the Belgian Congo and Rhodesia; to say nothing of the sect leaders killed during reprisals by the European police against hundreds of sect members.

*Vacation organ for missions.

now it's the other way round: we have the Bible and you have the land," the Africans told the Europeans.* "The problem of a separatist church," said the Protestant missionary Sundkler, "is a problem engendered by the land question."

The bourgeois nationalist movements in Africa are developing differently from what they did in Asia. The labor movement, too, though the nascent working class is numerically small, has assumed different forms in Africa. In some regions it is playing an independent, if not the leading, role in the national-liberation movement. This is seen not only in the political movements and parties, but also in the numerical growth of the trade unions and their activity. But the feature of socio-political life in Africa is the interweaving of the peasant and bourgeois-national movements with the incipient labor movement, whereas on a world scale the basic feature is the transition of nations to socialism and communism.

The Soviet Union, China — the latter's struggle to throw off the yoke of Japanese colonialism and American neo-colonialism was similar in many ways to that waged by other Asian and African peoples — and the other People's Democracies, which are giving constant and increasing aid to the underdeveloped countries, are everywhere acclaimed as reliable bulwarks in the fight for national independence. This has promoted the dissemination and more or less conscious assimilation of Marxism, or at least some of its basic principles, for example, its definition of imperialism as the main enemy of the working people; the ways of solving the land question; forms of nationalization of the sources of power and raw materials and the building of an independent economy; solidarity with the movements of other, non-African, peoples, objectively spearheaded against the same enemy and pursuing the same aim, and the peace movement. This makes for a better understanding of separate phases of the African liberation movement and facilitates the carrying out of the tasks posed by these phases.

Up to the time of the 1914-18 war, the colonial question signified for the Vatican the conquest of colonies and the implanting of Christianity: the European occupation was regarded as being permanent, and the conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity — made more difficult only by the rivalry of Islam and Protestantism — merely

a matter of time. The question of Africanizing the Church and promoting a local clergy was posed as early as the 16th century, when the Congo was proclaimed a Catholic kingdom (true, the Portuguese smashed it shortly afterwards); this, however, was not considered favorably by the colonialists, who regarded it as a threat to their absolute rule. There were not more than 90 African priests in 1919. Two Negroes were elevated to the dignity of bishop for the first time in 1939.

The lack of local priests evoked concern. Pope Benedict XV was the first to sound the alarm in his encyclical *Maximum Illud*. His fears were later shared by Pope Pius XI who in his encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926) reasoned thus: "Supposing that as a result of war or other political events one government is replaced by another and a decision is taken to expel foreign missionaries; supposing too — although this is most unlikely — that the natives, having attained a higher civic and cultural level and, consequently, a certain degree of civic maturity, will aspire to independence, to drive out the rulers, soldiers and missionaries of the foreign state upon which they depend, and that they can only do this by violence. Imagine the loss the Church will suffer in these countries unless the needs of the people converted to Christianity are attended to in good time and a network of native priests set up throughout the territory."

In the third volume of Marx's *Capital* there is a description of the unscrupulous way in which the Catholic Church recruited its men. About the time *Capital* was being written, Cardinal Lavigerie, founder of the African Mission Society, was explaining that "the conversion to Christianity of a single chief is much more conducive to the success of a mission than the conversion of a hundred ordinary Negroes." These chiefs, he advised, should be persuaded that "the Christian religion undoubtedly consolidates their power, for it teaches that they are God's true messengers on earth."

Pope Pius XII reverted to this theme persistently and with concern: Since one of these days the young intellectuals will become the leading force of future generations and society, he said, it is clear that care should be taken to increase the number of schools and colleges. Young people, he went on, who are as pliant as wax, should be helped to acquire a respect for Catholic doctrine, to understand it and accept it. Young men trained in this spirit will become future

*Lanternari. *Movimenti religiosi di libert  e di salvezza dei popoli oppressi*. Cap. I.

statesmen and as leaders and teachers will be followed by the people.*

This plan, although rapidly overtaken by developments, was acted upon. A contributory factor was that under agreements between the colonialist governments — even those which in Europe claimed to be anti-clerical — there were practically no educational establishments in Africa other than mission schools, and these were mainly Catholic. Most of the African political leaders and intellectuals were educated in these schools.** They can confidently repeat the words of a young member of the African Solidarity Party: "All of us were Christians, mostly, Catholic."*** They speak, it should be observed, in the past tense. The links with the Vatican are more than enough to evoke the legitimate suspicions of African (and Asian) patriots. It is possible that the *L'Osservatore Romano* does not even realize the extent to which it has compromised the former Dalai Lama in the eyes of his one-time subjects by reporting (September 29, 1960) that his brother was studying at St. Joseph's, a Jesuit college in Nepal.

Relying on the better-off people, the Vatican has trained local clergy it can bank on. It is not fortuitous that Monsignor Gantin, now at the head of the Church hierarchy in Dahomey, is a descendant of the one-time reigning royal family of Behanzin, while Rugambwa of Tanganyika, the first Negro cardinal, consecrated in 1960, belongs to a family which has given the country several kings and queens. The Church wanted to create its own political leaders, but the young Africans proved to be less "pliant" than Pius XII had anticipated. Those who became genuine national leaders were obliged to discard everything imbibed in the Catholic schools which alienated them from their people.

Others began, more or less consistently, to adopt the world outlook which the Church calls "secular." This was the path traversed in recent years by the more progressive leaders, radical figures, and representatives of cultured circles. Among these was Patrice Lumumba, outstanding leader of the Congolese people, recently foully murdered by the

imperialists. Others include Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, and Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana and a former Church school pupil, who has been combating clericalism since 1948 and was the initiator of the secular and national slogan "First we must find the kingdom on earth." Why was Nkrumah accused of being pro-Communist? Simply because he established diplomatic relations with the USSR and took steps to turn the Catholic schools in former British Togoland, now joined to Ghana, into state schools. There is also Felix Moumié, recently killed in Switzerland, just as Ruben Huben Nu Vgebo, who preceded him as head of the Union of the Peoples of Cameroon, was killed two years ago; there are Jomo Kenyatta, still languishing in prison, and many other leaders and heroes of the African people. If one judges a leader's loyalty or disloyalty to his people by his attitude to the imperialist power against which the people are fighting, one has in mind also his attitude to the Vatican. The Senghors, D'Arboussiers and Huphouet-Boignys who support France in the United Nations and split the African movement, seize on every opportunity to speak of their solidarity with the Catholic Church (whose popularity is not thereby increased).

The reason for the Catholic Church's isolation from the African peoples should be sought in its ties with the imperialists. It has been aggravated by the extreme intolerance — despite all the solemn assurances to the contrary — shown by the priests to the indigenous cultures and beliefs. This attitude is explained not only by ideological (religious) considerations or notions about Catholicism being "superior" to local beliefs such as *fetishism* and *animism*, but mainly, by political considerations.

When Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, an avowed fascist, declared (on October 28, 1935): God is helping us in this national and Catholic mission of good (!) which is clearing the way for the missionaries of the Gospel, he had in mind Mussolini's war of aggression against Abyssinia, largely a Christian country and which was not, as another Archbishop wrote at the time, a country with "an extremely low religious and moral level": the Christian churches in Abyssinia were older than those in many European countries. The desire for religious conquests merely served as an ideological screen for the material conquest of the country by fascist imperialism. It was, therefore, a typically colonial attitude.

*Encyclical *Evangelii Praecones* (1951). At that time however, Africa was already on the eve of an eruption of the liberation movement.

**Even Protestant Britain helped the Catholic schools in its African colonies. Before Dr. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited the Pope last December, an agreement had been reached between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda, Nyasaland and Nigeria. At least 900,000 pupils attend Catholic schools in Nigeria; 70 per cent of the fund for running these schools is paid by the state.

***Velio Spano. *Risorgimento afrikano*. Roma, 1960, p. 174.

The Church's attitude, naturally, varies, depending on the situation in the given country. In Nyasaland and Rhodesia, for instance, it feels as if it were on a volcano and condemns both overt forms of apartheid (only 1,700 people of a total of 7,500,000 inhabitants went to the polls in the 1958 elections) and *nationalism of all kinds* and, hence, the "desperate nationalism manifested by both Africans and Europeans." Oppressed and the oppressors are thus placed on the same level. The Catholic Church takes a more clear-cut position in opposing apartheid in South Africa. This is explained by the rivalry of certain enterprising Church of England bishops, and the fact that the Boers and the government expressing their interests are Calvinists; no small role is played by the policy pursued by the racist government which is opposed to missionary schools, the chief Catholic weapon in Africa.

On Madagascar, after the 1946 elections, during which 80 per cent of the votes were cast for candidates advocating independence, and after the reprisals of 1947 (when 90,000 Malagasy were killed), the clergy issued a manifesto (1953) recognizing the Malagasy's right to independence. A few months later this manifesto was published in France and, after much hesitation, endorsed by Cardinal Felten in 1955. And in 1957 it became clear to Rolland, Bishop of Antsirabe, that "an already lost cause and unpopular positions" could not be upheld with impunity. In some measure (to what degree exactly it is difficult to say) a factor promoting this turn was that the French government had (since 1913) cut down its grants to the missionaries on Madagascar with the result that the clergy had to depend more on the local budget and the congregations.

The Congo is one of the few territories where the percentage of Catholics grew rapidly, more rapidly than their numbers, for the Belgian occupation diminished the population.

At the time the Congo's independence was proclaimed, about five million out of a population of 13 million had been baptized. The Church owned industrial enterprises, newspapers and hospitals. In addition to financial connections — which are impossible to define — with big firms and banks (among them the Union Minière, which holds sway in Katanga), the Church owned vast wealth and property in the towns and 220,000 hectares of land which it received gratis in 1906. Up to 1954 it monopolized education. Some one and a half million people are now being

educated in its schools, i.e., ten times as many as in the recently opened state schools. In October 1957 the Church founded the Lovanium University; it is noteworthy that the first faculty there was that of theology. As a result of this activity there are six bishops and large numbers of priests in the Congo. Yet when independence was declared, the country did not have a single Congolese doctor or engineer. There are many minor officials among the Congolese, but not a single leader of government level has been trained by the colonial authorities.

Despite these impressive figures, however, the contacts established by the Church in this "quiet zone" (as, up to 1959, the Church called the Congo and the Portuguese colonies) were not lasting; we say nothing about the profound discontent of the masses. In July 1956 a Church-supported movement, with the *Conscience Africaine* as its official journal, issued a manifesto mentioning the vague intention of the Belgian government to grant the Congo an equally vague "political emancipation" in 30 years' time (!). The manifesto advanced the idea of founding a Belgian-Congolese community, and concluded with the anachronistic slogan, "Long live the Congo, long live Belgium, long live the King!" The Congo clergy decided on August 15, 1959, merely to welcome this vague allusion to Congolese independence and fully supported the Belgian government's intention. In November 1959, however, just six months before independence was proclaimed, a Congolese episcopate was hurriedly created.

It is true that many priests in Algeria have spoken out boldly against the torture and the execution of patriots. But these actions, even when sincere, should not deceive one as to the Vatican's general stand. In point of fact the Catholic Church supports French colonialism in all cases through its machinery (the curia with its congregations, nuncios in various countries, Church orders and so on) and, especially, through the clerical governments in West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Austria, Spain, Portugal and many Latin American countries. In France it either maintains silence or raves against the forces favoring peace in Algeria, irrespective of whether these forces are Communists, Radicals or men who, like Sartre and other prominent representatives of French culture, simply do not want war. This support of colonialism runs counter to the sentiments of growing numbers of Catholics and even to the more or less moderate official attitude

(which it is forced to adopt) of the French episcopate.

Cardinal Liénart prohibited publication of a report by the French Church Mission on the situation in Algeria. Monsignor Duval, Archbishop of Algiers, spoke in favor of peace in 1959, after five years of war. But he does not consider the granting of independence to Algeria a condition for peace, nor did he, in his appeal of December 1960, condemn the brutalities and reprisals; he spoke rather of the need to condemn "all violence," and advised all citizens without distinction not to leave their homes. For the Algerians this is tantamount to tamely sitting and waiting until the paratroopers combing the Arab quarters come and make short work of them.

On December 12, 1960, after the massacres which accompanied de Gaulle's trip to Algeria, *L'Osservatore Romano* dared to talk about the extremism of the Algerians and to champion de Gaulle's plans and the referendum controlled by the French army, calling these measures "an instrument of democratic development."

Only in recent years has the Vatican Curia realized that the collapse of the colonial system of the "old type" was imminent. Anxious to maintain its positions and those of its European and American allies, the Curia is working to split the national forces in the newly established states, banking on the help of the ultra-reactionary circles among the local exploiting classes; it places at the disposal of possible imperialist aggressors all the ideological influence it is still capable of exerting, if not on the masses, then at least on some of the leaders. The Curia is deaf to the voice of those Catholics (irrespective of whether secular or clergy) who, closer to the people, realize where developments are leading and utter vain warnings about the futility of this reactionary policy.

Where the Church no longer has a single ruling force to support, it gives its backing to several forces, both international (as in the case of the UN actions) and national, in the hope of getting installed a stronger rival in the country who could be entrusted with decisive economic and political functions. In fact the Catholic Church's main contribution to this neo-colonialism — which, thanks to the nature of the monopolies is acquiring an international hue, but which, in point of fact, is linked with the United States, the sanctuary of the super monopolies — is in providing the new governments with local personnel.

The gravity of the problem is heightened by the fact that the forces (including the Church) on which the neo-colonialists rely in these countries are the ultra-reactionary and militarist forces.

In addition to the United States, a growing role is being played by West Germany whose Christian Democratic government, with the support of the Church hierarchy, pursues a policy which, in its basic trends, is similar to the policy of the Nazis. The Bonn government has not confined itself to economic and diplomatic actions,* but, in close co-operation with the Vatican, has begun to recruit and train young Africans. A special center called the Katholischer Akademischer Auslaender-Dienst has been opened in Bonn for this purpose. Several dozen African and Asian students are being trained in colleges in Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt and West Berlin; the West German bishops, through the medium of the Misereor Association, have arranged three-month courses for 26 young men from Basutoland at the Pius XII College in Rome. Last year this Association collected 6,500 million Italian lire for propaganda in Latin America.

No basic change has taken place in Vatican policy: the Vatican has merely adapted itself to the new conditions created by the emergence of neo-colonialism. Statements by bishops and encyclicals on "independence" have always appeared under the pressure of events: invariably they have expressed European and North American monopoly interests and reiterated that the "natives" should be grateful to Europe for their progress, to Europe without whose influence, felt in all fields, they might well be in the grip of blind nationalism and chaos, and faced with the danger of enslavement (1955 Christmas broadcast of Pius XII). And in 1957, avoiding any mention of oppression and reprisals (in Algeria, for example), Pius XII expressed the wish to see in Africa in the future, too, constructive collaboration, free from prejudice and mutual ill-feeling, in which there would be no succumbing to a spurious nationalism or being carried away by it. And, we would add, no effective measures to defend the oppressed, unless we count the actions of a few rank-and-file priests, for which they were immediately defrocked. Never yet has the Vatican, which unhesitatingly anathematized millions of working people whose only fault was to call for an agrarian reform or

*The article by Paul Friedlander in *World Marxist Review* for February 1960, deals with the efforts made by West German capital to penetrate into the underdeveloped countries.

the socialization of the means of production, taken any measures against even the most brutal colonialists; nor does the Vatican demand that these measures be taken by the governments under its control.

The Church's policy is made by prelates openly associated with the ruling classes and governments.

For centuries the Church has turned a blind eye to crying injustice and scandalous abuses. It was only in 1960, after a 12-month investigation and consultations with 248 bishops, that the Jesuit Lombardi, alarmed by the successes of the Communists in Latin America and having heard "students in a Catholic college in Colombia singing the Fidel Castro hymn," deigned to admit that "the wealth in South America was most unfairly distributed" and that North American capital was penetrating into these countries not only "to discover their riches but also to take them away."

The Church, Jaurès used to say, only begins to bother about the weak when they become a force.

Even the organization of the Church in Africa is, in the main, based on the artificial division imposed on the peoples of Africa by the European powers. The Church is opposed to the peoples' desire to reunite or unite as independent nations — a union necessitated not only by ethnic considerations, but also by the need to form bigger economic units which would enable production to be developed along modern lines. The Church, moreover, wants to split up the Continent — already divided into a large number of countries — still further, since division facilitates subjection. It is noteworthy that the Church-supported Mobutus, Kasavubus and Tshombes are anxious to form one or several Congolese governments which would act as the stooges either of Belgium or of a neo-colonialist pool headed by the United States. Division

is also the policy of de Gaulle who protects the Church and is, in turn, protected by it. De Gaulle wants an Algerian government subordinate and obedient to France and the partition of Algeria.

The training of a local priesthood isolated from the people is not enough to Africanize the Church, neither will organizational measures, if carried out in the interests of a reactionary policy doomed to failure, help the colonies that are aspiring to independence. The Vatican is gradually abolishing the Propaganda de Fide which has become thoroughly discredited, and is replacing it by the usual Church hierarchy (bishops); the slow pace at which this is being done shows that the Curia still harbors illusions about the longevity of the colonial regime. The Vatican appreciates that missionary organizations composed almost entirely of white priests are losing their ability to go among the masses, for their ties with the colonial regime are all too obvious. It has, therefore, started to man them with local priests, building the Church organization on the same pattern as in the metropolis. Despite the new name, however, these ordinary hierarchies retain in the countries (most of them Catholic) their missionary character. Who are the counsellors (European, needless to say) that guide them? What is their policy? They pursue a policy of unrelenting resistance to all that is new and progressive, a policy of clinging to the antiquated forms of colonialism, for example, in Angola; and when forced to abandon these positions, the Church turns to neo-colonialism.

Resolute and conscious action by the working people, irrespective of creed or color, including Catholics in the European and colonial countries, is essential if an advance is to be made along the path of national liberation and democracy, if the onward march of events is to make a still greater breach in the crumbling walls of the Vatican.

What Our Experience Teaches

Georgi Traikov

A FEATURE of people's democracy in Bulgaria is the participation, together with the Communist Party, of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union in the leadership of the country. Members of the Union, active in all spheres of public life, are contributing much to the building of the new, socialist Bulgaria.

Founded in 1899, the Union is one of the oldest peasant organizations in Europe. Its history is a record of trial and struggle, of mistakes and groping for the correct path. It is no exaggeration to say that its long and painful road up to the liberation of the country from fascism and capitalism offers valuable lessons to the peasant movement in general. And of no less fundamental importance is its experience during the sixteen years of socialist construction, which have deepened the conclusions that can be drawn from its activity in the years of capitalist rule. The overall lesson of the Union is that a peasant organization can play a worthy part in the common struggle for the emancipation of the people only by working in fraternal co-operation with the party of the working people.

What has led us to this conclusion?

The Lessons of History

The Agrarian Union was founded in protest against the ruthless plunder of the peasants by the capitalist usurers and profiteers and the revival of the semi-feudal tithes in kind. Originally its activities were limited to defense of the peasants' economic interests and educational work to improve farming methods and to raise cultural standards in the countryside. But soon the purely educational functions were relegated to the background and by 1901 the Union had become a mass political organization. From the beginning of its political activity two trends reflecting the heterogeneity of its membership and the social contradictions in the countryside made themselves felt. One, the Right wing, representing the rich and well-to-do peasants, sought to subordinate it to the big bourgeoisie. The

other was a democratic and progressive trend, headed by Alexander Stambolisky, who later became the leader of the Union and its spokesman. It was Stambolisky who shaped the political thinking of the Union. However, his political course was far from consistent.

The activities of the organization were based on the fallacious "estate principle" which caused much harm to the peasant movement and to the revolutionary struggles of the working people in general. Its leaders held that society was divided not into classes, but estates, of which, in Bulgaria, the most important, and the one destined to play the decisive role, was the peasantry. They did not see the class differentiation then under way in the countryside. Instead they regarded the peasantry as a single whole whose interests were opposed to those of all the urban estates, including the working class, and failed to see its role in the social and political struggle.

Hence the illusion that the peasantry could wield political power independently. The leaders of the Union believed that the peasants, since they were the overwhelming majority of the population, should govern the country. This erroneous and harmful thesis, the essence of the ideology of the Union, was responsible for costly and tragic mistakes. The policy stemming from the belief that the peasantry could govern the country independently of the working class and even against it could not but lead to isolation, to a weakening of the common front of the working people, preventing the formation of an alliance between the workers and peasants. Objectively this played into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

Still, the Union's struggle against the monarchy and for a republic, for restricting large-scale landownership and for an agrarian reform was unquestionably of a progressive nature. It could not but awaken the working peasantry to the need for an alliance with the working class.

When, under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Labor Party ("Narrow Socialists")* launched extensive anti-war

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*The revolutionary working-class party, which subsequently, at its 1919 congress, adopted the name Communist Party of Bulgaria. — Ed.

activity among the troops on the Balkan front during the 1914-18 war, the members of the Union were to the fore. And when the soldiers mutinied at Vladai in the autumn of 1918, the "Narrow Socialists" and followers of the Union fought shoulder to shoulder against those who had plunged the nation into disaster and for the first time shed their blood together in the common cause.

But despite this joint anti-war struggle, no agreement on united action was reached between the two parties in the first years after the war. The failure to do so was due, on the one hand, to the erroneous line of the Union leadership concerning the independent conquest of power by the peasantry, and their lack of faith in the working class and its party. On the other hand, the Marxist party of the working class had not yet rid itself of the dead weight of the old Social Democratic view that the peasantry was a conservative force. It did not see the revolutionary potential of the peasantry or its role as the natural ally of the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism.

Although the industrial workers and the working peasants found a common language and drew closer in the course of the day-to-day struggles, the two biggest and most influential political parties—the Communist Party ("Narrow Socialists") and the Agrarian People's Union—continued to go their separate ways. The harmful consequences of this disunity were acutely felt after the First World War, when the bourgeoisie, compelled to beat a temporary retreat under the pressure of the masses who had lost faith in the bourgeois parties, were obliged, in 1920, to make way for an Agrarian government headed by Stambolisky.

In spite of the critical domestic situation caused by the war, Stambolisky, as Georgi Dimitrov pointed out, made the first bold and determined attempt to discard both the foreign and home policies of the Coburg dynasty and the clique of big capitalists and profiteers backing it, and to embark on a new democratic course. Inconsistent though they were, the reforms carried out by the Agrarian government put some curbs on big capital and the speculators and promoted the development of democracy. In the sphere of foreign policy the government actively pursued a course of non-participation in imperialist alignments and of peaceful co-operation with all countries, including the Soviet Union.

But it hesitated to take resolute action against the reactionaries and made a number

of blunders. The Agrarian leaders, unable correctly to assess the situation in which they came to power, failed to see through the insidious machinations of the bourgeoisie, overestimated their own strength, and clung to their dogma of independent peasant rule. They did not seek co-operation with the party of the working class and at times even persecuted it. This policy tended to isolate the peasantry and to turn it against the working class. This was precisely what the bourgeoisie wanted. It cunningly egged on the Union against the Communists, using the independent peasant government illusion to further its own ends. Under cover of the estate principle, bourgeois agents penetrated into the Union in order to dynamite it from within and to counteract the progressive aspirations of its poor- and middle-peasant members.

The half-measures carried out by the Agrarian government could not essentially change the state of affairs in the country or shake the decisive positions held by the big capitalists. Despite the good intentions of Stambolisky and his colleagues, their reforms did not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. The monarchy, the army, the banks, the courts, the reactionary organizations and the bourgeois parties — the capitalist machinery of state — remained intact. The reactionaries, alarmed by the progressive measures introduced by the peasant government and taking advantage of the lack of unity between the two mass parties of the people, organized, with the political support of Western imperialists, a counter-revolutionary military coup on June 9, 1928. The Stambolisky government was overthrown and the Prime Minister foully murdered.

The coup was followed by a wave of spontaneous popular action against the reactionaries. The forces on which the fascist conspirators could draw to consolidate their power were exceedingly weak, but the tragedy was that the masses, prepared though they were to engage reaction in decisive battle, lacked leadership. Owing to wholesale executions, the arrest of its progressive leaders and internal dissension, the Union was unable to head the spontaneous mass protests, to organize and lead them. On the other hand, the leadership of the Communist Party, which had still to rid itself of its erroneous views on the peasantry and to adopt the Leninist standpoint on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, took a doctrinaire, neutralist stand, declaring it would not take part in this "struggle between two bourgeois

blocs," i.e., between the Union and the big bourgeoisie behind the coup.

The reactionaries succeeded in suppressing the resistance of the masses. There is no doubt that had the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party acted together, Bulgarian history would have taken an entirely different course.

The brutality with which the big bourgeoisie and the monarchist clique attacked the progressive leaders of the Union showed how savagely the exploiters take revenge for the slightest attempt to curb their appetites. Thousands of Union members paid with their lives for the mistakes of their government. But tragic though these events were, they taught us a cardinal lesson: *the peasants alone, without the workers, cannot successfully fight for their interests or retain power after winning it. Alone, they are bound to suffer as victims of the reaction. The peasants can fight successfully against capitalist exploitation only in alliance with the working class. In all circumstances the only path for both the workers and the peasants is the path of unity.*

The march of events showed the utter fallacy of the estate principle and the dogma of independent peasant government. Most of the Union leaders who survived the June 9 coup realized that the peasantry as a whole, owing to its inner contradictions, cannot offer successful resistance to capitalism, that a "peasant government" cannot change the social system in favor of the working peasants. Because of the duality of its policy, arising from adherence to the estate principle, the Agrarian government could not be a consistent fighter for the interests of the rural working people. *The poor peasants and the more progressive middle peasants realized that partial reforms could not deliver them from capitalist exploitation and that the only correct path was that of struggle for a genuine worker-peasant government.*

These lessons, which were taken to heart by the majority of the Union, determined their place in the militant alliance of the workers and peasants.

Shortly after the monarcho-fascist coup, the Communist Party launched extensive organizational and political work to unite the popular forces, advancing the idea of a united front of all working people against the fascist offensive. The groundwork was laid for the fraternal unity of the workers and peasants of our country. The most advanced part of the Union, faithful to its militant traditions and the wiser for the mistakes it made as

the ruling party, eagerly responded to the call issued by the Communist Party and Georgi Dimitrov. Under the slogan of worker-peasant unity they took part in the anti-fascist uprising led by the Communist Party in September 1923, when the organs of workers' and peasants' power appeared in Bulgaria for the first time. In the course of the September battles the alliance of the working class and the peasantry was forged. The blood shed in the common cause sealed the unity of the workers and peasants, of members of the Communist Party and the Agrarian Union.

Notwithstanding the savage suppression of the uprising (more than 20,000 workers, peasants and intellectuals were massacred or tortured to death in the fascist prisons), it was, historically, a big victory for the worker-peasant alliance. As Dimitrov put it, it created a gulf between the masses and the fascist bourgeoisie that could never be bridged. Never again was the reactionary bourgeoisie able to consolidate its positions and create a broad social base. *The September uprising confirmed once more that joint struggle by all working people, a lasting alliance of the industrial workers and working peasants and unity between their political organizations were essential for the overthrow of the monarchy and the rule of capital.* It hastened the awakening of the broad peasant masses to the fact that they could shape the course of history only in alliance with the working class, the leading force in the fight against capitalist exploitation.

Living experience, our struggles, our suffering, and the lessons of history led the Union to the new stage in its development—the stage when it realized the need for working-class leadership and the unity of the two laboring classes—a unity dictated not by narrow and transient political considerations but by the vital interests of the working peasants and the workers.

Throughout the subsequent period of the fascist dictatorship, in conditions of ruthless terror and a bitter struggle against the Right wing who sought to drag the Union into the quagmire of reaction, its progressive forces extended and strengthened their fraternal bonds with the Communist Party—bonds that were cemented in joint struggle against the fascists. In 1942, the Union supported the call issued by the Communist Party and Georgi Dimitrov to weld the patriotic forces into a Fatherland Front to deliver the country, which the fascist rulers had betrayed to Hitler, from the Nazi occupation. When the people rose

in armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party against fascism, Union members stood shoulder to shoulder with the Communists, supporting the partisan movement and sabotaging the measures of the fascist authorities. They took an active part in the national uprising of September 9, 1944, which, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, overthrew the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and established the people's government.

Looking back at those grim days, due tribute must be paid to the Communist Party, which fought staunchly for the working people and proved that it was the only force capable of leading them to complete victory. Without the Communist Party the masses could not have been rallied and fascism defeated. The Communist Party made the heaviest sacrifice, and to it rightly belongs the credit for establishing the people's government.

The Struggle to Consolidate the People's Power and to Build Socialism

The victory of September 9, 1944, opened a new era in the life of our country, an era of which the finest sons of the people had long dreamed and for which thousands had laid down their lives.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party all the material and moral forces of the country were mobilized to consolidate the people's rule and to lay the groundwork for the building of socialism. The Communists and the Union members formed the core of the Fatherland Front, the biggest and broadest political organization in the country uniting all of its patriotic forces and destined to play an invaluable role in strengthening the moral and political unity of the people.

In the early years after liberation the international reactionary forces and their agents in the Union tried to undermine the worker-peasant alliance. Once again they sought to set the Union against the Communist Party, to sow discord between the working class and the working peasantry and split the Fatherland Front, and opposed the line of building socialism chosen by the people. The so-called "opposition" headed by Nikola Petkov, the leader of the Union Right wing, which later degenerated into a political organization of the reactionary bourgeoisie leagued with foreign imperialist circles, plotted against the people's government. But the traitors and their backers miscalculated. The sound forces in the Union took a firm stand against the for-

eign agents. Remembering the lessons of the past, they waged a resolute political and ideological struggle to prevent a rift between the peasants and the working class. The Union emerged from the battle stronger than ever, its ranks purged of traitors, and capable of playing its part in building socialism.

The Communist Party elaborated a program of consistent socialist reforms corresponding to the fundamental economic and political interests of the workers and peasants. In the course toward industrialization set forth in this program the Union and the working peasants generally saw the way to achieve their ideal of an economically independent and strong Bulgaria and the basic guarantee of the radical reconstruction of agriculture. Taking into consideration the specific economic and social features of the country, the Communist Party held that nationalization of land was not absolutely essential for the socialist reorganization of agriculture. A form of producers' co-operation was found that rationally combined social production with individual peasant ownership of the land—the co-operative farm in which the land owned by the individual members was cultivated jointly. This made it easier for the peasantry, especially the middle peasants, to take the socialist path.

The co-operative farms offered the Union members, most of whom were middle peasants, a sure way out of the age-old backwardness and an opportunity to realize their dreams of free, fraternal labor that would bring prosperity to the working peasant. Thus the policy of the Communist Party, aimed at building socialism and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, cemented the unity of the workers and peasants, the Communists and the Union members. Thousands of the latter took their places alongside the Communists as organizers of co-operative farming.

In these circumstances it was only natural that the peasants affiliated to the Union should realize that *their organization had to be based on new ideological, political and organizational foundations* dictated both by the lessons of the past and by the demands of the new times. At what was for us a truly epoch-making session of the Union's Supreme Council in 1948, the estate principle was rejected once and for all as detrimental to the Union and the working peasantry as a whole. The Council gave its full support to the program of socialist construction advanced by the Communist Party. This was fully in keeping with the co-operative traditions of the Bulgarian

countryside, where a mass democratic co-operative movement appeared already in the early period of capitalist development. The Union thus became an active participant in building socialism, in strengthening worker-peasant unity and educating its members in the spirit of people's democracy.

The Union concentrated on promoting the co-operative movement and strengthening the co-operative farms, and to this end conducted an extensive educational campaign among its members. Its Twenty-Eighth Congress proclaimed the slogan, "Every Union member a member of a co-operative!" And the next congress noted the gratifying fact that nearly all its members had become active co-operators. Co-operative farming had been taken up with single-minded resolve by our membership, who gave unstintingly of their efforts to make the co-operatives going concerns. This enabled our Twenty-Ninth Congress to lay the emphasis on high yields. Thousands of our members have made remarkable progress in this respect, and more than 2,300 have been awarded decorations by the government in recognition of their achievements.

The Union, as we have seen, has thrown its full weight into the building of socialism.

What, then, are the conclusions to be drawn from the development of our organization in the conditions of socialist construction?

Primarily, the participation of the members in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture shows that the Union has remained faithful to the working peasants in whose defense it was founded sixty-one years ago. Its democratic traditions have found full scope for expression in the new conditions. Its members have taken naturally to co-operative farming. Discarding the old prejudices they are acquiring a new outlook befitting builders of socialism. The success of co-operative farming, which harmoniously combines both the economic and the political interests of the poor and middle peasants, has changed the peasantry itself, transforming it into a class of rural co-operators free of the discord and enmity characteristic of the old countryside.

Another result is the organizational and political strengthening of the brotherhoods or local branches of the Union. Branch activities have acquired a new meaning. Moreover, co-operation between the Communists and the Union members has become closer. Indeed, the joint work by the Communist Party organizations and our brotherhoods is one of the vital factors promoting the growth of the co-operative farms.

The nature of the Union has changed radically, both politically and organizationally, in the course of this joint work. It has outgrown the aims once set by Stambolisky and become the militant organization of farmers in a socialist Bulgaria. It has done away with the divisions that once existed in its ranks, overcome the vacillations evinced by separate groups, and become a close-knit association of like-minded people. Never before has it been so united as it is now. Most of the former Right-wingers have become convinced of the correctness of its present position and, frankly and publicly admitting their past mistakes, are helping to build the new Bulgaria.

At present the Union has 3,795 regional, communal and village brotherhoods with a total membership of 120,000 of whom over 100,000 are members of co-operatives; 3,180 members belong to the boards of the co-operatives; 6,260 function as chairmen or secretaries of Fatherland Front committees; more than 8,000 are members of the local councils, and 65 of our members sit in the National Assembly. The First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and two Ministers are Union members, as are the Vice-President and two members of the Presidium of the National Assembly, the Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly and two members of its Bureau. We are also taking an active part, on a par with others, in People's Councils, in the organizations of the Fatherland Front and in all governmental bodies. The Union issues a daily newspaper, the *Zemedelsko Zname*, with a circulation of 150,000, and it has its own publishing house which puts out books and pamphlets designed to promote educational work in the countryside.

Our achievements have been highly praised by fraternal peasant parties in other countries, with which we maintain contact in the interests of our common cause of peace and friendship between the nations.

Nothing can break the unity of the Communists and the Agrarian People's Union. Our co-operation has developed to a degree where it can be a model of joint endeavor by two fraternal parties in building socialism. There are no questions of state administration that we do not decide jointly. The Communist Party and the Union branches regularly hold joint meetings, discuss problems pertaining to economic and political life, and jointly chart measures promoting socialist construction. The Union, which has recognized as an historically conditioned fact the leadership of the Communist Party in building socialism, is

concerned only with serving the people, and this increases its moral and political prestige.

We of the Union are proud that our work to promote the socialist development of our country is yielding fruit. The material well-being and the cultural standards of the peasants are rising, and the co-operative farms are gaining in strength.

There now are 932 co-operatives in Bulgaria, with an average of 4,200 hectares each. They have at their disposal nearly 40,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), some 7,000 harvester combines, and scores of thousands of lorries. The irrigated area has increased from 36,000 hectares in 1939 to nearly 800,000 in 1960, or 22-fold. Roughly 40 times more mineral fertilizer was used per hectare in 1959 than in 1948. The yields of all crops have gone up. In 1959, despite drought in a number of districts, the increase in farm production was greater than in any previous year in Bulgaria's history. The countryside has become much more prosperous. In the

period from 1945 to 1959, 478,000 new houses were built in the villages, electricity brought to 3,927 rural localities, and regular film showings arranged in 1,178. In the past 15 years of people's rule, 4,218 village halls, 276 hospitals, 832 maternity homes and 568 nursery schools have been opened in the rural areas. Indicative of the prosperity of the peasants is the growth of their savings bank deposits from 708 million lev in 1953 to 2,476 million in 1959.

The co-operative farmers have seen for themselves the advantages of the socialist system. Hence their increasingly conscious and organized participation in carrying out the task of the day—steady economic development and completion of the building of socialism. This is also the aim of the members of the Agrarian Union. For socialism has become their main purpose in life. They regard it as their supreme duty to do their share, together with the industrial workers and the Communist Party, for the complete victory of socialism.

In Memory of Elias Laferte

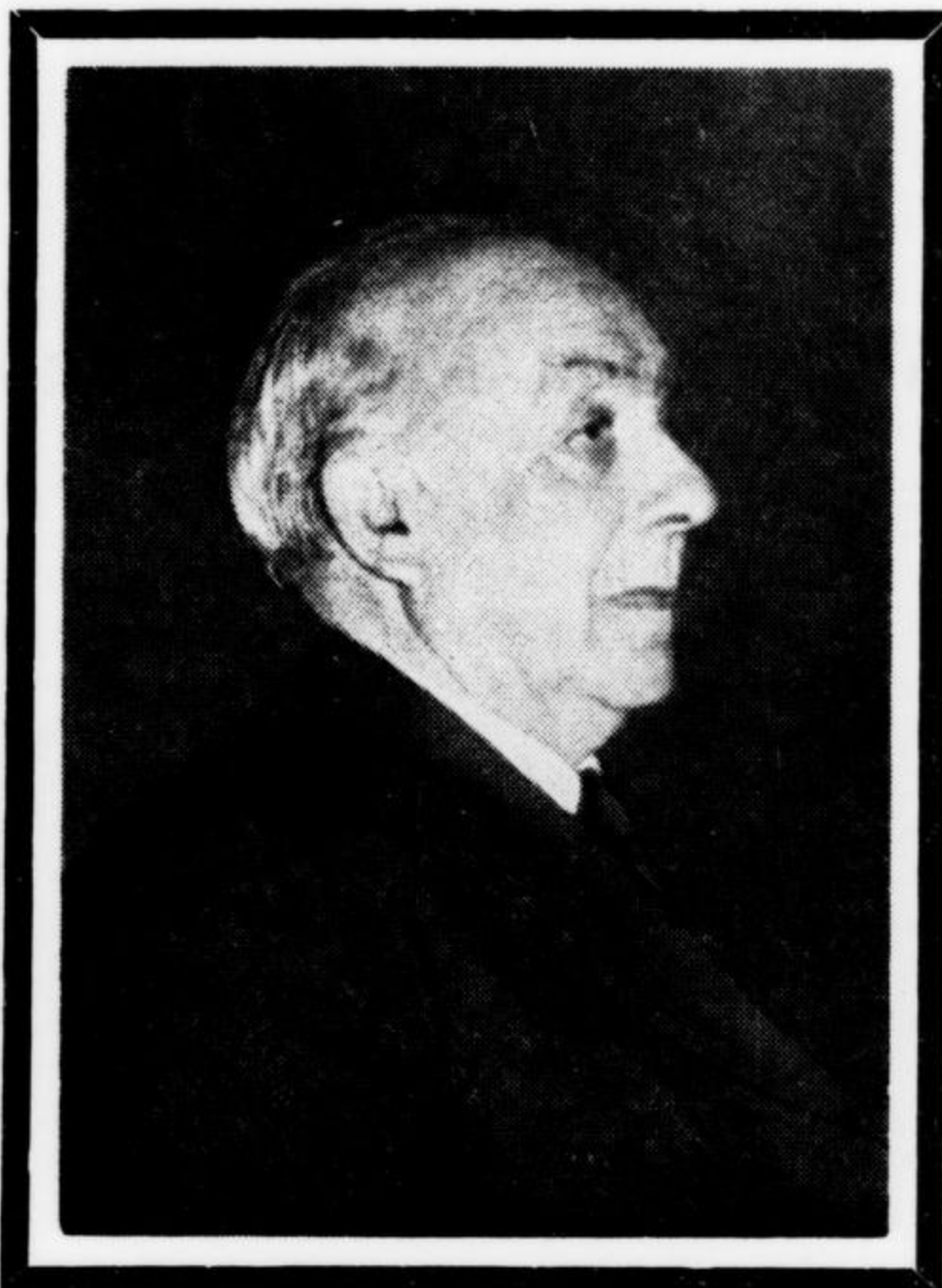
Elias Laferte Gavino, President of the Communist Party of Chile and prominent figure in the working-class movement of Latin America, has died.

Elias Laferte was born on December 19, 1886. At the age of eleven he began work in a printshop, and later in a saltpeter mine.

The massacre that took place during the 1907 strike in Iquique, when over two thousand workers were slaughtered by machine-gun fire, was a grim lesson for the Chilean proletariat. The blood washed away reformist illusions which until then had held sway in the workers' organizations and the seeds of a class party of the working class were sown. Elias Laferte, who survived the massacre only by sheer accident, became a revolutionary for life.

In 1911 Laferte met Luis Emilio Recabarren, pioneer of the Chilean working-class movement and founder of its Communist Party. The two men worked to found the Socialist Workers' Party in 1912. Laferte contributed to the first workers' newspapers, took part in organizing trade unions and, in 1926, was elected general secretary of the revolutionary trade union center — the Workers' Federation of Chile.

In 1922 the Socialist Workers' Party affiliated to the Third International and changed its name to Communist Party of Chile. Elias Laferte fought vigorously for a Marxist-Leninist line in the Party and for the expulsion of the opportunists. He became a member of the Party's Central Committee in 1929 and was elected to its Political Bureau



in 1936.

In 1927 Laferte was the working-class candidate for the Presidency, opposing the reactionary candidate who was a stooge of the U.S. monopolies.

Between 1927 and 1937 Laferte was continually in prison (in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina) where he was subjected to torture; ultimately he was exiled. During these years, despite the persecution, he conducted revolutionary work in his own country and in exile; he played an important part in establishing contacts between trade unions in Latin America and with the international trade union movement, and was in

the front ranks of the fighters for peace, against imperialist war.

Elected Senator from the northern provinces in 1937, Laferte returned to his country and played a big role in consolidating the Popular Front and in achieving its victory in 1938. In addition to his qualities as a people's tribune, Laferte's skill in conducting a broad, flexible and principled policy, his gift for winning allies and knowing how to work with them were most clearly revealed during this period. He had been President of the Communist Party since 1937.

During the 1948-58 anti-communist repressions Laferte displayed fortitude and his work in the Senate was at times the Party's sole channel for expressing its views publicly. As a result of the popular struggle the reactionary "defense of democracy" law was revoked in 1958. And now that the Communist Party was once again able to nominate its candidates, Elias Laferte was electioneering

alongside them in this year's general election. Then, at the height of the election campaign, death cut off his indefatigable activities.

Laferte's revolutionary staunchness, fidelity to

Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, his modesty, profound humanism and love of country—these sterling qualities endeared him to the working class and to all patriots in Chile and in the other Latin American countries.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

On the Way to a Mass Organization

(Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden)

AS A result of many years of struggle the working class of Sweden has built up a powerful network of organizations. Besides the two working-class parties — Communist and Social Democratic — there are various mass organizations of which the most important are the trade unions. The Central Trade Union Association is made up of 44 unions totalling 1.5 million members. The 37 unions (400,000 members) that cater for salaried employees, including school teachers, engineers and other professionals, are affiliated to the Central Association of Trade Unions of Clerical Workers. Thus in a country with a population of 7.4 million about 1.9 million are organized. The unions, which enjoy great prestige, have a say in regulating wages and labor relations and also in policy making.

Among other workers' organizations we could mention the tenants' associations which embrace 260,000 families and protect their members against landlords, or against local and national authorities. Workers are the core of the consumers' co-operatives which number about a million families. Then there are the Workers' Educational League, the State Board of People's Parks, the Reso tourist organization, youth, women's and other organizations. It will be seen, then, that the Swedish workers are well organized, their associations are held in esteem by their members and by the local and national authorities.

These mass organizations on a national scale are under the influence of the Social Democratic Party, which has been in power since 1932, deriving much support from the trade unions. Swedish Social Democracy does not differ essentially

from Social Democracy in other countries. It displays, however, a good example of tactical know-how and skilfully adapts itself to the circumstances. The basic feature of Social Democratic policy is reformism — to the extent that a rich, and even super-rich, capitalism permits this — a reformism with clearly but subtly expressed anti-communism and with a desire to keep Sweden neutral, to keep clear of military and political entanglements.

This brief survey will enable the reader to get a better understanding of the points discussed at the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party held in Stockholm at the beginning of January.

In the period between the Eighteenth (1957) and the Nineteenth congresses the important matter of old age pensions was debated. In this connection a nationwide referendum was held in 1957 (the first since 1923), and in 1958 after the dissolution of the Riksdag, elections were held to the Second Chamber. In the long and stormy campaign in which the bourgeois parties ganged up, the Communist Party acted in a new way. During the referendum and the election campaign it supported the Social Democratic proposals. The Party contested 17 out of 28 constituencies, and urged its supporters in the remaining 11 to vote for the Social Democratic candidates. The result was that our vote was smaller than in the 1956 election, but in the Riksdag the balance of forces between the opponents and champions of the pension reform changed in a favorable way. The Social Democrats and Communists had a majority of one, which ensured adoption of the reform — the most important social reform of the past forty years.

We were able to act in this way, because in the course of bitter struggle, the Party overcame the pronounced sectarian and dogmatic trend in its ranks.

The cold war was attended in Sweden by an anti-communist campaign unprecedented in scale, intensity and duration. Social Democracy joined this campaign, and the trade union leaders did not lag behind either. The Communists took a wrong stand in many respects, and this played into the hands of the anti-communist crusaders. The sectarian trend, aided and abetted by some Party functionaries, prevented us from making a clear and sober assessment of the situation and taking appropriate measures. Sectarianism and dogmatism enabled the class enemy to hamper the Party's activity. The sectarians and dogmatists greatly influenced the leading committees of the Party. Decisions taken by the Central Committee and the Political Bureau were often in the nature of a compromise between the sectarians and the champions of a realistic policy. Interminable controversy in the branches on tactical questions dissipated the strength of the Party and forced it to go on the defensive.

In 1953, at the Sixteenth Congress, the Party decided to strike a final blow at dogmatism. One of its chief spokesmen at last openly set forth his view of Social Democracy as the main enemy of the working class. The majority of the leadership argued that the main enemy was the financial oligarchy, and that in the joint struggle against it the Communist Party should win the support of the Social Democrats and their sympathizers. The discussion took more than half the time of the Congress. The voting showed that the chief proponent of dogmatism had no support whatever. He thereupon announced his withdrawal from the Party and, subsequently, he formed an organization to the "left" of the Communist Party.

But this victory of the correct tactical and political line did not signify the end of the struggle. It had involved chiefly the Party functionaries and, to a lesser extent, the rank and file, but had hardly affected the Communist sympathizers and voters. Here, too, the Party leadership made a mistake. It did not display the necessary firmness in combating sectarianism and dogmatism and did not campaign against the sectarian errors on a broad scale. This delayed the improving of Party activity.

Still, the Sixteenth Congress cleared the way for a bolder and broader policy. The isolation of the Party as a result of the anti-communist campaign began, gradually, to be overcome.

The struggle against sectarianism, especially in practical activity, continued at the Nineteenth Congress. The way to success lies through active

work in the mass organizations, notably in the trade unions, and through fight for the interests of all the members of these organizations. The report of the Mandate Commission showed that, of 327 full delegates to the Congress, 223 were members of trade unions, 106 were members of tenants' associations, 166 belonged to co-operatives, while 105 were active trade unionists. But this refers to the delegates — the active core of the Party. Most members of the Party and its branches are, however, still divorced from the day-to-day struggle of the people and the activity of the mass organizations.

The Party organization in one area stated in its proposals to the Congress that not infrequently its work was divided into "purely Party" and "non-Party." The "purely Party" work included collecting dues, selling Party papers, holding branch meetings. The "non-Party" work included activity in the trade unions, in the tenants' associations and in the other mass organizations. The comrades working in this way cannot always find the time for inner-Party work and for this reason they tend to be regarded as passive members.

The Congress made it clear that views of this kind were harmful and should be combated. The work carried on by Communists in the trade unions and factories is every bit as important as the inner-Party work. For the worker the Communist Party is not something abstract. He often identifies it with the member whom he knows personally. Should this member be a skilful champion of the workers' cause against the employers, and should he be a thoughtful man, he will surely win confidence and sympathy, and the worker will give his support to the Party.

The Congress recognized that the reorganization of Party activity would be a long process calling for patience and hard work at all levels — from the Central Committee to branch committees. It realized, too, that the new policy necessitated a deeper ideological training of functionaries and members. There was the danger that the members working in the mass organizations would neglect ideology and run the risk of becoming bogged down in routine matters, lose sight of the revolutionary perspective and thus leave the way open to opportunism. The Congress held, however, that the Party workers had the ideological grounding and the practical experience to ensure the achievement of the aims that had been set.

The Congress was preceded by a broad discussion of the theses drawn up by the Central Committee and circulated three months earlier. The discussion helped formulate the political platform of Party activity for the next few years.

In foreign policy, the main task is the fight for peace, for reduction of armaments and for controlled complete and general disarmament. In

Sweden two issues play an important role in the fight for peace and disarmament: first, whether or not to equip the armed forces with atomic weapons and, secondly, whether to cut the vast military expenditure or not.

Whether Sweden should have its own atomic bomb has been disputed for a long time. Meanwhile research is being carried on. Social Democracy is gravely divided on this question. The government, expressing its unwillingness to consider the matter, will not make up its mind until 1963. It is believed that Sweden will not be in a position to manufacture its own atomic bomb until then. The Communist Party, from the outset opposed to the manufacture of atomic bombs, insists that no research be conducted in this sphere. Public opinion supports our view, and the Congress unanimously resolved to campaign with renewed vigor for it.

For a small country like Sweden the present military budget of nearly 3,500 million kronor (700 million dollars) is far too big. Actually about 25 per cent of the budget is swallowed by military needs. Much of this goes to the big monopolies which are piling up profits. The military machine is at variance with our neutrality and with the foreign policy of steering clear of alliances. The bourgeois parties and the government are anxious to exclude military expenditure from the discussion. But the Communist Party is campaigning vigorously against the military expenditure and the extravagance of the military brass. The campaign has yielded good results, and the Congress called for further work in this direction. It also formulated a number of general propositions envisaging an organization of the armed forces that would meet the interests of neutrality. The Communists are insisting that these propositions be thoroughly examined by the commissions set up by the government and the Riksdag to discuss the new organization of the armed forces.

In home policy, the Congress advanced among other main tasks the struggle for an extension of democracy. The reason for this is, first, the drafting of the new constitution (the draft on which the commission has been working for ten years will soon be submitted to the government) and, secondly, the need to democratize economic life (restrict the powers of the financial oligarchy, extend the workers' rights in the enterprises, etc.). The Congress called for a speedy solution of the housing problem, for rent reduction, notably in newly-built houses, and laid down the Party's policy on housing.

For the first time the Congress discussed the problems of the small business man. This group of the population runs to 600,000, i.e., double the number of peasants. Small business people often live and work in difficult conditions, oppressed by

the financial oligarchy and big industrial and trading companies. The bourgeois parties are trying—not without success—to win them for an anti-labor policy. Of great significance for the small business people in the towns and other densely populated areas is the question of rent. In this respect their interests coincide with those of the small peasants, and the Congress put forward the demand for lower interest rates on the subsidies granted to small business people.

During the pre-Congress discussion the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties was published. The Congress discussed this document, endorsed it and noted with satisfaction the identity of its basic propositions and the Congress decisions. The Statement not only strengthened the confidence in the correctness of the decisions adopted, but also served as the basis for an extensive campaign to raise the ideological level of the functionaries.

Also in conformity with the Statement was the policy document submitted by the program commission set up by the Eighteenth Congress in 1957. The Congress unanimously decided to substitute this policy document for the 1953 Party program which is somewhat outdated.

The policy document characterizes the organizations of the Swedish working class, the parliamentary traditions, points out that the Social Democrats and Communists command a majority in the Riksdag and in most municipal councils in the big towns and communities and that there are real conditions for a peaceful transfer of state power to the working people and for the socialization of the basic means of production. But, the document goes on, this social reconstruction can be effected only in the course of the anti-capitalist struggle which presupposes unity of the working class and its militant alliance with the small peasants and urban middle sections.

The close link between our Party and the international Communist movement was seen in the presence at the Congress of 18 fraternal delegations, including those from the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, China, Iraq and the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba. Greetings were received from 22 parties.

The radio and television considered the Congress newsworthy. The delegates also heard a report by the chairman of the Union of Tenants' Associations who was invited specially for this purpose.

This picture of the Congress would not be complete, however, without mentioning the new way in which it was conducted. Besides the report of the Central Committee and the report on the Meeting of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, the agenda contained four more

points: economic policy, housing, military expenditure, the problems of the small business people and peasants. An introductory speech was made on each point, after which the question was submitted to the appropriate commission. In addition to the program and mandate commissions the Congress formed two main commissions (numbering over 120 delegates) to discuss political and organizational issues. These commissions were subsequently divided into sub-commissions which handled such issues as housing, military expenditure, youth work, etc. The results were excellent. All the delegates took part in shaping the decisions, compared with previous congresses, when only one-third of the delegates were drawn into the work. A few weak points should be mentioned. The commissions, especially the sub-commissions, had too little time. Since the plenary sessions were held during the day they had to meet in

the evening, when the fraternal delegates could not participate in their work. This, in our view, was wrong. The comrades from the fraternal parties did not get a full impression of the work of the Congress since the most interesting debates took place in the commissions.

In summing up the work of the Nineteenth Congress we can say that it reaffirmed the indissoluble bonds between our Party and the international Communist movement. The Congress outlined a clear course of working-class action and launched the Party on the way to becoming a mass organization; it opened the campaign for raising the ideological level of the members and called for a substantial increase in membership and in the number of Party organizations.

Fritjof LAGER,

Deputy Chairman, Communist Party of Sweden

Educate the Youth in the Spirit of Socialism

Two Germanys

THE German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic are countries with different social systems, fundamentally different home and foreign policies and essentially different approaches to the youth and their education.

The youth of West Germany is in a difficult position. The country, dominated by big monopolies, is ruled by the same politicians, generals and diplomats who twice in the lifetime of one generation have plunged the world into the catastrophe of war and who dream of doing so for the third time. The interests of the youth are scoffed at. No reasonable ideals and perspectives are set before it. On the contrary, a refined system of brainwashing and the old bogey of anti-communism are used to lead the young people astray, to divert them from the struggle for their interests, and to make them tools of unrestrained militarism and revanchism. Moral and physical preparation of the younger generation for another war of aggression, military training, building barracks and laying out atomic testing grounds — these are the things for which the Bonn rulers allocate funds. But they have no money for youth needs, for educating the young people in the spirit of humanism.

Things are different in the Democratic Republic. Never before has the German youth had such opportunities to participate in social, political and economic life as today under socialist democracy. The conditions have been created for developing the ability and talents of the young people, for

study, for the cultivation of lofty moral qualities, for taking part in running the economy and in the government. Building socialism—this is the goal of the youth in the Democratic Republic.

Youth rights guaranteed by the law on "encouraging young people" are an integral part of the Party and government policy. In this respect the first worker-peasant state in the country's history is an example to all Germany.

The Romance of Life

The Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party started from these considerations when it discussed youth matters a little while ago. Its resolution points out: for the first time the young generation is firmly confident that war can be excluded from society provided an active struggle is waged for peace. Given peace, all energies could be directed to the re-making of nature and society. Thus the Party opens before the youth a perspective full of hope and romance. Young people are entrusted with important jobs. Young engineers aged 22-23 work as shop superintendents. Young people are building new enterprises and installations which the people call "youth undertakings." "This, then, is the progress of our times. Our purpose is to make all the young people interested in going ahead, to make them conscious of their responsibility for the future."

The vast majority of young people in the Democratic Republic are working with enthusiasm. Over 14,000 youth teams are competing for the coveted title of "socialist labor team." About 850,000 young

workers are taking part in the socialist emulation. The new, socialist man is being moulded in the factories and in the agricultural co-operatives, on the building sites and in the research institutes. "Our era, in the making of which young people are taking part, is the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. This is a process which cannot but involve everybody."

There are, however, some young people who are not concerned about the new in our life, who have narrow interests and who get onto a slippery path. It would be wrong, however, to say that they alone are to blame for this, for being in the center of the conflict between socialism and capitalism their need for heart-to-heart talks and discussions, for patient explanation of all the questions agitating them is all the greater. Unable to compare their life with life in the old imperialist Germany the young people tend to take the socialist gains in the Democratic Republic for granted. They are told little about the past by the older people at home or at work; sometimes the past is painted for them in a blurred way. They tend to regard the difficulties arising in the course of socialist construction as attributes of a socialism that has already triumphed, instead of realizing that they still have to work for its victory. "Participation in the struggle, overcoming the difficulties and defeating the enemy — these are the things that fire the imagination of the young people and which call for courage and readiness for action."

We should never lose sight of the fact that the enemy goes all out in order to influence the youth by means of evil propaganda and calumny.

This, naturally, raises a host of questions among young people and even gives rise to conflicts among them. "But this in itself is not the bad thing. What is bad is when a young man is left to himself, or, as a result of tutelage and lack of patience on the part of older comrades, concludes that the best thing is to say nothing rather than cause dissatisfaction or be thought 'unreliable.' What is bad is when the talk is over the heads of the young people or when the older comrades do not know how to approach them. Young people are asking where our path leads, and we can and must give them a clear and honest answer."

This is how the matter stands: either we influence the young people or the enemy will. We cannot ignore this, bearing in mind the existence of the militarist Federal Republic, the dismemberment of Berlin, etc.

What Interferes with the Youth

The fact that sometimes young people work without enthusiasm is explained in many cases by the incorrect or bureaucratic approach to them.

It often happens that they are used without due consideration to inclination and ability; their initiative is disregarded and their suggestions underestimated. There is an unjustified fear of entrusting responsible jobs to young people. In this respect things are lagging behind the opportunities. The resolution of the Political Bureau points to the role of trade unions in educating the young, especially in deepening their class consciousness, to the need for regular meetings of young trade unionists and of discussing all production questions with them, of upholding their interests and ensuring the realization of their suggestions.

Young people are anxious to learn and, as a rule, they soon acquire the necessary skill. But the teaching of social science is often behind the needs of life; the knowledge gained is sometimes divorced from reality. Good marks in social subjects should be taken as a sign of the convictions of the young man, they should correspond to his thinking and to his knowledge, knowledge which he can put to use.

More of the New and the Interesting

The Political Bureau criticized the state of affairs when many pupils and students join the Free German Youth League because "it is the thing to do." Membership of the socialist youth organization should derive from the convictions of the young person; it should be a matter of honor. The Political Bureau agreed with the Central Council of the Youth League that this question should be discussed in the colleges and schools, and regulated without infringing in any way the interests of the unorganized youth.

Young people want to use their leisure to the best advantage, and society should help them in this. More youth clubs, dance halls and recreation parks should be opened and sports facilities built. The Political Bureau suggests that student competitions be held annually in the various branches of science and the arts, and student sports championships arranged. Writers and art workers should be bolder in their treatment of the ideals, problems and conflicts of the youth. The Youth League, which unites over half the young people, should exert more influence on all. League members should feel themselves at home in their groups. For this purpose political seminars, games, dances, excursions, etc., should be organized.

At the same time a vigorous fight should be waged against "Western culture" which implies decadent novels, horror films, the crippling of language, music and dance, lack of respect for elders, coarseness in relations between the sexes. But we should not go to extremes here, for after all young people are not hothouse flowers. "We judge the young person mainly by his work in the process of building socialism, by the serious-

ness with which he studies and strives to become a man of our socialist epoch."

In conclusion, the Political Bureau called upon all Party committees and branches carefully to

examine youth problems and to take measures to improve the work among the youth. The resolution urged all organizations and the public to take an active part in this important undertaking.

In Czechoslovakia

IN APRIL the 1.5 million members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will receive their new cards. The card exchange is timed with the fortieth anniversary of the Party which will be celebrated on May 16. The cards will be handed out at branch meetings, in an atmosphere that will enable every member to see the glorious path traversed by the Party and to become more conscious of his duties and responsibilities in the struggle for socialism.

In connection with the anniversary, mass work is being conducted on a nationwide scale. Veteran members, lecturers and activists have been drawn into this work.

At a national seminar on ideological questions, J. Hendrych and V. Koucky, secretaries of the Party's Central Committee, spoke on the "Forty Years of the Party — Forty Years of Struggle for Socialism and Communism" and "Proletarian Internationalism in the Work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a Component of the International Communist Movement." The seminar defined the ideological trend of the work in connection with the anniversary.

The explanatory work aims at showing that the Party has always adhered to the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism and has applied it to the conditions of the country;

the successful building of socialism in the Republic has demonstrated the unity of theory and practice in the Party's activity;

the strength of the Party lies in its contact with the people and the reinforcing of this contact is seen in the steady improvement of economic management;

the Party, a component of the world Communist movement, working tirelessly for the unity of this movement, is cementing the unity of the socialist countries and extending co-operation with them.

The working people are displaying a keen interest in the glorious history of the Party. Last September the fortieth anniversary of *Rude Pravo*, the Party organ, was widely celebrated. At numerous meetings people spoke about the role played by the Party press in completing the building

of socialism and concentrated attention on the things still to be done.

February this year witnessed another anniversary — 40 years of the Communist Youth League. Leading Party workers spoke at youth meetings.

Meetings, talks and lectures devoted to the general strike of December 1920 and to the revolutionary peasant actions in Western Slovakia were held in Prague, Kladno, Oslavany, Hodonin, Vrutky, Levice and other towns. In Lubochna, Party and Youth League members met with veterans who were delegates at the founding congress (January 1921) of the Marxist left wing of Slovak Social Democracy. The meeting took place in the house in which the congress was held. The local Party organizations are popularizing outstanding Communist actions in their areas and educating the youth in the revolutionary traditions.

Main attention, however, is paid to the questions of ideology, economy and Party building. Conferences are being held at which the significance of the Party's experience in the practical work of completing the construction of socialism is discussed. The Party organizations in Southern Czechia, for example, held conferences on "The struggle of the Communist Party to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and for the victory of large-scale co-operative farming in the region." The discussion disclosed unused potential for advancing agriculture and reaching the Third Five-Year Plan targets for agriculture in four years. The regional Party committee and the trade union council in Ostrava held a conference on the subject "From the shock-worker movement to the socialist labor teams."

"He who does not work neither shall he eat"—such was the subject of the conference at the May Day mine in Karvinna. The relationship between personal and public interests, labor discipline, work and leisure, and many other subjects aroused great interest. Before the conference the pit bulletin published 80 letters from miners who expressed their views on life under socialism and shared their working experience.

In addition to the conferences, talks and lectures, other forms of mass work are widely used. Radio centers in the factories relay programs on such

themes as "The Communist Party in the Struggle for Socialism and Communism." There are exhibitions on the important events in the Party's history, and young people meet with veterans of the working-class movement. Many people are taking part in readers' conferences on the books *Anna, the Proletarian*, by J. Olbracht, and *The Czechoslovak Republic and the Communist Party* by V. Kopecky. Excursions to places of interest and to the scenes of engagements between partisans and the Nazis are also arranged.

Each public organization is doing its bit in the common work. The trade unions, for instance, are holding talks on the leading role of the Communist Party in building socialism and in sociopolitical life. The Czechoslovak Sports League arranged a seminar on the fortieth anniversary of the Federation of Workers' Sports Leagues — the first working-class sports organization in the country. Much work is done by the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. Special programs have been prepared by the radio and television committees, film studios and theatres.

The Institute of History of the Communist Party, the Institute of Social Sciences and the Central

Party School will hold three-day conferences on the subject: "Forty Years at the Head of the People." *History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*, *History of Czechoslovakia*, *History of the Communist Party in Pictures and Photos* and a number of other works on the history of the Party will be published.

Numerous groups of intellectuals and workers are writing the history of the revolutionary movement in their respective localities. This, too, is characteristic of the keen interest displayed by the people in the anniversary. A group set up by the Trutnov City Committee of the Party is completing a book of essays entitled *Pages from the History of the Working-Class Movement and the Communist Party in the Trutnov District (1914-1921)*. Works of this kind are being prepared in other areas.

The celebration of the Party's fortieth anniversary has taken on a nationwide character. A socialist emulation drive is under way, and the working people are making new pledges in honor of the anniversary.

Miroslav LAB

Turning Point in Mass Struggles in Greece

ON DECEMBER 1, when some 15,000 building trades workers on strike in Athens gathered outside the trade union headquarters and headed for the Ministry of Labor to present their demands, they were savagely attacked by more than 1,500 police ordered out by the government to break up the demonstration. Over 100 workers suffered injuries. Barricades were built in the streets.

Nearly 100,000 building trades workers throughout the country downed tools in solidarity with the Athens strikers, and workers in other industries also gave them their support. This, the biggest and best organized strike action in Greece in recent years, was the culmination of a succession of strikes testifying to a new upsurge of the mass movement beginning with the middle of last year.

Boot and shoe workers in Athens held 24- and 48-hour strikes at various factories alternating with one-day industrywide strikes. Creamery and soap workers in Piraeus, electrical workers in Salonika, railwaymen and bus depot personnel in Athens and Piraeus, gas workers, and miners in Macedonia and Thrace struck work on repeated occasions. Bakers, millers and macaroni factory workers called two-day strikes twice in the space of six weeks, first in Athens, Piraeus and Salonika,

and later on a national scale. Athens printers fought two strikes — the first, which spread to Salonika, for 33 days and the second for more than two weeks. In Athens and Piraeus leather workers were out for a month. In the course of these struggles the trade union membership increased by 25 per cent.

What distinguishes these strikes from the previous ones? First and foremost the mass scale and the determination displayed by the strikers. The actions were of longer duration and better organized. Whereas a total of 141,000 workers downed tools in 1959, the number in December 1960 alone was 152,000, and for the whole year, 395,000. Initial stoppages of a few hours developed into one- and two-day strikes repeated week after week; later, instead of affecting single enterprises, there was a growing tendency for them to take in all the enterprises in the given industry on a city scale and sometimes on a national scale.

The strikes affected also those industries where the number of organized workers is still comparatively small, such as weaving and spinning, or where the unions are dominated by the reformists, as on the railways, in the lignite mines, and in the flour mills.

Thanks to the determination of the workers, nearly all the strikes ended in full or partial victory. Even the government, which declared at the beginning of last year that it would not give way to wage demands, was forced to agree last July to a 10 per cent increase for low-paid workers and to grant higher pensions.

In recent months strikers have begun to advance political demands as well. For instance, in Athens the issues raised at the meetings and demonstrations included the defense of peace, democratic freedoms, the repeal of anti-labor laws, release of political prisoners, etc.

Most significant is the growing unity of action and solidarity displayed by the workers. The strikes acquired an industry- or citywide scale primarily because the local unions, in defiance of the reformist leaders, joined forces and set up action committees. It was this rank-and-file unity that compelled the Right-wing leaders of the building trades, oil workers' and stevedores' federations to support the strikes in these industries. Even the reactionary leaders of the General Confederation of Labor were forced to sanction the demands for higher wages, for repeal of the anti-labor laws, and to authorize a 24-hour general strike in Athens.

The militancy of the workers has had a stimulating effect on the peasants and on the small bourgeoisie in the towns. Handicraftsmen, shopkeepers and peasants in Crete, grain-growers in Thessaly, tobacco-growers in various parts of the country, and the peasants in Amalias, Karditsa, Arta and elsewhere have held mass protest meetings against the pro-monopoly policy of the government. The basic demands advanced at these meetings are: curbs on unbridled speculation by the monopolies, a moratorium on the growing debts, lower interest rates on loans, trade with the socialist countries, etc.

There is ferment, too, among civil servants, students, lawyers and doctors. Bank clerks, school teachers, lawyers and postal employees have already held 24- and 48-hour strikes. Students made a 500-kilometer protest march from Salonika to Athens. The youth organizations of the Left and Center opposition parties have protested against the provocations of the neo-fascist organizations which the government has taken under its wing.

The mass movement is giving impetus to anti-government sentiment among people of the most diverse political views ranging from the Left and Center to the more or less patriotically-minded people among the Right. The opposition includes, besides a former Prime Minister and six ex-ministers, M.P.'s, university professors, scientists, writers and artists. Some 120,000 citizens from different sections of society have signed a petition

for the release of Manolis Glezos. In the towns and villages hundreds of residents, including church dignitaries and mayors, have signed petitions for the release of local people jailed for political reasons. Ignoring their leaders, members of the Center parties are making arrangements for joint action with the Left. In the residential districts of Athens, for instance, the rank and file of most of the opposition parties have formed joint committees. Fifteen M.P.'s have called for co-operation by all the opposition parties, pointing out, moreover, that the exclusion of the Left would deprive the opposition of valuable forces. To ensure the nationwide unity of all the opposition forces, the Left included, a Co-ordination Movement of National Democratic Struggle has been formed by ex-ministers, members of parliament and other leaders of the Center parties. Even the government has had to say that the demand for relaxation of the political tensions has assumed the proportions of a "psychosis." The fact that the government has entered into negotiations with the Bulgarian People's Republic is also due to pressure from the opposition. Reactionary leaders such as Melas and Pipinisis have declared that "only irresponsible people can talk today about raising the territorial issue of Northern Epirus." The ruling circles have been forced to maneuver.

What conclusions does the Communist Party draw from these developments? The Central Committee meeting in January noted that the policy of tightening the fetters on the country and squandering its national wealth, the attempts to bring Greece into the Common Market, the intensified exploitation, the difficulties experienced by the urban and rural small and middle bourgeoisie, the economic slow-down, growing unemployment, threatening inflation and the cold-war policy all are strengthening the opposition to Karamanlis. The Central Committee stressed the significance of the upsurge of the mass movement, primarily among the working class, as proof of the growing crisis of the regime. It is now more imperative than ever to remove the Karamanlis government from office and to go over to a democratic policy. Greece is on the threshold of major political and economic struggles in town and countryside.

The Communist Party points out, however, that to effect a change in national policy, its urgency notwithstanding, will not be a simple matter. The plutocracy, alarmed by the rising movement, and anxious to stamp out the vestiges of democratic freedoms, is resorting more and more to terror and is preparing a revision of the constitution. With this in view they are making use of the so-called Grivas movement, the purpose of which is to split the patriotic forces who are disillusion-

ed by the policy of the government and to impose on the people a fascist-type dictatorship. Although this movement has not found the support which its inspirer counted on, Grivas's demagoguery may mislead some people, especially the peasants and part of the youth who are turning away from Karamanlis. The peasants, who tend to be neglected by the democratic forces, are wavering. At the same time the ruling classes, backed by the American imperialists and the king, look to the Right-wing leaders of the Center parties, who fear unity with the Left and are greatly influenced by anti-communism. Venizelos, the Liberal leader, for instance, supports Grivas, while Markesinis of the Progressive Party seeks a way out of the crisis in his party by co-operating either with the Democratic Union or with the Rights, depending on the circumstances.

Despite the difficulties, the Communist Party takes an optimistic view of things. There are indications that the situation is changing. At the moment it is imperative to consolidate the progress

made to date, especially as regards united action, first and foremost in the trade unions, to extend the mass actions of the working people and develop them into a national struggle. The most pressing demand of the Party is for free elections which would open the way to democratic change. Of decisive significance is the work of the Communists in the trade unions, among the wavering reformists and members of the Center parties. The Central Committee considers it essential to overcome the underestimation by some Party members of the militancy of the masses and the importance of extra-parliamentary forms of struggle; they should have more faith in the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and should not overestimate the role of parliamentary work. Mass action outside parliament combined with the parliamentary forms of struggle is the way to extend the patriotic front, bring about the downfall of the reactionary Karamanlis government and lead the country onto the democratic road.

Nikos NIKOLAIDIS

Standing Guard Over the Interests of the Working People

(Swiss Party of Labor Combats Housing Crisis)

IN May 1959 the Federal Council (government) submitted a bill under the pretentious title "Maintaining Price Control" (including rent) but which, in point of fact, provided for the abolition of controls.

According to the bill official rent control was an exceptional measure, a wartime survival, which was to be gradually abolished.

On three occasions—in 1950, 1954 and again in 1957—permission was granted to raise rents by 5-10 per cent. Even the government admitted that there was an acute housing crisis and that the tenant was virtually at the mercy of the landlord and the manager. The shortage is felt in all big cities: in Geneva, for example, a mere 10 flats were available for over 145,000 in need of them; in Zurich there were 18 for 390,000 applicants, and in Basle 29 for 18,300. The government motion was the result of pressure by the associations of property owners, employers and bankers.

In Switzerland rents are very high, often reaching 15-20 per cent and more of the family expenditure. Profiteering in housing is rampant. In

Zurich the profits obtained from speculation in flats amounted in 1958 to 42 million Swiss francs. The newspaper *Co-operation* wrote on September 19, 1959, that the profit from speculation in real estate stood at 5,000 million francs, and gave the example of the plot of land in Geneva which was bought for 217,770 francs and in two days re-sold for 777,675. Capitalists from all countries, and above all from West Germany, are taking part in the hunt for easy money. The price of land in the suburbs of the cities has risen tenfold in recent years. Such are the results of free enterprise in trade and industry in this "model" capitalist country.

And yet Parliament approved the gradual abolition of rent control and of the measures to protect tenants. The people, too, in a referendum held on May 29, 1960, also approved, by a majority of 306,000, the abolition of control. This calls for an explanation. How could it happen that public support was forthcoming for the measure? The point is that they were confronted with pure blackmail: either agree to gradual abolition of

control in the future (with temporary exceptions for the urban cantons) or lose everything inasmuch as the strict rent control act expired on December 31, 1960. Still, the Party of Labor resolutely entered the lists against the abolition of controls. And it did so without any support from the Socialist Party or the reformist trade unions.

It should be said that only 37 per cent of the voters went to the polls. In the Geneva Canton, where the Socialists made common cause with us in voting against, the result was 10,397 "for," and 8,659 "against." In the city proper, those voting against were in the majority. Another factor which should be taken into account was that women, who do not have the vote in our country, were unable to take part in the referendum.

The effects of the measure are not being felt as yet. In the densely populated urban cantons rent control and tenant safeguards are being maintained for the time being. In other cantons there is a so-called "rent supervision," something less strict than control. In those cantons in which the influence of our Party is stronger (Geneva, Neuchatel, Basle) we have succeeded in forcing the local authorities to maintain control for the time being.

But no illusions should be cherished concerning the position of the housing market. According to investigations the gradual abolition of control will raise rents by at least 35-40 per cent.

Meanwhile, the housing crisis is as acute as ever. An article which appeared in the *Lausanne Revue économique et sociale* last spring estimated that the demand for flats would double between 1960-66 and thereafter would run at a rate of 20,000 flats a year, since the scale of construction will be determined not by the demand, but by the capital available for investment in this sphere.

It would be difficult to find clearer recognition of the fact that under capitalism profit decides everything, even when it is a matter of a roof for the worker and his family.

The influx of American companies and foreign workers is intensifying the crisis. These and other companies will pay any price for buildings in the central areas of the towns, demolish them and evict tenants who are forced to settle in the out-

skirts and in what remains of the outlying villages. Clearly, the sensible solution would be to build houses at the expense of the treasury (central, cantonal and communal governments) at a fair rent. The people have fallen back on the right accorded them by the federal and cantonal constitutions, the so-called right of *popular initiative*, i.e., the right to submit the draft of a law by collecting signatures. Last November, as a result of the work carried out by the Party of Labor, residents of Geneva called upon the government and the cantonal authorities to build in the course of two years 3,000 flats. Some eighteen thousand signatures were obtained to this petition in the space of five weeks. Thousands of women, who in September 1960 were granted civil rights for the first time, were among the petitioners.

Under pressure from our Party, the cantonal government was forced to submit to the Cantonal Parliament the plan for a housing scheme, to be financed by the state and let to tenants at a moderate rent. By doing so it sought to forestall the initiative of the Party, whose proposal was to be discussed by the people. In response to other plans submitted by our deputies, designed to end or at least restrict the profiteering in real estate, the government had to draft further legislation.

In all the cantons our Party branches are fighting on behalf of tenants whose earnings are low. They have set up public committees which fight for the tenants in disputes with the landlords and work in the tenants' defense commissions. These committees fight against evictions, enlisting the support of the public and appealing to the cantonal governments. As a result, the prestige of the Party branches is steadily rising. The people feel that in all matters—big and small—they can rely on the Party of Labor. This confidence has enabled our Party, particularly in the French-speaking areas, to win important electoral successes.

This example, one of many, is useful because it shows how Party work can be conducted even when business is booming and in a country which, as they say, is in a privileged position.

J.V.

The Goal of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe

SOME people pretend to be surprised at the very idea of combating colonialism in Guadeloupe. Guadeloupe, they claim, has no traditions of its own, many feel that it is a corner of France under different skies and that never in their history have our people taken up arms in order to throw off the colonial tutelage.

But things will look altogether different if we examine a number of facts, make a brief excursion into history and analyze some of the current data about the country. And this is what the Communist Party is doing in its explanatory work.

What, then, are the facts? Located at a distance of seven thousand kilometers from France, Guadeloupe is run by a representative of the Paris government. And no matter whether his title is that of Governor (as was the case before 1946) or Prefect (as is the case now) this representative is by no means accountable to the people over whom he rules. The General Council, elected by universal suffrage, has no legislative powers, while electoral manipulations make impossible a genuine expression of the popular will.

Is it not a fact that at present colonial domination of one nation over another is expressed above all in the desire to impose a political regime under which the subject nation has no voice, and is made into an economic appendage to the metropolis?

A glance backward into the distant past will enable us to say that whenever the French colonialists found it advantageous to do so, the island colonies (including Guadeloupe) were used for the production of tobacco, indigo, sugar cane and spices. But French traders never hesitated to slash the quotas whenever this was necessitated by the general state of the economy or even by fortuitous factors. At the same time the islands have always been a closely guarded market for French manufacturers.

The abolition of slavery in 1848 was due in large measure to the fact that sugar-beet growers in France complained at what they called the unfair competition of the rich colonials in Guadeloupe who produced cane sugar very cheaply because of slave labor.

The islanders, naturally, could not remain indifferent to the vicissitudes that befell them. The gainfully-employed population consisted almost entirely of white colonists of French origin (the slaves had no rights whatever).

But even in the early days a contradiction set in between the metropolis and the colony; even though the latter had been founded by people of French descent, the colonists, by virtue of having grown up on the island, formed a community of their own.

After the Second World War, the anachronism of the colonial regime became clear to all: an irreversible process of democratization set in throughout the world. In this situation the people of Guadeloupe demanded, and were granted, equality with the people of France. Since France was ruled by a democratic coalition government at the time, we had hopes of achieving social progress.

And true enough, the so-called assimilation law promulgated on March 19, 1946, whereby Guadeloupe was granted the status of a Department, brought our people some useful gains. Not the least of these were social insurance, the building of schools, homes, etc.

But the colonial wars which France has been waging since 1946, the ignoring of our problems by those who sign decrees and other regulations affecting us, the deliberate avoidance by government after government of any implementation of the assimilation law and, lastly, colonial oppression in Guadeloupe which was intensified as the zone of colonialism narrowed—all contributed to worsening the situation in the country. Take just one fact—the reactionary politicians in Guadeloupe who opposed the assimilation law in 1946 hastened to support it the moment it became clear that it had been emasculated and turned into a juridical mystification, an instrument of social conservatism.

What is the goal of our people? They want a political statute which would take cognizance of the specific features of Guadeloupe. They are insisting that those who rule over them display a better sense of responsibility. What we chiefly want is that the purely national matters be decided by the people themselves, through an assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and a local executive body accountable to the assembly. As to the more general questions, they could be within the province of the French government.

This is a simple, clear and firm stand in line with the will of the majority of the people. Since the historic meeting in Puent-a-Pitr on May 4, 1958, when representatives from all walks of life denounced the present political statute, the idea

of abolishing this statute has gained ground. And the politician who would openly oppose this pressing demand would risk his career.

With a view to preserving the regime abhorred by the people, resort is had to all kinds of base acts such as the electoral swindle; corruption and cynicism are features of the top circles. Attempts are still being made to deceive the people. But nowadays the people judge things differently, and this, a significant fact, is seen in particular in the universal condemnation of the war in Algeria.

The first stage of the struggle against colonial strangulation of the country has been traversed. The people have launched a campaign in the course of which they are demonstrating that the demand for a new anti-colonial statute is not only possible and feasible (being based formally on the preamble to the Constitution of the French Republic) but that it will result also in a more rational utilization of Guadeloupe's resources.

If those sections of the population opposed to the present statute can succeed in overcoming their prejudices and establishing a broad united front, the French administration will, without doubt, be forced to give in and accord greater initiative to the representatives of the people. This, if achieved, could accelerate co-ordination of the movements for a new political statute in Guadeloupe, Guiana and Martinique.

Poverty and disease, ignorance and prejudice—these are the scourges of a considerable section of our people. And only a non-colonial status will make it possible to end this situation. Social changes in our country are inconceivable without an agrarian reform, the urgency of which is beyond denial. In its turn, this reform will further industrialization, even though restricted and, what is more, will help normalize our trade balance.

These measures are the preliminary condition for any progress: material, cultural, spiritual or moral. The complex problems enumerated above cannot be resolved in any other way. To the sceptics we say that right now Guadeloupe has the people who can tackle these tasks. And although the responsibility for solving these problems is not that of the Communist Party alone, we declare our readiness to make our contribution to the common cause. The memorable February 22, 1959*, was a kind of preview of the tasks and a manifestation of our strength. All democrats, all educated and sincere people who reject futile and harmful anti-communism and who are waiting for a lead to do their bit in the new conditions for the common cause, are with us. Moreover, we have the support of the youth, of whom we can be proud and on whom we can rely: their actions in August 1960** demonstrated that innate in this most numerous and sound section of the population are earnestness, valor and absolute sincerity.

At the outset we pointed to the anachronism of our political statute. But we know, too, that repressions have never prevented the realization of an idea once it has gripped the minds of the people. It is perfectly clear that neither Guadeloupe nor Martinique can forever remain aloof from the highway of progress. And the champions of the interests of the people of the two islands will, in the not-too-distant future, wage a still broader fight in order to accelerate their advance.

S. PIERRE-JUSTIN,

*Secretary of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Guadeloupe*

*On February 22, 1959, Communist intellectuals organized a conference at which they reviewed the natural resources of the island and the spiritual values of the people.

**A United Youth Conference, held over August 10-13, 1960, had repercussions throughout the country.

Forms and Methods of Mass Work

(Review of the Party Press of the Capitalist Countries)

INDIVIDUAL APPROACH IN RECRUITING MEMBERS

Austria



The strikes in Vienna and in Lower Austria against rising prices, for higher wages and other economic and social demands have prepared the soil for recruiting new members to the Communist Party. The anti-Habsburg actions carried out by the Party were also instrumental in this respect. The struggle opened the eyes of many to the soundness of the Party's policy.

Over 3,200 new members joined the Party between September 1 and the end of January. Two-thirds of the new enrolment are factory and office workers. One-third of the total are women; over a third are under 30 years of age. Many members of the Socialist Party have joined the Communist Party. A useful part in this was played by the gains made during the elections for the production councils and workers' chambers.

Over 1,000 members took part in the recruiting campaign. The aim was to recruit mainly factory workers. Hence special attention was devoted to improving the work of Party organizations at the point of production. Better results were achieved where the activists, members of the production councils and of other elected bodies, talked with workers individually.

At branch meetings recruiting experiences were exchanged. Many branches have decided that it is time to pass over from campaigns to the steady work of winning new members.

OVER A CUP OF TEA

Great Britain



Woman Today — Her Job, Family and Future, a pamphlet published by the Communist Party, exposes Tory policies and shows how to fight them and also what life could be like in a socialist Britain. The Communists consider the broadest possible circulation of the pamphlet to be an important task.

Party branches are popularizing the pamphlet in a variety of ways. Some take it to meetings of

the Communist Party and other organizations, others sell it to weekend *Daily Worker* readers. Some branches arrange invitation meetings for women. Perhaps the most effective of these are house meetings with five or six women over a cup of tea at which matters of concern to them are discussed. Women will come more readily to a house than a public hall and they ask more questions, too. Some of them, upon learning about the program and policy of the Party, join on the spot.

Women feel very strongly and deeply on the issues discussed. Unemployment, the restricted educational opportunities for children, housing problems, all agitate women and, increasingly, they can be brought into action on these vital questions. These forms of work help women to understand socialist ideas and the tasks of working-class political action.

USING THE COURT AS A TRIBUNE

Denmark



General Jalf wrote an article last year in which he admitted that during the Nazi occupation he, being in charge of the armaments received from abroad for all the Resistance groups, gave none whatever to the Communist groups. This brought up general acid criticism from the public who accused him of having sabotaged the liberation of the country.

Jalf took libel action in court against Comrade Martin Nielsen, chief editor of *Land og Folk*, of insulting behavior.

During the trial many unpleasant facts were brought to light concerning the activity of reactionary officers in the Resistance Movement. This caused such an outburst of indignation that the government did not dare extend Jalf's term as Supreme Commander, which expired at the time of the trial. The treachery of another officer—Colonel Schoedt-Eriksen, ex-member of the Danish Nazi party—was also brought to light.

In this way the trial developed into a tribunal of public accusation against the reactionary elements in the army presently advocating close military co-operation with West Germany.

The things brought to light during the trial were discussed in parliament and were featured in the press. The Communist Party organized meetings and rallies and published other documents exposing the reactionaries. Leaflets and posters were distributed. Comrade Nielsen was found guilty, but an appeal has been lodged with the Supreme Court. The police lodged a complaint against Poul Emmanuel, chairman of the Communist Youth League, for issuing a poster which, it was claimed, was offensive to Colonel Schoedt-Eriksen. Emmanuel was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

The sentence sparked off more protests. In an open letter to the Minister of Justice, Emmanuel's wife asked what she should tell her children when a fighter for the freedom of the country is thrown into jail for exposing a man who sabotaged its liberation. The letter was printed in a number of papers and found a wide response among readers. On the day Emmanuel was sentenced the Communist Youth League organized a demonstration which accompanied him to the prison gates.

ELECTIONEERING

Chile

EL SIGLO

The general election held last March was a big success for the Communist Party which almost doubled its vote compared with the previous elections; all its Senate candidates were returned.

The Party conducted a vigorous campaign. Along with meetings and rallies at which leaders of the Party spoke, wide use was made of the radio.

One of the Santiago radio stations relayed a daily feature prepared by the Party on the subject "Chile Goes Left." On week-days the talks were for fifteen minutes, and on Sundays—half an hour. During the election campaign another station relayed talks by Jaime Barrosa, Senate candidate; the poet Pablo Neruda; V. Teitelboim, parliamentary candidate (Teitelboim took for his texts: "Defense of the University," "The Destiny of the Youth," "Aspects of Cultural Life," "Solidarity with Revolutionary Cuba").

Radio station Portales ran a "Forum" program which brought to the microphone spokesmen from the different parties. The questions, which were not known to the participants in advance, were asked by the chairman of the panel directly at the microphone.

The Communist Party spokesman was Jose Cademartori, M.P. His contribution was printed

in *El Siglo*, the Party paper, and also in many capitalist papers. In his Christmas message the President found it necessary to reply to the points made by Cademartori. In a press statement Cademartori disproved the President's contentions.

FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE

Japan



Nagashi, a village in the Nagano prefecture, numbers 100 households. Most of the residents combine farming with part-time work in industry or building. A few years ago there was only one Communist in the village—the 53-year-old Tifuju Futatsugi. Thanks to his efforts, two copies of *Akahata*, the Communist daily, have been circulating from house to house during the past five years. Futatsugi made use of the village custom of passing from house to house the circulars issued by the authorities and other official papers. At first his job was not an easy one. Among the villagers are supporters of the Liberal-Democratic Party and the Socialist Party. It would have been foolish to think that they would help to circulate the paper. Some people grumbled: "We are busy and yet you are worrying us with your paper." Others said: "I've got no time for Reds. No decent person would allow their paper into his house." There were occasions when the paper was torn to shreds. Some villagers suggested that the paper should be circulated only among those who were really eager to read it. But Fatatsugi stood firm: "House-to-house circulation of printed matter is a village custom. And sooner or later those who are not enemies will understand us." Fearing that the paper might have got lost while making the rounds, Fatatsugi often visited the houses to make sure that it got there. Then, two years ago, things became more normal. One of the villagers said that he had been won over by Fatatsugi's patience: "Well done! Just imagine what he has had to put up with, yet he persevered day after day without getting a single penny."

Thanks to this selfless labor, 35 villagers now subscribe to the Sunday edition of *Akahata*. Wherever Fatatsugi goes he always takes papers and other literature with him.

Before the last general elections Fatatsugi's son and another villager joined the Party, so that now there is a branch in the village. This year the Communists aim at raising the membership to ten and the number of *Akahata* subscribers to fifty.

Exchange of Views

What Are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class?

In this issue the discussion initiated by our questionnaire is joined by the Economic Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina and the journal Nueva Era (Argentina); L. Figueroa, General Secretary of the United Trade Union Center of the Working People of Chile, and by the economists and sociologists V. Perlo (USA), K. Tessmann (GDR), and R. Medvedyev (USSR).

THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA AND THE JOURNAL "NUEVA ERA" (Argentina)

The Argentine Working Class in Facts and Figures

FROM the end of the last century and approximately up to 1930 the working class of Argentina was replenished mainly by European immigration, chiefly from Italy and Spain, but also from France, Germany and other countries. The skilled labor flowing in from these sources served to lay the foundations for our national industry. Many of these immigrant workers were revolutionaries who had left Europe because of persecution. They brought with them a rich experience in trade union and political struggle and in large measure helped to mould the class consciousness of the Argentine proletariat, to build up the trade unions and the working-class party.

Under the Uriburu dictatorship established in 1930, the immigration was stopped. This ban remained in force for a long time and the expanding industry drew its labor force almost exclusively from the indigenous population.

According to revised data issued by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) there were approximately six million wage and salaried workers in Argentina in 1959, comprising 75 per cent of the total labor force.

Of these 3,250,000 were workers, while 2,750,000 were office employees*; of the workers 1,300,000

were employed in industry, 310,000 in the building-materials industry and in the building trades, about 500,000 were transport and communications workers, around 1,100,000 in agriculture. Many of the agricultural laborers were seasonal workers, employed as a rule only during harvesting. This category includes a large number of agricultural laborers from Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile and other neighboring countries who are employed chiefly in the border provinces during the harvesting of the cotton and sugar cane crops.

Of the clerical workers, 700,000 were employed in trade, the banks, insurance companies and other offices, and 1,100,000 in the administration—national and local. Bourgeois statistics include in this category domestic servants, hotel staffs, etc. In all, 650,000 people were in jobs of this kind.

The main source of intake for the working class is the peasantry and, to a lesser degree, the urban population, mainly women and the youth. It is worth noting that the influx of the rural population into the cities, characteristic of all capitalist countries, is greater in the Argentine owing to the agrarian crisis caused by the domination of the latifundists and the dependence on the imperialist market. It is due also to the relatively rapid development of a number of branches of light industry during the war and in the immediate postwar years.

The influx into industry of the rural population and also of women and school-leavers has imparted to the working class, and subsequently to its social

See Nos. 5, 9 and 12 (1960) for previous contributions.

*Since the present survey concerns the working class and other exploited workers with common class interests, the managerial personnel and highly paid professionals employed by the big capitalists should be excluded from this number.

and political organizations, a broader national character. On the other hand, owing to the lack of trade union experience and the low level of political consciousness of the new contingents of proletarians, bourgeois ideology, embellished by demagogic trappings, has affected fairly large sections of the workers. This is one explanation for such a social phenomenon as Peronism.

The conditions of the small bourgeoisie have deteriorated during the past two years. Their sons and daughters, obliged to earn their own living, are becoming part of the working class.

Here are some figures illustrating the concentration of the working class:

No. of workers employed	No. of enterprises	% of total No. of enterprises	Total No. of workers	% of total No. of workers
Up to 10 persons	41,125	77	139,423	15
From 11 to 25	6,894	13	107,835	12
From 26 to 100	4,186	8	201,802	22
From 101 to 300	994	1.5	164,481	18
From 301 to 500	174 }		68,090	7 }
From 501 to 1,000	120 }	0.5	84,038	9.5 }
Over 1,000	71 }		151,596	16.5 }

According to these figures, 90 per cent of the enterprises employed 27 per cent of the labor force in 1948, while 0.5 per cent accounted for 33 per cent of the labor force. In recent years the tendency toward concentration has increased. However, in the Argentine as in other dependent countries, the handicraft industries continue to occupy a considerable place in the economy, not as regards total value of output, but in the number of workers employed. The U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America estimates that 41 per cent of all the workers in manufacturing are employed in these branches. It should be emphasized, however, that the Commission's figures, based on an erroneous method of classification, include in this group a considerable number of those who work at home—tailors and dressmakers, shoemakers, weavers, etc. These people, who are largely dependent on the industrial enterprises, cannot be classed as handicraftsmen.

Maturity or Parasitism?

The relative and absolute increase in the number of workers engaged in non-production, or in the various services as they are called by bourgeois economists, has already been noted in the answers from other countries published to date.

Bourgeois theoreticians seek to justify this by comparing the economy to the human life cycle—birth, youth and maturity. Economic development, in their view, proceeds in stages: it begins with agriculture, cattle-breeding, hunting and fishing, mining; this is followed by manufacturing industry, while the culminating point is reached with "services" (trade, banks, insurance, public utilities, transport, hotels, entertainment, etc.). Hence the conclusion that the development of the services is an indication of the maturity of the economy of a given country.

But if this is so how can they explain the fact that an analogous situation obtains also in the underdeveloped countries? One bourgeois theory, the Duesenberry theory, explains this by saying that the underdeveloped countries blindly imitate the developed countries. But this argument will not hold water.

For an explanation of this process in the highly developed countries one should turn to *World Marxist Review* for May 1960. The article headed "First Comment on the Questions and Answers" pointed out that the reason for the increase in the number of non-production workers should be sought in the growth of state-monopoly capitalism, the growing parasitism and the economic difficulties encountered by capitalist society, and the features associated with modern mechanized and automated production.

In our country this process is the result of the domination of foreign monopolies, the landlord oligarchy and bureaucratic capital, which prevent or retard the development of the productive industries.

The table below shows the changes that have taken place in recent years in our country in the gainfully employed population, using the term (in the sense of the bourgeois economists) to include both the exploited and those who exploit them.

Year	Engaged in production (in % of the total labor force)	Engaged in non- production spheres (in % of the total labor force)
1895	66.48	33.52
1914	64.05	35.95
1947	57.91	42.09
1959	53.97	46.03

The table reveals a rapid increase in the number of non-production workers. The biggest increase is observed in trade, banking and insurance and in the administration, particularly the army and police.

Office Workers Fight for Their Interests

In our country, as in the other dependent countries, mechanization and automation are introduced much more slowly than in the advanced capitalist states.

Office work, however, is comparatively highly mechanized, chiefly in the banks, insurance companies, government offices and in some of the bigger business firms. This is done in order to intensify the exploitation of the office workers and discourage them from fighting for their economic demands. Most office employees do not earn more than factory workers. Their expenses, however, are higher since they are obliged to dress better.

The proletarianization of office workers is expressed in an intensification of their struggle. Traditionally led by reformists, the salaried workers

are beginning to disregard the leadership and take action themselves, electing militants as was the case with the bank clerks, and putting up a staunch fight for their demands.

Impoverishment Increases

The relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class and the working population generally has noticeably increased in recent years. Take, for example, the reduction in that part of the national income designated as "remuneration of labor" — bearing in mind that the official statistics include under this head the salaries of the directors and top executive personnel of factories, managers of banks and insurance companies, high-ranking government officials, the officers and men of the armed forces, the police, etc.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME (in %%)						
	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959*
Income of employers, private owners, professionals, etc.	47	49.2	51.8	52.4	51.4	61.8
Remuneration of labor	53	50.8	48.2	47.6	48.6	38.2

*Approximate figures.

Note: Contributions by employers and workers to the social insurance fund are deducted.

The following table shows how real wages have declined.

SUBSISTENCE MINIMUM OF AN UNSKILLED WORKER WITH A FAMILY OF TWO CHILDREN (Buenos Aires)

	Subsistence minimum (in pesos)	Monthly earnings (pesos)	Difference	% % of needs
May 1949	822	433	389	53.0
May 1955	2,229	1,022	1,207	46.0
May 1959	9,160	3,957	5,203	43.0
December 1959	10,860	4,373	6,487	40.3

It should be noted that the subsistence minimum does not include expenditure for such household articles as washing machines, refrigerators, television sets, etc., which in view of the present level of industry and technology should, we believe, be classified as necessities.

Argentine Trade Union Bureaucrats

The labor aristocracy is typical for imperialist countries. We can say that in our country there is no labor aristocracy, if by this term is meant a select category of workers whose earnings are above the average price of labor power.

Of course, there are highly skilled men in many branches of industry and transport who earn more than the vast majority of other workers. In a sense these workers can be regarded as privileged. However, it should be borne in mind that they are paid these wages chiefly because they are highly skilled. In any case their wages are high only as compared with the wages of the other workers in the given trade. On the whole, the

"privileged" wage ranges from 8,000 to 9,000 pesos a month, which, as can be seen from the above table, is considerably below the subsistence minimum figure of nearly 11,000 pesos for December 1959.

The trade union bureaucracy is a different matter. In this case we must say that in our country, as in all capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie, and especially the imperialists, know how to buy and tame the trade union bureaucracy. This by no means applies to all or even to most of the trade union leaders. But the fact that this bureaucracy exists is something no one will deny.

Up to the 'twenties our trade union movement had been predominantly anarchist in character. No salaried officials were permitted. This tendency had to be combated after a time, especially when, with the development of industry and transport, the trade unions began to grow and it became necessary to have full-time officials in every union. The reformist leaders in a number of unions, chiefly the railway brotherhoods, the printers,

telephone operators, trading employees, seamen, municipal workers, etc., gradually built up a caste of "indispensable" officials.

Under the Peron regime, the unions lost their independence and were subordinated to the government and the employers. One of the ways in which this was done was by radically changing the economic basis of their existence. Compulsory union membership and the payment of monthly dues were introduced, the latter being deducted by the employer from the workers' wages. In addition, every wage increase had to be "donated" for two weeks in equal parts to the Eva Peron Fund, the trade union and the General Confederation of Labor.

Under Peron, the union bureaucracy grew to monstrous proportions. Whereas formerly only one or two leaders received salaries, now all the members of the leading committees, as well as all subcommittee members, were placed on the union payroll. Moreover, a miniature army of administrative officials appeared. Each union had between 80 and 200 paid functionaries. At last the staff of some of the big unions grew so large that they

formed their own union, "a union of trade unionists."

In some cases the unions acted as bankers for the employers. When an employer found himself unable to pay bonuses, the trade union, "to avoid conflicts," offered loans from the union treasury.

Naturally, the union bosses took advantage of this situation to line their pockets. When the Peron regime fell it was revealed that some of them had made fortunes running into millions. The class interests of these trade union tycoons are obvious.

At present the union bureaucracy continues to wield considerable influence in the labor movement, particularly in organizations under reformist and Peronist leadership. However, as the foreign monopolies and landlord oligarchy make further inroads into the living standard and working conditions, the class struggle grows, in spite of the inertia of the reformist leaders, as is witnessed by the unprecedented strike movement. These actions are led by men who are loyal to the working class, mainly Communists, a fact which serves to enhance the prestige and the significance of the organizations under their leadership.

LUIS FIGUEROA

*(General Secretary, United Trade Union Centre
of the Working People of Chile)*

WE wholeheartedly welcome the initiative of *World Marxist Review* in publishing the questionnaire on the changes in the structure of the working class. This has made possible a valuable exchange of views and experience, an examination of the general laws of the development of the working class in the capitalist countries and a better understanding of the national peculiarities of this problem in the light of the law of uneven development under capitalism. The exchange, clearly, will be useful for the working class struggle in

the semi-colonial and dependent countries which is what most of the countries of Latin America are.

Three Sources of Replenishment of Chilean Working Class

The proletariat began to take shape in Chile in the middle of last century, but its real growth is a matter of the past 30 years.

The table below shows the distortion of the labor force in 1940 and 1954:

	1940		1954	
Industrial workers	885,847	64%	2,257,000	76.5%
Clerical workers	172,493	13%	412,000	14.0%
Self-employed	314,088	23%	280,000	9.5%

This shows a definite growth in the number of the industrial workers. This cannot be concealed even by official statistics which classify the managerial staffs and executives in the big enterprises as "clerical workers."

There are three main sources from which the working class is replenished — the peasantry migrating to the towns in search of a better life, the

natural increase of the working class and lastly, handicraftsmen and the middle sections (the small business people beaten by competition of the big capitalist enterprises).

In the past eight decades there has been slow but steady country-to-town migration as can be seen from the data furnished by the Central Statistical Board:

	Rural population %	Urban population %
1875	65.0	35.0
1940	47.6	52.4
1952	39.8	60.2

The official statistics suffer from certain deficiencies. For example, in the above table residents of hamlets with hardly any industry and in which the main occupation is farming are listed as townspeople. This tends to exaggerate the urban population.

Still the statistics make it possible to draw some conclusions concerning the growth of employment—clerical as well as industrial. This growth is closely connected with the influx of the rural population to towns, mainly to those with a concentrated industry. This is accompanied by development—concentration of economic power. Of late there has been a growing tendency towards monopoly, mainly in ore-mining and in the manufacturing industries, in insurance and banking and also in communal services. Thus, a recent investigation showed the existence in the country of eleven financial groups of which the three biggest control 70 per cent of all joint-stock capital.

Along with concentration of capital we have seen in recent years a growth in the number of handicraftsmen and small shopkeepers. The closing of factories and mines has thrown thousands of factory workers and office workers out of jobs. Unable to find work, they became pedlars and handicraftsmen.

The Militant Core

Since the emergence of the working class its core has consisted primarily of miners—nitrates and coal. For nearly a century the workers at the nitrates mines have been in the van of the actions for social, economic and political demands, actions which gave rise to the first political and trade union organizations of the working class. It was here too that the first steps were taken towards establishing the Socialist Workers' Party, now the Communist Party.

The rapacious activities of the foreign monopolies which enjoy the support of the big capitalists in Chile have brought the nitrates industry to the verge of ruin. In 1929 employment in this industry stood at 50,000, but by 1949 it had shrunk to 23,500, and today it is a bare 13,000. The core of the working class consists now of miners and factory workers.

Active Replenishment

The growth of processing industries—textiles, food, metal-working, plastics, etc.—the building

of state-owned and mixed enterprises (an iron and steel works in Uschipato, the national electricity and oil companies, sugar refineries, etc.) have been accompanied by a considerable growth of the industrial proletariat and a change in its composition. A new factor is, for instance, the big increase in female employment in factory and office. In 1954 women accounted for 25.1 per cent of the total labor force.

The formation of groups of banks, insurance and other companies as well as new state-owned industrial enterprises, and some extension of social security and insurance have resulted in the growth in clerical employment.

Rural Proletariat Is Growing Stronger

There are in our country 700,000 peasants and agricultural laborers, 500,000 of whom work for wages. This number also includes the so-called "inquilino," that is, the sharecropper, who rents a plot of land and house and receives a meagre wage; in return he and his family are obliged to work for the landlord. Sometimes the landlord takes half the crop and the young cattle.

Supported by the urban working class, the rural proletariat and the poor peasants are putting up a valiant fight against the semi-feudal exploitation. In defiance of the law prohibiting trade unions in the countryside, unions are being formed in the shape of "free committees," associations, etc. These organizations are employing the methods and tactics typical of the urban proletariat. As a result of their struggle and with the aid of the industrial workers, the agricultural laborers have won an 8-hour day, family allowances, benefits for widows and orphans, payment for Sundays and holidays. They join forces with the smallholders in fighting for their common demands.

Clerical Workers Merge with the Working Class

Clerical workers who make up 14 per cent of the labor force are approximating more and more to the working class. Their salaries do not differ greatly from the wages of skilled workers. They average 2-3 dollars a day, which points to their low standard of living, especially in view of the inflation. Clerical workers fall into two opposed groups: clerks, book-keepers, shop assistants, etc., on the one hand, and the managerial personnel in industry who are paid large salaries and even share in the profits.

The majority of the clerical workers are more susceptible to bourgeois ideology than industrial workers. The capitalist state leaves no stone unturned in its efforts to drive a wedge between the clerical workers and the industrial proletariat. From childhood the former are taught to scorn manual work; the idea is hammered into them

that they belong to a special middle class with a better education and upbringing. Laws have been promulgated which establish minimum salaries for them, and they enjoy, in addition, better social security benefits. These laws also provide for special trade unions composed entirely of clerical workers.

But the contradictions of capitalism due to the operation of the law of maximum profit, obtained solely by intensified exploitation, cannot be abolished by the legislation or regulations dictated by the bourgeoisie. Today we are witnessing the continued proletarianization of medical workers, teachers, civil servants and municipal employees, rail and city transport clerks.

The numerical growth of clerical workers is accompanied by their growing militancy. During the recent strikes many of them displayed a magnificent spirit and even fought the police. This awakening is the result of the growing influence exerted by proletarian ideology, of the economic, social and political struggle waged by the working class for many years. Displaying solidarity and organizing joint actions, the industrial workers have resolutely supported the clerical workers in their struggle against the employers.

The law forbids clerical and production workers employed in the same enterprise to belong to the same union. Their unity has been achieved by setting up federations embracing those employed in particular branches of industry. Today there are a large number of mixed industrial-clerical federations which use revolutionary methods of struggle.

The majority of organized clerical employees have joined with the industrial workers and farm laborers in building a national trade union organization — the United Trade Union Center of Chilean Working People. This center, which includes workers by hand and by brain in town and countryside, is, on the whole, guided by the ideology of the proletariat. At the same time it unites working people that have had little experience of political struggle, and even those clerical workers who are under the influence of bourgeois ideology. The mixed composition makes it imperative to carry on unremitting ideological struggle, and for this it is essential that the basic proletarian core — factory workers and miners — should be better versed in Marxist-Leninist teaching.

People and Machines

Two factors interweave in Chile: a high technological level with many automated labor processes, and primitive, handicraft forms of pre-capitalist production. Introduction of new machinery is accompanied by wholesale dismissals and wage cuts. At present the official minimum wage is 880 pesos

a day, or 80 U.S. cents. Copper miners, whose wage is the highest, make between two and three thousand pesos a day — between two and three dollars. Owing to the low wages, the workers are forced to agree to super-exploitation on a piece-rate basis and, even worse, to overtime. So much is this the case that we can now say that the 8-hour day, for which the workers fought so valiantly and shed so much blood, exists only on paper.

The pressure brought to bear on the capitalists by the workers in their fight for better conditions has resulted in minor concessions being made; but the concessions do not signify an increase in basic earnings, they imply rather a system of supplementary remuneration which, in turn, means intensified exploitation. For example, Sundays and holidays are paid for only if the worker has put in not less than 48 hours a week. Should he work, say, 46 hours, he loses the right to remuneration for Sundays. The same applies to the payment of bonuses and grants.

The veteran skilled workers find it hard to get jobs in the modern plants with mechanized and automated production. The employers prefer to take on young workers who have had a brief spell of training but who are strong enough physically to conform to the rhythm required by the machines.

The same is true of clerical staffs in the big industrial and trading enterprises, insurance company offices and banks, even though mechanization is still in its infancy there. The big banks, installing computers, are laying off thousands of employees. Moreover, many clerks, no longer clerical workers in the sense of people with a good knowledge of mathematics and book-keeping, are simply operators trained to handle the machine. At any moment they can be replaced by others agreeing to receive less.

In these conditions the distinctions between production and clerical staff are steadily being erased, while the changed outlook of the latter brings them closer to the proletarians.

Freedom or Super-Exploitation?

In the drive for profits the capitalists resort to the handicraft forms of labor which are commonplace in Chile. All the U.S. enterprises and most of the enterprises belonging to the national bourgeoisie enlist private contractors for certain operations, particularly assembly and repairs. The workers doing jobs for these subcontractors are paid at a lower rate than those employed permanently, nor do they qualify for social security and insurance benefits in case of industrial accidents. Denied to them too are the other privileges accessible to the permanent workers. They are, in fact, seasonal workers who are regularly replaced

in order to prevent them from organizing and fighting for their rights.

In mining operations — copper, iron ore, nitrates and coal—some workers work on their own, that is, they are not paid wages. And whatever they extract with their own implements is "bought" by the company. Workers who do not own these implements buy them from the employer. The cost of the implements and also the capital raised by the owner for the right to work the place, are deducted from their earnings. On the face of it, this worker is a free man, but in reality he is even more oppressed than the man working for wages. He does not qualify for social insurance benefits and his earnings are not guaranteed. Even after working up to 14 hours a day his earnings do not match the average wage. This brutal form of super-exploitation is preserved solely because of the growing unemployment.

The footwear, clothing and some other industries which are in a state of crisis with many dismissals taking place, use the system of home work on a piece-rate basis. Those dismissed continue to work for their former boss, but in their own homes. Earnings are so scant that all the members of the family are forced to take part.

Labor Aristocracy

A labor aristocracy in the classical sense is non-existent in Chile. There is, of course, a difference between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers which at times is very great. But the relatively high wages paid to some workers in our

country will not stand comparison with the average in other countries. It should be stressed that the wage depends not on the trade or branch of industry but rather on the militancy of the trade unions. For example, a turner or fitter in a big enterprise is paid a fairly high wage. But in the event of being discharged and forced to take a job in a smaller enterprise, his wages will be half or at best two-thirds of his wage in the big enterprise.

Much the same is taking place in relation to clerical workers, although the differences among this category are, if anything, more pronounced. On the one hand there is the bulk of these workers with no great difference in earnings, and, on the other, a handful of employees who are paid big salaries, who share the profits, and own property. These strata, naturally, are linked with the managements and with the capitalist state.

One should not conclude from what has been said that the working class of our country is not affected by capitalist ideology. This ideology penetrates into some sections of the working class. Hence discussion and clarification of the vital questions posed in *World Marxist Review* concerning the moulding of the working class and the changes in its structure, as well as further study of the methods of corruption used by the bourgeoisie in an attempt to soften the class struggle and channel it along different lines, will help to deepen the class consciousness of the working class of Chile and give it a better idea of the aims of its struggle.

VICTOR PERLO

(*United States of America*)

I HAVE read with interest the answers to the questionnaire on changes in the structure of the working class, appearing in the May, 1960, issue of *World Marxist Review*. Previously I had the opportunity of reviewing the Labor Research Association material while it was being prepared, and I consider it accurate and agree with its conclusions. I also agree with, and find especially profound, the First Comment of the Editorial Board on the Questions and Answers.

I would comment somewhat on your conclusion emphasizing the "steady numerical growth of the proletariat, the increased weight of those of its sections employed in the non-production spheres, the proletarianization of salaried workers and their growing tendency to merge with the working class."

Salariat Is Recruited from Working-Class Families

We should learn more about the social origin of the white-collar workers. In the United States in 1959 there were 9,000,000 clerical workers, but only 2.5 million who were heads of families. The majority of clerical workers are women, and most of these are the second or third earner in a family.

A generation ago the clerical worker was likely to be a younger member of a petty-bourgeois family. Today, the children of the petty bourgeoisie could not fill all of these jobs, and in any case, many of them are striving for professional jobs. The fact is that today a very large percentage, possibly the majority of the clerical workers, come from families of industrial workers and

other manual workers. While the children of the middle classes, when leaving high schools, usually are able to go to college, the children of the working class usually either go directly to work, or go to a technical school for typing, bookkeeping, or some other lower clerical occupation.

That is why today, the subjective basis for aloofness from labor struggles on the part of white-collar workers is no longer a different class origin, but other factors. For example, many of the young women clerical workers regard themselves merely as working until they get married. But the same psychology holds for many young women factory workers, and it has not proved an insurmountable barrier to class struggle.

White-Collar Workers and the Unions

If we examine the situation in the United States more closely, we find certain differences in the degree of activity of white-collar workers. Employees of chain stores and department stores, the majority of them in "white-collar" categories, belong to unions and conduct militant strike struggles. Telephone operators on long-distance lines are organized and have also conducted important strikes. However, there has been very little organization or strike struggles of the great mass of file clerks, typists, etc., employed by the giant banks, insurance companies, and corporation headquarters. Interestingly, there has been more success in organizing insurance agents — who, objectively, are closer to the employers — than insurance company clerks and typists. The railway clerks were organized, a long time ago, thanks to the strength of the railway unions generally, who assisted the clerks in organizing and forcing recognition from the companies.

It is commonplace for the AFL-CIO to pass resolutions and sometimes even appropriate funds for the organization of white-collar workers. The futility of these resolutions and appropriations stems from the AFL-CIO top leadership's general line of class collaboration and support of the cold war, which has resulted in the decline in the numerical and political strength of the labor movement in America in recent years.

Certainly the more progressive and active forces among the working class will break through this bureaucracy again, as they did during the 1930s, and take the lead in successfully bringing to a higher stage the organization, militancy, and effectiveness of the American working class, white-collar as well as blue-collar.

Seven Million Professional and Technical Workers

In discussing the growth in the number of white-collar workers one should pay more attention to

those sectors where the growth is concentrated. In the United States between 1950 and 1958 the number of professional and technical workers increased 57 per cent, the number of clerical workers 18 per cent, and the number of sales workers six per cent. Of a total gain of 4.1 million in the number of white-collar workers, the professional and technical group accounted for 2.5 million, or about three-fifths. By 1958 there were close to seven million professional and technical workers, coming within striking distances of the nine million clerical workers. Clearly, that is the area of concentration, and one must examine this really dynamic social change, more than the "general" increase in white-collar employment.

Even among the professional and technical workers, the growth was concentrated in a special group, the engineers, scientists, technicians, and draftsmen. This group now numbers over 2.5 million, about evenly divided between the engineers and scientists, on the one hand, and the technicians and draftsmen who assist them, on the other. To indicate the speed of growth, the number of engineers jumped from 300,000 in 1940 to 1,000,000 in 1959.

The causes of this growth are well known. Its spur, from 1940, was the unlimited demand for science and engineering in the munitions industries. On this continued demand has been superimposed the spreading throughout economic life of the scientific-technical revolution, the intimate joining of science and industry which is a specific characteristic of the second half of the twentieth century.

Unlike the clerical workers, the professional workers today are more likely to be derived from petty-bourgeois families than working-class families. But only a minority are petty bourgeois — the 12 per cent of the professionals who work on their own account, and with a certain amount of necessary capital. Like the clerical workers, the majority are completely divorced from ownership of productive capital, and depend solely on salaries for their incomes. As for the 26.6 per cent of professionals reported to be shareowners, only a small part of these own enough stock to affect their economic status in any significant way.

Particular importance attaches to the engineering and scientific workers, the dynamically growing group which is playing such a key role in the technical-scientific revolution. The majority of them are young people of above average ability and education; they have the potential for great creative work, often thwarted by the militarization of science and its perversion by monopolies.

Their earnings are typically 50 per cent or more higher than those of a skilled worker, so that their economic conditions are definitely superior to those of the bulk of the working class. Moreover, for

the time being, the economic insecurity and unemployment which affect the workers remain a potential, rather than an actual, threat to people in these occupations. Consequently, for the present, one cannot expect them to form the same kind of organizations, and engage in the same kind of economic struggles, as the masses of the workers. However, in the United States, as in other countries, many scientists are prominent in the fight for peace, understandable because of their direct exposure to the realities of the militarization of science by monopoly. Consequently, one must regard the scientists and engineers as major allies of the working class, as a crucial potential detachment in the fight for peace.

As for the technicians, draftsmen, etc., their conditions of work correspond more or less to those of skilled workers, and they are potential union members, participants in labor economic struggles.

A large segment of professional workers are teachers. A small minority of them belong to trade unions. The history and conditions of their work make this logical for the teachers as a whole, and identify them unmistakably with the working class.

In general, the growth in the employment of engineers and scientists is not associated with the increasing weight of non-productive spheres. Most of these are employed in the production of commodities, even if in many cases they are socially useless munitions. A minority are employed in the research departments of industrial corporations, which have become so important in the past decade. Whether these should be regarded as part of the productive or non-productive sphere is a question worthy of special consideration.

KURT TESSMANN

(Rostock, GDR)

THE survey undertaken by *World Marxist Review* and its contributors is important not as an end in itself. Its significance lies chiefly in the fact that the changes in the structure of the working class in the capitalist countries reflect: a) definite trends of capitalist development; b) the intensification of exploitation; c) steady growth of the objective prerequisites for the proletariat to exercise its leading role, in a word, the very problems on which attention of the international working-class movement is focussed.

Steady Growth of the Working Class

The decisive and determining factor in the devel-

opment of the working class as a whole is its steady numerical growth in all countries. This is due, firstly, to the development of capitalist industry, notwithstanding crises and wars, and secondly, by the proletarianization of the small and middle bourgeoisie. The claims made by bourgeois ideologists and revisionists that the working class is "disintegrating" are refuted by the facts.

For instance, according to the International Labor Organization, the proportion of wage-earners to the total labor force has increased, as follows:

West Germany	between 1882 and 1956 from 64.7% to 75.4%
France	between 1851 and 1954 from 54.6% to 64.9%
Switzerland	between 1888 and 1950 from 56.5% to 74.9%
Italy	between 1936 and 1954 from 51.6% to 60.4%
Norway	between 1930 and 1950 from 65.4% to 71.1%
The United States	between 1940 and 1950 from 78.3% to 82.2%
Canada	between 1931 and 1951 from 65.5% to 77.3%
Australia	between 1911 and 1954 from 74.3% to 81.3%

This is a contradictory process, inasmuch as the growth in the number of workers is retarded by the rising productivity of labor and the accompanying tendency to reduce the share of living labor in the commodities produced. Technological progress, mechanization and automation, are ousting many workers from production. The

same tendency is observed in the case of agricultural laborers.

Changes in the Occupational Distribution of the Proletariat

The proportion of wage-earners to the total labor force in the three basic sectors of the economy

in four West European countries (France, West Germany, Sweden and Italy) and in the United States and Australia taken together, changed as follows between 1933-40 and 1947-54:

Agriculture	— 7.0%
Industry	+ 3.4%
Services	+ 3.7%

The United States, however, accounted chiefly for the lag in the growth of industrial employment as compared with employment in the services. In Western Europe the growth in the number of industrial workers is much more rapid than in the sphere of services. In the United States the exceptionally high proportion of wage-earners to the industrial population is due to the heavy concentration of industry: 93.3 per cent (1950) as against 88.2 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany (1950) and 86.4 per cent in France (1954).

This is clear proof of the stagnation and parasitism of the capitalist economy. In the United States marketing difficulties lead to a constant increase in personnel engaged in the non-production sphere—advertising, sales research, etc. It is necessary to give special attention to this in view of the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism.

This process of development by no means minimizes the decisive social role of the industrial proletariat; its role in social production in the capitalist countries is constantly growing. At the same time, the industrial workers continue to be the most numerous section of the working class. In West Germany, for instance, in a matter of three years (from 1952 to 1955) the share of industrial workers in the total labor force increased from 56 to 57.8 per cent, while the proportion of workers employed in the service branches dropped from 37.4 to 36.8 per cent and in agriculture, from 6.6 to 5.4 per cent.

Capitalism Is Downgrading Skills

A feature of capitalism is the tendency toward the gradual downgrading of workers' skills. In their drive for profits, the capitalists remove skilled workers from industry or transfer them to worse paid and less skilled work. True, bourgeois statistics try to conceal this trend.

According to official data, the share of various skilled groups in the total labor force changed as follows (in percentages):

	1910	1950
Skilled workers	18.9	25.2
Trained workers	23.5	39.5
Unskilled workers	57.6	35.3

The general increase in skills suggested by the reduction in the numbers of unskilled is, however, misleading. Although the group of trained workers embraces a wide range and includes, among others, highly-skilled specialists, the bulk consists of workers who have undergone a routine course. Sixty per cent of the conveyor operators are taught in a matter of three days. But even training which takes several weeks does not give the worker any skill, it merely reduces him to the status of an adjunct of the machine.

With the spread of automation, the decline in the skilled trades is reaching a point where the share of skilled workers in the overall labor force is beginning to diminish. According to the data of the West German metalworkers' trade union, the proportion of skilled to the total number of manual workers decreased from 57.6 to 53.5 per cent between 1951 and 1957. This tendency has been increasing ever since.

The changes in the structure of the working class referred to here are taking place when automation is still in its initial phase. Already the conveyor-belt systems and other forms of capitalist rationalization are ousting the traditional skilled worker who is being replaced by the man or woman trained to perform the same operation over and over again.

Automation Does Not Alter the Situation

Automation, too, signifies the ousting of many semi-skilled workers from production and greater unemployment. At the same time, it becomes necessary to have a comparatively small group of highly-skilled specialists. It would, however, be an illusion to assume that capitalist automation requires only highly-skilled specialists. In a report on automation delivered at the 40th session of the International Labor Organization, D. Morse, Director-General of the International Labor Office, categorically warned against such an appraisal. "I have already heard of many cases," he said, "when automated labor processes which only engineers were supposed to be competent to handle are being done quite successfully by unskilled workers after a short course of training on the job." The general downgrading of skills is substantially accelerated by automation. This process is not easy to trace inasmuch as the capitalist enterprises publish very little data on it. Nevertheless what has appeared confirms that downgrading is taking place. For example, in the Renault works, one of the most highly automated in the capitalist world, the composition of the labor force changed in the following manner (taking 1949 as 100):

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1957
Unskilled workers	100	114	123	127	112	114	120	137
Skilled workers	100	102	115	119	114	114	118	122
Proportion of unskilled to total unskilled and semi-skilled (in %)	55.8	58.5	57.3	57.6	55.6	55.7	56.4	58.4

Of those taken in by one of the biggest and most highly automated chemical concerns in West Germany in 1957-59, 60-75 per cent were unskilled. The proportion of skilled workers in the West German chemical industry as a whole dropped from 43 per cent in 1950 to 37 per cent in 1955.

A study of 300 automated industrial enterprises in the United States revealed that in most cases the number of engineers, maintenance men and inspectors had not increased. At some enterprises a decline in the average level of skill had been registered.

Under capitalism automation leads to a steady increase in the proportion of low-skilled workers. Simultaneously, the number of skilled craftsmen sharply declines while the number of workers in some of the higher skilled categories (inspectors, maintenance men, foremen, etc.) may increase.

Such, then, is the general trend in the big capitalist enterprises. The basic trend of technological progress under capitalism, however, is not toward consistent *overall automation* but *partial automation*. This is typical of capitalism inasmuch as it ensures maximum exploitation of the workers and is the best way of adapting industry to the demands of the market.

The Labor Aristocracy is Disappearing

The general process of downgrading skills is causing a steady depletion in the ranks of the labor aristocracy. After the Second World War, when the general crisis of capitalism entered a new stage, the decline of the labor aristocracy was accelerated — the result of the levelling of jobs and status of certain groups of the working class due to mechanization and partial automation. The old upper crust of labor aristocrats is gradually being replaced by a much less numerous group of specialists operating the new installations. Automation in offices is extending the levelling process to clerical workers, thus bringing their labor closer to that of the manual workers.

The general tendency under capitalism towards a levelling out of the conditions of wage-earners is expressed in a levelling of wages of unskilled and skilled. In Britain, for example, the average

earnings of unskilled workers in relation to the average of the skilled have risen in some branches of industry as follows (in percentages, the wages of the skilled being taken as 100):

Years	Building trades	Shipyards	Iron and Steel
1880	64	54	60
1900	67	52	58
1914	67	55	59
1924-1938	75	69	72
1950	84	82	85

In Germany the ratio in industry as a whole was 77.3 per cent in 1929, 79.2 per cent in 1933, and 79.5 per cent in 1939.

A study of 30,000 French enterprises yields the following picture of the dynamics of average hourly wages (in %):

	1945	1950	1955
Unskilled workers	100	100	100
Specialized (semi-skilled)	115	107	105
Skilled (Group "B")	125	116	113
Skilled (Group "A")	145	130	125
Highly skilled	175	154	150

Different Social Systems — Different Results of Automation

As distinct from the downgrading of skills which is a feature of capitalism, mechanization and automation in all the socialist countries are accompanied by a change in the character of the labor and by a steady improvement in the skills of all workers.

In the German Democratic Republic, for example, the picture is as follows (in %):

Year	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled
1952	13.5	41.2	45.3
1953	11.4	40.3	48.3
1954	10.2	39.7	50.1
1955	10.1	39.1	50.8
1956	9.5	39.0	51.5

Thus, it will be seen that the rise in the level of skills of the working class depends not on the nature of technological progress, but primarily on the social system and on the purpose served by the introduction of new techniques.

R. A. MEDVEDEV (USSR)

I SHOULD like to touch on only one of the interesting and important questions raised by your journal, namely, the effect of automation on the workers' skill in capitalist industry.

The Worker of the 20th Century

The U.S. Labor Research Association and the German Institute of Economics consider that automation leads to a decline in the skill of the workers. It seems to me that the grounds given for this assumption are insufficient. I feel that the view expressed by *Marxism Today* and *World Marxist Review*, as outlined in the first editorial comment on the survey, is more convincing.

I cannot quite understand why the U.S. Labor Research Association places maintenance workers tending automatic lines and workers trained specially to service and repair particular machines in the category of unskilled or semi-skilled workers. The social consequences of automation under socialism differ from those under capitalism. But the difference is not that under socialism automatic lines are served by highly-skilled workers, whereas under capitalism these lines can be operated, maintained and repaired by semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The fact is that under capitalism, too, this work can be done in most cases only by highly-skilled workers. True, the type of skill changes with automation. It is not so much manual skill that is required of a worker today as general technical knowledge, alertness and intelligence. But this is exactly what skill in the modern sense means.

Approaching the New from Old Positions

One can hardly agree with the German Institute of Economics when it bases its conclusions on comparative figures for the years 1935 and 1958. It is true that the number of skilled workers in Germany declined during the 30's and 40's owing to the rapid development of production-line methods. A similar decline took place also in the United States at one time. According to official American statistics, the proportion of skilled workers to the total employed in industry during the twenty years from 1920 to 1940 dropped from 16.6 to 14.8 per cent. At the same time, the share of so-called specialized workers rose from 13.3 to 18.1 per cent (it should be borne in mind that production-line methods began much earlier in the United States than in Europe).

But what we are now concerned with is the effect on the workers' skills not of *production-line*,

but of *automation*. Rapid growth of automation in the leading capitalist countries began approximately in 1953 when the engineering, radio equipment and consumer-goods industries were automated (automation in the chemical and oil-refining industries was widely introduced in the 40's). Hence a comparison of figures for 1935 and 1958 cannot give the correct answer to the question that interests us. Unfortunately, the German Institute of Economics does not have special data on the changes in skills of workers in those enterprises where automation has been introduced on a large scale. My view is that when these data become available they will disprove the conclusion about a reduction in the share of skilled workers as a result of automation. At any rate, reports published in the Soviet press point to an increase in the proportion of skilled workers in the Federal Republic during the past ten years. For example, in the industry manufacturing means of production the number of skilled workers rose from 29.2 to 35.1 per cent, while the number of unskilled dropped from 35.4 to 22.8 per cent.

In the United States, with its higher level of technology, the number of skilled workers has increased since 1940. According to official data, the proportion of skilled workers rose from 14.8 per cent in 1940 to 18.1 per cent in 1950. And the demand for skilled labor continued to grow in subsequent years.

700 Engineers to 2,000 Workers

An incorrect assessment of the consequences of automation is sometimes the result of observing a limited sector only and drawing general conclusions therefrom. A recent article dealing with the effects of automation on the working class, quoted a French worker telling of the results of introducing electronic equipment at his place of work, a business machines factory in Montrouge. "A new automatic system for machining magnets based on the conveyor principle has been installed in our shop," he said. "It consists of several machine-tools controlled by an electronic 'brain' which perform a number of consecutive operations. The result is a decline in skills. Formerly these machine tools were operated by at least seven or eight skilled workers Now, controlled automatically, the whole line is minded by a single woman worker who has become a regular robot"

What does this example tell us? In the first place it does not say that the automatic machine in question must be tended also by a maintenance

and repair worker. In all probability each of the skilled workers referred to maintains and repairs a number of these machines. Secondly, automation in the given instance is not complete. For if it was possible to automate the main process, it would not be difficult to feed the machine automatically as well. In this way the machine would be under the observation of skilled workers only.

Of course, the total number of skilled workers in the Montrouge plant must have been considerably reduced as a result of the automation. But this is understandable. At some enterprises and in some branches of industry automation usually makes most workers redundant. Moreover, the absolute number of skilled workers employed in the given enterprise also tends to diminish. But as a rule, the share of skilled workers among those retained after the reorganization increases. The proportion (and in boom periods, the absolute number as well) of skilled labor to the overall labor force in the more developed capitalist countries is rising noticeably.

In examining the effects of automation on workers' skills we cannot overlook the growing demand in capitalist industry for engineers and technicians whose labor, as *World Marxist Review* correctly points out, is approaching more and more that of the worker at the bench. The capitalist newspapers are advertising vacancies for specialists of all kinds. The more technically developed the enterprise or branch of industry, the more engineers, technicians and researchers it needs. The number of engineers and technicians in the French coal industry is 3.6 per cent of all the mining workers; in the oil industry the share of managerial and engineering personnel to the total number of workers is 10 per cent. At the Electricité de France the proportion of engineers and technicians has risen to 18 per cent, and in the nuclear industry to as much as 45-65 per cent.

Indicative in this respect is the example cited in the editorial comment of the plant in San Jose (USA) where there are 700 engineers to 2,000 workers.

An Abnormal Process

It would, however, be quite wrong to limit ourselves to the assertion that the proportion of skilled workers and engineering personnel has increased as a result of automation. We must not fail to note the contradictory and distorted nature of this process in capitalist society.

In the first place, scientific and technological progress under capitalism not only demands higher skills and more general technical knowledge from the working class, creating the need for more skilled workers, but it also leads to a wholesale downgrading of skills and to redundancy.

In socialist society automation of industry also releases many workers. In our country, too, many trades are dying out. However, under socialism this does not lead to unemployment or to loss of skills. The greater the number of workers released by automation, the more rapid the expansion of the national economy as a whole, and the greater the number of new enterprises where the released workers find application for their labor. As for the trades which are disappearing, every worker has the opportunity to learn a new trade at the expense of the state. And thanks to the polytechnical education which our youth is now beginning to receive and their generally high level of intelligence the transfer from one job to another will be a comparatively simple and painless operation.

Not so under capitalism. In the first place, the rate of growth of automation is relatively higher there than the rate of economic development as a whole, with the result that large numbers of workers, both skilled and unskilled, become redundant. Workers who are redundant at one plant or in one branch of industry cannot always find work elsewhere and remain in the ranks of the unemployed. Their skill and experience, gained in years of work, are no longer needed, and it is practically impossible for many of them to learn a new trade. The increase in the number of skilled workers lags far behind the rate of downgrading which assumes mass proportions at times of slump.

Secondly, the spread of automation on a scale embracing the key branches of industry so far is observed only in a few of the more highly developed capitalist countries. In the less developed countries, such as Italy, for example, technological progress is developing mainly along the lines of conveyor-belt production with a reduction in the proportion of skilled workers.

Thirdly, the increase in the number of skilled workers, engineers and scientific personnel necessitates a considerable improvement in general education, vocational and specialized training, the democratization of secondary and higher education. It is impossible to continue indefinitely to develop one part of the productive forces — technology — without developing the main part, namely, the working class. But all-round development of the workers conflicts with the class interests of the bourgeoisie. True, under pressure from the labor movement and the progressive public, and under the influence of the general situation and alarm at the progress made by the Soviet Union, the rulers in many capitalist countries have taken steps to improve and expand general education and vocational training. None of these measures, however, can be compared with the thorough reorganization and development of public education effected in the USSR in recent years. The trouble

is that while some business circles in the capitalist countries are in favor of changing the educational system and the vocational training of the workers, other and more influential circles are violently opposed to any change.

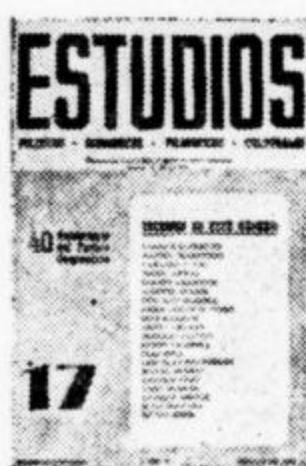
Public education is the subject of controversy in the capitalist countries. Conferences are called, articles published and committees of all kinds set up to examine the question. But so far the practical steps are few. Some additional appropriations

have been made for schools, a few countries have established industrial funds for promoting education in natural science and technology. But this is a drop in the ocean.

Thus, while experiencing a need for more skilled personnel, capitalist society does not and cannot take all the measures needed to satisfy this demand — a striking demonstration of the contradiction between productive forces and production relations under capitalism.

Reviews

Uruguayan Communists' Theoretical Journal



THE journal *Estudios** first appeared in Uruguay five years ago. Founded by decision of the Sixteenth Congress of the Uruguayan Communist Party, which ushered in a new and fruitful stage in the Party's ideological consolidation and organizational development, the journal has become an active force

in the political and social life of the country.

Estudios is closely linked with the work of the Party and with the growing activity of the masses.

In the Forefront of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Questions of Party strategy and tactics occupy a prominent place in the pages of the journal.

Issue No. 10, for instance, carried the main documents of the Seventeenth Congress held in August 1958, including its policy statement, which pointed out that the basic contradiction between the expanding productive forces and the backward relations of production, characterized in Uruguay by dependence both on imperialism and latifundism, determines the class alignments in the country: the imperialists, latifundists and anti-national big capitalists on the one side, and, on the other, the working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie (small and middle-bracket manufacturers and traders), professionals, students, office employees, artisans and pensioners. The struggle between these basic forces determines the course of the country's development.

The July 1960 issue contained an article by R. Arismendi entitled "Some Problems of the Ideo-

logical Struggle," which examined the key questions of the revolutionary process in Uruguay and the general features of the liberation movement throughout Latin America. In fighting for the vanguard role of the proletariat, says the author, the Communists are opposed to the working class isolating itself and advocate a policy of alliances that would enable it, as an independent political force, to win the leading role in the Latin American revolution.

Latin America, Arismendi stresses, is faced with an anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, the basic features of which are: "1) the leading role of the proletariat, expressed in guidance by the Party; 2) assessment of the revolution as the first stage in the transition to socialism; 3) alliance of the working class with the peasantry, not with the national bourgeoisie, as the foundation of the national front; 4) a policy of alliances conceived as a policy of unity and struggle, i.e., alliances for common goals and struggle for the principles of the working class; 5) special attention to building a strong working-class party based on revolutionary theory and organization."

The journal has done much to expose the colonialist essence of imperialism, especially U. S. imperialism.

In the recent period the struggle in Uruguay against predatory U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the Latin American peoples, is manifested primarily in resistance to the *diktat* of the International Monetary Fund.

Estudios explains to its readers that subordination to U.S. imperialist policy means confining Uruguayan foreign trade to the dollar zone and rejecting bilateral trade agreements in general

**Estudios*, journal published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

and with the USSR and other socialist countries in particular, regardless of the damage this does to the country's economy. Wage freezing, denationalization of the state-owned industrial enterprises and public utilities, wholesale dismissals of government employees, social security cuts, etc., all are part of the subordination of the government to the economic policy of U.S. imperialism.

The answer to this anti-national policy was not long in coming. In the past four years the social struggle has acquired considerable dimensions. In 1959 more than 300,000 took part in strikes, and last year all trade unions, including those catering for government employees and office workers employed by private companies joined in the battle for wage increases. "The workers' struggles in 1960," E. Rodriguez wrote in the December issue, "exceeded anything the country had seen before. . . . These actions resulted in signal gains." The government attempt to freeze wages and pensions was frustrated.

A feature of these struggles is that they are no longer limited to purely economic demands. As can be seen from both the special articles on the subject and the current notes carried by *Estudios*, a common platform offering a progressive solution to the national problems is emerging in the course of the struggle waged against the policies dictated by the International Monetary Fund.

This platform includes, besides the demand for an independent foreign policy and trade with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, implementation of a radical agrarian reform, secular education, university autonomy and protection of democratic freedoms and traditions, which are constantly threatened by extraordinary laws.

A central place in these militant mass actions was occupied by demonstrations of solidarity with the Cuban revolution. In a message from the Communist Party of Uruguay to the Eighth Congress of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, published in issue No. 17, 1960, we read: "The Cuban revolution has elevated the problems of the struggle in Latin America to a higher plane. This revolution has become the central issue of every action, the touchstone for classes, social strata and political leaders, revealing their true approach to the cardinal problems of the Latin American revolution. . . . Defense of the Cuban revolution, which is our internationalist duty, is, naturally, also the most vital national task of each Latin American nation, a measure of its patriotic dedication in the fight against U.S. imperialism, the latifundists and the anti-national big bourgeoisie.

A united popular front is taking shape in the course of the struggles waged in the factories and higher educational establishments and in the

streets. This united front derives strength from the growing influence of the trade unions and such mass organizations as the Assembly of Cultural Workers and the Working People, the Secular Education Movement and the National Co-ordination Committee in Support of the Cuban Revolution. By broadening this multifarm movement and by drawing the peasants into it, the tasks confronting the people can be solved.

For Working-Class Unity

The growing influence exerted by the working-class movement on social and political life, the character of its struggles, and its gains in building organizational unity and associated ideological questions are systematically examined in *Estudios*.

An article by E. Rodriguez in No. 15/16, 1960, on the United Trade Union Center discussed some of the positive aspects of the trade union movement—the part played by the unions in fighting for the working people's demands and determined resistance to the encroachments on their rights and gains, the spirit of unity, combining specific union demands with the demands of various non-proletarian sections and with the major issues of national sovereignty, independence, democracy and peace.

The article points out that the organizational unity of the labor movement is the result of a decade of struggle, a struggle, moreover, in which the Communist trade unionists played an outstanding part. Decisive in achieving this unity was the united action by the workers. "Trade union unity in Uruguay," Rodriguez says, "is not the result of talks around the table between leaders or the exchange of polite notes. On the contrary, every step on the way to unity was associated with bitter struggle, mass actions, joint strikes and demonstrations."

The scale and the impact of the struggle of the working class and its determination to achieve unity accented the need to clarify questions of ideology. And *Estudios* became one of the main weapons in the fight against the disseminators of ideas injurious to the workers' cause. It pilloried such open enemies of working-class unity as the leaders of the Confederation of Labor, who act as agents of the U.S. State Department, and it criticized those who wanted purely economic struggle.

The Party members working in those organizations affiliated to the United Trade Union Center Movement which are still under reformist and anarcho-syndicalist influence have received invaluable help from the journal. Notable in this connection is the article "Some Questions of Ideology in the Uruguayan Labor Movement", by S. Reyes

Daglio (No. 15/16, 1960), which examines the international affiliations of the United Trade Union Center from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. None of the delegates to the Center's inaugural congress took up the cudgels on behalf of the reformist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions or the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of the delegates supported the World Federation of Trade Unions. Only an insignificant minority sought to equate these organizations, or claimed that the World Federation took its orders from the Soviet government. In regard to these allegations, the article pointed out that this was a "bourgeois attitude which serves the interests of the ultra-reactionaries who are out to isolate the Uruguayan workers from their class brothers and the rest of the world."

The article noted the significance of the final agreement not to bind the new Center to any of the existing international organizations, and to give each of the member unions a free hand to decide the matter for itself. The provisional charter, however, empowers the Center to take part in international conferences "which are in harmony with its program and struggles." Though still leaving much to be desired, this is in line with proletarian internationalism which is a tradition of long standing in the Uruguayan working-class movement. As for the Communist Party, it has always stood for broad, fraternal contacts between the Uruguayan unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions and will continue to advocate affiliation with the latter as the only truly class organization in the international trade union movement.

Upholding and Developing Marxist-Leninist Ideology

Estudios systematically propagates Marxist-Leninist scientific views and combats contemporary revisionism and dogmatism. It has printed materials on the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the documents of the meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, and other materials pertaining to the international Communist movement.

The paramount problem of our time — either peace and peaceful coexistence or the armament drive and war — is discussed both in editorials and in other articles.

The journal devotes considerable space to exposing all kinds of distortions that bring grist to the imperialist mill. An example is Yugoslav revisionism, which regards peaceful coexistence as simply the evolution of capitalism into socialism, while

ignoring the fundamental contradictions dividing the two.

"Peace and coexistence must be regarded as part of the ideological struggle," R. Arismendi writes in the article "Some Problems of the Ideological Struggle." "Titoite revisionism looks on peaceful coexistence as an interim phase, a kind of mixture of capitalism and socialism. But oil does not mix with water. The fundamental antagonistic contradictions will allow of no birth of a hybrid system, that is, surrender to imperialism." Far from implying any weakening of the class struggle in the capitalist countries, peaceful coexistence creates favorable conditions for its further development. "For us," writes Arismendi, coexistence means not a truce with our oppressor, U.S. imperialism, but a fight against imperialism, rallying the masses for the struggle for peace, for independence, and, in particular, in defense of Cuba."

The handful of Trotskyite provocateurs in Uruguay argue that campaigning for peace is incompatible with "revolutionary activity." There are also bourgeois elements who, advocating a "peace based on fear," call for piling up armaments and at the same time embellish imperialism and slander the Soviet Union. To all these distortions and fabrications the journal gives a resounding rebuff.

"... Our concept of struggle for an independent foreign policy," Arismendi writes, "includes struggle for peace which is closely linked with winning national sovereignty and the fight against imperialism. The efforts of the USSR and the entire socialist system to safeguard peace inspire and strengthen the anti-imperialist movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, merge with these movements and with the struggle waged by the peoples of the capitalist countries for socialism. The world peace movement fuses with our own fight for independence, with the valiant struggle waged by the people of Cuba against North American imperialism; it helps us in our fight." The same problem is the subject of the article, "Peaceful Coexistence and the Class Struggle," by J. L. Masser (No. 17, 1960), who shows that the Yugoslav revisionist idea of a "third force" objectively serves the interests of the enemies of the Cuban revolution and of the Latin American revolution generally.

Estudios is a leading popularizer of Marxism-Leninism in South America. Its articles on current questions of philosophy, political economy, history, culture and art stimulate discussion and provide answers to the questions posed by everyday life. True to proletarian internationalism, it keeps its readers informed of the progress made by the socialist countries and the struggles of the working

people of the capitalist countries and the dependent peoples. Special attention, naturally, is paid to Latin America and the theoretical and practical problems of its liberation movement. The journal frequently reprints articles from *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and the Communist press of the Soviet Union, France, Argentine, Chile and other countries.

Estudios has done important work in the sphere of ideology. Not only has it upheld and spread the

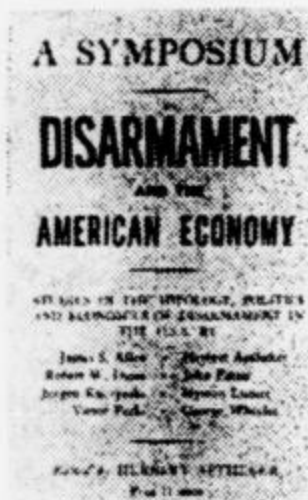
ideas of Marxism-Leninism, it has also applied them creatively in a critical examination of the social development of Uruguay, in discussing the general laws of Latin American socio-political and cultural life, and in analyzing the contemporary world situation. Thanks to this the journal has won the esteem of the broad reading public in Uruguay and of readers elsewhere in Latin America and in Europe.

Isidro FLORES

The total spent on world armaments runs to \$100,000 million a year. Of this the United States spends \$45,000 million.

Every hour the world spends about \$11 million for armaments. Of this amount the U.S.A. alone spends about \$5 million every hour of the day and night.

Is There a Way Out of the Blind Alley of War Economy?



THE answer to this question which confronts the millions of working people in the capitalist world is contained in the book *Disarmament and the American Economy*.*

Militarism is infiltrating more and more into every pore of modern bourgeois society. It is out to subordinate industry and science, it fills the pages of the newspapers and magazines, it invades the colleges and schools and, in the person of the tax collector, knocks at the door of the working man's home. The armaments drive not only carries with it the threat of atomic annihilation, it is synonymous with exploitation, rising prices, the mounting tax burden and increasing hardships.

A growing realization of the pernicious role of militarism brings ever broader sections of the people in the capitalist countries into the ranks of the active fighters for peace. But as they reach out for peace, the peoples are confronted by an experienced and strong enemy—international monopoly capital. Militarism gives it the magic touch of Midas. In 1960 alone armaments netted the

American monopolies war orders amounting to \$23,000 million. This luscious plum was shared by giant corporations such as General Dynamics (Atlas, Tartar and Terrier missiles, and atomic submarines), Boeing (Bomarc and Minuteman missiles), North American Aviation (rocket engines for Atlas, Thor, Jupiter and Redstone missiles), General Electric (atomic and hydrogen warheads for the Atlas and Thor missiles, and atomic reactors for submarines), and Lockheed Aircraft (Polaris missiles, B-47 jet bombers, Starfighter jets, U-2 reconnaissance planes, and the Samos and Midas spy satellites).

No wonder big business is prepared to stop at nothing to retain so rich a source of profits. To justify the armament race, it not only resorts to political argument, but also seeks the support of the bourgeois economists. And it finds this support. For the reactionary economists are writing books and articles to boost militarization as the principal lever of capitalist "prosperity."

This myth is blasted and an alternative to the militarization is outlined in the present symposium by progressive American and West European economists. The authors have made it their aim to bring home to the American people the price of the armaments, to show that militarization is not a panacea for the evils of capitalism but rather a treacherous pitfall, and to prove that disarmament, which can be achieved only by fighting for it, is economically feasible.

*A Symposium: Disarmament and the American Economy. Edited by Herbert Aptheker. New Century Publishers, New York, 1960. A collection of papers presented by American and West European sociologists and economists at a conference and a symposium held in 1960 in the USA.

The Price of Armament

Every figure and every fact in the book is an indictment of the initiators and advocates of the armament policy. Speaking for the people, the progressive economists accuse the cold-war men of a criminal waste of the national wealth, of plundering the income of the working people, of a senseless destruction of a substantial part of the productive forces.

Here are a few facts about the economic consequences of the armaments race cited by one of the authors, Robert W. Dunn. In relation to the gross national product of the United States, military spending is now roughly over 10 per cent. It is approximately equal to the total spent by all the state governments in the course of a year, and accounts for one dollar in every ten spent on goods and services by consumers, business firms and all government departments combined. Appropriations for "national security," interest on the loans of previous wars and other military expenditure swallow about 80 per cent of the budget.

Who foots this bill? Certainly not the capitalists. As another contributor to the symposium, Hyman Lumer, correctly points out, if all this were taken from the capitalists they would lose more than they gain in profits from military production, and would have no interest in pursuing such a course. The point is, Lumer goes on, that it is the working people who bear the lion's share of the costs. It is they who suffer most from the inflation and rising prices resulting from the military budgets (pp. 31-32). This conclusion is borne out by the fact that 80 per cent of the taxes paid by the American people go for wars past and future (p. 22).

But this is only one aspect of the price of armaments. Another, and a grave one, is that the end result of the armaments drive is destruction of an enormous part of the national wealth, leading to stagnation and depression in civilian branches. War production, Marx pointed out, in the strictly economic respect is tantamount to a nation dumping part of its capital into the sea.

In present-day bourgeois society, as Hyman Lumer aptly observes, "what is destroyed must be paid for." And the American people are paying heavily for the fact that a big segment of the economy and numerous research personnel that could be working to satisfy the requirements of the population are subordinated to aims of destruction and war. The research that has gone into the book under review once again confirms the conclusion drawn by the recent Conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties that "the arms race is not a war-deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population."

The British economist John Eaton discusses in his paper the shortage of research workers in the civilian branches, a shortage caused by the large numbers of scientists and technicians who squander their energies on military programs. "War is reaction's great alibi," he says. "Assume only the priority of national defense and everything else goes by the board. But take this away and we are virtually compelled to think how to apply the techniques of scientific study and research, so ably applied to the perfection of death, now to the quite new problem of making life better. . . . There is an appalling waste of human ability which . . . could make society wealthier and the working life of the ordinary individual more enjoyable" (p. 59).

Militarism is a canker corroding the economy and social life in the capitalist countries. It turns scientific discoveries from a creative into a destructive force, and the marvels of technical achievement into a misfortune for man. Each day of the armaments race adds to the record of incalculable losses and lost opportunities for the peaceful development of the productive forces and raising living standards.

Lastly, there is a third aspect to the militarization which reveals it as an instrument of reaction, of social regress. In addition to the golden rain showered on the monopolies, the years of the cold war have given them a firmer grip on the instruments of political power. "When half of the nation's wage earners depend for a living directly upon the corporations, and of the industrial workers at least 75 per cent, it is quite clear who controls this country, sets its policies and determines its general course" (p. 18).

War hysteria enables monopoly capital to conduct, under the demagogy of national unity in the name of national security, an offensive against the labor movement, to splinter its ranks, to curtail democratic freedoms and trade union rights, hound progressive elements and spread racism and anti-communism. Every step in building up armaments strengthens the power of the monopolies and intensifies political reaction.

Panacea or Pitfall?

The economic aspects of the armaments costs are no secret to the ordinary people in the Western world. But monopoly propaganda hinders them from seeing the whole truth, obscures the social significance of the militarization of the economy. To counter the spread of the ideas of peace, the ideologists of militarization resort to the most cunning devices. Yes, they say, militarization involves certain sacrifices. But these sacrifices are justified, the game is worth the candle. If, they argue, militarization were rejected and general and complete disarmament implemented, the working folk

would be beset by still greater misfortunes: the threat of economic collapse, catastrophic unemployment, falling living standards. And in the USA there are people, including sections of the working class, who, having succumbed to this propaganda, actually believe that war production is an essential component of the general capitalist economy. "... There is a widespread belief here, among all classes of people — big and little business, working people, including major segments of the trade union leadership, and by no means excluding Negro and other specially exploited components of the population — that without enormous expenditures for war preparations . . . we would have had a disastrous depression perhaps greater than, and certainly of the proportions of, the depression of the thirties," writes Herbert Aptheker, U.S. publicist, in his contribution (pp. 5-6).

It is to the credit of the authors of the symposium that they blast the reactionary legend that militarization of the economy is a way to overcome crises and ensure full employment. "The temporary stimulus offered by an increase in military expenditures may serve to hold off an economic downturn for a time, but it does so only by increasing the underlying instability of the economy — by curtailing consumer goods markets, by adding to an already mountainous national debt, by a lopsided, abnormal inflation of war goods sectors of economy," we read on p. 33.

And indeed, the forcing of war production may create for a time the semblance of a prolonged economic upswing and steady employment, the illusion that the contradictions which engender crises are being overcome. Militarization of the economy artificially stimulates business activity, war orders give work to heavy industry which in turn means a greater demand for raw materials and manpower. All this can, within certain limits, increase employment and cause a lopsided, spasmodic rise in production. But such increases contain the seed of recurring crises and slumps that are no less destructive for their brevity. It is just this *deceptiveness* of the militarization of the economy that is one of its most dangerous aspects. By creating the illusion that it provides an escape from economic contradictions, it lays a snare for the working people.

As the authors show, the feverish growth of certain sectors of industry undermines one of the cornerstones of economic development — consumer demand. Hyman Lumer is right when he says that the U.S. Government, by bloating its war budget, is diverting part of the nation's purchasing power from other purposes to the armaments program. This is achieved in a variety of ways: by taxation, by borrowing from the existing money supply or by credit inflation. "But whichever of these methods

is employed, the net result is the same: part of the nation's economic resources is taken by the government, and civilian purchasing power is accordingly diminished . . ." (p. 30).

No less negative are the consequences of unsound credit expansion, which is a feature of a militarized economy. In the conditions of war economy, writes George S. Wheeler, "the pace of expansion is more reckless, and the amount is unchecked by normal considerations of prudence. . . . This inflationary expansion of the credit system at the same time sharpens the contradictions of capitalism. That was pointed out nearly a century ago by Marx who wrote: 'The credit system appears as the main lever of overproduction and overspeculation in commerce solely because the process of reproduction, which is elastic in nature, is here forced to its extreme limits. . . . At the same time credit accelerates the violent eruptions of this antagonism, the crisis, and thereby the development of the elements of disintegration of the old mode of production'" (p. 47).

The militarization of the economy, while mitigating in certain cases a given crisis, *intensifies the cause of crises* — the basic contradiction of capitalism, between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation. The practice of placing war orders with the leading monopolies, the redistribution in their favor of money and investments, is the source of the wave of bankruptcies among small and medium business men. In the 1960 financial year, 110,034 bankruptcies were registered in the USA. This is a record figure for annual bankruptcies in the United States, being double the number of 1932 and eleven times as great as the 1946 figure. These processes greatly increase the concentration of capital, which steadily enhances the social character of capitalist production and at the same time sharply reduces the number of owners of private property appropriating the fruits of the social labor. "Capitalism being what it is, monopoly will seek to appropriate for itself as much as it can from the surplus produced by our society, concentrating ever more of the social wealth in its own hands, even if this means the spread of unemployment and poverty" (p. 18).

The book under review presents a wealth of material revealing the essence of what is called the stimulating effect of militarization on capitalist economic development. The condition of the American economy, as long as its growth is made dependent on military spending, may be likened to a severe form of drug addiction when the doses must be constantly increased to produce stimulation, until overdosing finally undermines the outwardly healthy but internally broken-down organism. Hence we cannot but agree with the conclusion of Jurgen Kuczynski, the German economist, who declares

that "to prepare for war in order to avoid a crisis is like trying to avoid a cold by committing suicide" (p. 63).

But even this suicidal course is unable to rid the American economy of crises. "In the face of these huge military outlays," Hyman Lumer writes, "we have experienced three postwar economic slumps as well as a rising level of unemployment in the intervening boom periods" (p. 33). To this one can only add that at the present time American capitalism is again experiencing a severe economic decline. The vicious circle closes. The legend of militarization as a panacea for the internal ills of present-day bourgeois society is scattered to the winds.

Disarmament Is a Fight For Life

How is this vicious circle to be broken? How to get rid of the fetters of militarism in which capitalist society is shackled? "It is simple enough to give a general answer: only socialism can assure us a permanent peace economy of full employment without war or the threat of war" (p. 18), writes James S. Allen. This, while it is a correct answer, is not the whole story. The authors of the book were faced with a more complex theoretical and practical task — that of finding an alternative to economic militarization in the existing conditions of monopoly capitalism. And they point out that the only true way to *disarmament* in modern bourgeois society is *struggle* against the domination of the monopolies to curtail their power and influence, to effect radical democratic changes in the economy and policies of the capitalist countries.

To change the aggressive course taken by the U.S. Government, we read, "we need more than hope and good wishes. The alive and progressive forces of our society — in the labor movement, among the Negro people now in motion, among the farmers and from the midst of our intellectuals and the middle classes — such progressive forces ought to set their sights upon stimulating a common democratic effort to curtail and restrain the power of monopoly both in government and in the economy" (p. 19). The central idea running through the book is that disarmament is a fight for life and the regeneration of the nation, for reviving and developing democracy, for stepping out on the highroad of progress.

Of great importance for the struggle of the peoples for peace and disarmament is, in addition to correct and timely political slogans, a program formulating the social and economic aims of the struggle. The present book is a step in this direction. It is not as yet an integrated program, but rather an exposition of views on and considerations of such a program. However, these suggestions are valuable, above all because their basic premise is the

vital link between disarmament and the tasks of class struggle as such. The authors show, in clear and simple language, that a disarmament accompanied by social measures far from causing any economic collapse will create more jobs and ensure a higher standard of living. "If an arms economy best serves the monopolies as a means of enhancing their profits at the expense of the working people," we read, "then by the same token the best interests of the people will be served by disarmament and the use of the immense sums thereby released for their own benefit — to reduce their taxes and to provide the schools, hospitals, housing, health protection, improved social security and other social services which are today so badly needed" (p. 36).

This conclusion is backed up by statistical data cited by Victor Perlo and clearly indicates that channeling the military appropriations to public works and social measures would substantially increase employment. The USA has 15 million sub-standard dwelling units housing 50 million people. To solve the housing problem a sum far smaller would be required than the annual expenditures under the military budget. With this money 35 million dwelling units could be built. The construction of only 900,000 housing units yearly would provide work for 1,800,000 people. Reduction of the working day would create 4,000,000 more jobs. Extensive public works would take care of another 1,800,000. Development of East-West trade without restrictions would give work to 1,000,000 people. And, lastly, the increased purchasing power at the disposal of the people, as a result of the efforts to abolish poverty, raise wages, improve health services and social security, would enlarge the home markets enough to provide another 5,000,000 jobs. This rough estimate suffices to show that a peace economy could provide work for 13,500,000 people, or twice the number now engaged in the army and the military branches of the economy (p. 45).

Of course, as James S. Allen points out in his paper, there is no magic formula under capitalism that can make economic crises vanish and automatically improve living standards (p. 18). Crises will periodically hit even a disarmed capitalism, and unemployment will always be a problem in bourgeois society. Yet disarmament, which would be a resounding victory over monopoly capital, would create favorable conditions for making further inroads into the monopoly positions for new economic and political gains for the working people. Crises and unemployment would remain, but their impact on the masses would be lessened. This is a feasible, if not easily attainable, goal of the anti-monopoly struggle.

In the fight against monopoly domination the combining of the social demands of the working

people with the general democratic demand for peace is of particular importance. To counter one to the other, deliberately or otherwise, can only undermine the social base of the anti-monopoly movement, deprive it of broad mass support and divert it into the backwaters of sectarian politics.

It should be said that of late bourgeois liberals have been trying to prove that it is possible to effect sweeping social measures within the framework of a militarized economy. On this score the book cites a highly interesting example. The Conference of Economic Progress, headed by Leon H. Keyserling — a group which reflects the views of Right-wing trade union leaders and some business circles usually associated with the Democratic Party — has recommended that Federal outlays for domestic programs in the next five years be increased from \$31,000 million to \$41,000 million, or by about one-third, while military spending should increase from \$48,000 million to over \$61,000 million. Programs like this are nothing but a slightly refurbished variant of the ideological camouflage always invoked by the monopoly bourgeoisie

and the Right-wing trade union leadership to cover up the social purport of the armaments drive. "If this be liberalism, God save us from the Liberals!" James S. Allen says. "On these terms, even Nixon can afford to be a Liberal."

Rejecting the arguments of the apologists of militarism as deliberate deception of the people, the American and West European Marxists are searching for ways and means of effecting disarmament that would best meet the economic and political interests of the broad sections of the population. One of the many instances of this fruitful searching is the present book. It is vibrant with creative Marxist thought. But this does not exhaust its significance. Marx said: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it." *Disarmament and the American Economy*, like other Marxist works, not only interprets the great problems of the day, it is in addition a clarion call to struggle in the name of peace and social progress.

Y. OSTROVITYANOV, A. STERBALOVA

Communications and Comment

Whither the Logic of Revisionism Leads

IT would be hard to find a newspaper or political organization which has not reacted in some way to the Moscow Meeting of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. For the Communists, the decisions of this Meeting are a program of revolutionary activity, a striking testimony to their indestructible unity. Many political personalities who are far from being Communists regard the results of the Meeting as proof of the peaceful and profoundly progressive aspirations of the Communist movement. Only the dyed-in-the-wool bourgeois reactionaries, who consider the November documents to be a threat to their imperialist, colonialist positions, have assailed them.

The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have also expressed their opinion concerning the Moscow Meeting. Shortly after it took place leading Yugoslav spokesmen commented on it in the Belgrade press. President Tito, too, had something to say about it in a speech in the Skupština on December 26. Then, six weeks later, it was the subject of a long speech by Velko Vlahovic, a secretary of the Central Committee of the League, at an enlarged meeting of its Executive.

This speech was published in late February along with a corresponding decision adopted by the Executive. Hence it can be regarded as the official opinion of the Yugoslav leaders on the Moscow Meeting.

Anyone who expected to find in these documents any reflection of the vaunted "non-bloc" and "neutral" positions of the Yugoslav League, would be disappointed, for the Belgrade voices harmonize with the general bourgeois chorus of denunciation of the international Communist movement.

"We have always been strongly opposed to unprincipled and non-objective discussions, to misinformation and distortion, to falsification and manipulation with facts," the Yugoslav leaders declare through the lips of Vlahovic. But this attempt to assume the halo of objectivity and impartiality is sheer hypocrisy, for the Yugoslav leaders, resorting to downright falsification of sources and facts, have produced a number of fabrications concerning the Moscow Meeting.

Fabrication No. 1. According to Vlahovic, the Moscow Statement "virtually denies . . . the specific character of socialist development in the different

countries, the variety of ways in which socialism emerges." The Statement, the reader is told, is a step back compared with the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Incidentally, the speech was printed in the Belgrade *Komunist* under the headline "A Step Back."

The purpose of this accusation is obvious: it is clearly designed to minimize and falsify the significance of the Moscow Meeting in the eyes of the world Communist movement, speculating on the fact that Communists in all countries are repudiating the dogmatist and sectarian attempts to fit the advance of the peoples towards socialism into ready-made patterns, ignoring the fundamental changes in the world situation.

This is shameless mendacity. For the Moscow Statement affirmed that the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was a landmark in the world Communist movement. "The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU," says the Statement "are not only of great importance for the CPSU and Communist construction in the USSR, they ushered in a new stage in the world Communist movement, and helped its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." Nor did the Moscow Meeting confine itself to a mere statement of this fact, it creatively elaborated the decisions of the Twentieth Congress. From the first day to the last, the Meeting was animated by a spirit of relentless struggle against all retrograde influences. Its documents generalize the latest, and hence the most valuable, experience accumulated by the international Communist movement as a whole — the practical experience of democratic progress in the socialist countries, the policy of the Communists in the countries that have won freedom from imperialist domination, aimed at consummating the national revolutions, the struggle of the Communist parties in the highly-developed capitalist countries to build up broad anti-monopoly alliances, and many other aspects of Communist activity. The results of the Moscow Meeting, in the unanimous opinion of all the Communist parties, open up boundless prospects for the creative independent activity of each Party, with due regard to the specific conditions and national peculiarities. It was this general line of the Meeting that ensured the complete unity of its participants.

But Vlahovic claims that the authors of the Statement "in reality adopted a clearly defined and essentially dogmatist-bureaucratic concept of society's advance towards socialism." If the facts prove the contrary, then so much the worse for the facts!

There were no "superior" or "subordinate" parties at the Moscow Meeting. All the delegations expressed their views on the basic issues of our time. The speeches by the Communists from all countries, big and small, capitalist and socialist—Italy and Vietnam, Belgium and Poland, Reunion

and the Soviet Union — were listened to with equal interest. The fact that the documents were adopted unanimously is proof that they incorporated all the proposals made by the participants. Luigi Longo, deputy General-Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, said that "every Party made its own contribution to the elaboration of the main problems of general interest, including problems relating to the building of socialism and communism." Yet Vlahovic asserts that favorable soil was created in Moscow for monopoly in the working-class movement. The Yugoslav leaders are evidently delighted with this formula. Very well, we are prepared to accept it: it is perfectly true, "monopoly" was manifested at the Moscow Meeting — the monopoly of Marxist-Leninist theory. And it is this, we presume, that upsets the Yugoslav leaders.

Fabrication No. 2. Vlahovic avers that the Meeting underestimated the importance of the national-liberation movement, ignored the relationship of socialism to this movement, and displayed a "patronizing" attitude to it. If one is to believe Vlahovic, the only true champions of this movement are the Yugoslav leaders.

If the first fabrication was aimed at sowing discord in the Communist ranks, the second was designed to drive a wedge between the national-liberation movement and the Communist parties — the mainstay of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for independence. To achieve their purpose the Yugoslav leaders stoop to the unscrupulous methods of the yellow press — for it is precisely the bourgeois and Right-wing Socialist press that for years has been harping on the theme that Communist support for the national-liberation movement is an expression of "hegemonism" (Vlahovic's word), of their desire to utilize that movement for their "nefarious schemes."

For the Yugoslav leaders Henri Martin's exploit and all the other instances of fraternal solidarity with the colonial peoples manifested by the Communists of France, Britain, the United States, Belgium and Holland are "hegemonism." The economic aid which the socialist countries extend, without any political strings, to the countries breaking free from the imperialist yoke is also "hegemonism" according to Belgrade, as, of course, is the proposal for granting immediate independence to all the colonial peoples which the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations. But if that is so, why did the representatives of the newly-independent countries at the General Assembly speak with such gratitude of this Soviet initiative, which incidentally was approved by the Moscow Meeting as a reflection of the will of the world Communist movement.

One has only to compare the original text of the Statement with the Belgrade allegations to see how

shamelessly the Yugoslav "theoreticians" distort the truth. "The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement," says the Statement, "these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that is undermining and destroying the imperialist world system The disintegration of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement ranks second in importance only to the formation of the socialist world system All the socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement see their duty in rendering the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny"

The Meeting of the 81 Parties was not afraid to refer to the colonialists by name. It underlined that the bulwark of colonialism today is the United States of America. "The imperialists, headed by the USA," it declared, "are making desperate efforts to preserve the colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies, using new methods and new ways." Tito, on the other hand, who delivered speeches on colonialism during his recent tour of African countries, for some reason avoided mentioning names. Of course, everything depends on what takes precedence — tantalizing financial schemes or Marxist-Leninist principles.

It is enough to leaf through the files of the leading Communist newspapers—Pravda, Unita, Jenminjhpao, l'Humanite, Trybuna Ludu, etc., — to see how the Communist press has kept its readers posted about such a striking manifestation of the national-liberation movement as the revolution in little Cuba, how it reports every detail of the revolutionary progress made by the people of Cuba, and the admiration with which it speaks of the courage displayed by the Cubans in their fight against the imperialist Goliath. And when the United States boycotted trade with Cuba, the countries where the Communists are in power endeavored to help its people by purchasing large quantities of sugar in exchange for the things Cuba needs. The Soviet Union's promise to render all possible support to Cuba in its fight for independence has had a steadying effect on some American imperialist hotheads.

But what have the Yugoslav leaders done for Cuba? This question was answered on February 7 by the *Noticias de hoy*, organ of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba.

" . . . Aid rendered by the Yugoslav leaders is barely perceptible. And it should be said that this aid was not forthcoming when it was most needed. The Yugoslav leaders were reluctant to irritate their imperialist 'benefactors'. This also explains

why the Yugoslav stand in the United Nations when Fidel Castro fought there, not only for Cuba but for all the underdeveloped countries and for world peace, was so feeble as compared, for example, with the stand taken by the heads of government of Ghana and Guinea. The contrast between the words and the deeds of the Yugoslav revisionists . . . is a permanent constituent of their policy which no phrasemongering can disguise."

Vlahovic endeavors to support his claim that the Moscow Meeting "underestimates" the national-liberation movement by quoting the following passage from the Statement: "The existence of the socialist world system and the weakening of the position of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities for winning independence." This, however, is a patent fact recognized by the leaders of the newly-independent countries themselves. But no Communist ever made the statement which Vlahovic attributes to the Meeting, namely that "the victory of the Cuban revolution was the *result* of the existence of the socialist camp."

Vlahovic ended with a warning to the socialist countries that their criticism of the Yugoslav leadership might undermine the friendship and co-operation of the socialist camp with the national-liberation movement and other anti-imperialist forces with which Yugoslavia has good relations. It seems to us that the reverse is much more likely: the attacks by the Yugoslav League leaders against the socialist camp, which is the mainstay of the anti-imperialist forces, may adversely affect Yugoslav relations with these forces.

Fabrication No. 3. Vlahovic makes it quite clear that for him the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are supporters of the "cold war." The Meeting, he asserts, did not support the idea of negotiations between the great powers. The capitalist countries, he goes on, "are not mentioned as a factor with which it is necessary to seek negotiations and to explore ways of leading the world out of the present deadlock."

Anything more preposterous than this would be hard to imagine. The very formulation by the Meeting of the principle of peaceful coexistence as well as the recent foreign policy moves by the USSR and the other socialist countries prove once again that the Communists regard negotiations between the great powers as the embodiment of this principle. *Le Monde*, perhaps the most sober and rational organ of the bourgeois press in France, had this to say about the Moscow Statement: "The statement elaborates in detail the idea, particularly dear to Mr. Khrushchov, that prevention of a global nuclear war is the supreme issue of our time. . . . This important comparison (with the Moscow Declaration of 1957. — A.M.B.) indicates that the chances of negotiations with the new American government have not diminished. . . ."

In attacking the Moscow Statement Vlahovic made no mention at all of the other document adopted in Moscow, namely, the Appeal to the People of the World. Another example of the Belgrade "principled" approach. That document states in black and white: "May friendly co-operation and extensive trade and cultural exchanges between all countries triumph over war alignments." What is this if not an appeal for negotiations?

Carried away by their desire to discredit the foreign policy of the socialist countries at all costs, the Yugoslav leaders fail to notice that they have landed in dubious company. For, while the more "respectable" bourgeois press could not deny that peaceful coexistence is one of the basic ideas of the Moscow documents, other newspapers took the opposite view. "It would be useless to search for any mention of 'peaceful coexistence' among the aims of struggle enumerated," said the *Rheinische Merkur*, a paper close to Adenauer, in its issue of December 9, 1960, a statement which, as we see, is not far removed from the "objective" pronouncements of the "Communist" Vlahovic.

Fabrication No. 4. The Moscow Statement according to the Yugoslav leaders, contains an appeal to the Communist movement "to wage an active struggle against the Yugoslav League of Communists." The claim is then made that it attacks Yugoslavia "as a whole" with the object "of hindering its socialist development." Moreover, Vlahovic accuses the Communist and Workers' parties of meddling in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is an attempt to turn the rank-and-file members of the Yugoslav League of Communists and the Yugoslav people in general against the international Communist movement.

But this fabrication, too, shrivels in the light of the facts. The world Communist movement has the deepest respect for the valiant people of Yugoslavia who won their independence in battle against the fascist invader, and for the thousands of members of the Yugoslav League of Communists who played a leading role in this struggle. It has not the slightest intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. And Vlahovic is merely wasting his breath when he fumes: "We cannot change our system, we cannot abolish the workers' councils and public self-government to suit the positions and concepts of those who do not like our system." Nobody is asking the Yugoslav leaders to do anything of the kind, but when their theoretical conclusions, which all the Communist parties recognize as revisionist, are propagated as the best way to socialism, the Communist movement cannot remain indifferent. For this is nothing if not interference in the internal affairs of the other parties.

The February meeting of the Yugoslav League Executive shows that the leaders of the League

are going ahead with their revisionism. Here is but one example. Vlahovic complained that "in examining the development of socialism as a whole, the Moscow Statement puts the emphasis on 'general truths', on 'general principles', on the creation of a single prototype of the new society and on the implementation of these 'general principles' and 'general truths' in conformity with the specific conditions of each country." The Yugoslav leaders, thus, deny the importance of these general principles, in other words, they deny Marxism-Leninism. For what is the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution if not the sum of the general principles of working-class policy and tactics abstracted from the national context?

In assailing Marxism-Leninism, Vlahovic dares to invoke Lenin. He quotes the passage from "*Left-Wing*" Communism, an Infantile Disorder where Lenin condemns stereotyped, mechanically equalized and identical tactical rules of struggle. But this book was written precisely for the purpose of upholding the general principles of Communist policy and tactics against distortions by "Left" revisionists — dogmatists and sectarians. And it is not by chance that on the very first page of the book Lenin remarks that "certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance which is not local, not peculiarly national, not Russian only, but international."* Vlahovic seeks to revise Lenin by resorting to the same sophisms as do all the revisionists, beginning with Bernstein and Kautsky: he attempts to distort the living, full-blooded teaching of Marxism-Leninism by treating some of its propositions as absolutes and ignoring others. This disposes of the claim made by Tito in his speech on December 26, that "no conclusive evidence of our revisionism was produced." What better evidence could there be than the Vlahovic speech, which was approved by Tito himself?

Vlahovic pretends to be surprised that the Moscow Meeting should have accused the Yugoslav leaders of setting themselves up in opposition to the international Communist movement, of conducting "subversive activities against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement." But we can refer him to the decision of the Executive of the League on his own report, which says that the Moscow Statement "can have nothing but negative consequences not only for the cause of socialism but for the efforts to strengthen world peace as well." Never have the Yugoslav leaders shown their hand so shamelessly, never have they turned away so demonstratively from the world Communist movement. For, assuredly, the Meeting in Moscow aroused the ire of the imperialists precisely because its documents constitute a far-reaching program of struggle by the World Communist movement for socialism and peace. This program is the fruit of a profound and exhaustive exchange of

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

opinion between the representatives of 81 Communist parties, the result of the most representative conference in the history of the working-class movement since the inception of Marxism. It was illumined by the prestige of the 36 million Communists who gave it their unanimous approval, by the prestige of the powerful socialist camp where the Communists are the ruling party. These documents are the embodiment of the great progressive ideas which have become a powerful material force in the present-day world because they have been taken up by hundreds of millions of people in all lands. Yet the Yugoslav leaders seek to discredit the Moscow Meeting. Is this not subversion against the world Communist movement?

Vlahovic tries to depict the leaders of the League as the only true internationalists. But let us turn once again to the facts. It is common knowledge that when the League leaders published their revisionist draft program there was not a single Communist Party which did not criticize it. Did the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists heed the opinion of the world Communist movement? Did they agree to a comradely discussion? Did they make any appreciable changes in the draft in conformity with the suggestions made by the parties? They did not. In 1957 they refused to sign the Moscow Declaration which had been approved by all the Communist parties. In 1960 they published Kardelj's book *Socialism and War* the purpose of which was to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. And now in 1961, in Vlahovic's report, they have fallen as low as it is possible to fall — they have descended to outright anti-communism and slander. Such is the logic of revisionism.

Thus, the charges levelled by the Belgrade revisionists at the Moscow Meeting have boomer-

anged. These charges have confirmed the correctness of the characterization of the Yugoslav leaders given by the Meeting. When Vlahovic sagely observes that the word "Communist" does not necessarily imply a correct policy, one cannot but agree with him, for although the leaders of the League call themselves orthodox Communists, they have been, and still are, revisionists.

So much for politics. There is, however, another side to the matter which, so to speak, is outside the sphere of politics. The Yugoslav leaders suffer from an exaggerated idea of their own importance. This idea runs through every statement of theirs concerning the Moscow Meeting: each fabrication is accompanied by paeans to their exclusive brand of "democracy," "socialism" and "sweet reasonableness." It is this idea that prompts Vlahovic to declare in his didactic manner that the documents adopted by the 81 parties reflect "a subjective approach to the problems of contemporary social processes" and that, generally speaking, they are of no particular importance (then why waste so much ink in refuting them?), from which it follows that the only theorists worthy of the name are the Yugoslav leaders. This same idea explains the publicity given to Vlahovic's report. It sticks out of the decision of the League Executive which seeks to convey the impression that the Moscow Meeting spent all its time talking about the Yugoslav leaders. But the Belgrade revisionists are mistaken in considering themselves the salt of the earth. They will get no more attention than they deserve. Marxism-Leninism is the political beacon for the working people of the world, the light that illumines the path of the international Communist movement, and not the sputtering candle of revisionist fabrications.

A. M. BARTZ

The Hand of Brandt in Transport House

SHORTLY before Christmas, (1960) the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party brought against Mr. Zilliacus, M.P., one of the Lefts in the Party, an unusual charge — that of writing an article on working-class policy for the Communist journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* (No. 10, 1960). In passing it will not be out of place to recall that the Right in the Labor Party manage to write for Tory newspapers without causing the Executive Committee any headaches. The official investigation into Mr. Zilliacus' "insulting" offence, in the words of one Labor leader, lasted two months. At last, on February 23, *The Times* was able to report that the investigating officers "deplored" Mr. Zilliacus' conduct and warned him that "they would regard any repetition of his offence as inconsistent with Party membership."

To understand why the Zilliacus article split the rafters in Transport House we shall have to turn to West Berlin. For in this case the Rights in the Labor leadership acted as executor of the will of their colleague Willy Brandt, whose complaint provided the pretext for the charge against Zilliacus. What really incensed Herr Brandt, according to the West German *Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung*, was the paragraph in which Zilliacus said: "The 'national' sore points with British public opinion are the U.S. bases and the rearmament of Germany. The sheer criminal folly of reviving a policy which led to the Second World War, of relying on German nationalism, militarism and even fascism as a 'bulwark against communism', is becoming all too obvious. The dismay and anger at the demand of ex-Nazi Generals for nuclear weapons, and the unpopularity of Adenauer's Germany in Britain would be difficult to exaggerate."

For Herr Brandt these words were like a red rag to a bull, for he and his fellow Social Democrats, zealous advocates of rearming West Germany, regard any protest against this policy as sedition. Moreover, as some West German journalists hinted, not without sarcasm, Brandt, dreaming of the Chancellorship in Bonn, became all but hysterical, fearing that statements of this kind might shatter his dream. The mental torment of the furious Willy was described by *Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung*: "It may be that one fine day the Lefts in German Social Democracy will act as

Zilliacus and his supporters are acting in the Labor Party. It will not be easy to gag them." Hence the totalitarian hint from West Berlin to Transport House: we have gagged our Left, you hurry up and gag yours.

After all this is the kind of thing one would expect from the "Adenauer-men," as the Right Social Democrats are known in West Germany. But then the Rights in the Labor Party love to boast of their independence. Yet Herr Brandt had only to say the word and Mr. Gaitskell fell into line in much the same way as Chamberlain at the time of Munich. This was more than a disavowal of Zilliacus, because the views reflected in the article are those of most members of the Labor Party who warmly applauded them at the Scarborough conference.

In undignified haste to please his West German colleague, Mr. Gaitskell and his friends made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of all who follow international politics. Brandt informed Gaitskell, and Gaitskell swallowed what he was told, that Zilliacus had written his article in . . . an East Berlin newspaper. Herr Brandt's aides, apparently, go crazy about everything that is sold by the newsagents and kiosks in East Berlin. Every reader of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* knows that it appears in Prague and is printed in Britain, France, Italy, Sweden and other countries, in 20 languages in all, and circulates all over the world.

We appreciate, of course, that an article by a Socialist in a Communist journal can hardly be to the liking of a Brandt or a Gaitskell. But there is little we can do to help them, for the columns of our journal will always be open to all fighters for peace and socialism irrespective of their party affiliation; this, we think, helps to unite the working-class movement. And victory in the fight for peace and socialism can be won only through unity.

Whenever they invoke international communism the Rights in the Labor leadership always trot out "the hand of Moscow." How much more to the point to speak about the hand of Brandt in the Labor executive, a hand so long that it reached all the way to Transport House, where it pulled the strings and brought Mr. Gaitskell to say his Party piece.

J. MITCHELL

The Communists of Nicaragua Are Fighting Against the Pro-Imperialist Dictatorship

(Letter from Managua)

LAST year the underground Socialist Party of Nicaragua — the party of the Nicaraguan Communists — held its Seventh National Congress, which examined the Party's activity since the previous congress in 1957. The interim period was a difficult one in view of the aggressiveness of the dictatorship of the Somoza family. The abortive armed uprisings of 1954 and the assassination in 1956 of dictator Anastacio Somoza Garcia infuriated the reactionaries. The rulers, instigated by the imperialists, took advantage of the defeat of the Guatemalan revolution to attack the opposition forces.

The Congress made a careful and comprehensive analysis of the national problems; it assessed the situation and indicated the tasks in the struggle against the dictatorship.

To understand the Congress decisions better one should know the socio-economic background to the dynastic dictatorship.

Nicaragua is basically an agrarian country with vast potential resources which however are not used because of the out-dated production relations. Agriculture provides a livelihood for 67 per cent of the total labor force; 362 landowners own one-third of the arable land, whereas the area covered by 26,000 small peasant households is less than six per cent. Over half of the cropping land is not used. The hundreds of thousands who earn their living from crop raising or stock breeding, can hardly afford to buy manufactured goods; 13 per cent of the agricultural laborers do not get money wages.

Nicaragua's economy depends wholly on the United States. A sizable part of our mineral and timber resources is in the hands of North American and Canadian companies which have imposed extortionate and humiliating agreements on our country. In 1956 and 1957 the gold-mine owners paid taxes amounting to 500,000 cordobas*, whereas the gold mined in 1956 was estimated at \$8 million. The timber companies paid to the state less than three per cent of the value of the annual timber exports. The NIPCO company alone exported 800 million feet of pinewood valued at \$80 million. The forests are felled ruthlessly, even the elementary forestry regulations are ignored. In the lumber camps, just as in the mines, there are no labor laws.

*The official exchange rate is seven cordobas to one U.S. dollar.

Nearly all Nicaraguan exports are shipped to the United States which purchases our raw materials cheaply and sells us manufactured goods, machinery and fuel at high and steadily rising prices.

The dependency of the national economy retards industrial progress and keeps the living standard low. Every time a crisis hits the U.S. economy it affects Nicaragua, too. For instance, a grave blow was struck at our economy in 1958, particularly coffee growing.

It is not surprising that with the economy being so backward and dependent, the people live a life of misery. Over 65 per cent of the population is illiterate. Only five per cent of the boys and 0.5 per cent of the girls go on to secondary school. Although the workers live in hovels, rent swallows a good fourth of their meagre wages. Less than 1.5 per cent of the population has good drinking water. Little wonder that the average life span in Nicaragua is 30 years, and can be compared only with that in Central Africa. Infant mortality is high — over half the children die before reaching the age of five.

Such is the semi-colonial economic base on which the dictatorship — the superstructure — rests. With the exception of a few short but glorious intervals, dictatorship has been the main form of government in our country. The ruling cliques of the "traditional" Conservative and Liberal parties which represent the landowners, the importers, industrialists and bankers, have constantly betrayed the people and allowed the foreigners, mainly the North Americans, to lord it in the country, plunder its wealth and trample on our dignity and national sovereignty.

Here are some facts. The Conservative and Liberal parties were responsible for the buccaneering invasion of William Walker in the mid-19th century, for the second American invasion in 1912 and for the third occupation of the country by the United States in 1926. Together with the United States they had a hand in the assassination of Sandino*. They signed an agreement with the United States under which part of our territory is alienated for 99 years for the construction of a canal**, with the right to prolong this term for

*The national hero of Nicaragua who in 1927-34 led a guerrilla war against the U.S. occupation troops and their stooges.

** We have in mind the projected canal linking the Pacific Ocean with the Caribbean.

a similar period. These parties organized "a national guard" which fulfils mainly the functions of a gendarmerie. This force replaced the U.S. Marines when the latter withdrew from the country. The Conservative and Liberal Parties are to blame for the deformation of our economy through the humiliating and extortionate loans granted by the imperialists to certain branches with a view to turning the country into a supplier of raw materials and a buyer of manufactured goods. These two parties bear the responsibility for the closing of the Pacific Railway, the biggest state-owned enterprise, which has been replaced by a network of highways, thus ensuring for the imperialists sales of cars, trucks, fuel and spare parts. They were responsible, too, for imperialist interference in national education in the guise of the Truman Point 4 Program. And lastly, they granted concessions to the U.S. companies driven out of Cuba as a result of the revolution. The Somoza dynasty itself (it has ruled the country for 27 years) is the result of collusion between the Liberal and Conservative leaders.

The Socialist Party is, of course, aware that among the Conservative and Liberal rank and file there are plenty of forward-looking citizens and sincere people, and that is why earlier than any other party it pointed to the need for unity of the democratic opposition. This unity would clear the way for national liberation which, in its turn, would further the fight for peace, peaceful coexistence and social progress.

Such is the general picture of the political and socio-economic situation in Nicaragua. Against this background the essence of the Congress decisions and the need for their realization become clearer. The task of the Party and of all the democratic forces, stressed the Congress, is the struggle for the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship. Most important, however, is the question of methods of this struggle. The Socialist Party did not have a clear-cut political line in this respect. The previous Congress failed to define the specific forms of the struggle: whether we should launch an armed revolt immediately or prepare it gradually, by economic strikes and peaceful actions with the prospect of developing these into a political strike. At every step we came across "invasions" by emigre border-crashers, people who had neither serious aims nor a program of social reform. More than once we had political conspiracies by the bourgeois opposition and, for purposes of provocation, even by the government. This impelled us to act with the utmost caution. We rejected the crude attempts to imitate the Sandino guerrilla movement, attempts that displayed nothing of his courage and daring; there were times when we even had to combat actions of this kind, actions based on the illusion that once the pea-

sants knew who their organizers were, they would rush to support an anti-Somoza uprising. In a number of cases we rallied the people against the actions of the bourgeois opposition* who wanted agreements with the dictatorship "for the sake of peace in the country and the struggle against the communist danger" or "for defense of the continent and strengthening its defenses in view of the danger of an attack from overseas."

Our line in those days was to prepare the people, mainly the peasantry, ideologically for a conscious struggle for the bourgeois-democratic revolution and to rally the agricultural laborers and peasants for agrarian reform and civil liberties in order to build a solid alliance of the democratic forces, an alliance fanatically resisted by the leaders of the traditional opposition parties. For these leaders the people, their political awareness and activity, and the Socialist Party, are far more dangerous than the Somoza family's military dictatorship.

After carefully weighing the situation, the relationship of forces and the resolve of the imperialists and the U.S. State Department to maintain their puppet in office, and after carefully examining the home and international situation, the Congress concluded "that a liberation revolution in our country was impossible without an armed revolt of the people led by the independent party of the working class." The Congress made it absolutely clear that an armed uprising should be prepared by propaganda and organizing work among the masses. Peaceful action should be coupled with armed revolutionary struggle. The Congress rejected adventurism and the striving to make revolution a kind of occupation, as manifested by Nicaraguan emigres in some countries.

In the struggle against the family dictatorship we cannot, naturally, rule out insurrectionary action. But the essential thing is ceaseless and purposeful revolutionary work at the highest level, and the correctly combined tactics of peaceful action and armed struggle. Needed are militancy, propaganda and organizing work. An uprising, as the Congress pointed out, presupposes thorough preparation. These, then, are the tasks of the democratic forces. And success will depend on their being carried out.

It will not be out of place to mention the hoary slander, now being resurrected by the reactionaries, that the Socialist Party was founded as a result of a maneuver, as a result of a demagogic order from dictator Somoza, or at least with his consent. The Communists of Nicaragua have

*We have in mind the Conservative party and also the Independent Liberal Party which broke with Somoza when he established his dictatorship. The ideological and economic interests reflected by the Independent Liberals confronted this Party with the choice: either conciliation with the Somoza family and support for Conservative policy, or to take into account the aspirations of the people.

traversed the path from the Marxist circles to the political party, which, after numerous attempts, they finally formed in 1943. The existence of our Party was publicly proclaimed the following year. In the space of 12 months we had become a mass party with centers, press, publishing house and schools. The Communist-sponsored Trade Union Center united over 100,000 workers. But our Party enjoyed legal status for only 14 months, when democracy followed

the defeat of world fascism. The dictator, the U.S. Embassy and the Conservative Party connived to abolish the democratic gains and to take reprisals against the people. But they were powerless to destroy our Party which continues to conduct work and is developing. This Party will bring our people to complete victory over the dictatorship.

February, 1961

J.R.

Letter From William Z. Foster to the Editorial Board of "World Marxist Review"

DEAR comrades,

May I extend my wholehearted thanks to all the fraternal parties and individual leaders of the Communist movement who have sent me their congratulations on the occasion of my eightieth birthday. I am particularly glad to do this through your magazine which plays such an important

role in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and in its application in the revolutionary practice by the mighty international Communist movement of today.

With wishes of new great victories of the international working-class movement,

Comradely yours,

William Z. FOSTER

Against the Persecution of Democrats

FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN PRISON

(the United Arab Republic)

ANOTHER wave of arrests swept the United Arab Republic at the end of last year. Among the 200 Communists and other democrats thrown into prison was the Assistant Secretary of the Communist Party.

The prisoners are treated like slaves at the time of the Pharaohs. The writers Mahmoud Amine Al Aleme, Abdel Azim Anis and Ismail Sabri, the trade unionists Youssephe Moudarrek, Mouhammed Ali Amer and Ahmed Taha, and hundreds more are subjected to brutal torture and detained in conditions calculated to break their will and ruin their health.

When 80 political prisoners, shackled together were being taken to the desert camp at Al Maharik, they were beaten by the guards. One, who tried to evade the knout wielded by the guard, fell out of the moving train dragging others with him. Four prisoners suffered grave injuries, but got no medical help at the camp.

Nasser's police have little mercy for women prisoners. Marie Papa Dobolo, a schoolteacher of Greek origin, who received a five-year sentence, has had her health ruined by torture and malnutrition. Even when giving birth to her child she was denied medical aid. Help was rendered by a fellow prisoner, a medical student. After delivery the woman and her infant were taken to a solitary cell. . . .

The effects of malnutrition and lack of medical aid are seen in the high incidence of tuberculosis, typhus and other diseases. What prison conditions in the UAR are really like can be seen from the following:

Torture Camp in Liman Abu Zaabal

The Liman Abu Zaabal prison camp, 40 kilometers from Cairo, consists of six barracks, each 40 meters wide, and four torture chambers. The camp was originally a prison for criminals, but was cleared on January 1, 1959, to make room for political prisoners who now number 370. Among them are writers, book publishers, journalists, lawyers, trade unionists, teachers, peasants, students and workers.

The camp administration consists of Major Hassan Mounir, Lieutenants Abdul Latif Rushdi, Merjan Ishac, Said Mansour, Younes Merhi and Sergeant Ahmed Mtaoueh.

This is how prisoners are "received" at Abu Zaabal.

Upon arrival, the lorries come to a stop 200 meters from the main gate. The prisoners are told to get out in groups of four and ordered to run towards the gate. As they run, the prison officials and guards beat them all the way. The prisoner unfortunate enough to stumble and fall is dragged along the ground. Once inside the victims are stripped and beaten. Then they are led into their respective barracks (60-70 in each) where the gaolers continue the beating.

The prison clothes are no protection against the bitter cold of the night; the only bedding is a mat on the asphalt floor.

The Ordeal

At 5 a.m. the prisoners are ordered to wash the floor. Inspection begins at 6.30 during which the beating is continued by the warders. Anyone who falls is punished with 20 strokes on the soles of the feet.

At nine work begins in the quarries, 700 meters from the camp. The prisoners are made to walk barefoot over ground littered with broken glass and chips of stone, which leave the feet lacerated and bleeding. Some drill holes for dynamiting, others break up the boulders, injuring hands, legs and faces in the process, and still others extract bitumen. One group mixes concrete for a 250-meter bridge. All the time the men are made to move at the double, followed by mounted warders with whips ready to strike.

At 1 p.m. the prisoners are brought back to the camp and inspection is made.

"Special Procedure"

What is known as "special procedure," i.e., particularly refined methods of torture, is reserved for some prisoners. One group, which included Dr. Farid Haddad, the lawyers Abdall El Zoghbi and Ahmed Abdel Al, the engineer Saad el Tawil, the office worker Nassim Youssefe and the medical student Anwar Noman, arrived at the camp on November 28, 1959. They were stripped by officers Hasan Mounir, Younes Merhi, Merjan Ishac and Sergeant Ahmed Mtaoueh.

Farid Haddad was beaten until he lost consciousness. Other prisoners were beaten in the same way. When they came to, they were taken to cells 2.5 meters in length and two meters wide. Dr. Farid Haddad died in one of these cells.

Among those who arrived with a group of 45 prisoners was Chohdi Attia, publicist and philosopher. Six of this group, including Jamal Ghali, Mouhamed Abbas Fehmi and Moubarak Fadl, suffered grave internal injuries as a result of the torture. Asked by an officer whether he was a Communist, Chohdi replied "Yes." The officer then continued the torture. Chohdi's body, mutilated through torture by electric current, was handed over to his relatives.

On one occasion the officer Hassan Mounir ordered 20 prisoners to the special punishment cells (2.5 x 2 m.) without blankets or mats. Every day they were driven to the quarries. This lasted four days. One of their number, Rouchdi Khalil, who caught cold, not only got no medical treatment but was savagely beaten. He died on July 23 last year from head injuries.

Others who died under the torture are Mouhammed Osman, Chawki Abdel Rahman, Fauzi Habache and Ali Bayoumi. Kamal Houssameddine, a textile worker from Alexandria, was murdered last November. The workers Abdel Tawab Jibril and Ali El Dib died of illness and lack of medical care.

The Prison Administration Lauds the Gaolers

The fearful conditions at Abu Zaabal violate the elementary norms of justice.

Political prisoners are held in immeasurably worse conditions than criminals whose treatment is governed by definite prison regulations. Warders who kill political prisoners under their charge, far from being punished, are rewarded by the prison administration.

* * *

Most of the political prisoners are men with fine records of struggle against the imperialist aggression in 1956, men who with arms in hand upheld the freedom and independence of their country. The people of Egypt are insisting on their release.

President Nasser is receiving letters and telegrams from all over the world urging the release of these men. A solidarity campaign for the release of the political prisoners held in prison in Egypt will help wrest them from the clutches of the gaolers.

M. O.

FOR AN AMNESTY IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE worldwide campaign now under way for an amnesty for political prisoners and political emigrés of Spain and Portugal has assumed wide proportions in Latin America. Proof of this was the Second Latin American Conference for an amnesty for political prisoners in Spain and Portugal which took place in Montevideo at the end of January. The keynote of the conference was the struggle against reprisals on political grounds, for abolishing the military tribunals, and respect for the human rights proclaimed in the U.N. Charter.

Nearly 550 delegates from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, the United States, Uruguay and Venezuela assembled in Montevideo. The Cuban delegation was refused visas. Among those who were represented at the conference or who gave it their backing were members of the Bar, numerous student associations and federations, United Trade Union Centers of Chile, Cuba and Uruguay, national federations of workers and employees of other American countries, many youth, women's and cultural organizations, the legislative assemblies of the Sao Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul states, the municipal councils of Porto Alegre and other Brazilian towns, the municipal councils of Buenos Aires and Caracas, members of Parliament from various countries, democratic parties in Venezuela, and all the par-

ties affiliated to the Popular Action Front of Chile. Messages of solidarity were sent by the Socialist and Social Democratic parties of Argentina, and the Socialist parties of Brazil, Chile and Colombia. Delegations of Spanish and Portuguese emigrés, which included the poet Rafael Alberti, lawyer and publicist Eduardo Ortega y Gasset and the writer Eduardo Zamacois from Spain, and Portuguese professors Ruy Luis Gomez and Adolfo Cassais Monteiro, were present.

Speeches were made by lawyers Albert L. Kolons (USA), Angel A. Bustelo (Argentina) and Jorge Jiles Pizarro (Chile) who, on behalf of the World Congress of Democratic Lawyers, visited Spain last November to investigate the unbearable conditions of the political prisoners and their families and the lawlessness perpetrated by the Franco authorities. They exposed the cynical statements of the Franco propaganda denying there were any political prisoners in Spain and revealed the crimes of Franco who still detains many political prisoners for their participation in the civil war which ended more than 20 years ago.

The lawyers told the conference about the fight waged by members of the Bar in Spain, mainly in Madrid and Barcelona, in defense of human rights, for an amnesty, against the extraordinary legal procedure, for the restoration of the dignity and professional privileges of the civil courts.

The conference urged all parliaments on the American continent to contribute to the campaign for an amnesty in Spain and Portugal, and decided to send a delegation to the U.N. General Assembly to expose the violation of human rights in Spain and Portugal, and to demand from this international body the appointment of a commission to investigate in these countries and in their colonies the complaints made by the political prisoners and their relatives, by the members of the Bar of Spain, by Basque priests, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, etc.

To increase the moral, material and judicial support for the prisoners and persons persecuted on political grounds, and for the political emigrés and their relatives in Spain and Portugal, the conference suggested that solidarity committees be formed in each country. These committees will campaign for the release of the prisoners and for an end to the persecution in Spain and Portugal. They will seek the support of prominent personalities, and of trade union, religious, political and other organizations which are in agreement with the aims of the movement. Solidarity actions will be timed with the day the delegation arrives at the U.N.

The conference also decided to form an Iberian-American Council for Amnesty and for Human Rights in Spain and Portugal, which will include men and women elected by national movements,

and representatives from Spain and Portugal. The Council was instructed to hold this year on the American continent a Week of Struggle for an amnesty and for human rights in Spain and Portugal.

The conference also decided to co-ordinate its efforts with those of the people of other continents in order to prepare, as soon as possible, a world conference. Its appeal addressed to the people of America says: "The American people, guided by the natural instinct of humanism, by the irrefutable principles of law and also by their special cultural and historical associations with the people of Spain and Portugal, consider it their duty to act jointly with them and support their energetic demand for a general amnesty."

A message addressed to the political prisoners and their relatives reads: "We, the delegates at this conference, faced with such examples of courage and self-sacrifice and conscious of our duty, will spare no effort in addressing ourselves to all bodies in order to make real, as early as possible, the aim of this rally, i.e., a sweeping and complete amnesty which would enable the political prisoners and emigrés to return to their homes. The conference holds that in this way it will not only fulfil the sacred duty of solidarity, but will also help to establish peace in Spain and Portugal and all over the world."

Montevideo, February 1961

J.N.

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the titles here are given in English)

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